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CONSTITUENT ORDER AND PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN NAPO QUICHUA
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by

Larinda Moffitt

Bachelor of Arts, Moody College, 2013

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

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This thesis, submitted by Larinda Moffitt 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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This thesis is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.

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Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

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Department	Linguistics
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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADVDS	adverbializer, different subject following
ADVSS	adverbializer, same subject following
AG	agentive
CAUS	causative
CMPV	comparative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DEMPN	demonstrative pronoun
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIS	desiderative
FOC	focal element of a yes/no question or emphatic negation
FUT	future tense
IMP	imperative
INS	instrumental
INT	intrative
JUST	exclusive/limitative
LMT	limitative
LOC	locative case

NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
OBJ	object
ON	onomatopoeia
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect tense
PRMO	purposive motion
PROG	progressive
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
PUR	purposive
Q	question
REFL	reflexive
RPTV	reportative
SIMT	simultaneous action
TER	terminative
TOP	topic

ABSTRACT

Napo Quichua is a Quechuan language variety spoken along the Napo River in Northern Peru and Southern Ecuador. This thesis presents a description of the constituent order and participant reference system of oral narrative discourse. The primary data source for this study consists mostly of folk tales told by native speakers, with a few autobiographical accounts.

Napo Quichua is an SOV language with a relatively high degree of variation in constituent order. Constituent order variations are motivated by the guiding principles of information structure, including showing focus, highlighting information, and backgrounding information. Constituent order and participant reference also interact to preserve continuity, to highlight information or to show discontinuity.

Referents in Napo Quichua can be encoded with verb agreement, pronouns, and noun phrases. This thesis discusses the default encodings of referents in various contexts, as well as non-default encoding in specific contexts. Non-default encoding occurs when there is discontinuity in the text, when the referent is a VIP, and in order to highlight information that follows.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis examines the narrative discourse structure of Napo Quichua, a member of the Quechuan language family. The analysis is based largely on original field research done in Peru in 2015 and 2016, which includes a collection of ten stories gathered from native speakers. Napo Quichua is an SOV language that shows varying constituent order in certain contexts. The aim of this study is to understand the linguistic principles motivating the variable word order, specifically certain discourse functions such as focus, backgrounding, and highlighting. The participant reference system is also analyzed in order to understand both how participant reference can further motivate variation in constituent order and and how patterns of referring forms also reflect these same discourse functions.

1.1 Napo Quichua Language

Quechua is a language family in South America with over 40 language varieties split into two main groups, QI and QII , (or Quechua A and B in Parker 1963:243). The QII group is further split into three subgroups, QII-A, B, and C (Torero 1964:472-474). Napo Quichua is part of the QII-B subgroup, which is the Northern Chinchay sub-group of the Peripheral Quechua branch of the Quechuan language family. It is spoken along the Napo River in northern Peru and southern Ecuador. There are about 10,000 speakers in Peru, with a total of about 24,000 including speakers in the bordering country of Ecuador (Eberhard et al. 2019). In this thesis, I focus solely on Napo Quichua as spoken in Peru.

Figure 1. Map of Quechua language areas (Guillermo Romero. http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/)

Quechua was the official language of the Inca Empire (1200-1500's A.D.) and was used by the Incas as the language of communication with the smaller kingdoms and ethnic groups they conquered. After the Spanish conquered the Inca Empire in the sixteenth century, the Spanish language gradually became the language of wider communication and was eventually imposed as the official language of Spanish colonial Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia in the mid-seventeenth century (Escobar 2011:324). However, the origin of Napo Quichua, the variety focused on in this paper, is difficult to trace because its complex historical situation reveals a high intensity of contact with other languages. In fact, most scholars believe that Napo Quichua is actually a relatively recent variety of Quechua, since it is doubtful that there was any significant Inca presence in the jungle where Napo Quichua is spoken (Muysken 2000:974).

Muysken (2000:976) argues that the most likely theory of how Napo Quichua formed is that a combination of demographic restructuring among smaller ethnic and refugee groups during and after the Spanish conquest in the mid-sixteenth century caused Quechua to first be established as a language of wider communication. In the midst of this large-scale reshuffling of peoples and cultures, smaller tribal languages were lost as Quechua emerged to be the native language of these newly formed groups. In light of this, modern Napo Quichua can best be understood as having undergone gradual transformation from

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the Incaic Quechua expansion language into a morphologically more simple variety. As Incaic Quechua spread and increasingly became the language of wider communication, the language that emerged bore traces of lexical influence from Spanish and various tribal languages, as well as a simplified Quechuan grammatical structure. Thus, modern Napo Quichua has evolved from a complex combination of contact with other languages and a gradual internal restructuring.

1.2 Napo Society

Because the Napo river flows into the Amazon River, the zone where the Napo Quichua are located was important for the Spanish and Portuguese military during the conquest. The people suffered much abuse with the arrival of the rubber industry workers, and the continuous abuses over the years affected their self-esteem and identity as a people group. As a result, there is widespread alcoholism and general discouragement among the people. The Catholic Church has been working among the Napo Quichua since the 1600's, so there is widespread profession of the Catholic faith. However, many people still hold to folk beliefs and traditions, forming a syncratic belief system that is widespread. The Napo Quichua subsist on various foods grown in their own farms, such as cassava, corn, and peanuts. They also grow fruits such as plantain, papaya, and sugar cane. Fishing, hunting, and raising domestic animals provide them with meat.

1.3 Data Corpus Description

The data for this research consists of stories that I collected in Peru between 2015-2016. I first recorded the stories from five different speakers who have lived most or all their lives in the Napo village of Ingano Llakta. I then transcribed the stories and, with the help of a bilingual Spanish/Napo Quichua speaker, I translated the texts to Spanish. I also included free translations in English. The texts then received some minor corrections and editing after review with speakers in the village. Next, I used the SIL Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx) software to parse, gloss, and interlinearize the texts, which are included in Appendix B. Lastly, I used the same software to produce discourse charts of each text.

The data include three folk tales, four autobiographical accounts, and three third-person historical accounts. I have also made use of the legend "Children of the Moon" as narrated by Selmira Papa-Grefa, and edited by Christa Tödter. These stories cumulatively contain approximately 689 clauses, not including direct speech within the texts. A brief synopsis of each text follows.

"Gunshot" is a true story about an unfortunate event in a Napo village. A man gets drunk and beats his wife, who jumps into the river to escape. She loses consciousness, and her husband thinks she is dead. He gets scared and goes to his house, grabs the shotgun and shoots himself. His death is grieved by his children and mother.

"Hawk" is a folk tale that tells the story of a group of men who were bringing a load of salt down the river to their wives. They stop at a bank where there is a hill. The hill is the home of a hawk, who descends and eats half of the men. The remnant arrive home bringing both the salt and the sad news to many women.

"Grandpa" is a grandson's account of his grandfather's life. Grandpa joined his brother-in-law in the army, where he was mistreated greatly. When his time of service ended, he returned to his village where he found a wife and lived the remainder of his years.

"Iquitos" is an autobiographical account of a boy from a village who travels to the city to find work. He fails to find any work and has to return to his village.

"Juan Pikichu" is a folk tale that tells the story of Juan Pikichu, the youngest of seven sons. The father sends the eldest son to guard their crop, which is being eaten. The eldest son sleeps through the night and does not catch the thief. He sends each son down the line, and each one sleeps through the night. The youngest, Juan Pikichu, is the only son who finally stays awake and catches the thief, who turns out to be an angel-like horse. The horse-angel convinces Juan Pikichu to free him in exchange for lifetime servitude to Juan Pikichu. His brothers become jealous of him and try to kill him, but the horse-angel rescues and protects him every time. The brothers give up and instead make Juan Pikichu carry their cargo with the help of his horse-angel.

"Childhood" is an autobiographical account of a Napo man's childhood. He tells how they would get ready for school, what a typical day at school looked like, and what they would do after school.

"Frog" is a folk tale of how the frog came to be. An elderly lady works hard and tirelessly in her little garden, only stopping to sleep at night. One day, two children arrive and go to work with her in her garden. They tell her to sit while they run and get some food. She calls and calls after them, but the children were actually secretly making her garden much bigger. She keeps calling in desperation, but the children do not come. She turns into a frog and continues calling, but can only croak.

"Marriage" is an autobiographical account of how a Napo woman came to be with the man who is now her husband. They met each other as schoolchildren, and he later visited her house to tell her he wanted to marry her. She resisted the offer at first, feeling too young, but eventually agrees.

"Election" is an autobiographical account of a man who took a trip up the river with a group to vote on election day. The group faces hot sun and then a storm during the long trip. When they arrive, there is some chaos with large crowds and long waits in line to cast their ballots. During the long trip back they discuss the voting process and who they voted for.

"Children of the Moon" is a legend about the moon and stars. A woman is being bothered at night by someone and mixes a black paste that she puts on the eyes of the person who comes at night. In the morning she is shocked to find out it is her brother. Her brother jumps into the river after his wife is surprised by his black eyes. When he comes out he wants to go up to the sky, so he sits among a tree seed and the people fan him up into the sky with it as he plays his flute. That's how he turned into the moon, which isn't very bright because of his blackened face. His sister follows him and gets lost, and then two children begin speaking from her womb, telling her which way to go. She eventually gets lost again and stumbles into the farm of a puma-grandmother, who warns her about her bad puma-children. The pumas eventually eat the moon's sister, but they give the innards to the puma-grandmother, who discovers the two children inside. She raises them and protects them from the pumas. When the children grow up, they go around fixing injustices in the world, and eventually ascend into the sky and become stars (Papa Grefa & Tödter 2018). The examples used from this text come from the original unedited version of the story as first told by native speaker Selmira Papa Grefa, but are

cited with the clause number from the published version, which might have introduced elements of written style.

1.4 Previous Research

There has been a large amount of linguistic and sociolinguistic research among the Napo Quichua language people group by many different scholars, though most of them have concentrated on the Ecuadorian side. Much of this research was conducted and published in the 1960-1980s, though the first mentions of the Napo language can be found in writings from Catholic missionaries from the 1600s. In 1966, Jose Leonardi published *Lengua Quichua (dialecto del Napo)*, a grammar and dictionary (Leonardi 1966). In 1974, P. Camilo Mugica wrote *Aprenda el Quichua*, a grammar and vocabulary textbook for language acquisition (Mugica 1974). In 1979, Juan Marcos Mercier published *Nosotros los Napu-Runas*, a collection of myths and stories from the Napo (Mercier 1979). In proceeding years, Mercier also published various linguistic articles about the language.

Carolyn Orr has done more extensive linguistic research and has archived hundreds of stories from native speakers. Her works include *Vocabulario Quichua del Oriente*, a dictionary and short grammar compiled with Betsy Wrisley (Orr & Wrisley 1981), and a brief discourse analysis *Algunos rasgos característicos del discurso en el Quichua del Napo*, which served as a starting point for this thesis (Orr 1981). More recent linguistic literature includes a phonological analysis article by Roberto Zariquiey Biondi (2004), and articles by Pieter Muysken about the morphology and syntax of the language (Muysken 2000, 2009).

Christa Tödter is perhaps the linguist most knowledgeable about Napo Quichua from the Peruvian side. She has trained native speakers in translation of texts, and has edited and helped publish a traditional story *Lunapa Wawakunamanta* as narrated by native speaker Selmira Papa Grefa (Papa Grefa & Tödter 2018). Although there has been much research in the Napo Quichua language, there is a lack of more current research in light of newer linguistic theory, particularly in discourse analysis. The contribution of this thesis is to apply more current discourse analysis methods to the discourse structure of Napo Quichua.

CHAPTER 2

Brief grammar description

This section provides a brief description of the Napo Quichua grammar necessary for understanding the basic structure of the language. I describe the basic constituent order, how grammatical relations are marked, and how the verbal system works.

2.1 Basic constituent order

Napo Quichua is a verb-final language with SOV basic constituent order, as illustrated in (1). Other possible orders are discussed in Chapter 4).

(1) Chay kaballu pay-ta   yanapa-ska.
     that   horse   him-ACC   help-PRF

     'That horse helped him.' (JP:62)

Napo Quichua is a null-subject language, which allows a clause to have an explicit or implicit subject with agreement marked on the verb. A subject is therefore not required for an independent clause to be grammatical, as shown in (2) and (3).

(2) Astawa   mana tupa-ø   usha-ni trabajo
     however NEG   find-AG able-1   work

     'But I can't find work.' (Iquitos:14)

(3) a. Ecuador-manta ka-ska.
         Ecuador-ABL   be-PRF

         'He was from Ecuador.'

     b. Pay Ecuador-manta ka-ska.
         3   Ecuador-ABL   be-PRF

         'He was from Ecuador.'

2.2 Grammatical relations

Napo Quichua is an agglutinative language, using suffixes attached to a noun root to express case, number and various other functions. The singular form of a noun serves as the root. Suffixes are listed below in Table 1.[1]

Table 1. Suffixes

Suffix	Function	Example	Translation
-ta 'ACC'	indicates accusative case, the direct object of a transitive verb or goal of an intransitive verb	wasita	'the house (obj.)'
-pi 'LOC'	indicates locative case	wasipi	'in/at/on the house'
-manta 'ABL'	indicates ablative case, the place, time or person from which an action or person came from	wasimanta	'from/concerning the house'
-pa 'POSS'	indicates possession	wasipa	'of the house'
-ma 'DIR'	indicates a direction or goal	wasima	'to/for the house
-rayku 'CAUS'	indicates cause or reason	wasirayku	'because of the house'
-pura 'INT'	indicates plurality of people	wasipura	'between/among the house'
-lla 'JUST'	indicates exclusivity or limitation	wasilla	'just/only the house'
-shina 'CMPV'	indicates a similarity compared to something	wasishina	'like/as the house'
-nti, -wa 'INS'	indicates instrument or accompaniment	wasinti, wasiwa	'with the house'
-kama 'TER'	indicates an end point of a place or time	wasikama	'until the house'

Pluralization is expressed by adding the suffix *-kuna* 'PL' to the root of a noun or nominalized verb, as in (4). An example of this suffix is shown in (5).

(4)　wawa 'child'
　　　wawa-kuna 'children'
　　　mañana 'to ask'
　　　maña-(k)-kuna 'ones who ask'

---

[1] For a more in-depth description of suffixes and the derivational and inflectional morphology that affects their ordering on a stem see Waskosky (1992).

(5) Chay   wasi   hawa-ma pakta-ska,   *wawa-kuna-ta* kallpachi-kri-ska ni-n.
    DEMPN house up-DIR   arrive-PTCP child-PL-ACC   scare-PRMO-PRF   say-3
    'That one having arrived up to the house went to scare his children, they say.' (Gun-
       shot:28)

Demonstrative pronouns are described in (6). Demonstrative pronouns can be marked

with the above suffixes, as illustrated in (7), where *chay* is marked with the suffixes *-ma*

and *-manta*.

(6)   kay 'this'
       chay 'that'
       chay-kuna 'those'

(7)   *Chay-ma* ka-rka eskuela. *Chay-manta* ri-ø   ka-rka-nchi wawa ura.
       that-DIR be-PST school   that-ABL   go-AG is-PST-1 PL child time
       'Over there was a school. We would come from there when we were children.'
          (Childhood:6-7)

Interrogative pronouns are described in (8). Interrogative pronouns can also be marked

with the above suffixes, as illustrated in (9).

(8)   pi 'who'
       ima 'what'
       maykan 'which'
       maypi 'where'

(9)   Mana yacha-ska *maypi-ta*   ka-n.
       NEG   know-PRF   where-ACC   be-3
       'He didn't know where it is.' (Election:26.1)

Personal pronouns are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
First	ñuka 'I'	ñukanchi 'we'
Second	kan 'you'	kankuna 'you all'
Third	pay 'he/she/it'	paykuna 'they'

Personal pronouns can also be marked with the above suffixes, which would be attached to the whole personal pronoun. In (10), *pay* is marked with the accusative *-ta*, and in (11), *ñuka* and *kan* are marked with the possessive *-pa*.

(10) **Pay-ta** manta-ska pay-pa winshu-ta.
      3-ACC send-PRF 3-POSS youngest-ACC
      'He sent him, his youngest.' (JP:25)

(11) Piti-sa   apa-y   **ñuka-pa** washa-pi ka-ska   chuckcha-ta ... **kan-pa**
      cut-ADVSS bring-2S.IMP DIM-POSS back-LOC be-PTCP hair-ACC   ... 2-POSS
         yaya-ta   riku-chi-nkapa.
         father-ACC see-CAUS-PUR
      'Cutting (it), bring hair from my back to show your father.' (JP:37,39)

A verbal root word can be nominalized with the nominalizing suffixes *-k* (which is sometimes omitted altogether) and *-y*, and the infinitive suffix *-na*, as shown in (12).

(12) manta-na 'to send'
      manta-y 'sent one'
      wanchi-na 'to kill'
      wanchi-(k) 'killer'
      picha-na 'to sweep'
      pichana 'broom'

2.3 Verbal system

There are three verb forms in Napo Quichua; simple, causative and reflexive. Each verb form has a corresponding suffix attached to the root, to which the infinitive suffix *-na* can be added. The simple verb has a null suffix, the causative verb has the suffix *-chi*, and the reflexive verb has the suffix *-ri* (Orr & Wrisley 1981).

These verb forms are exemplified in Table 3.

Table 3. Verb forms

Verb form	Example	Translation
Simple	riku-na	'to see'
Causative	riku-chi-na	'to show'
Reflexive	riku-ri-na	'to appear'

Verbs are inflected for person, tense, and number using the suffixes described in Table 4. When a verb is expressed with only the following person and number suffixes, it is in the present tense (Orr & Wrisley 1981).

Table 4. Person and number verb endings; present tense

	Singular	Plural
First	-ni '1'	-nchi '1 PL'
Second	-nki '2'	-nkichi '2 PL'
Third	-n '3'	-naku-n 'PL-3'

Other tenses use these same person and number suffixes with an additional tense suffix, with some changes to the third person endings.

There are two ways to express past events in Napo Quichua; the past tense and the perfect tense. The simple past tense is usually used to describe past events that can be attested to by the speaker. It is distinguished by the suffix *-rka* 'PST', as shown in Table 5. The perfect tense describes actions that have been completed at the time of speaking, and is distinguished by the suffix *-ska* 'PRF', as shown in Table 6. The third person singular is unmarked, and so will not be indicated in the glosses. Also, note that the order of suffixes in the third person plural is different from the other person-number combinations.

Table 5. Past tense verb endings

	Singular	Plural
First	-rka-ni 'PST-1'	-rka-nchi 'PST-1PL'
Second	-rka-nki 'PST-2'	-rka-nkichi 'PST-2PL'
Third	-rka 'PST'	-naku-rka 'PL-PST'

Example (13) below illustrates the use of the past tense verb ending *-rka*.

(13)   Ñuka   wasi-manta   **shamu-rka-ni**   dia   domingo   lancha-pi.
       1   house-ABL   come-PST-1   day   Sunday   boat-LOC
       'I came from my house on Sunday in a boat'. (Iquitos:1)

Table 6. Perfect tense verb endings

	Singular	Plural
First	-ska-ni 'PRF-1'	-ska-nchi 'PRF-1PL'
Second	-ska-nki 'PRF-2'	-ska-nkichi 'PRF-2PL'
Third	-ska 'PRF'	-naku-ska 'PL-PRF'

Example (14) illustrates a use of the perfect tense verb ending *-ska*.

(14) Chay ishkay wawa-kuna awla-ta   pusha-sa   **ri-naku-ska.**
      that two   child-PL   grandma-ACC carry-ADVSS go-PL-PRF
      'Those two children went carrying the old woman.' (Frog:12)

Future tense suffixes for the second person are zeros as in present tense, but have fused person-number-tense forms in the first person, and *-nka* in the third person. Table 7 describes these suffixes, with examples given in (15) and (16).

Table 7. Future tense verb endings

	Singular	Plural
First	-sha '1FUT'	-shu(-nchi) '1PL.FUT'
Second	-nki '2'	-nkichi '2PL'
Third	-nka '3FUT'	-naku-nka 'PL-FUT'

(15) **Kwinta-sha** shuk kwintu shuk awla-shitu-manta.
      tell-1FUT   one   tale   one   grandma-DIM-about
      'I will tell a tale about a little old lady'. (Frog:1)

(16) Kuna ura-rka-ni.   **Tiya-nka** segunda vuelta. Kuti   chari **ri-sha.**
      now   descend-PST-1S   be-3FUT   second   round   again maybe go-1FUT
      'I went down this time. There will be a second round. Maybe I will go again'.
      (Election:34,35.2)

In folk tales, the default verb form is the perfect tense *-ska*. The past tense *-rka* is usually only used by the speaker to tell autobiographical accounts, to relate events that a speaker has witnessed, or to convey the speaker's feelings about the events and participants (Levinsohn 2012:69).

Subject agreement in number is not obligatory in Napo Quichua. A singular subject may occur with a plural verb or a plural subject with a singular verb. If plural is marked either on the subject or on the verb, the interpretation is plural, but if neither is marked plural than the interpretation is singular. The following examples are from Mugica (1974:13).

(17) Atallpa yaku-ma ri-naku-n.
      hen   river-to go-PL-3
      'The hens go to the river.'

(18) Atallpa-kuna yaku-ma rin.
      hen-PL   river-to go-3
      'The hens go to the river.'

(19) Atallpa-kuna yaku-ma ri-naku-n.
      hen-PL   river-to go-PL-3
      'The hens go to the river.'

Napo Quichua also has some subordinating suffixes that can be attached to any verb. These suffixes include a) the suffix *-nkapa*, which is used to show purpose, b) the conditional suffix *-ma*, used to show a certain condition or to express potential action, and c) the suffixes *-sa* and *-pi*, used for adverbial clauses.

The purposive suffix *-nkapa* 'PUR' is attached to a verb root that is not inflected for person, number, or tense. This is used to express the idea of the purpose of some other action, as in example (20).

(20) Chay runa   manta-ska **kwira-nkapa** shuk ruku   churi-ta.
      that person   send-PRF   care.for-PUR   one   elder son-ACC
      'That man sent (his) eldest son to care for (it)'. (JP:5)

The suffix *-ma* 'COND' is used as a generalized irrealis marker that is used for a variety of situations that are hypothetical or whose reality is uncertain, as in (21). It can be attached to any verb, after the person marking.

(21) pay-pa   chakra hatun chakra *ka-ska-ma*
      3-POSS farm   big   farm   be-PRF-COND
      'Her farm would be a big farm' (Frog:13)

The suffixes *-sa* 'ADVSS' and *-pi* 'ADVDS' are added to a verb root as adverbializers to make an adverbial clause that modifies the main clause in some way, such as time, manner, or purpose. The suffix *-sa* is used when the subject of the adverbial clause and the subject of the main clause is the same, as in (22). The suffix *-pi* is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is different from the subject of the main clause, as in (23). As such, these could be described as switch-reference markers.

(22) Y   *pakta-sa*   warmi-ta   tupa-ska ñuka abuela   Berta.
      and arrive-ADVSS woman-ACC find-PRF 1   grandma Berta
      'And arriving (home), he found a wife, my grandma Berta'. (Grandpa:21)

(23) Y   chay-ma *pakta-pi*   patiya-naku-ska pechu-pi.
      and that-DIR arrive-ADVDS kick-PL-PRF   chest-LOC
      'And when he arrived there, they kicked (him) in the chest'. (Grandpa:14)

Napo Quichua also has a set of 'inner' suffixes that must be attached to the verb root, before any other suffixes. Only the most common ones are included in this description.

The suffix *-wa* '1OBJ' is added to a verb to express the first person as the object of the verb, as in (24). This is the only person that can be attached directly to the verb to indicate its object; all other persons are expressed with separate phrases. This should not be confused with the instrumental suffix *-wa* 'INS', which may occur word finally and with other constituents, as in (25).

(24) Pay-pas chay-pi   *riku-wa-ska.*
      3-COP   that-LOC see-1OBJ-PRF
      'He also would see me there' (Marriage:10.2)

(25) Y   ña   kasara-ska-nchi. Ña   washa hasta kuna kawsa-nchi *pay-wa.*
      and now marry-PRF-1PL   now after   until   now   live-1PL   3-INS
      'And then we got married. After that I have lived with him until now'. (Marriage:32)

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The suffix *-hu* 'PROG' is added to a verb to express progressive aspect, as in (26). This shows that the action is continuous or habitual.

(26) Y   wasi-ma   kuti-nkapa ***ra-hu-ni.***
     and house-DIR return-PUR do-PROG-1
     'And I am getting ready to return home.' (Iquitos:15)

The suffix *-naya* 'DIS' is added to a verb to express desire. This gives the idea of the subject being in the mood of the action, or wanting to do the action, as in (27).

(27) Mana ***uya-naya-ska-ni.***
     NEG   hear-DIS-PRF-1
     'I didn't want to hear'. (Marriage:22.1)

Some suffixes can occur with a variety of lexical classes. These suffixes are used for the broader function of discourse, and are always attached word-finally. Here are some examples of these suffixes. They will be discussed in more detail later as they are relevant to the discourse level.

The suffix *-chu* is used in interrogative clauses that require a yes or no answer. *-chu* 'FOC' occurs on the word being questioned, as in (28). It is also used in emphatic negation with the negator word *mana* or *ama* 'NEG', with *-chu* occurring on the word that is the focus of the negation, as in (29).

(28) Kan-ta-ka   ***chay-pa-chu***   wiñachi-ø ka-rka-nchi
     2-ACC-TOP that-POSS-FOC raise-AG   be-PST-1PL
     'Is that what we raised you for?' (Gunshot:37)

(29) ***Mana ñukanchi-chu*** wanchi-rka-nchi. Anka miku-rka.
     NEG   1PL-FOC   kill-PST-1PL   hawk eat-PST
     It wasn't us who killed (them). A hawk ate (them). (Hawk:19-20)

The suffix *-shi* 'RPTV' can be attached to any constituent and is used to mark quotative evidentiality, signalling that the source of information being cited is not the speaker. When *-shi* is used in this form, it seems to act more as a clitic, attaching to the last word in the clause containing the information being cited, as in (30).

(30) Yanka   pankwana-ta   *maska-naya-ni=shi*   rima-ska.
     no.reason panguana-ACC look.for-DIS-1=RPTV   say-PRF
     '"No reason, I want to hunt panguana", he said.' (Gunshot:14)

CHAPTER 3

Discourse terminology

In this chapter I give an overview of discourse principles that provide the foundation for the analysis of both the constituent order variations and participant reference patterns analyzed in this thesis. Specific theoretical points that relate primarily to word order such as the Principle of Natural Information Flow (Comrie 1989) are discussed in Chapter 4, while specific points that relate primarily to participant reference such as the Iconicity Principle (Givón 1983) are discussed in Chapter 5. The discussion in this chapter focuses primarily on the works of Levinsohn (2012), Dooley & Levinsohn (2001), and Lambrecht (1994).

3.1 Coherence and cohesion

According to Dooley & Levinsohn (2001), coherence in discourse is linked to a listener's mental representation, that is, the way a listener understands, stores and remembers what he hears. A listener's mental representation includes their previous knowledge of the world, their expectations of what the speaker is saying, and cultural experience. A text is said to be coherent if the listener (or reader) is able to make a complete mental representation of all its elements (23).

Whereas coherence has to do with conceptual interpretation, cohesion has to do with the linguistic forms used to signal coherence (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:27). A common cohesive form specific to discourse is point of departure, which will be defined in the next section. Cohesion is a motivator for constituent order variation and choice of participant reference form and is thus a foundational concept for this study. Furthermore, it is important to understand the linguistic forms that make a text cohesive, as it provides necessary evidence for correct analysis as non-native speakers who lack the experience and culture of the language (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:33).

3.2 Continuity and discontinuity

Continuity in a text requires that information be accessible or predictable from the listener's mental representation. When a piece of new information is first introduced and is inaccessible to the listener's previously-constructed mental representation, it changes the continuity of the text in some way and is thus marked for discontinuity. Discontinuity marks a change in the story such as a change of event, time, place, background, or character. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:37) outline how certain dimensions of continuity and discontinuity function within narratives based on Givón (1984), which are reproduced here in Table 8.

Table 8. Dimensions of continuity and discontinuity in narrative

Dimension	Continuity	Discontinuity
place	same place or (for motion) continuous change	discrete changes of place
time	events separated by at most only small forward gaps	large forward gaps or events out of order
participants	same cast or gradual changes of cast	discrete changes of cast
action	all material of the same type: event, non-event, reported conversation, etc.; events are in sequence	change from one type of material to another and/or the event is NOT the next in sequence

Every language uses certain linguistic forms to mark discontinuity in a text. Givón (1983:35) lists the following linguistic categories as the main ones involved in marking continuity and discontinuity: definite and indefinite articles, demonstratives/deictics, case-markers and other topic markers, and the 'be/exist' verb or something similar.

Levinsohn (2012) describes one such device that is placed at the beginning of a clause or sentence, signaling discontinuity of situation, reference, or sometimes action. He calls such a constituent a *point of departure*, as it reveals "both the nature of the discontinuity and the relationship of what follows to the context" (39). Furthermore, points of departure have a dual function of (1) establishing a starting point for communication, and (2), relating the following clause(s) to something already in the context of the narrative Levinsohn (2012:40). Within narrative discourse specifically, points of departure most commonly

"relate events to their context on the basis of time, place, or reference" (loc. cit.) . A situational point of departure is generally an adverbial clause, signaling discontinuity in time or spatial setting or other adverbial relations such as condition, contrast, purpose, or comparison. A referential point of departure is often a prepositional or postpositional phrase, establishing a theme for a paragraph or longer section. Other referential points of departure are nominal constituents, used when the subject or topic is being contrasted or emphasized (Levinsohn 2012:43).

In Napo Quichua, the marking of discontinuity with points of departure is a major motivation for change in constituent order. This is discussed more in detail in Section 4.1.2. Furthermore, continuity and discontinuity play a role in the choice of referring forms used for reference to participants. This is discussed more in Section 5.4.

3.3 Topic-comment, identificational, and presentational articulation

Sentence articulation is the way that information is presented in a clause or sentence. Consider the following sentences from Levinsohn (2012:23):

1. Dog and Hare made an agreement.
2. It was Dog and Hare who made an agreement.
3. Once there were a Dog and a Hare [who made an agreement].

These sentences all present the same information, but in different ways, or articulations. The form of sentence (1) is known as topic-comment articulation, where the topic is 'Dog and Hare', and the comment is 'made an agreement'. The form of sentence (2) is known as identificational articulation, where 'Dog and Hare' is the focus of the sentence, and ' (someone) made an agreement' is the presupposition (Levinsohn 2012:24). Presentational articulation occurs when a sentence or clause introduces a new entity into the discourse. In sentence (3), the speaker uses a verb of existence to introduce the characters Dog and Hare. Most presentational articulation clauses or sentences use verbs of

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existence, and sometimes additional words like 'one' or 'certain' are used as well. It is common for presentational articulations to be combined with topic-comment, first introducing the entity and then saying something about it, as in sentence (3) (Levinsohn 2012:24).

3.4 Topic and focus

Topic in narrative discourse refers to the constituent of a sentence or paragraph about whom propositions are being made (see Section 3.3). When discussing a certain topic, the speaker expresses information relevant to an addressee's knowledge of the topic being referred to (Lambrecht 1994:131). This entails that the topic must be accessible or relevant to the context, already established and active in the discourse, because "sentences with insufficiently accessible topic referents must pose certain difficulties of interpretation, hence will tend to be perceived as ill-formed" (Lambrecht 1994:165). Lambrecht (1994) thus proposes a general scale to measure the well-formedness of a sentence in relation to its topic accessibility:

Table 9. Lambrecht's Topic Acceptability Scale (1994:165)

active	most acceptable
accessible	
unused	
brand-new anchored	
brand-new unanchored	least acceptable

Lambrecht points out that this scale draws a necessary correlation between topic accessibility and focus, because the scale "predicts that referents which are low on the scale...will normally be coded in non-topical form, i.e. as focus constituents" (1994:262).

Focus, according to Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) is "that part [of an utterance] which indicates what the speaker intends as the most important or salient change to be made in the hearer's mental representation" (62). Furthermore, the information in focus usually adds new information to or contrasts with already activated information. Focal constituents can also re-establish information that is not active or easily accessible in a hearer's mental representation, as Lambrecht (1994) illustrates with his topic acceptability scale.

As stated in Section 3.3, sentence articulation has to do with the way that information is presented in a text. Assignment of focus to particular constituents is one of the most important factors in constructing the sentence articulation. Constituents are ordered according to the focus in a sentence articulation, and this forms the focus structure of that sentence. Lambrecht (1994:222) proposes three types of focus structure; predicate focus, argument focus and sentence focus. These types or domains of focus coincide with the different forms of sentence articulation as described above from Levinsohn (2012:23). The presentational sentence "Once there were a dog and a hare who made an agreement" would have sentence focus, as the whole proposition is the new information, i.e. the focus. The topic-comment sentence "Dog and Hare made an agreement" has predicate focus and might answer a questions such as "*What* happened?". The identificational sentence "It was dog and hare who made an agreement" has argument focus that would answer a question such as "*Who* made an agreement?" (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:62). Subsequently, the particular scope of focus for each of these sentence articulations affects how the constituents of a sentence are ordered for the purpose of best displaying that scope. In Section 4.1, I discuss how argument focus affects the variable word order of Napo Quichua.

Prominence is a term that Levinsohn (2012) uses to describe a focal constituent that is given extra attention in an utterance. When a focal constituent occurs in the expected or normal focus position, it has "default prominence". However, when a language uses some device that emphasizes the focal constituent, such as an unexpected word order by preposing or postposing the constituent, it is given "marked prominence" (Levinsohn 2012:57). In addition to marked constituent order, some devices that languages commonly use to give prominence to focal constituents include phonological features like change of tone or accent, and grammatical features like relative pronouns, demonstratives or other spacers, cleft constructions, affixation and particles.

Levinsohn (2012) further describes prominence on a sentence level using the terms foregrounding, backgrounding, and highlighting. These terms have to do with devices being used to make material less prominent or more prominent (Levinsohn 2012:66). Foreground information consists of the main events that carry the narrative forward. Because narrative discourse is inherently agent-oriented with chronologically organized events,

non-event material within a narrative is automatically classified as background material (Levinsohn 2012:68).

Grimes (1975) distinguishes common non-event information that is automatically classified as background material, including setting, explanatory, evaluative, collateral, and performative information. Levinsohn (2012:69) summarizes these non-event types as I illustrate in Table 10.

Table 10. Types of non-event information

Setting	describes time, place, circumstances of events; may introduce some participants
Explanatory	clarifies and explains events, including comments about the participants
Evaluative	conveys the author's feelings about the narrative, its events and participants
Collateral	tells what did not happen as a basis for what did happen, includes use of negative statements and rhetorical questions
Performative	devices used by the author to relate to the audience, such as the moral that should be drawn from the story; also events and participants that the author relates to the audience's situation

Non-events of these types are simply assumed to be background information in a narrative. Conversely, languages tend to use linguistic devices, such as a marked verb form, to signal events that are backgrounded in contrast to unmarked or minimally marked foregrounded events, as observed by Levinsohn (2012:68):

> Typically, the body of a text (e.g. the theme-line events of a narrative) is unmarked or minimally marked. Rather, events are presented in a marked way to background them. The hearer or reader is to assume that narrative events are part of the theme line unless they are marked to the contrary…the default way in many languages of presenting the events of a narrative is with some sort of unmarked or minimally marked verb form.

In other words, events that are not foreground material must be marked in some way in order to be backgrounded. Common types of events that are marked as background include preliminary events (occurring before foreground events), resulting events (occurring after foreground events), and reported speech that leads to foreground events.

Languages commonly use distinct verb forms or spacers to mark these types of events as background material in a sentence (Levinsohn 2012:70). These two linguistic devices, as well as subordination can also be used to background only part of the sentence.

Backgrounded events and non-event material can be used to highlight information in a narrative. As Levinsohn (2012:79) claims, sentences are highlighted when they relate to a climax or some significant development in the story. It is common for languages to introduce non-event information or to background the events occurring immediately before the climax in order to highlight the climactic information. Another way to highlight sentences is to slow down the narrative immediately before the climax or significant development by using devices such as tail-head linkage, heavy participant encoding, and a review of past events leading up to that point (Levinsohn 2012:80).

In regard to the present study, understanding the structure of topic and focus is essential to understanding the patterns that dictate constituent order and participant reference. Furthermore, the structure of topic and focus are part of the broader realm of information structure, which motivates communication patterns as a whole. Information structure refers to the way a proposition in discourse is pragmatically structured and expressed (Lambrecht 1994:5). As discussed in Section 3.1, a person's mental representation is formed by the sum of propositions he hears and believes. Thus, a proposition has the potential to influence the hearer's mental representation of the world through the pragmatic presentation of information. This pragmatic structuring drives variable word order, as a speaker seeks to order information in a way that will best affect the mental representation of the hearer. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:62) more simply describe this phenomenon:

> In all communication, the speaker guides the hearer in adding material to his or her mental representation; semantic context relates to *what* is added, whereas discourse-pragmatic structuring relates to *where* it is added and *how* it relates to what is already there. In particular, some pieces of information merely point to something already present in the hearer's mental representation, while other pieces are intended to change what is there.

My analysis will include the principles of information structure described here, illustrating how the Napo Quichua language uses both constituent order and participant

reference to mark topic and focus, and to signal foreground, background, or highlighted material. Section 4 will discuss these patterns.

3.5 Terminology in participant reference

In narrative discourse, there is generally a pattern used by languages in the way they refer to participants (also known as referents) in a story. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) distinguish between major and minor participants: "major participants are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation (119)." A major participant is usually activated in the mental representation of a hearer by a formal introduction, often a verb of existence. This establishes the prominent role of the participant throughout the story. A minor participant generally does not receive a formal introduction, but is simply referred to using a full noun phrase, sometimes for the entirety of its appearance in a narrative.

Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) further define major participants as either global or local VIPs (Very Important Participants). A global VIP is a main participant throughout a whole narrative whereas a local VIP is important for only a section or sections of the narrative. Furthermore, after the initial introduction, "the global VIP is often referred to by minimum, but virtually constant, coding (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:121)". Local VIPs, in contrast, are referred to in a variety of ways, including full noun phrases or other encoding material (122). Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:111) cite a well-known referent coding scale (Table 11), outlined by Givón (1983). These are common devices that languages use to code major and minor participants, or to use the terminology of Givón (1983), the more continuous/accessible topics versus the more discontinuous/least accessible topics.

Table 11. Scale of coding weight for referring expressions

Most coding material:	full noun phrases
	stressed/independent pronouns
	unstressed/bound pronouns ("agreement")
Least coding material:	zero anaphora

Givón (1983:18) describes this scale as illustrating what he calls the "Iconicity Principle" which states that "the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it". Thus, major participants, especially global VIPs, will need minimal coding as they remain established and continuous in a hearer's mental representation throughout the narrative, whereas minor participants and local VIPs will require more coding as they appear as new, discontinuous information. Section 5 will explore the participant reference patterns particular to Napo Quichua.

CHAPTER 4

Constituent order in Napo Quichua

Orr & Wrisley (1981) and Mugica (1974) both state that the general word order of Napo Quichua is SOV, though it is variable. The basic order of SOV is evidenced by the significantly more common occurrence of SV and OV word orders in the data from this study (see Appendix A for detailed numbers for each word order). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the subordinate adverbial clauses in my data almost entirely conform to SOV word ordering.[1] However, it is quickly evident in any conversation or discourse, oral or written, that Napo Quichua seems to have a relatively high occurrence of variation in word order patterns. This section explores the factors involved in these variable patterns.

In this analysis, I assert that the variable constituent order is motivated at the discourse level by the guiding principles of information structure, as described in Section 3.4. In essence, specific linguistic devices are used to affect the mental representation of the hearer. In this chapter, I explore the linguistic devices used in Napo Quichua for certain functions within information structure: focus, backgrounding, and highlighting, and seek to show that these functions are what motivates the variable constituent order found in the language.

In the examples that follow I use markings to help the reader see the pertinent data. Verbs are <u>underlined</u> as a point of reference for preposed and postposed constituents. Subordinate clauses and points of departure are in [brackets] when relevant to the discussion, and all other pertinent constituents are in ***bold italics***.

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[1] This conforms to John R. Ross' Penthouse Principle, which basically says that "more goes on upstairs than downstairs" (Ross 1973). In other words, syntactic rules are more rigid in subordinate clauses than in main clauses. In this study I primarily discuss order variations in main clauses, and this study does not include data about relative clauses.

4.1 Constituent order and information structure

As discussed in Section 3.4, it is evident that focus structure plays a crucial role in constituent order. In this section, I explore specifically how the variable constituent order in Napo Quichua is motivated by argument focus.

It is important to remember that focal information in a text is information that either has not yet been established at all, or needs to be reestablished (Levinsohn 2012:52). In topic-comment sentence articulations, which sometimes contain both established and non-established information, some kind of compensation must be made to show which information is the non-established information in the comment, i.e. the focus (Levinsohn 2012:53). When this occurs in a comment, languages tend to order the constituents to conform to the "Principle of Natural Information Flow", proposed by Comrie (1989), that non-verbal constituents conveying established information will precede those constituents that convey new or non-established information. In light of this, Levinsohn (2012:52) asserts that focal constituents will generally occur either late in a sentence after established information, or, for an SOV language, in a pre-verbal position. Focal constituents that occur in a preposed position may violate the Principle of Natural Information Flow, but in effect are given contrastive or emphatic prominence (Levinsohn 2012:53-54).

With these principles to guide analysis, I now present the specific linguistic devices that Napo Quichua speakers use for marking focus, and how these devices affect the constituent order of the utterances.

4.1.1 Pre-verbal constituents

Levinsohn (2012) points out that "many OV languages place focal subjects immediately before the verb and after other non-verbal constituents...such ordering conforms to the Principle of Natural Information Flow" (2012:54). In other words, a focal constituent can be moved to a pre-verbal position in order to give it the natural prominence associated with that position later in the sentence. This seems to be the case in Napo Quichua, being an OV language.

In example (31), the ordering of the sentence is OSV instead of the normal SOV. Because *chay warmita* 'the woman' in the sentence is established information, the new information, the focal subject *awispa* 'bee', is placed in the non-default position immediately before the verb.

(31) Chasna-pi   chay warmi-ta   **awispa** tuksi-ska.
     thus-ADVDS   that   woman-ACC   bee   sting-PRF
     'Just then, a bee stung that woman (lit. that woman, a bee stung).' (Children of the
        Moon:96)

Similarly in example (32) below, the object *chayta* 'those ones' is established information in the context, and so the focal subject *chay churikuna* 'those children' appears immediately before the verb, resulting in OSV order.

(32) Chay-ta-pas   **chay churi-kuna** mutki-ø   shamu-naku-ska.
     DEM.PN-ACC-COP   that   child-PL   smell-AG   come-3PL-PRF
     'Smelling those also, those children came (lit. to those also, those children came
        smelling).' (Children of the Moon:185) 87) p52

4.1.2 Preposed and left-dislocated constituents

Another reason for preposing a constituent is if it is a point of departure, which is a means of establishing cohesion with the previous sentence. Points of departure (PODs) are by definition always in the leftmost position in a sentence (see Section 3.2). PODs involve the preposing of constituents that would normally occur between the subject and verb, like time and location. PODs contain established information, or information easily attributed to something already established, and so by definition are distinct from preposed focal constituents (Levinsohn 2012:52). However, a point of departure can be given prominence as a marker of discontinuity, signaling that the following clause contains some kind of development in a text, as mentioned in Section 3.2. However, for a subject constituent to be marked as a POD, it usually requires something beyond preposing, because subjects are already initial in word order in a topic-comment sentence. Thus, in order for a subject to be a referential POD, it usually involves left-dislocation, which entails a trace of the left-dislocated constituent being expressed in the main clause.

Broadly speaking, points of departure are either situational or referential. Situational points of departure are usually adverbial clauses that establish a setting such as time, space, condition, reason, purpose, or comparison (Levinsohn 2012:41-42). Referential points of departure, on the other hand, set the theme for what follows, and are thus generally nominal constituents (Levinsohn 2012:43). The following examples illustrate the different points of departure used in Napo Quichua.

Example (33) illustrates two spatial points of departure, signalling discontinuities of place and establishing the spatial setting for what follows.

(33) a. 'Long ago, the Napo was flowing with whirlpools. That's how they would arrive.'

    b. *[Pay-kuna pakta-na maya-pi]* tiya-ska   cerro.
       3-PL   arrive-INF bank-LOC exist-PRF hill
      At the riverbank where they would arrive, there was a hill.

    c. *[Chay cerro punta-manta]* gabilan urayku-ø   ka-ska.
       that   hill point-ABL   hawk   descend-AG be-PRF
      From the peak of that hill, Hawk was descending.' (Hawk:4-6)

Example (34) illustrates an adverbial clause of reason as a point of departure to connect the context to what follows in the passage. The passage continues beyond the example included here to relate different ways the brothers (*wawkikuna*) tried to harm Juan Pikichu out of anger and jealousy.

(34) Ranti   Juan Pikichu-wa piñari-ska   ka-naku-ska. *[Chay-rayku*
      instead Juan Pikichu-INS become.angry-PTCP be-3PL-PRF that-CAUS
      ranti   wawki-ta   washa-manta wawki kati-sa   ri-pi-ka]
      instead brother-ACC back-ABL   brother follow-ADVSS go-ADVDS-TOP
      ranti   wawki-kuna ranti   pay-wa piñari-sa   wakta-sa
      instead brother-PL   instead 3-INS   become.angry-ADVSS beat-ADVSS
      wanchi-naku-ska Juan Pikichu-ta.
      kill-3PL-PRF   Juan Pikichu-ACC
    'But they became angry with Juan Pikichu.
    So that's why when (their) brother went following behind the brothers, the
    brothers just becoming angry and beating him were killing Juan Pikichu.' (JP:58-
    59)

Whereas situational PODs establish settings, referential PODs involve participants. Referential PODs can be used to relate to the context marking a shift from a previous topic to a new or renewed topic. When a referential POD is used for renewal–that is, a further reference to the same topic, the referent is usually in the immediate context and thus often appears in a minimally encoded form like a pronoun. The following examples in this section illustrate referential points of departure, including points of departure involving renewal.

Referential points of departure are often left-dislocated, which means a trace of the left-dislocated element is expressed in the main clause. In example (35), the left-dislocated participant is a referential point of departure involving renewal, and thus uses the minimally-encoded demonstrative pronoun *chay*, as well as the possessive pronoun trace *pay-pa*.

(35)   ***Chay***   pay-pa   shuti   ka-ska   Ponko   de   Mansarriche
         DEM.PN   3-POSS   name   be-PRF   Ponko   de   Mansarriche
         '**That one**, its name was Ponko de Mansarriche.' (Grandpa:5)

The following two examples (36a) and (37) illustrate referential PODs with the left-dislocated nominal constituent *chay runa* 'that person'. Note that the participants in the left-dislocated position are not the participants referenced in the subject position of the main clause, and so would not be considered PODs involving renewal. These can be considered as points of departure that connect the accessible, left-dislocated participant to the non-established focal information in the main clause related to that participant. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:69) describe this as an "individual point of departure".

(36)   a.   ***Chay***   ***runa***   pay-pa   turi-ka   warmi-yu   ka-ska.
            that   person   3-POSS   brother-TOP   woman-have   be-PRF
            '**That person**, her brother had a wife.'

       b.   Pay-pa   warmi-ta   rima-ska   –Hakunki–.
            3-POSS   woman-ACC   say-PRF   go.IMP

            'He said to his wife "Let's go."' (Children of the Moon:18, 41-42)

(37)   ***Chay***   ***runa-ka***   bala   muyu-ø=shi   ka-ska   pay-pa   bulsillu-pi.
       that   person-TOP   bullet   move-AG=RPTV   be-PRF   3-POSS   pocket-LOC
       '**That person**, the bullet was moving around in his pocket.' (Gunshot:16.2)

The above examples also illustrate the interplay between word order and participant reference using the emphatic marker *-ka*. In both examples, *-ka* co-occurs with the noun phrase that represents the participant that continues to be the topic in the sentences that follow, thus serving as a topic marker. In (36a), *-ka* switches the topic from *chay runa* 'that person' to *turi* 'brother', who continues as the topic in (36b). Conversely, in (37), the *-ka* is marked on the left-dislocated participant *chay runa* 'that person', signalling that he is the participant that will continue to be discussed in the following sentences, not the *bala* 'bullet' that is the subject of the main clause. This illustrates the concept that increased participant encoding and a marked word order are often necessary to clear up the ambiguity that occurs when there are two or more competing active referents. In these cases, left-dislocation and *-ka* are used to mark a shift in attention from one to another of two topic referents (Lambrecht 1994:183). Similarly, in (38) below, *-ka* is used to mark a topic shift from Juan Pikichu to his brothers (*wawkikuna-ka*).

(38) Kaballu hawa-pi ri-ska. **Wawki-kuna-ka** chaki-wa hudiri-sa   ri-naku-ska.
      horse   top-LOC go-PRF brother-PL-TOP foot-INS   suffer-ADVSS go-3PL-PRF
      'On top of the horse he (Juan Pikichu) went...
      As for the brothers, suffering on foot they went.' (JP:68,70)

Example (39) uses a left-dislocated referential point of departure to highlight information that follows.

(39) Shuk churi ka-ska   winshu. Juan Pikichu rima-ska. Pay-ta manta-ska
      one   son   be-PRF youngest Juan Pikichu say-PRF   3-ACC send-PRF

         pay-pa winshu-ta. **Chay**   pay mana puñu-ska-chu.
         3-POSS youngest-ACC DEM.PN 3   NEG   sleep-PRF-FOC
      'One son was the youngest. Juan Pikichu he was called. He sent him, his youngest.
      As for that one, he did not sleep.' (JP:23-26)

4.1.3 The spacer *ña*

In Napo Quichua, points of departure are often used in conjunction with the spacer *ña* in order to highlight events that follow or to signal a topic shift. Levinsohn (2012:72) proposes that the use of a spacer can also be used to separate information of unequal importance or to indicate that the information preceding it has been backgrounded with

respect to what follows. He also describes common circumstances in which a spacer would occur, two of which are relevant to Napo Quichua: 1) point of departure **spacer** rest of the sentence, and 2) topic **spacer** comment (Levinsohn 2012:74).

This spacer is most often used with a point of departure or verb to separate different elements in the information structure. (40) illustrates the spacer *ña* used after the point of departure *chaypi* 'there'. (41) illustrates the use of left-dislocation + *ña* to mark the topic shifting from the *pani* 'sister' to the *turi* 'brother'.

(40) ***Chay-pi ña*** <u>lasu-ska</u> pay. Kaspi siki-pi suma watara-ø ka-ska. Mana
      that-LOC now tie-PRF 3 pole end-LOC good tie-AG be-PRF NEG

      ri-ø-ta usha-ska chay. Vwela-sa-pas mana pitina-ta usha-ska
      go-AG-ACC be.able-PRF DEM.PN fly-ADVSS-COP NEG cut-ACC be.able-PRF

      chay waska-ta. ***Chay-pi ña*** <u>kwinta-ska</u> Juan Pikichu-ta –Paska-wa-y–...
      that vine-ACC that-LOC now say-PRF Juan Pikichu-ACC open-1OBJ-IMP
      '**So there** [ña] he tied him. At the end of a pole he was tied tight. He was not able to get free, that one. Even flying, he was not able to cut that vine. **So there** he said to Juan Pikichu, "Set me free..."' (JP:32-36)

(41) –Ñuka turi-chu chasna kawsa-wa-ø ka-rka– manchari-ska pay-pa pani.
      1 brother-Q thus live-INS-AG be-PST be.afraid-PRF 3-POSS sister

      Pay-pa turi *ña* chay tutamanta-shitu-pi yaku-ma ri-ska.
      3-POSS brother now DEM.PN morning-DIM-LOC water-DIR go-PRF
      '"It was my brother living like this with me?" his sister became afraid.
      Now her brother [ña], that one went to the river early in the morning.' (Children of the Moon:17, 23)

4.1.4 Postposed and right-dislocated constituents

Similarly to preposed constituents, postposed constituents (after the verb) also occur commonly in Napo Quichua, motivated by discourse-pragmatic factors. As shown in Appendix A, 120 of the 129 sentences with non-default word orders contained postposed constituents. In this section, I describe four motivations for postposed and right-dislocated constituents (right-dislocation is distinguished from postposing by having a pronominal trace of the right-dislocated element in the main clause).

1. A constituent can be right-dislocated or postposed in order to identify a previously activated entity as the most salient entity available for subsequent reference (Ward & Birner 2001:133). In the following examples, I refer to this function as "topic shift".

2. A less-prominent constituent can be postposed when special prominence is applied to some constituent earlier in the sentence.

3. A constituent can be postposed to indicate the end of a thematic unit and transition into a new one.

4. A constituent in a presentational articulation can be postposed when it is first introduced in the narrative.

Example (42a) below illustrates the first motivation for the use of postposing as topic shift. In this example, the topic shifts from the wife (the subject of the subordinate clause) to *paypa kari* 'her husband' (the subject of the main clause), who is postposed to establish him as the topic for the sentences that follow.

(42) a. [Ña chasna ra-pi]   ña   ri-nkapa kallari-ska ***pay-pa kari.***
          now thus   do-ADVDS now go-PUR begin-PRF 3-POSS husband
          'While she was doing this, (he) already began to go, her husband.'

      b. Ri-ska. Tiya-ri-k   ri-ska chay wimpa   muru-ska   hawa-pi.
          go-PRF sit-REFL-AG go-PRF that wimba.tree.seed scatter-PTCP top-LOC
          'He went. Seated he went on top of that wimba seed scattering.' (Children of the Moon:46)

Again in (43), the topic shifts from the little old lady in (43a) to the subject *churikuna* 'sons' in (43b), which is postposed and continues as the topic in the sentences that follow.

(43)   a.   'That little old lady fed and gave (the moon's sister) a drink, and locked her in a big old mud pot up on her roof platform.'

      b.   Chay-pi   ña   chishi-pi   shamu-naku-ska ***churi-kuna.***
             that-ADVDS   now   afternoon-LOC   come-3PL-PRF   son-PL
             'After that, in the afternoon came (the old lady's) sons.'

      c.   Kanta-sa   uya-ri-naku-ska.   Hihihihihin   mayayamu-naku-ska.
             sing-ADVSS   hear-REFL-PL-PRF   ON   draw.near-PL-PRF
             'Singing they were resounding. Hihihihihin [sound of singing] they were coming closer.' (Children of the Moon:121-122, 140-141)

Right-dislocation is also used to indicate a topic shift, as shown in (44) below. In this example, the object is stated first as a pronoun *pay-ta* 'him' and then repeated and right-dislocated as a noun phrase *paypa winshu-ta* 'his youngest', who continues to be the topic in the sentences that follow.

(44)   ***Pay-ta*** manta-ska ***pay-pa winshu-ta.***   Chay   pay mana puñu-ska-chu.
      3-ACC   send-PRF   3-POSS   youngest-ACC   DEM.PN   3   NEG   sleep-PRF-FOC
      'He sent him, his youngest. As for that one, he did not sleep.' (JP:25-26)

Example (45a) below also illustrates the use of right-dislocation to indicate topic shift. The subject *uwillas* 'grapes' is referenced as a pronoun *chay-ka* 'that one' and right-dislocated. This helps to identify *chay-ta* as the topic in the clause that follows (45b) and to recognize that it refers to the same topic as the previous sentence.

(45)   a.   Chay-pi   uwillas-shina riku-ri-ø   shikshi-ø uwillas ka-ska   ***chay-ka.***
           that-LOC   grape-CMPV   see-PASS-AG   itchy-AG   grape   be-PRF   DEM.PN-TOP
           'In that place, there was a fruit that looked like grapes, grapes that cause itchiness were **those**.'

      b.   Chay-ta   miku-ska chay warmi   yarkay-manta.
           that-ACC   eat-PRF   that   woman   hunger-ABL
           '**That** is what she ate, that woman, out of hunger.' (Children of the Moon:109-110)

Example (46b) below again illustrates topic shift, with the pronominal subject *chay* 'that one' right-dislocated and continuing to be the topic in the following sentences.

(46) a. Chay-pi   ña   pay lasu-ska. Kaspi siki-pi   suma watara-ø ka-ska.
          that-LOC   now   3   tie-PRF   pole end-LOC   good tie-AG   be-PRF
          'So there he (Juan Pikichu) tied him (horse). At the end of a pole he was tied
            tight.'

      b. Mana ri-ta   usha-ska   *chay*.
          NEG   go-ACC   be.able-PRF DEM.PN
          'He was not able to get free, **that one**.'

      c. Vwela-sa-pas   mana pitina-ta usha-ska   chay waska-ta.
          fly-ADVSS-COP   NEG   cut-ACC be.able-PRF that vine-ACC
          'Even flying, he was not able to cut (it), that vine.' (JP:32-34)

The second main use of postposing is to move a non-prominent constituent out of the way when there is a prominent constituent earlier in the sentence. This is also illustrated in (47a) below (repeated from (46c)), where the non-prominent constituent *chay waska-ta* 'that vine' is postposed in order to reinforce the emphasis on the prominent constituent *vwela-sa-pas* 'even flying' that occurs earlier in the sentence. The marker *-pas* in this case gives the constituent prominence.

(47) a. *[Vwela-sa-pas]* mana pitina-ta usha-ska   *chay   waska-ta*.
          fly-ADVSS-COP   NEG   cut-ACC be.able-PRF that   vine-ACC
          '**Even flying**, he was not able to cut (it), **that vine**.' (JP:34)

This is an example of a constituent marked with emphatic prominence conveying "heightened emotion, as when a speaker feels strongly about something or considers that an event is unexpected (Levinsohn 2012:62)". In Napo Quichua, *-pas* is often used in this way in a context of counter-expectation. Note that this does *not* mean that postposing makes the earlier constituent more prominent; it is the presence of *-pas* that serves to make the earlier constituent prominent. Thus, postposing in this use is a result of reduced prominence, not a device for increasing prominence.

Example (48) illustrates different motivations for postposing occurring in the same thematic unit. In (48a) the point of departure is given emphatic prominence with the marker *-pas*, which motivates the postposing of the subject *Juan Pikichu*. In (48c) the object *wawki-ta* 'brother' (Juan Pikichu) is postposed as topic shift, as he continues to be

the topic in the sentences that follow. In (48d) the subject *pay* 'he' (Juan Pikichu) is marked for prominence with *-ka*, motivating the postposing of the object *kargakuna-ta* 'cargo'.

(48) a. ***[Uma-ta   pakipaki-ra-pi-pas]***   <u>mana</u> <u>wañu-ska-chu</u> ***Juan Pikichu.***
       head-ACC break-PROG-ADVDS-COP NEG die-PRF-NEG Juan Pikichu
      'Even when (the brothers were) hitting (his) head, (he) didn't die, Juan Pikichu.'

   b. Chay-rayku ranti   mana wanchi-naya-naku-ska washa-ka ña.
       that-CAUS   instead NEG   kill-DIS-3PL-PRF   after-TOP now
      'That's why now they didn't want to try killing him anymore.'

   c. Washa pay-pa cargeru-ta   <u>chura-naku-ska</u> ***wawki-ta.***
       after   3-POSS carrier-ACC put-3PL-PRF   brother-ACC
      'Then they made him their cargo-carrier, (their) brother.'

   d. Washa kaballu-pi ***pay-ka*** puri-chi-ø   <u>ka-ska</u> ***karga-kuna-ta.***
       after   horse-LOC 3-TOP walk-CAUS-AG be-PRF cargo-PL-ACC
      'On the back of the horse, he put the cargo.'

   e. Mana pay kikin hudiri-ø-chu   ka-ska.
       NEG   3   alone suffer-AG-NEG be-PRF
      'He was not suffering alone.' (JP:80-84)

A third reason for postposing constituents is to indicate the end of one thematic section and the transition into a new one. This is illustrated in the following examples (49), (50), and (51). In these examples, all the clauses are in the default SOV word order until the (b) clauses, in which both subject and object are postposed, resulting in VSO word order. The (c) clauses then begin a new episode in the story.

(49) a. 'Even when they beat him and left him, he didn't die. That horse helped him. He rescued him again. Again he went on behind (the brothers). Thus there they again tried to kill him. Beating him with rocks...burying him, they left him inside the rocks.'

   b. Chay-manta <u>kawsachi-ska</u> kuti   ***chay kaballu Juan Pikichu-ta.***
       that-ABL   revive-PRF   again that   horse   Juan Pikichu-ACC
      'From there, that horse again rescued Juan Pikichu' (lit. 'From there, rescued again that horse to Juan Pikichu')

   c. Up on the horse he went. He went on walking and talking with him. As for the brothers, on foot they went suffering. (JP:61-70)

(50) a. 'He went and brought his (the horse's) feathers to show his father.'

b. Chay-pi   chasna rikuchi-kri-pi   piña-ska   *pay-pa yaya   ranti*
   that-LOC thus   show-PRMO-ADVDS anger-PRF 3-POSS father instead

   ruku-kuna-ta.
   older-PL-ACC
   There after he showed (him), his father became angry with the older sons (lit. 'Was angry his father instead at the older sons.'

c. 'He chased the older ones. But those sons then talked to (their) mother. Their mother had many ducks.' (JP:48-52)

(51) a. '"Mama, this mean uncle is scratching me." At that, the mother went to to hit the (puma) children with a pole.'

b. Chasna wiña-chi-ska   *chay puma awla   chay wawa-kuna-ta.*
   thus   grow-CAUS-PRF that puma grandma that child-PL-ACC
   'Thus that puma grandma raised those (moon) children' (lit. 'Thus raised that puma grandma (to) those children')

c. 'After that then, they grew big. When they were barely grown, they began to work.' (Children of the Moon:191-194)

A single constituent, either subject or object can also be postposed in order to indicate the end of a thematic unit and signal that new development follows. In (52b), the subject *chay wawakuna* 'those children' is postposed and the following sentence begins a new development as the woman and her children get lost and bump into a puma grandmother. In (53b) the object *chay warmi-ta* 'that woman' is postposed and again a new development occurs as the woman is eaten by the pumas, and the puma grandmother proceeds to find the woman's children still in her womb.

(52) a. 'Being angry, she hit her stomach.'

b. Chay-pa-washa ña   mana kwinta-naku-ska-chu *chay wawa-kuna*
   that-POSS-after now NEG   talk-PL-PRF-FOC   that child-PL

   wiksa-manta
   stomach-ABL
   After that, they did not speak anymore, **those children from her stomach**.

c. 'After that, they got lost' (Children of the Moon:100-102)

(53) a. 'Just then they went crazy. They put on their capes and jumped. That spotted
          one did not reach. The red one also did not reach. The white one also did not
          reach.'

      b. Chay yana ña aysa-kri-ska   *chay warmi-ta.*
          that black now pull-PRMO-PRF that woman-ACC
          'Then that black one went and pulled (down) **that woman.**'

      c. 'So then after they pulled and made her fall (down), the (puma) grandmother
          said "You all eat the meat, but please save the innards for me."' (Children of
          the Moon:159-167)

This same motivation occurs with direct speech in a narrative. Either the subject of the
direct speech or the addressee of the direct speech, or sometimes both, can be postposed
to signal the end of that thematic unit and point to new development in the following
section. This is illustrated in example (54a), where the addressee of speech *Juan Pikichu*
is postposed, followed by Juan Pikichu doing what the horse angel had been begging him
to do. This begins a new episode of the story as the horse angel is freed and Juan Pikichu
returns home. In example (55b), the subject of the direct speech *wawakuna* 'children' is
postposed, followed by the new development in (55c).

(54) a. Pay rima-ska Ñuka ka-ni anhel kaballu kwinta-ska *Juan Pikichu-ta.*
          3   say-PRF 1   be-1 angel horse   tell-PRF   Juan Pikichu-ACC
          'He said, "I am a horse angel" he told Juan Pikichu.'

      b. 'So then after he said that, [Juan Pikichu] cut [the vine], set him free, then he
          went. (JP:44-47)

(55) a. Pakta-pi   rima-ska –Maymanta-ta shamu-nkichi wawa-kuna–
          arrive-ADVDS say-PRF   where-TOP   come-2PL   child-PL
          'When they arrived, she said "Where do you come from children?"'

      b. –Kan-ta maska-sa   puri-hu-rka-nchi☐   ni-sa   rima-naku-ska *shuk*
          2-ACC   search-ADVSS walk-PROG-PST-1PL say-ADVSS say-3PL-PRF   one

          ishkay wawa-kuna.
          two   child-PL
          'We were walking looking for you" those two children said.'

      c. 'That little old lady said, "We will go to the farm", she said. Those two children
          went carrying the old lady.' (Frog:9-12)

A fourth motivation for postposing constituents is to introduce new participants. When the introduction involves using an equative or existential clause, the nominal constituent is in the post-verbal position, which is common in sentences with presentational articulation (Levinsohn 2012:53). This also conforms to the Principle of Natural Information Flow, which states that newer information comes later in the sentence (Comrie 1989). This is illustrated in the examples (56) and (57) below.

In (56a), the subject constituent *shuk runa* 'one man' is a major participant being introduced in an existential clause and so is in the post-verbal position. Similarly in (56b) and (56c), the object constituents *sara chakra-ta* 'corn farm' and *shuk ruku churi-ta* 'certain elder son' are in the postposed position as new participants being introduced.

(56) a. Tiya-ska   ***shuk runa***   kanchis churi-yu.
          exist-PRF one   person seven   son-have
          'There was a man with seven sons.'

      b. Chay runa   chari-ø   ka-ska kinsa hektarea ***sara chakra-ta.***
          that person have-AG be-PRF three hectare   corn farm-ACC
          'That man had three hectares of corn farm.'

      c. Chay runa   manta-ska kwira-nkapa ***shuk ruku churi-ta.***
          that person send-PRF   care.for-PUR one   elder son-ACC
          'That person sent to care for (the farm) a certain elder son.' (JP:1-2,5)

In the following example (57), the subject *cerro* 'hill' is introduced in the post-verbal position.

(57) Pay-kuna pakta-na   maya-pi   tiya-ska   ***cerro***
      3-PL   arrive-INF bank-LOC exist-PRF hill
      'At the riverbank where they would arrive, there was a hill.' (Hawk:5)

Postposing new participants also occurs for minor participants. In example (58b) below, the object participant *achka pabukuna-ta* 'many ducks' is introduced in the postposed position.

(58)   a.   'But those sons then talked to (their) mother.'

      b.   Pay-pa   mama   chari-ø   ka-ska   ***achka   pabu-kuna-ta.***
            3-POSS   mother   have-AG   be-PRF   many   duck-PL-ACC
            'Their mother had many ducks.' (JP:52)

In example (59), the object constituents *paykunapa puñuna* 'their bedding' and *paykunapa mikunashitu* 'their food' are both postposed as new minor participants.

(59)   Chay-pi   yaya   mama-kuna   alichiri-naku-ska   ***pay-kuna-pa   puñuna***
       that-LOC   father   mother-PL   prepare-PL-PRF   3-PL-POSS   bedding

       pay-kuna-pa   mikuna-shitu
       3-PL-POSS   food-DIM
       'There (his) parents prepared their bedding and food.' (Children of the Moon:65)

4.2 Clause order and information structure

The order of subordinate clauses in relation to other constituents can sometimes vary within a sentence. Of the subordinate clauses in the data, more than 80 percent occur sentence-initially, with the others occurring either just after the subject or after the main clause. Of the sentence-initial subordinate clauses, most are situational PODs (as discussed in Section 4.1.2), while a few are instances of tail-head linkage.

In Napo Quichua, subordinate clauses are usually used as points of departure occurring at the beginning of the sentence. However, in the case of the following examples (60) and (61), the subordinate clause appears after the subject constituent. These are examples of subordinate clauses that could be potential PODs in function, but in order to preserve the continuity of the subject participants *chay wawakuna* 'those children' and *chay luna runa* 'that moon person', they are not placed initially in the sentence (Levinsohn 2012:48). In each example, the fact that the initial constituent is the subject, and not the temporal expression, indicates that the sentence is to be related to its context primarily on the basis

of the continuity of the subject participant, rather than an indication of the time of the events.

(60) Chay wawa-kuna *[shuk killa pakta-ska-pi]* tukya-naku-ska.
that child-PL one month arrive-PTCP-ADVDS hatch-3PL-PRF
'Those children, after one month, they hatched.' (Children of the Moon:175)

(61) Chay luna runa *[pay kay pacha-pi kawsa-ska uras]* pay-pa pani-wa
that moon person 3 here earth-LOC live-PRF time 3-POSS sister-INS

kawsa-ø ka-ska.
live-AG be-PRF
'That moon person, when he lived here on earth, he lived with his sister.' (Children of the Moon:4)

Example (62), illustrates the rare occurrence of a sentence-final subordinate clause. This appears to be a kind of tail for clarification.

(62) Washa ña mana wanchi-naku-ska-chu *[mana wañu-pi riku-sa.]*
after now NEG kill-PL-PRF-FOC NEG die-ADVDS see-ADVSS

Kawsa-ø ri-ska.
live-AG go-PRF
'After that, (the brothers) weren't killing (Juan Pikichu), **seeing that he wasn't dying**. He went on living. (JP:78-79)

Napo Quichua also uses sentence-initial subordinate clauses in tail-head linkage. Tail-head linkage involves a subordinate clause being repeated at the beginning of a new sentence (the head), using at least the main verb of the previous sentence (the tail)(Levinsohn 2012:46). The repetition functions to slow down the narrative, helping to highlight the information that follows (Levinsohn 2012:47). As it is a rare occurrence in my data, it appears that the use of tail-head linkage is reserved for highlighting climactic material as illustrated in (63) or a significant development, as in (64) below.

In example (63a) and (63b), tail-head linkage is used as a slowing-down device to highlight the climactic information that follows in (63c). In the context of this story, after (63c) the story ends after the brothers give up trying to kill Juan Pikichu and instead make him and his horse their cargo-bearers.

(63) a. Ranti   chay kaballu yanapa-ska-wa pay puri-ska.
      instead that horse   help-PTCP-INS 3   go-PRF
      'Instead, with that horse's help, **he continued on**.'

b. Chasna puri-sa   ri-naku-rka.
    thus   go-ADVSS go-PL-PST
    'Thus continuing on they went.'

c. Washa ña   mana wanchi-naku-ska-chu mana wañu-pi   riku-sa.
    after   now NEG kill-3PL-PRF-NEG   NEG   die-ADVDS see-ADVSS

    Kawsa-ø ri-ska.
    live-AG   go-PRF
    After that, (the brothers) weren't killing (Juan Pikichu), seeing that he wasn't dying. He went on living. (JP:76-78)

Tail-head linkage used for highlighting a significant development is illustrated in example (64) below. Levinsohn (2012) defines a significant development as an inciting incident or complication. An inciting incident usually introduces a problem or conflict that needs to be resolved, and a complication moves the problem further from a resolution (79). In example (64), the act of Juan Pikichu showing his father the feathers leads to his father becoming angry. This is the inciting incident that sparks the rest of the story's events.

(64) a. Pay apa-ska   ri-ska   pay-pa willma-kuna-ta *rikuchi-nkapa*
      3   bring-PRF go-PRF 3-POSS feather-PL-ACC show-PUR

    yaya-pa-ma.
    father-POSS-DIR
    'He went and brought his (the horse's) feathers **to show his father**.

b. Chay-pi   chasna *rikuchi-kri-pi*   piña-ska   pay-pa yaya   ranti
    that-LOC thus   show-PRMO-ADVDS anger-PRF 3-POSS father instead

    ruku-kuna-ta.
    elder-PL-ACC
    There after he showed (him), his father became angry with the elder sons.'
    (JP:48-49)

CHAPTER 5

Participant reference in Napo Quichua

In this section, I discuss the participant reference system of Napo Quichua. First, I give some preliminary theoretical notes on reference forms and encoding. Next, I discuss how major and minor participants are introduced and with what linguistic devices. Finally, I discuss the default encoding values for continuing reference to participants in different contexts, and present the discourse-pragmatic motivations for use of non-default reference forms.

5.1 Reference forms and encoding

The basic types of referring forms used in Napo Quichua discourse for introducing participants and continued reference to participants include the following (these are described in Section 2.2):

- noun phrase with a determiner (*shuk, chay, kay*), or possessive pronoun (*paypa, ñuka*, etc.)
- simple noun phrase
- personal pronoun (*pay, paykuna*, etc.)
- demonstrative pronoun (*chay*)
- verb agreement

The type of referring form a narrator uses for each participant differs depending on certain factors. Levinsohn (2012:121) suggests that some of these factors are the number of participants currently on stage, the relative status of the participants, whether or not

their role changes, and the position of the sentence in the text. These three factors are cited by Levinsohn as foundational in establishing a scheme of reference:

- Semantic: identify the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones
- Pragmatic: signal the activation status and prominence of the referents or of the actions they perform
- Processing: overcome disruptions in the flow of information

With these tasks in mind, I will discuss how participants are encoded for reference in Napo Quichua. First, it would be useful at this point to review Givon's (1984:18) Iconicity Principle, which states, "the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it." The continuum of forms according to the amount of coding material is illustrated in Table 12 below, repeated from section 3.5.

Table 12. Scale of coding weight for referring expressions

Most coding material:	full noun phrases
	stressed/independent pronouns
	unstressed/bound pronouns ("agreement")
Least coding material:	zero anaphora

Applying Givon's Iconicity Principle to narrative texts, I discuss the specific contexts in which the different coding material is used. I also apply the principles of Levinsohn (2012:122), who proposes an analysis of participant reference in terms of default and marked encoding values, in order to more thoroughly describe such factors as the status and saliency of a participant or the degree of givenness. Levinsohn suggests a methodology related to coding the different degrees of givenness of participant continuity. The following list is Levinsohn's (2012:123) description of typical contexts involving activated subjects in the texts.

- S1: subject is the same as in previous sentence

- S2: subject is the addressee of the previous reported speech

- S3: subject had some other non-subject role in the previous clause/sentence

- S4: subject was not involved in the previous clause/sentence

I apply these context descriptions to reflect the specific encoding patterns in Napo Quichua. In applying this step to my data, each reference to an activated participant was assigned a subject number according to the context descriptions in this list. This allowed a more accurate determination of default encoding values for participants in each context.

Levinsohn (2012:126) also suggests a scheme of default and marked encodings for references to activated non-subjects (which act in roles such as props and undergoers or recipients of an action) similar to that of activated subjects. The following is his list of typical contexts in which non-subjects occur:

- N1: referent occupies a non-subject argument role in the current clause and in the previous clause or sentence

- N2: referent was the speaker of the previous reported speech

- N3: referent was involved in the previous sentence in a role other than N1 or N2

- N4: other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3

As with active subjects, I applied these context descriptions to the active non-subjects that occur in my data. Each reference to a non-subject participant was assigned with the appropriate reference number according to its context. This allowed me to propose default encoding values for each context and to outline the discourse-pragmatic motivations for marked encoding values.

After applying and analyzing the encoding values, I condensed them into three categories of givenness: high, secondary, and reactivation, which will be discussed more in detail in Section 5.4.[1] The default encoding forms that I propose are primarily based on

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[1] These three categories reflect the overlap in the encoding values found in the data, which I combined as follows:
1. Current referent was the subject of the previous sentence (S1 and N3)
2. Current referent was mentioned in the previous sentence, but not as the subject (S3 and N1)
3. Current referent was not involved in the previous sentence (S4 and N4)

frequency in the data. The rest of this chapter discusses the application of the encoding values and their categories of givenness. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 first discuss the way major and minor participants are introduced. Then I continue in Section 5.4 with discussion of the default encoding values for continued reference to activated participants. Finally, in Section 5.5 I discuss the how participants are reactivated in a text.

Note that in this discussion I use labels that incorporate a broad treatment of topic continuity and activation states, like "participant with the highest givenness". Also, I do not treat the references related to reported speech (S2 and N2), as I had insufficient data for those contexts.

5.2 Introducing major participants

A major participant is normally introduced in a story using an existential or equative clause.

In example (65) below, the narrator uses an equative clause to introduce the major participant *luna runa* 'moon person', about whose children the story proceeds tell.

(65) Ñupa uras **luna   runa**   ka-rka.
      long ago   moon person be-PST
      'Long ago, the moon was a person.' (Children of the Moon:3)

The major participant in example (65) above is given further prominence in the story by the narrator introducing other participants in reference to him, as seen with the introduction of *paypa pani* 'his sister' in example (66) below.

(66) Chay luna   runa   kay   pacha-pi kawsa-ska uras **pay-pa pani-wa** kawsa-ø
      that   moon person here earth-in live-PRF   time 3-POSS sister-INS live-AG

      ka-ska.
      be-PRF
      'When that moon person lived here on earth, he lived with his sister.' (Children of the Moon:4)

In the narrative unit that follows the above introduction to the sister (*pani*) (66), she is a major participant, but is always referred to as the sister of the moon (*paypa pani*, 'his sister'). In light of this, the moon person in this story would be considered the global VIP

as the term is used by Levinsohn (2012). The moon person appears in the first few units of the story and then disappears, but the rest of the story is still told in relation to him as it continues to tell about his sister, his parents, and his children.

Another way to introduce a major participant is with an existential clause in a post-posed position (VS). In example (67) below, the narrator introduces the participant *shuk runa* 'a man' with an existential clause. This sentence form uses presentational articulation, which establishes the participant into a new mental representation (Levinsohn 2012:119). This is a common motivation for variable word order in Napo Quichua, as discussed in Section 4.1.4.

(67) Tiya-ska *shuk runa* kanchis churi-yu
      exist-PRF one person seven son-have
      'There was a man with seven sons.' (JP:1)

Conversely, example (68) below introduces the participant *Juan Pikichu* into an existing mental representation (as one of the seven sons) with an equative clause.

(68) *Shuk churi* ka-ska *winshu.* Juan Pikichu rimaska.
      one son be-PRF youngest Juan Pikichu say-PTCP
      'One son was the youngest, Juan Pikichu he was called.' (JP:23-24)

Although Napo Quichua does not have indefinite articles, the word *shuk* 'one' , is often used with a head noun when introducing a major participant, thus marking it with thematic saliency for the respective narrative unit (Levinsohn 2012:119), as illustrated in example (68) above, and in examples (69)-(71) below.

(69) Kwinta-sha shuk kwintu *shuk awla-shitu-manta*
      tell-1FUT one story one grandma-DIM-ABL
      'I will tell a story about a certain little old lady.' (Frog:1)

(70) Ña chay awla-ta tapa-sa, kuti *shuk runa-kuna-pi*
      then that grandma-ACC cover-ADVSS again one person-PL-LOC
      pakta-kri-naku-ska, *shuk mitsa-ø runa-kuna* kawsa-ska-ma.
      arrive-PRMO-PL-PRF one stingy-AG person-PL live-PTCP-DIR
      'After they locked up the old lady, they went to a certain people, where a certain stingy people lived.' (Children of the Moon:230)

(71) Chasna pay-kuna hudiri-sa kawsa-ska-pi *shuk burukutu runa shuk*
thus 3-PL suffer-ADVSS live-PTCP-ADVDS one owl person one

uwillas yura-pi shaya-ra-ska
[fruit] tree-LOC stand-PROG-PRF

'While they lived suffering like this, a certain owl-man was sitting in a certain fruit tree.' (Children of the Moon:238)

In the following example (72), the participant *chichu rirak* 'pregnant one going' is introduced with the introductory word *shuk*, even though she is a minor participant that appears only for a few clauses in the story. This still sets her apart in the narrative unit as she proceeds to be salient in the narrative unit that follows, making her a local VIP (after this episode she does not appear in the story again). In this narrative unit, a group is convinced to walk over a new bridge, built by the two moon children–the major participants of the story. While everyone is crossing, the bridge breaks, and this one woman is the only one who survives.

(72) *Shuk chichu ri-ra-k* chupi-lla ka-ska-ka, chayra mana hutka
one pregnant go-PROG-AG middle-JUST be-PTCP-TOP yet NEG quickly

ri-ska, kuti pawa-ska urku-ma-lla-ta. Chay kishpi-ska.
go-PRF again jump-PRF hill-DIR-JUST-ACC DEMPN escape-PRF

'One pregnant (lady) was almost in the middle, she had not gone very fast, she was able to jump back to the bank. That one escaped.' (Children of the Moon:208-209)

Sometimes a major participant is not given a marked introduction because it is introduced in the context of an existing mental representation. Example (73) below illustrates this as it introduces the major participant *gabilan* 'hawk' after establishing the context in the hearer's mental representation.

(73) Pay-kuna pakta-na maya-pi tiya-ska cerro. Chay cerro punta-manta
3-PL arrive-INF bank-LOC exist-PRF hill that hill point-ABL

gabilan urayku-ø ka-ska.
hawk descend-AG be-PRF

'Where they would arrive at the riverbank there was a hill. From the peak of that hill Hawk was descending.' (Hawk:5-6)

Major participants can also be introduced into an existing mental representation by association with another participant, as illustrated in example (74) below. In the below

example, the moon person's children are introduced by association with the moon person's sister, who turns out to be their mother. The sister continues for a few more narrative units, but then the two children become the major participants for the rest of the story.

(74) Chasna-pi   wiksa   uku-manta **pay-pa wawa ishkay** ka-ska-kuna
    thus-ADVDS stomach inside-ABL 3-POSS   child   two   be-PTCP-PL

      kwinta-naku-ska
      talk-3PL-PRF
    '[While she was doing] thus, from inside her stomach her two children were talking'
    (Children of the Moon:88)

5.3 Introducing minor participants

Any participant that is not a major participant (including either a global or local VIP) is considered a minor participant. According to Levinsohn (2012:119), minor participants generally appear in a narrative for only a short time, and are often fully identified (i.e. with a noun) each time they are involved in a story. This often occurs in Napo Quichua narrative, as illustrated in examples (75) and (76) below. In example (75), the minor participant is the moon person's wife. Each time she is mentioned, the speaker uses the the full noun phrase *paypa warmi* 'his wife'.

(75) Chay runa   pay-pa turi-ka   warmi-yu   ka-ska. **Pay-pa**
    that   person 3-POSS brother.of.female-TOP woman-having be-PRF 3-POSS

    warmi-ta   rima-ska –Haku-nki– **Pay-pa warmi** mana utka-ska-chu.
    woman-ACC   say-PRF   go-2IMP   3-POSS woman   NEG   hurry-PRF-NEG
    'That person, her brother had a wife. He said to his wife, "Let's go". His wife did not
    hurry.' (Children of the Moon:18, 42-43)

Similarly, in example (76), the minor participants *paypa warmikuna* 'their women' are referred to with the full noun phrase each time they are mentioned.

(76) Kachi-ta apamu-sa ***pay-pa warmi-pa-ma*** paktachi-ø ka-naku-ska.
salt-ACC bring-ADVSS 3-POSS woman-POSS-DIR fulfill-AG be-3PL-PTCP

Ishkay killa o kinsa killa ka-naku-ska. Y Pakta-mu-sa ***pay-pa***
two month or three month be-3PL-PTCP and arrive-afar-ADVSS 3-POSS

warmi-kuna tapu-ø ka-naku–ska pay-pa turi ka-rka pay-pa
woman-PL ask-AG be-3PL-PTCP 3-POSS brother.of.female be-PST 3-POSS

karita. Kwinta-ø ka-naku-ska –Anka miku-ska– ni-sa. ***Pay-pa***
husband say-AG be-3PL-PTCP hawk eat-PRF say-ADVSS 3-POSS

warmi-kuna waka-ø ka-naku-ska.
woman-PL cry-AG be-3PL-PTCP

'Bringing the salt, they fulfilled [their promise] to their women. They were gone two or three months. When they arrived, their women asked how were their brothers and husbands. They said, "A hawk ate them". Their women cried.' (Hawk:12-17)

Minor participants may also be introduced as a topic in an interactive role (Levinsohn 2012:119). This is a common way that minor participants appear in a story in Napo Quichua. For example, in (77), the minor participants *tukuy challwakuna* 'all the fish' are not introduced in a formal way, but simply appear as a topic with an interactive role in relation to the major participant, the moon person. (This also occurs with the introduction of major participants before they become the VIP, as in example (66) above.)

(77) Shuk semana siri-ska chay-pi. ***Tukuy challwa-kuna*** llawa-naku-ska
one week lie.down-PRF that-LOC all fish-PL lick-3PL-PRF

pay-pa yana ka-ska ñawi pampa-ta
3-POSS black be-PTCP face-ACC

'He was lying there for a week. All the fish were licking his blackened face.' (Children of the Moon:26-27)

Sometimes a narrator will use a point of departure to begin the sentence that introduces either a major or a minor participant. This alerts the hearer to the upcoming discontinuity. The participant introduced in such a way often becomes temporarily more salient than the global VIP for that narrative section (Levinsohn 2012:120). In Napo Quichua, a common point of departure used in this way is *chasnapi* which has the idea of 'doing thus' with the adverbializer *-pi* signaling a different subject for the following action. This is illustrated in example (78) below, where the minor participant *anka* 'hawk' is introduced after the point of departure *chasnapi* and he continues for a few more sentences as the

local VIP. This same point of departure in connection with the introduction of a major participant also occurs in example (74) above.

(78) ***Chasna-pi***   shuk-ta   ***anka*** miku-ska ña   shuk rikra-manta.
      thus-ADVDS one-ACC hawk eat-PRF   now   one   shoulder-ABL
      '[While she was doing] thus, a hawk ate one [of the parrots] from one shoulder.'
       (Children of the Moon:80)

5.4 Continuing reference to activated participants

Once a participant has been introduced and activated in the hearer's mental represen-tation, the type of referring form used for continued reference to each participant depends on the context in which it is used. After applying the coding methodology from Levinsohn (2012), I condensed the encoding values into three categories of givenness. Participants with high givenness are those that continue with topic continuity in sequential sentences. Participants with secondary givenness were activated in the previous sentence but not as the topic, and so do not have the highest level of topic continuity. Lastly, participants that were activated previously but have not appeared in one or more sentences receive reactivation of givenness. The first two categories are discussed in this section, and the last category is discussed in Section 5.5.

The default encoding rules for continued reference to participants in Napo Quichua, which are illustrated in the rest of this section, include the following:

- **High givenness:**

    If the referent was the subject in the previous sentence (S1), by default no overt reference other than verb agreement is made to the subject. Increased encoding in the forms of pronouns and nouns can occur for highlighting information or renewal after some discontinuity.

- **High givenness:**

    When a non-subject referent was the subject of the previous sentence (N3), a noun phrase is used. Decreased encoding in the form of a pronoun can be used when the referent is a VIP or location. (Note that the pronoun is the minimal form for non-subjects.)

- **Secondary givenness:**

> If the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role (S3 and N1), a noun phrase is used to reference that participant. Decreased encoding for referents in this context can occur in the form of verb agreement (for subjects) or pronouns when the referent is a local or global VIP or point of departure.

As discussed in Section 5.1, the default encoding value for a participant with the highest givenness, or continuity, is verb agreement. This coincides with Givon's (1984:18) Iconicity Principle, in that a topic continuing through a sequence of clauses or sentences will maintain continuity in the listener's mental representation and therefore requires minimal encoding. This is illustrated in example (79a) below, where the first sentence uses a pronoun *pay* 'she' to refer to the subject participant, the old lady. In the second sentence (79b) only verb agreement is used to refer to her again.

(79) a. ***Pay*** tukuy puncha chay-ma chishiya-ø ka-ska.
       3   all   day   that-to   afternoon-AG be-PRF
      'She spent all day there until late afternoon.'

    b. Puñu-nkapa-lla wasi-ma shamu-ø <u>ka-ska.</u>
       sleep-PUR-JUST house-to come-AG be-PRF
      'Only to sleep would (she) return to the house.' (Frog:6-7)

As would be expected, verb agreement is the most common type of referring form used for subject participants with the highest givenness. Non-default referring forms used in this context are pronouns and noun phrases, as well as the use of post-posed word order position. These are considered more heavily encoded reference forms, signaling some sort of significance in the development of the text. The two most common discourse-pragmatic motivations for using a pronoun or noun phrase for a participant with already high givenness is to highlight information or to renew it after a point of departure.

Example (80) illustrates the use of non-default increased encoding of the subject for the purpose of highlighting the information of the sentence. The son is referred to with a noun phrase *chay churi* 'that son' in two consecutive sentences. Furthermore, the son is marked with the emphatic particle *-pas* in the last sentence *Ni chay churi-pas* 'not even that

son'. In the context, it seems that the narrator is emphasizing the fact that the son did not stay awake.

(80) Kuti **shuk churi-ta** manta-ska. **Chay churi-pas** yapa puñu-ska. Ni **chay**
again one son-ACC send-PRF that son-also much sleep-PRF NEG that

   churi-pas mana kwira-ska-chu.
   son-also NEG watch-PRF-NEG
   'He sent another son.
   That son also slept a lot. Not even that son kept watch.' (JP:8-10)

Increased encoding can occur when there is discontinuity between two sentences with the same subject. Example (81) illustrates increased encoding in the third sentence in order to renew the subject after a discontinuity of time expressed with a point of departure. In (81b), the children are referred to with only verb agreement (*hatushitu kanakuska* 'they were big'), as they are the participants with the highest givenness. In (81c), after the intervening discontinuity of a temporal point of departure, the children are then referred to with a pronoun (*paykuna* 'they').

(81) a. Chasna wiñachi-ska chay puma awla chay wawa-kuna-ta.
       thus raise-PRF that puma grandma that child-PL-ACC
       'Thus that grandma puma raised those children.'

   b. Chay-pa-washa ña hatu-shitu ka-naku-ska.
      that-POSS-after now big-DIM be-PL-PRF
      'After awhile, they grew up.'

   c. [Ña yali astawa hatu-naya-shitu-pi ña] **pay-kuna** trabaha-nkapa
      now more however big-DIS-DIM-LOC now 3-PL work-PUR

      kallari-naku-ska.
      begin-PL-PRF
      'When they had grown up, they began to work.' (Children of the Moon:192-194)

In the case of a non-subject referent that was mentioned in the previous sentence as a subject, a strong claim for default encoding cannot be made on the basis of frequency. Presumably, because the participant is salient in a hearer's mental representation, a pronoun can be used, though there are many cases where a noun phrase is still used. This is illustrated in example (82), where Juan Pikichu is the subject of the first sentence. In the second sentence he is the object, and is referred to with a noun phrase.

(82) **Pay-pas** shuk pabu-ta kusachi-ska, parihu ri-nkapa, wawki-kuna-ta
3-COP one duck-ACC roast-PRF together go-PUR brother-PL-ACC

llaki-sa. Ranti wawki-kuna-ka Juan **Pikichu-wa** piñari-ska
love-ADVSS instead brother-PL-TOP Juan Pikichu-INS be.angry-PRF

ka-naku-ska.
be-PL-PRF
'He also roasted a duck, in order to go (with them) together, loving his brothers.
But the brothers were angry with Juan Pikichu.' (JP:55-56)

However, in the following example (83), a pronoun is used for reference to the same participant Juan Pikichu. This is an example of VIP reference strategy (as discussed in Section 3.5) in which both global and local VIPs are minimally encoded, as they remain salient throughout the whole text or section (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:121). This is illustrated in example (83), where the object *payta* 'him' in the second sentence refers to the VIP Juan Pikichu.

(83) Wakta-sa saki-pi-pas, mana wañu-ska-chu. Chay kaballu **pay-ta**
beat-ADVSS leave-ADVDS-COP NEG die-PRF-NEG that horse 3-ACC

yanapa-ska.
help-PRF
'Even when they (the brothers) beat and left (him), he did not die.
That horse rescued him.' (JP:61-62)

Another encoding value for non-subject referents in this context is a demonstrative pronoun. This encoding value can be used when referencing a place (*chaypi* 'there') or object (*chayta* 'those [grapes]') that was the subject of the previous sentence, as illustrated in example (84).

(84) Hatu chakra ka-ska. **Chay-pi** uwillas-shina riku-ri-ø shikchi-ø uwillas
big farm be.PRF that-LOC grape-CMPV appear–PASS-AG itch-AG grape

ka-ska chay-ka. **Chay-ta** miku-ska chay warmi yarka-y-manta.
be-PRF DEMPN-TOP that-ACC eat-PRF that woman hungry-NOM-ABL
'It was a big farm. In that place, there was a grape-like fruit, grapes that cause itchiness they were.
That woman ate those (grapes) out of hunger. (Children of the Moon:108-110)

The default encoding value for continued reference to a participant that was mentioned as a non-subject in the previous sentence is a noun phrase, as illustrated in example

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(85) below, where the participant *sara* 'corn' first appears as the object, then as the subject of the next sentence.

(85)   a.   Chay   runa   chari-ø   ka-ska   kinsa hektarea ***sara chakra-ta.***
            that   person have-AG be-PRF three hecrare   corn farm-ACC
            'That person had three hectares of corn farm.'

      b.   ***Chay sara*** wiña-ska   uras miku-ø ka-ska.
            that   corn grow-PTCP time eat-AG be-PRF
            'That corn was being eaten as it was growing.' (JP:2-3)

In conformity to the Iconicity Principle, a referent in this context can also receive lesser encoding in the form of pronouns or verb agreement as it will already be salient once it has been mentioned in the previous clause or sentence. Verb agreement is often used when a referent in this context is a VIP, as shown in examples (86) and (87) below. In both examples, the object referents in the first sentences appear as noun phrases, *Juan Pikichu* and *chay warmita* 'that woman', then are encoded with verb agreement in the following references to them as subjects.

(86)   Chay-manta kawsachi-ska kuti   chay kaballu Juan ***Pikichu-ta.***   Kaballu
      that-from   revive-PRF   again that   horse   Juan Pikichu-ACC horse

        hawa-pi   ri-ska.
        top-LOC go-PRF
      'From there that horse revived Juan Pikichu again.
      On top of the horse he went.' (JP:67-68)

(87)   Chasna-pi   chay ***warmi-ta***   awispa tuksi-ska. Tuksi-pi   piñari-sa
      thus-ADVDS that   woman-ACC bee   sting-PRF sting-ADVDS anger-ADVSS

        wiksa-pi   wakta-ri-ska.
        stomach-LOC hit-REFL-PRF
      Meanwhile, a bee stung that woman.
      After it stung (her), (she) got angry and began hitting her stomach.' (Children of the
        Moon:96-97)

Sometimes verb agreement encoding is used in this context when the referent had been the subject of a preceding adverbial clause. This is illustrated in example (88) with the brothers, who appear as the subject of the adverbial clause but not of the main clause.

Then in the following sentence they appear again as the subject with verb agreement encoding. This minimal encoding would be expected in accordance to the high givenness of the referents despite the slight discontinuity of a change in subject.

(88) [Uma-ta   *pakipaki-ra-pi-pas],*   mana wañu-ska-chu Juan Pikichu.
      head-ACC break–PROG-ADVDS-COP NEG die-PRF-FOC Juan Pikichu

      Chay-rayku ranti   mana <u>wanchi-naya-naku-ska</u> washa-ka ña.
      that-CAUS   instead NEG   kill-DIS-PL-PRF   after-TOP now
      'Even when (the brothers) hit his head, Juan Pikichu didn't die.
      That's why they didn't want to kill him anymore,' (JP:80-81)

Example (89) below illustrates a pronoun encoding being used for a referent that was introduced in a non-subject role previously. In this story, the youngest son is the global VIP and thus minimal encoding is expected in the context. Example (90) also illustrates this, as the narrator uses a pronoun to refer to her future husband, who remains a VIP throughout the whole text.

(89) Pay-ta manta-ska pay-pa winshu-ta.   Chay   *pay* mana puñu-ska-chu.
      3-ACC send-PRF   3-POSS youngest-ACC DEM.PN 3   NEG sleep-PRF-NEG
      'He sent him, his youngest. As for that one, he did not sleep.' (JP:25-26)

(90) Ñuka-pas ña   hatun ña   ka-rka-ni Susy-shina. Chay-pi riku-ska-ni *pay-ta.*
      1-COP   now   big   now   be-PST-1S Susy-CMPV that-LOC see-PRF-1S 3-ACC

      Pay-pas chay-pi   riku-wa-ska.
      3-COP   that-LOC see-1OBJ-PRF
      'Then I got older, I was about like Susy. There I began to notice him.
      He also noticed me there.' (Marriage:9-10.2)

The default noun phrase encoding value for participants mentioned in a non-subject role in the previous sentence can also occur in a postposed word order. This reference form works together with a non-default constituent order for certain discourse-pragmatic motivations such as to preserve topic continuity, show discontinuity, or to highlight certain actions. In the data corpus for this study, the most common motivation for postposing these reference forms was to preserve topic continuity after a point of departure. In example (91) below, the subject participant *paypa yaya* 'his father' is mentioned in a non-subject

role in (91a), then in (91b) as a postposed subject. This allows the narrator to preserve the prominence of the father's actions after the discontinuity of the adverbial clause.

(91)   a.   Pay   apa-ska   ri-ska   pay-pa   willma-kuna-ta   riku-chi-nkapa
            3   carry-PRF   go-PRF   3-POSS   feather-PL-ACC   see-CAUS-PUR

            yaya-pa-ma.
            father-POSS-DIR
            'He took and went to his father's to show the feathers.

       b.   [Chay-pi   chasna   riku-chi-kri-pi],   piña-ska   *pay-pa yaya*   ranti
            that-LOC   thus   see-CAUS-PRMO-ADVDS   anger-PRF   3-POSS father   instead

            ruku-kuna-ta.
            older-PL-ACC
            (Juan Pikichu) thus going there to show, his father became angry with the older brothers.' (JP:48-49)

The default encoding value for a non-subject referent used in consecutive sentences is a noun phrase. This is illustrated in example (92) below, where the object *pabu* 'duck' is referred to with a noun phrase after it is already activated.

(92)   Pay-pa   mama   chari-ø   ka-ska   achka   *pabu-ta.*   *Pabu-ta*   kusa-nkapa
       3-POSS   mama   have-AG   be-PRF   many   duck-ACC   duck-ACC   roast-PUR

       manta-naku-ska   shuk   karan
       put-3PL-PRF   one   each
       'Their mother had many ducks.
       They each got one duck to roast.' (JP:52-53)

Non-subject referents also conform to the Iconicity Principle, thus often receiving less encoding in contexts where they have high givenness, especially when they are VIPs in the text. This is illustrated in example (93), where the object *kaballu* 'horse' is one of the VIPs of the text, and is referred to first with a noun phrase, then again with lesser encoding as a pronoun.

(93)   *Kaballu*   hawa-pi   ri-ska.   *Pay-ta*   rima-na   puri-ska-wa.
       horse   top-LOC   go-PRF   3-ACC   talk-INF   walk-PRF-INS
       'He went on top of the horse.
       He went along talking with him (the horse).' (JP:68-69)

Non-subject participants also receive less encoding when the referent is referring back to a location that is already salient. In this case, the demonstrative pronoun *chaypi* 'there'

or *chaymanta* 'from there' is used as a point of departure, as illustrated in example (94). In this example, the location *shu kiwrada* 'a brook' is first mentioned with a noun phrase, and then again referred to with less encoding as a demonstrative pronoun *chaypi* 'there' (lit. that location) since it has high givenness in the context.

(94) ***[Shu kiwrada-pi]*** pawa-kri-ska.   ***[Chay-pi]*** shu kaspi ismu-shina
      one   brook-LOC   jump-PRMO-PRF that-LOC   one stick rotten-CMPV

      sakiri-sa   siri-ska.
      remain-ADVSS lie-PRF
      'He went to jump in a brook.
      There he stayed laying down like a rotted log.' (Children of the Moon:24-25)

5.5 Participant reactivation

When participants have already been activated in a text but lose saliency after not appearing for one or more sentences, they need to be reactivated. As would be expected from the Iconicity Principle (Givón 1983), more encoding is needed as these participants introduce discontinuity when they reappear. Thus, the default encoding value for these participants is a noun phrase. Example (95) illustrates this in the reference to *chay kaballu* 'that horse', who had not appeared for more than fifteen sentences.

(95) Wakta-sa   saki-pi-pas,   mana wañu-ska-chu. ***Chay kaballu*** pay-ta
      beat-ADVSS leave-ADVDS-COP NEG die-PRF-NEG that horse 3-ACC

      yanapa-ska.
      help-PRF
      'Even when they beat and left him, he did not die. That horse rescued him.' (JP:61-
      62)

This noun phrase encoding also applies to the reactivation of participants as non-subjects. This is illustrated in example (96), where references to the horse (*kaballu*) is being renewed after being mentioned three sentences before, and the duck (*pabu*) is being renewed after being mentioned more than twenty sentences before.

(96) a. Wawki-kuna-ka chaki-wa hudiri-sa ri-naku-ska.
          brother-PL-TOP foot-INS suffer-ADVSS go-PL-PRF
          'As for the brothers, they went suffering on foot.'

      b. Pay-ka ***kaballu*** hawa-pi puri-ø ka-ska.
          3-TOP horse top-LOC walk-AG be-PRF
          'But he was going around on top of the horse.'

      c. [Wawki-kuna-ka piña-sa] ***pay-pa pabu-ta*** illakta miku-naku-ska.
          brother-PL-TOP anger-ADVSS 3-POSS duck-ACC gone eat-PL-PRF
          'The brothers, being angry, ate his whole duck.' (JP:70-72)

The most common marked reference form used in this context is pronouns, usually when the participant is either a local or global VIP. Again, this decreased encoding value is normal in reference to VIPs, as discussed above in section 5.4. Example (97) below illustrates this, as the VIP Juan Pikichu is reactivated with the decreased encoding pronoun form after not appearing for seven sentences.

(97) Chay chupi chakra-pi shayari-ø shamu-ska. Chay-pi ña lasu-ska ***pay.***
      DEM.PN middle farm-LOC stop-AG come-PRF that-LOC now tie-PRF 3
      'That one (the horse) stopped in the middle of the farm. There he (Juan Pikichu)
        tied up (the horse).' (JP:31-32)

Again, this marked form of decreased encoding also applies when reactivating non-subject participants. This occurs with the use of a demonstrative pronoun *chaypi* 'there' or *chayma* 'over there' to refer back to a previously mentioned location. This is illustrated in example (98), where *chayma* 'over there' in (98a) refers back to *hatun chakrapi* 'big farm' in (98b).

(98) a. ***Hatun chakra-pi*** pay shuk rura-ø ka-ska Pay sapalla yapa sinchi
  big farm-LOC 3 one make-AG be-PRF 3 alone much strong

   tuta trabaha-ø awla-shitu ka-ska.
   night work-AG grandma-DIM be-PRF
  'A big farm she was making. All by herself the little old lady was working hard
  until night.'

 b. Pay tukuy puncha ***chay-ma*** chishiya-ø ka-ska.
   3 all day that-DIR afternoon-AG be-PRF
   She would be there all day and spend the whole afternoon.' (Frog:4-5)

Postposed noun phrases are also used to reactivate participants. As discussed above for continuing reference, a referring form with higher encoding value interacts with constituent order for discourse-pragmatic motivations. Section 4.1.4 discusses the motivations for postposing constituents, all of which involve high encoding values.

Example (100) illustrates the reactivation of the participant *paypa kari* 'her husband' with a postposed noun phrase, as the husband had not appeared in five sentences.

(99) Chay-pi ña kwinta-ska Juan Pikichu-ta
  that-LOC now talk-PRF Juan Pikichu-ACC

  'Then he (the horse) talked to Juan Pikichu.' (JP:35)

(100) Kuti watari-ska. Ña chasna ra-pi, ña ri-nkapa kallari-ska ***pay-pa***
   again tie-PRF now thus do-ADVDS now go-PUR begin-PRF 3-POSS
   kari.
   husband
  'She tied it again. While she was doing this, her husband began to leave.' (Children
  of the Moon:45-46)

To summarize, the default encoding value for reactivation of a participant that was not involved in the previous sentence is a noun phrase.[2] Decreased encoding can be used in the form of a pronoun when the referent is a local or global VIP, or a location.

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 [2] Other examples of postposing for participant reactivation were discussed in Section 4.1.4, see examples (45-46), and (42-43).

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In this thesis, I describe the constituent order and participant reference system of Napo Quichua oral narrative discourse. Although an SOV language, there is a high degree of variable word order motivated by the principles of information structure. Constituents can be preposed or postposed to show focus, and points of departure play a significant role in focus structure as markers of discontinuity. The suffixes *-ka* and *-pas* can be used as emphatic markers, and the spacer *ña* can be used as a development marker. Napo Quichua also uses subordinate clauses to background information in a text, and tail-head linkage is used to slow down the narrative before highlighted information or a significant development.

In discussing the participant reference system, I describe how major and minor participants are introduced and propose the default encoding values for continuing reference to participants in different contexts. Referents in Napo Quichua can be encoded with verb agreement, pronouns, and noun phrases. The motivations for using non-default encoding values include contexts such as when there is a discontinuity, when the referent is a VIP, and in order to highlight information that follows. The reactivation of participants requires higher encoding values and includes the use of postposing to mark topic shift. Ultimately, the interaction of word order and choice of referring form allows a speaker to mark the givenness of participants in specific contexts.

One of the most significant findings in this study is the high occurrence of postposed constituents. In both constituent order and participant reference, the postposed position was commonly used for multiple purposes. It can be used to identify a shift in topic and to preserve the prominence of marked constituents early in the sentence. It can also be used to indicate the end of a thematic unit and transition into a new one. Finally, it can be used in the introduction and reactivation of participants.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

This table lists the number of sentences or clauses in each type of word order found in the data. These numbers do not include subordinate clauses, which are almost always SOV.

Table 13. Number of sentences/clauses for each word order in main clauses

	Word order	Number of sentences/clauses
Conforming to SOV word order	SOV	26
	OV	101
	SV	209
	V	300
Non-conforming word orders	OSV	9
	OVS	8
	SVO	28
	VO	40
	VS	40
	VSO	4

Appendix B

Grandpa's Story

Grandpa:1
Kay ñuka abuelito sirbiska   kay Amazonas umama.
kay ñuka abuelito sirbi-ska   kay Amazonas uma-ma
here my   grandpa serve-PRF here Amazon   head-DIR
'My grandpa served here in the Amazon head waters.'

Grandpa:2
"Pinklo" rimaska y   kay Amazonas umamanta shuk parti yakuma.
Pinklo   rima-ska y   kay Amazonas uma-manta shuk parti yaku-ma
Pinklo   talk-PRF and here Amazon   head-ABL   one   part river-DIR
'It was called "Pinklo", and (it was) from the head of the Amazon on the other side of the river.'

Grandpa:3
Kay Amazonas umapi   tukurin kay   yaku.
kay Amazonas uma-pi   tukuri-n kay   yaku
here Amazon   head-LOC ends-3   here   river
'In this Amazon head this river flows (lit. ends).'

Grandpa:4
Chay talirin urku hawamanta shu.
chay taliri-n urku hawa-manta shu
that   flow-3 hill   up-ABL   one
'That one flows from the top of a hill.'

Grandpa:5
Chay paypa   shuti kaska   "Ponko de Mansarriche" niska.
chay pay-pa   shuti ka-ska   Ponko   de Mansarriche   ni-ska
that   3-POSS name be-PRF Ponko   of Mansariki   say-PRF
'That one, its name was "Saint Angel Mansariki", they say.'

Grandpa:6
Chay kaska... el año mil   novecientos   setenta y   uno o setentidos   kaska
chay ka-ska el año mil   novecientos   setenta y   uno o setentidos   ka-ska
that   be-PRF the year thousand nine hundred seventy and one or seventy.two be-PRF

yachiwanchari.
yachi-wa-n-chari
appear-1OBJ-3-DUB
'That was the year 1971 or '72 it seems to me.'

Grandpa:7

Y	*chayma*	*kaska*	*paypa*	*kuñado.*
y	*chay-ma*	*ka-ska*	*pay-pa*	*kuñado*
and	that-DIR	be-PRF	3-POSS	brother.in.law

'And there was his brother-in-law.'

Grandpa:8

Arsesio Papa	*chayma*	*kaska.*
Arsesio Papa	*chay-ma*	*ka-ska*
Arsesio Papa	that-DIR	be-PRF

'Arsesio Papa, he was there.'

Grandpa:9

Y	*paywa*	*tuparinakuska*	*chaypi.*
y	*pay-wa*	*tupa-ri-naku-ska*	*chay-pi*
and	3-INS	meet-REFL-PL-PRF	that-LOC

'And he met up with him there.'

Grandpa:10

Y	*paypa*	*kuñado*	*kaska*	*antiguo*	*y*	*pay*	*kaska...*	*mushu*	*kaska.*
y	*pay-pa*	*kuñado*	*ka-ska*	*antiguo*	*y*	*pay*	*ka-ska*	*mushu*	*ka-ska*
and	3-POSS	brother.in.law	be-PRF	old	and	3	be-PRF	new	be-PRF

'And his brother-in-law was older and he was newer.'

Grandpa:11

Y	*chay*	*paktapi*	*tapuska*	*wakaska.*
y	*chay*	*pakta-pi*	*tapu-ska*	*waka-ska*
and	that	arrive-ADVDS	ask-PRF	cry-PRF

'And upon arriving he was asking and crying.'

Grandpa:12

Y	*pay*	*bahata*	*rahuska*	*y*	*ña*	*kayma*	*shamunkapa*	*wasima.*
y	*pay*	*baha-ta*	*ra-hu-ska*	*y*	*ña*	*kay-ma*	*shamu-nkapa*	*wasi-ma*
and	3	down-ACC	do-PROG-PRF	and	now	here-DIR	come-PUR	house-DIR

'And he was going downriver now in order to come home here.'

Grandpa:13

Y	*payka*	*chayma*	*sakiriska.*
y	*pay-ka*	*chay-ma*	*sakiri-ska*
and	3-TOP	that-DIR	remain-PRF

'And there he stayed.'

Grandpa:14

Y	*chayma*	*paktapi*	*patiyanakuska*	*pechupi.*
y	*chay-ma*	*pakta-pi*	*patiya-naku-ska*	*pechu-pi*
and	that-DIR	arrive-ADVDS	kick-PL-PRF	chest-LOC

'And upon arriving there, they kicked (him) in the chest.'

Grandpa:15

Y	*chasna,*	*y*	*kutimuska*	*paypas*	*bahata*	*raska.*
y	*chasna*	*y*	*kuti-mu-ska*	*pay-pas*	*baha-ta*	*ra-ska*
and	thus	and	return-afar-PRF	3-COP	down-ACC	do-PRF

'And thus and he returned and he also went downriver.'

Grandpa:16

Ishkay watata kawsaska chayma.
ishkay wata-ta kawsa-ska chay-ma
two year-ACC live-PRF that-DIR
'Two years he lived there.'

Grandpa:17

Y mana ali paktata kara kanakuska riman chay partima.
y mana ali pakta-ø-ta kara-ø ka-naku-ska rima-n chay parti-ma
and NEG good arrive-AG-ACC feed-AG be-PL-PRF talk-3 that part-DIR
'And they didn't feed well the ones who arrived, they say, in that part.'

Grandpa:18

Chasna ura chariska riman paypa treintidos años.
chasna ura chari-ska rima-n pay-pa treintidos años
thus time have-PRF talk-3 3-POSS thirty.two years
'At that time, they say, he was age 32.'

Grandpa:19

Chasna años chariska ñuka abuelo.
chasna años chari-ska ñuka abuelo
thus years have-PRF my grandpa
'That's how old my grandpa was.'

Grandpa:20

Y chaymanta yakuma paktaska ña Ingano Llaktama.
y chay-manta yaku-ma pakta-ska ña Ingano Llakta-ma
and that-ABL river-DIR arrive-PRF now Ingano Llakta-DIR
'And from there, he arrived to the river, then to Ingano Llakta.'

Grandpa:21

Y paktasa warmita tupaska ñuka abuela Berta.
y pakta-sa warmi-ta tupa-ska ñuka abuela Berta
and arrive-ADVSS wife-ACC find-PRF my grandma Berta
'And upon arriving, he found a wife, my grandma Berta.'

Grandpa:22

Y chaywa kawsaska.
y chay-wa kawsa-ska
and that one-INS live-PRF
'And he lived with her.'

The Gunshot Story

Gunshot:1

Chay chasna kwintarawaska kuñada Ashuka chay.
chay chasna kwinta-ra-wa-ska kuñada Ashuka chay
that thus talk-PROG-1OBJ-PRF sister-in-law Ashuka that
'This is how sister-in-law Ashuka told me about this.'

Gunshot:2

Primero kampu santupi kanakuska manachu.
primero kampu santu-pi ka-naku-ska manachu
first cemetery-LOC be-PL-PRF right
' First they were in the cemetery, right?'

Gunshot:3

Y   picharanakuska   nin.
y   picha-ra-naku-ska   ni-n
and   clean-PROG-PL-PRF   say-3
'And they were cleaning, they say.'

Gunshot:4

Chaymanta paykuna rantikriska   shuk media imashti paymanta upyama   riska
chay-manta pay-kuna ranti-kri-ska   shuk media imashti pay-manta upya-ma   ri-ska
that-ABL   3-PL   buy-PRMO-PRF one   half   um   3-ABL   drink-DIR go-PRF

    primero.
    primero
    first

'After that they went to go buy a half (quart), um, from there (lit. from him) he went to drink
    first.'

Gunshot:5

Shapyama   chaypama   upyaskawashaka   riska   nin   shuk mediata   upyaka
Shapya-ma   chay-pa-ma   upya-ska-washa-ka   ri-ska   ni-n   shuk media-ta   upya-ka
Shapya-DIR that-POSS-DIR drink-PRF-after-TOP go-PRF say-3 one   half-ACC   drink-TOP

    urayta.
    uray-ta
    down-ACC

'After drinking at Shapya's he went, they say, to drink a half (quart) downriver.'

Gunshot:6

Entonces primo Kelbinpa wasipi   sikakriska.
entonces primo Kelbin-pa wasi-pi   sika-kri-ska
so   cousin POSS   house-LOC go up-PRMO-PRF
'Then he went up to Cousin Kelvin's house.'

Gunshot:7

Warminti   sikanakuska   nin.
warmi-nti   sika-naku-ska   ni-n
woman-INS   go up-PL-PRF   say-3
'With (his) wife they went up, they say.'

Gunshot:8

Chaypi   upyaska.
chay-pi   upya-ska
that-LOC   drink-PRF
'There he drank.'

Gunshot:9

Machana   chay karka   pues.
macha-na   chay ka-rka   pues
get drunk-INF   that   be-PST   well
'Well he was drunk.'

Gunshot:10

Pay rinkapa uraynima   chay riska.
pay ri-nkapa uray-ni-ma chay ri-ska
3   go-PUR   down--DIR   that go-PRF
'He went to go downriver, that one went.'

Gunshot:11

Tia   Rosameliata   mañakriska   eskopetata.
tia   Rosamelia-ta   maña-kri-ska   eskopeta-ta
aunt   ACC   ask for-PRMO-PRF   shotgun-ACC
'He went to ask Aunt Rosamelia for the shotgun.'

Gunshot:12

Tia   kuway   eskopetata.
tia   ku-wa-y   eskopeta-ta
aunt   give-1OBJ-2IMP   shotgun-ACC
'"Aunt, give me the shotgun."'

Gunshot:13

Imapa   rimapi.
Ima-pa   rima-pi
what-POSS   talk-ADVDS
'"Why?" she replied.'

Gunshot:14

Yanka,   pankwanata   maskanayanishi   rimaska.
Yanka   pankwana-ta   maska-naya-ni-shi   rima-ska
no reason   bird-ACC   look for-DIS-1-RPTV   talk-PRF
'"No reason, I want to look for panguana" he said.'

Gunshot:15.1

Mana   kuskankichu.
mana   ku-skanki-chu
NEG   give-I to you+future-FOC
'"I will not give (it to) you.'

Gunshot:15.2

Kan   imatapas   rankapa   munahunki   rimaska   Tia   Rosamelia.
kan   ima-ta-pas   ra-nkapa   muna-hu-nki   rima-ska tia   Rosamelia
2   what-ACC-COP   do-PUR   want-PROG-2   talk-PRF aunt   Rosamelia
'You, what do you want to do (with it)?" said Aunt Rosamelia.'

Gunshot:16.1

Entonces mana munaska.
entonces mana muna-ska
so   NEG   want-PRF
So she didn't want (to give it).

Gunshot:16.2

Chay runaka   bala   muyushi   kaska   paypa   bolsillupi.
chay runa-ka   bala   muyu-shi   ka-ska   pay-pa   bolsillu-pi
that   person-TOP bullet turn around-RPTV   be-PRF   3-POSS   pocket-LOC
'That guy, the bullet was moving around in his pocket.'

Gunshot:17

Yanka   mañaraska   Tia   Rosameliata.
Yanka   maña-ra-ska   tia   Rosamelia-ta
no reason   ask for-PROG-PRF   aunt   Rosamelia-ACC
'For no reason he was asking Aunt Rosamelia.'

Gunshot:18

Entonces chaywashaka ña rinakuska uraykuska.
entonces chay-washa-ka ña ri-naku-ska urayku-ska
so   that-AFT-TOP now go-PL-PRF go down-PRF
'So after that then they went downriver.'

Gunshot:19

Mana munaska Tia Rosamelia.
mana muna-ska tia Rosamelia
NEG want-PRF aunt Rosamelia
'Aunt Rosamelia didn't want (to give it).'

Gunshot:20.1

Entonces chupi yakupi riska barrentilla waktakriska warmita.
entonces chupi yaku-pi ri-ska barrentilla wakta-kri-ska warmi-ta
so   half water-LOC go-PRF canoe bench beat-PRMO-PRF wife-ACC
'So in the middle of the river he went beating his wife (with) the canoe bench.'

Gunshot:20.2

'PA, PA PA' waktakriska nin.
PA PA PA wakta-kri-ska ni-n
ON ON ON beat-PRMO-PRF say-3
'"Bam, bam, bam" he went beating, they say.'

Gunshot:21

Riku shayaska riman Tia Rosamelia wasi punkumanta.
riku shaya-ska rima-n tia Rosamelia wasi punku-manta
see stop-PRF talk-3 aunt Rosamelia house door-ABL
'She was standing watching, says Aunt Rosamelia, from the port of the house.'

Gunshot:22

Washa nin paypa wasi mayapi paktaskawasha yakuma brinkaska.
washa ni-n pay-pa wasi maya-pi pakta-ska-washa yaku-ma brinka-ska
after say-3 3-POSS house riverbank-LOC arrive-PRF-AFT water-DIR jump-PRF
'After, they say, at the riverbank of his house he arrived (and) after she jumped into the river.'

Gunshot:23

Warmita yapa waktapi nin.
warmi-ta yapa wakta-pi ni-n
wife-ACC very beat-ADVDS say-3
'He would beat his wife a lot, they say.'

Gunshot:24

Brinkapika wañuskata ukumaripi.
brinka-pi-ka wañu-ska-ta uku-ma-ri-pi
jump-SIMT-TOP die-PRF-ACC inside-DIR-PASS-LOC
'Upon jumping she was dying drowning (lit. underneath).'

Gunshot:25

'HUAY' kanuama.
HUAY kanua-ma
ON canoe-DIR
'"Woosh" into the canoe (he put her).'

Gunshot:26

'TULUN' yaykuchiska.
TULUN yayku-chi-ska
ON   enter-CAUS-PRF
'"Plop" (he) put (her) in.'

Gunshot:27

'TZAS' brinkasa   riska   wasi   hawata.
TZAS   brinka-sa   ri-ska   wasi   hawa-ta
ON   jump-ADVSS go-PRF house up-ACC
'"Tzas" jumping (out of the river) he went up to his house.'

Gunshot:28

Chay   wasi   hawama   paktaska   wawakunata   kallpachikriska   nin.
chay   wasi   hawa-ma   pakta-ska   wawa-kuna-ta kallpachi-kri-ska   ni-n
that one house up-DIR   arrive-PRF child-PL-ACC scare-PRMO-PRF say-3
'That one arrived up at the house and started scaring (his) children, they say.'

Gunshot:29

Eskopetata   'PA' hapi chaypi   paypa   wawa.
eskopeta-ta   PA   hapi chay-pi   pay-pa   wawa
shotgun-ACC bam grab that-LOC 3-POSS child
'His son tried grabbing the shotgun (from him) there "PA".'

Gunshot:30

Eskopetata   kichunayaska   'HUAY'.
eskopeta-ta   kichu-naya-ska   HUAY
shotgun-ACC grab-DIS-PRF   ON
'He wanted to take the shotgun "woosh".'

Gunshot:31

Chay   'HUAY' kichunayapika   rimaska" Akaso   kan kariwawachu   kanki, kay
chay   HUAY   kichu-naya-pi-ka   rima-ska akaso   kan kari-wawa-chu ka-nki kay
that one ON   grab-DIS-ADVDS-TOP talk-PRF maybe 2   man-DIM-Q   be-2   here

   escopetata   munarankapakashi"   rimaska   paypa   wawata.
   escopeta-ta   muna-ra-nkapa-ka-shi   rima-ska   pay-pa   wawa-ta
   shotgun-ACC want-PROG-PUR-TOP-RPTV talk-PRF 3-POSS child-ACC
'That one "woosh" while he (the son) was wanting to take it away, he (his father) said "Maybe you are a little boy, wanting this shotgun for what?" he said to his son.'

Gunshot:32

Chasna nisa"   Kankuna kawsankichi   kankuna   munaskashina."
chasna ni-sa   kan-kuna kawsa-nki-chi kan-kuna   muna-ska-shina
thus   say-ADVSS 2-PL   live-2-2PL   2-PL   want-PTCPL-CMPV
'(The father) saying thus, "You all live however you want.'

Gunshot:33

Kuna   kankunata   hichusami   rina   kanishi   rimaska.
kuna   kan-kuna-ta hichu-sa-mi   ri-na   ka-ni-shi   rima-ska
today 2-PL-ACC   throw away-SUB go-INF be-1-RPTV talk-PRF
Now abandoning you all I'm going to leave" he (the father) said.

Gunshot:34

Chasna rimaka, eskopetata tupachiska kaypi (speaker points to chest).
chasna rima-ka eskopeta-ta tupa-chi-ska kay-pi *
thus talk-TOP shotgun-ACC meet-CAUS-PRF here-LOC *
'Saying thus, he aimed the shotgun here (speaker points to chest).'

Gunshot:35

'TAN' balariska ña.
TAN bala-ri-ska ña
ON to throw-REFL-PRF now
'"pow" he shot himself then.'

Gunshot:36.1

Chaypi paypa mama rima shamuska Ay, papito!
chay-pi pay-pa mama rima-ø shamu-ska ay papito
that-LOC 3-POSS mother talk-AG come-PRF oh son
'There his mother came saying, "Oh Son!'

Gunshot:36.2

Imata chasna sakirisa wañusa sirinki
imata chasna sakiri-sa wañu-sa siri-nki
what thus remain-ADVSS die-ADVSS lie down-2
'How (is it that) like this you're lying down dying.'

Gunshot:37

Kantaka chaypachu wiñachi karkanchi mama rima shamuska nin.
kan-ta-ka chay-pa-chu wiña-chi ka-rka-nchi mama rima-ø shamu-ska ni-n
2-ACC-TOP that-POSS-Q raise-CAUS be-PST-1PL mother talk-AG come-PRF say-3
'For this we raised you?" [his] mother came and said, they say.'

Gunshot:38

Shimita 'KUYUNKUYNKUYN' kuyuchiska nin.
shimi-ta KUYUNKUYNKUYN kuyu-chi-ska ni-n
mouth-ACC ON move-CAUS-PRF say-3
'[His] lip "kuyunkuynkuyn" was twitching, they say.'

Gunshot:39

Tiyaskalla balariska nin.
tiya-ska-lla bala-ri-ska ni-n
be seated-PTCPL-JUST to throw-REFL-PRF say-3
'He was sitting down (when) he shot himself, they say.'

Gunshot:40

Chayllata kwintawarka Kuñada Ashuka.
chay-lla-ta kwinta-wa-rka kuñada Ashuka
that-JUST-ACC talk-1OBJ-PST sister-in-law Ashuka
'That's all that Sister-in-law Ashuka told me.'

Gunshot:41

Taku ukuma kaska ninakun.
taku uku-ma ka-ska ni-naku-n
shell inside-DIR be-PRF say-PL-3
'The [bullet] shell was inside [him], they say.'

Gunshot:42

Chayta   mana surkunakuskachu.
chay-ta   mana surku-naku-ska-chu
that-ACC NEG   take out-PL-PRF-FOC
'They didn't take out that (bullet shell).'

Gunshot:43

Washaka   kaymantalla   llukshiska yawarka   pampa riskapi.
washa-ka kay-manta-lla llukshi-ska yawar-ka   pampa ri-ska-pi
after-TOP here-ABL-JUST leave-PRF blood-TOP bury   go-PTCPL-LOC
'After, blood was coming out of there when he was buried.'

Gunshot:44

Chasna kwintan Kuñada   Ashuka.
chasna   kwinta-n kuñada   Ashuka
thus   talk-3   sister-in-law Ashuka
'That's what Sister-in-law Ashuka says.'

Hawk

Hawk:1

Ñupa   uras rukukuna kanakuska Napu bokamanta Ekwadorma   kachita   apankapa.
ñupa   uras ruku-kuna ka-naku-ska Napu boka-manta Ekwador-ma kachi-ta   apa-nkapa
before time elder-PL   be-PL-PRF   Napo mouth-ABL Ecuador-DIR salt-ACC bring-PUR
'Long ago, the elders were (going) from the mouth of the Napo to Ecuador to bring salt.'

Hawk:2

Puri   kanakuska   ishkay chunka runakuna.
puri-ø   ka-naku-ska ishkay chunka runa-kuna
walk-AG be-PL-PRF   two   ten   person-PL
'Twenty people were going.'

Hawk:3

Paykuna kanoa kaska   imashti lupunamanta   kanua.
pay-kuna kanua ka-ska imashti lupuna-manta   kanua
3-PL   canoe be-PRF um   lupuna tree-ABL   canoe
'Their canoe was, um, from the lupuna tree canoe.'

Hawk:4

Unay   uras kaska   Napu corriente… remolino.
unay   uras ka-ska Napu corriente   remolino
long time time be-PRF Napo current   whirlpool
'Long ago, the Napo had (strong) currents...whirlpools.'

Hawk:5

Chasna pakta   kanakuska   y   paykuna paktana   mayapi   tiyaska   cerro.
chasna   pakta-ø   ka-naku-ska y   pay-kuna pakta-na   maya-pi   tiya-ska   cerro
thus   arrive-AG be-PL-PRF   and 3-PL   arrive-INF riverbank-LOC exist-PRF hill
'Thus they arrived and upon their arrival to the riverbank there was a hill.'

Hawk:6

Chay cerro puntamanta gabilan   urayku   kaska.
chay   cerro punta-manta gabilan   urayku-ø   ka-ska
that   hill   point-ABL   sparrowhawk go down-AG be-PRF
'From the top of that hill a sparrowhawk was descending.'

Hawk:7

Apa   *kaska*   *chay* *popapi* *tiyara,*   *puntapi*   *tiyara,*   *chupi*   *shunkupi*   *tiyara,*
apa-ø   *ka-ska*   *chay* *popa-pi* *tiya-ra*   *punta-pi*   *tiya-ra*   *chupi*   *shunku-pi*   *tiya-ra*
bring-AG be-PRF that LOC   be-PROG point-LOC be-PROG middle heart-LOC be-PROG

   kinsantimanta   *apa*   *kaska*   *shukta.*
   kinsa-nti-manta   *apa*   *ka-ska*   *shuk-ta*
   three-INS-ABL bring be-PRF one-ACC

'(In order to) take (a person), it was (circling from) the bottom, it was at the top, it was in the middle, it was taking one from the group of three.'

Hawk:8

Urku *puntama*   *risa*   *mikukri*   *kaska.*
urku *punta-ma*   *ri-sa*   *miku-kri-ø*   *ka-ska*
hill   point-DIR go-ADVSS eat-PRMO-AG be-PRF

'He was going to go eat at the top of the hill.'

Hawk:9

Urayku   *kaska*   *chasnallata.*
urayku-ø   *ka-ska*   *chasna-lla-ta*
go down-AG be-PRF thus-JUST-ACC

'That's just why he was descending.'

Hawk:10

Miku   *kaska*   *shuk* *gabilan…*   *shuk* *runa.*
miku-ø *ka-ska*   *shuk* *gabilan*   *shuk* *runa*
eat-AG be-PRF one   sparrowhawk one   person

'That sparrowhawk was eating one person (at a time).'

Hawk:11

Ishkay *chunkamanta*   *apena—* *kutimu*   *kanakuska,*   *chunka* *runakuna.*
ishkay *chunka-manta*   *apena*   *kuti-mu-ø*   *ka-naku-ska*   *chunka* *runa-kuna*
twenty-ABL   barely return-afar-AG be-PL-PRF ten   person-PL

'Of the twenty, barely ten people were returning.'

Hawk:12

Kachita   *apamusa*   *paypa*   *warmipama*   *paktachi*   *kanakuska.*
kachi-ta   *apa-mu-sa*   *pay-pa*   *warmi-pa-ma*   *paktachi-ø* *ka-naku-ska*
salt-ACC bring-afar-ADVSS 3-POSS woman-POSS-DIR fulfill-AG be-PL-PRF

'They fulfilled (their job) bringing salt to their wives.'

Hawk:13

Unay   *kanakuska* *ishkay* *killa*   *o* *kinsa* *killa*   *unay*   *kanakuska.*
unay   *ka-naku-ska* *ishkay* *killa*   *o* *kinsa* *killa*   *unay*   *ka-naku-ska*
long time be-PL-PRF two   month or three month long time be-PL-PRF

'They were (there) a long time, two months or three months, they were (there) a long time.'

Hawk:14

Y *paktamusa*   *paypa*   *warmikuna* *tapu*   *kanakuska* *imasna* *paypa*
y *pakta-mu-sa*   *pay-pa*   *warmi-kuna* *tapu-ø*   *ka-naku-ska* *imasna* *pay-pa*
and arrive-afar-ADVSS 3-POSS woman-PL ask-AG be-PL-PRF   how   3-POSS

   turi   *karka* *paypa* *karita.*
   turi   *ka-rka* *pay-pa* *kari-ta*
   brother.of.female be-PST 3-POSS husband-ACC

'And upon arriving, their women asked how were their brothers and husbands.'

Hawk:16

Kwinta   kanakuska   anka   mikuska   nisa.
kwinta-ø   ka-naku-ska   anka   miku-ska   ni-sa
talk-AG   be-PL-PRF   sparrowhawk   eat-PRF   say-ADVSS
'They were saying "the sparrowhawk ate (them)."'

Hawk:17

Paypa   warmi   waka   kaska.
pay-pa   warmi   waka-ø   ka-ska
3-POSS   woman   cry-AG   be-PRF
'Their women were crying.'

Hawk:18

Waka   kaska   tapu   kaska   kankuna   wanchirkankichi   ñuka   karita   rimaska
waka-ø   ka-ska   tapu-ø   ka-ska   kan-kuna   wanchi-rka-nki-chi   ñuka   kari-ta   rima-ska
cry-AG   be-PRF   ask-AG   be-PRF   2-PL   kill-PST-2-2PL   my   man-ACC   talk-PRF

   waka   kaska.
   waka-ø   ka-ska
   cry-AG   be-PRF
'They were crying and they were asking, "you all killed my husband" they said crying.'

Hawk:19

Mana   ñukanchichu   wanchirkanchi.
mana   ñukanchi-chu   wanchi-rka-nchi
NEG   we-FOC   kill-PST-1PL
"It was not us who killed (them)."

Hawk:20

Anka   mikurka   kwinta   kanakuska   unay   runakuna.
anka   miku-rka   kwinta-ø ka-naku-ska   unay   runa-kuna
sparrowhawk   eat-PST   talk-AG   be-PL-PRF   long time   person-PL
"The sparrowhawk ate (them)", the elders were saying.'

A Trip to Iquitos

Iquitos:1

Ñuka   wasimanta   shamurkani   dia   domingo   lanchapi.
ñuka   wasi-manta   shamu-rka-ni dia   domingo   lancha-pi
my   house-ABL   come-PST-1   day   Sunday   barge-LOC
'From my house I came one Sunday in the barge.'

Iquitos:2

Luis Antenur   shutiyu   lanchapi   shamurkani.
Luis Antenur   shuti-yu   lancha-pi   shamu-rka-ni
Luis Antenur   name-have   barge-LOC   come-PST-1
'"Luis Antenur" is the name of the barge I came in.'

Iquitos:3

Y   tuta   shamurkanchi   Lagato Kocha   uraynita.
y   tuta   shamu-rka-nchi   Lagato Kocha   uray-ni-ta
and   night   come-PST-1PL   alligator lake   down-LMT-ACC
'And at night we came to "Alligator Lake" a little downriver.'

Iquitos:4

Chaymanta harkarirkanchi Amazonas bokapi.
chay-manta harkari-rka-nchi Amazonas boka-pi
that-ABL dock-PST-1PL Amazon mouth-LOC
'From there we docked in the mouth of the Amazon.'

Iquitos:5

Y chaymanta pakari shamurkanchi petrolera uraynita.
y chay-manta pakari-ø shamu-rka-nchi petrolera uray-ni-ta
and that-ABL wake up early-AG come-PST-1PL oil boat down-LMT-ACC
'And from there waking up early we came down towards the oil boat.'

Iquitos:6

Ishkayma paktamurkanchi Masusa partima a las seis de la mañana.
ishkay-ma pakta-mu-rka-nchi Masusa parti-ma a las seis de la mañana
two-DIR arrive-afar-PST-1PL Masusa part-DIR six o'clock of the morning
'After two days we arrived at the other side of Masusa at six o'clock in the morning.'

Iquitos:7

Y chaymanta hapirkani motokaruta.
y chay-manta hapi-rka-ni motokaru-ta
and that-ABL grab-PST-1 motorcar-ACC
'And from there I grabbed a motorcar.'

Iquitos:8

Y paktamurkani Roynti hermanapa wasima.
y pakta-mu-rka-ni Roy-nti hermana-pa wasi-ma
and arrive-afar-PST-1 Roy-INS sister-POSS house-DIR
'And I went to go with Roy to the Sister's house.'

Iquitos:9

Y chaymanta paktarkani hermanapa wasipi.
y chay-manta pakta-rka-ni hermana-pa wasi-pi
and that-ABL arrive-PST-1 sister-POSS house-LOC
'And from there I arrived in the house of the Sister.'

Iquitos:10

Y maskarkani kay hermanapa wasimanta trabaho.
y maska-rka-ni kay hermana-pa wasi-manta trabaho
and look for-PST-1 here sister-POSS house-ABL work
'And I looked for a job here from the house of the Sister.'

Iquitos:11

Mana tuparkani nimata.
mana tupa-rka-ni nima-ta
NEG find-PST-1 nothing-ACC
'I found nothing.'

Iquitos:12

Y chaymanta rirkani ñuka Tia Marvilapa wasima.
y chay-manta ri-rka-ni ñuka Tia Marvila-pa wasi-ma
and that-ABL go-PST-1 my aunt Marvila-POSS house-DIR
'And from there I went to my Aunt Marvila's house.'

Iquitos:13

Tapurkani paypa karita mana tiyan trabajo.
tapu-rka-ni pay-pa kari-ta mana tiya-n trabajo
ask-PST-1 3-POSS man-ACC NEG exist-3 work
'I asked her husband if there is a job.'

Iquitos:14

Astawa mana tupa ushani trabajo.
astawa mana tupa-ø usha-ni trabajo
however NEG meet-AG be able-1 work
'But I cannot find a job.'

Iquitos:15

Y wasima kutinkapa rahuni.
y wasi-ma kuti-nkapa ra-hu-ni
and house-DIR return-PUR do-PROG-1
'And I'm getting ready (lit. doing) in order to return home (upriver).'

Juan Pikichu

JP:1

Tiyaska shuk runa kanchis churiyu.
tiya-ska shuk runa kanchis churi-yu
exist-PRF one person seven son-have
'There was a man with seven sons.'

JP:2

Chay runa chari kaska kinsa hektarea sara chakrata.
chay runa chari ka-ska kinsa hektarea sara chakra-ta
that person have be-PRF three hectacre corn farm-ACC
'That man had three hectacres of corn fields.'

JP:3

Chay sara wiñaska uras miku kaska.
chay sara wiña-ska uras miku ka-ska
that corn grow-PTCPL time eat be-PRF
'While that corn was growing, it was being eaten.'

JP:4

Mana yachachu kaska ima miku kaskata.
mana yacha-ø-chu ka-ska ima miku-ø ka-ska-ta
NEG know-AG-FOC be-PRF what eat-AG be-PRF-ACC
'He didn't know who was eating (the corn).'

JP:5

Chay runa mantaska kwirankapa shuk ruku churita.
chay runa manta-ska kwira-nkapa shuk ruku churi-ta
that person send-PRF care for-PUR one elder son-ACC
'That man sent the oldest son to take care of (it).'

JP:6

Chay ruku churipas puñusa mana kwiraskachu.
chay ruku churi-pas puñu-sa mana kwira-ska-chu
that elder son-COP sleep-ADVSS NEG care for-PRF-FOC
But that oldest son sleeping didn´t take care of (it).

JP:7

Tutamanta rikupika   mikusa   pakariska.
tutamanta riku-pi-ka   miku-sa pakari-ska
morning   see-ADVDS-TOP eat-SUB wake up early-PRF
'In the morning when he woke up he saw that it was eaten.'

JP:8

Kuti   shuk churita   mantaska.
kuti   shuk churi-ta   manta-ska
again one son-ACC send-PRF
'Once again he sent a son.'

JP:9

Chay churipas yapa puñuska.
chay churi-pas yapa puñu-ska
that   son-COP a lot sleep-PRF
'That son also slept a lot.'

JP:10

Ni   chay churipas mana kwiraskachu.
ni   chay churi-pas mana kwira-ska-chu
neither that son-COP NEG   care for-PRF-FOC
'Not even that son took care of (it).'

JP:11

Kuti   shukta   mantaska.
kuti   shuk-ta   manta-ska
again one-ACC send-PRF
'Again he sent one.'

JP:12

Kinsama   mantaska kuti   shukta.
kinsa-ma manta-ska kuti   shuk-ta
three-DIR send-PRF again one-ACC
'For the third time, again, he sent one.'

JP:13

Chay churipas   mana kwiraskachu.
chay churi-pas mana kwira-ska-chu
that   son-COP NEG care for-PRF-FOC
'That son also did not take care of (it).'

JP:14

Puñuskallata.
puñu-ska-llata
sleep-PRF-same
'He just slept too.'

JP:15

Kuti   shukta   mantaska.
kuti   shuk-ta   manta-ska
again one-ACC send-PRF
'Again he sent one.'

JP:16

Chay chusku churi mantaskapas   mana rikuskachu.
chay chusku churi manta-ska-pas   mana riku-ska-chu
that four   son   send-PTCP-COP NEG   see-PRF-FOC
'That fourth son sent, he too did not watch.'

JP:17

Chaypas   puñuska.
chay-pas   puñu-ska
that one-COP sleep-PRF
'He too slept.'

JP:18

Kuti   shuk pichika churima ña   mantaska.
kuti   shuk pichika churi-ma ña   manta-ska
again one   five   son-DIR   now   send-PRF
'Once again he sent the fifth son.'

JP:19.1

Chaypas   mana ña   kwiraskachu.
chay-pas   mana ña   kwira-ska-chu
that one-COP NEG   now   care for-PRF-FOC
'He too did not take care of (it) now.'

JP:19.2

Yapa puñuska   paypas.
yapa puñu-ska   pay-pas
a lot sleep-PRF 3-COP
He too slept a lot.

JP:20

Sokta churita   mantaska.
sokta churi-ta   manta-ska
six   son-ACC send-PRF
'He sent the sixth son.'

JP:21

Chay churipas   mana kwiraskachu.
chay churi-pas mana kwira-ska-chu
that son-COP NEG   care for-PRF-FOC
'That son also did not take care of (it).'

JP:22

Chaypas   puñuska.
chay-pas   puñu-ska
that one-COP sleep-PRF
'That one also slept.'

JP:23

Shuk churi kaska   winshu.
shuk churi ka-ska   winshu
one   son   be-PRF smallest
'One son was the youngest.'

JP:24

Juan Pikichu   rimaska.
Juan Pikichu   rima-ska
Juan Pikichu   say-PRTC
'Juan Pikichu, he was called.'

JP:25

Payta   mantaska   paypa   winshuta.
pay-ta   manta-ska   pay-pa   winshu-ta
3-ACC   send-PRF   3-POSS   smallest-ACC
'He sent him, his youngest.'

JP:26

Chay—   pay   mana   puñuskachu.
chay   pay   mana   puñu-ska-chu
that one   3   NEG   sleep-PRF-FOC
'As for that one, he didn't sleep.'

JP:27

Pay   chupi   tutapi   rikupi   hawamanta   rikurimuska   shuk   wimpa   yura
pay   chupi   tuta-pi   riku-pi   hawa-manta   rikurimu-ska   shuk   wimpa   yura
3   half   night-LOC   see-ADVDS   up-ABL   appear-PRF   one   wimba (tree)   tree

kaskashina.
ka-ska-shina
be-PTCPL-CMPV
'In the middle of the night he saw, from the sky appeared something like a wimba tree.'

JP:28

Sinchi   wayrashina   uyarimuska   hawamanta   'hukkoo'.
sinchi   wayra-shina   uyari-mu-ska   hawa-manta   hukkoo
strong   wind-CMPV   sound-afar-PRF   up-ABL   ON
'A strong wind-like (sound) sounded from the sky "hukkoo."'

JP:29

Sinchita   chaypi   rikurimuska.
sinchi-ta   chay-pi   rikurimu-ska
strong-ACC   that-LOC   appear-PRF
'With power, it appeared there.'

JP:30

Ña   paypama   mayayamusa   rikupika   shuk   rikrayu…   kaballu   kaska.
ña   pay-pa-ma   mayaya-mu-sa   riku-pi-ka   shuk   rikra-yu   kaballu   ka-ska
now   3-POSS-DIR   draw close-afar-ADVSS   see-ADVDS-TOP   one   wing-have   horse   be-PRF
'Then as it was coming close to him, he saw something with wings….it was a horse.'

JP:31

Chay   chupi   chakrapi   shayari   shamuska.
chay   chupi   chakra-pi   shaya-ri-ø   shamu-ska
that one   half   farm-LOC   stop-REFL-AG   come-PRF
'That one, in the middle of the farm he came and stood.'

JP:32

Chaypi   ña   lasuska   pay.
chay-pi   ña   lasu-ska   pay
that-LOC   now   tie-PRF   3
'There he tied (the horse).'

JP:33

Kaspi sikipi   suma   watara   kaska   mana rita   ushaska   chay.
kaspi siki-pi   suma   wata-ra   ka-ska   mana ri-ta   usha-ska   chay
stick end-LOC pretty tie-PROG be-PRF NEG   go-ACC be able-PRF that one
'It was tied tight to a tree stump and it was not able to go, that one.'

JP:34

Vwelasapas   mana pitinata   ushaska   chay waskata.
vwela-sa-pas   mana piti-na-ta   usha-ska   chay waska-ta
fly-ADVSS-COP NEG cut-INF-ACC be able-PRF that vine-ACC
'Even flying it was not able to cut that rope.'

JP:35

Chaypi   ña   kwintaska   Juan Pikichuta.
chay-pi   ña   kwinta-ska Juan Pikichu-ta
that-LOC now talk-PRF   Juan Pikichu-ACC
'There he said to Juan Pikichu,'

JP:36

Paskaway.
paska-wa-y
open-1OBJ-2IMP
"Let me loose."

JP:37

Pitisa   apay   ñukapa washapi kaska   chukchata.
piti-sa   apa-y   ñuka-pa washa-pi ka-ska   chukcha-ta
cut-ADVSS bring-2IMP 1-POSS back-LOC be-PTCPL hair-ACC
"Cutting (it), take feather from my back."

JP:38

Ñuka chupatapas   pitisa   apapay.
ñuka chupa-ta-pas   piti-sa   apa-pa-y
my   tail-ACC-COP cut-ADVSS bring-please-2IMP
"From my tail also cutting, please take."

JP:39

Kanpa   yayata   rikuchinkapa.
kan-pa   yaya-ta   riku-chi-nkapa
2-POSS father-ACC see-CAUS-PUR
"So that you can show your father."

JP:40

Ranti   kanta   yanapaskanki.
ranti   kan-ta yanapa-skanki
instead 2-ACC help-?1/2FUT
"In return, I will help you."

JP:41

Wanchi   tukupipas   kawsachiskanki.
wanchi-ø tuku-pi-pas   kawsa-chi-skanki
kill-AG   result-ADVDS-COP live-CAUS-?1/2FUT
"If you end up hurt, I will revive you."

JP:42.1

Maypi   kapipas   kawsachiskanki.
may-pi   ka-pi-pas   kawsa-chi-skanki
where-LOC   be-LOC-W-ever   live-CAUS-?1/2FUT
"Wherever you are, I will make you live."

JP:42.2

Ñuka   kanta   rikuskanki.
ñuka   kan-ta   riku-skanki
1   2-ACC   see-?1/2FUT
"I will watch you."

JP:43

Ñuka   ushayu   kani.
ñuka   usha-yu   ka-ni
1   power-have   be-1
"I am powerful (lit. I have power)."

JP:44

Pay   rimaska,   Ñuka   kani   anhel   kaballu   kwintaska   Juan Pikichuta.
pay   rima-ska   ñuka   ka-ni   anhel   kaballu   kwinta-ska   Juan Pikichu-ta
3   talk-PRF   1   be-1   angel   horse   talk-PRF   Juan Pikichu-ACC
'He said, "I am a horse angel" he said to Juan Pikichu.'

JP:45

Pay   ña   chayta   rimapi   pay   paskaska   kachariska.
pay   ña   chay-ta   rima-pi   pay   paska-ska   kachari-ska
3   now   that-ACC   talk-ADVDS   3   open-PRF   release-PRF
'When he (the horse) said this, he (Juan Pikichu) untied and released (the horse).'

JP:46

Kanpa   yayapa   sara   chakrata   ña   mana   mikushachu   rimaska   chay   kaballu.
kan-pa   yaya-pa   sara   chakra-ta   ña   mana   miku-sha-chu   rima-ska   chay   kaballu
2-POSS   father-POSS   corn   farm-ACC   now   NEG   eat-1FUT-FOC   talk-PRF   that   horse
'"Your father's corn farm I will not eat anymore" said that horse.'

JP:47

Riska   ña.
ri-ska   ña
go-PRF   now
'Then he (the horse) went.'

JP:48

Pay   apaska   riska   paypa   willmakunata   rikuchinkapa   yayapama.
pay   apa-ska   ri-ska   pay-pa   willma-kuna-ta   riku-chi-nkapa   yaya-pa-ma
3   bring-PRF   go-PRF   3-POSS   feather-PL-ACC   see-CAUS-PUR   father-POSS-COND
'He went and brought its feathers for his father to see.'

JP:49

Chaypi   chasna   rikuchikripi   piñaska   paypa   yaya   ranti   rukukunata.
chay-pi   chasna   riku-chi-kri-pi   piña-ska   pay-pa   yaya   ranti   ruku-kuna-ta
that-LOC   thus   see-CAUS-PRMO-ADVDS   scold-PRF   3-POSS   father   instead   elder-PL-ACC
'There upon going to show (the feathers), his father scolded instead the older ones.'

JP:50

Rukukunata ranti kallpachiska.
ruku-kuna-ta ranti kallpa-chi-ska
elder-PL-ACC instead run-CAUS-PRF
'The older ones, rather, he chased away.'

JP:51

Ranti chay wawakuna churikuna ranti mamata rimanakuska.
ranti chay wawa-kuna churi-kuna ranti mama-ta rima-naku-ska
instead that child-PL son-PL instead mother-ACC talk-PL-PRF
'Instead those children sons instead talked to mother.'

JP:52

Paypa mama chari kaska achka pabukunata.
pay-pa mama chari-ø ka-ska achka pabu-kuna-ta
3-POSS mother have-AG be-PRF much duck-PL-ACC
'Their mother had many ducks.'

JP:53

Pabuta kusankapa mantanakuska shuk karan, shuk shuk, apasa rinkapa.
pabu-ta kusa-nkapa manta-naku-ska shuk karan shuk shuk apa-sa ri-nkapa
duck-ACC roast-PUR put out-PL-PRF one each one one bring-ADVSS go-PUR
'In order to roast the ducks they put out each one, one (for each) one, in order to go carrying (them).'

JP:54

Juan Pikichupas wawkikunata llakisa mana hichurinayaska.
Juan Pikichu-pas wawki-kuna-ta llaki-sa mana hichu-ri-naya-ska
Juan Pikichu-COP brother-PL-ACC love-ADVSS NEG abandon-REFL-DIS-PRF
'Juan Pikichu loving his brothers, did not want to abandon (them).'

JP:55

Paypas washamanta rinkapa nisa paypas shuk pabuta kusachiska
pay-pas washa-manta ri-nkapa ni-sa pay-pas shuk pabu-ta kusa-chi-ska
3-COP after-ABL go-PUR say-ADVSS 3-COP one duck-ACC roast-CAUS-PTCPL

parihu rinkapa wawkikunata llakisa.
parihu ri-nkapa wawki-kuna-ta llaki-sa
together go-PUR brother of male-PL-ACC love-ADVSS
'He also went behind (them) saying (that) he too (wanted) a roasted duck in order to go together, loving his brothers.'

JP:56

Ranti wawkikunaka Juan Pikichuwa piñariska kanakuska.
ranti wawki-kuna-ka Juan Pikichu-wa piñari-ska ka-naku-ska
instead brother of male-PL-TOP Juan Pikichu-INS become angry-PTCPL be-PL-PRF
'Instead, the brothers were angry with Juan Pikichu.'

JP:57

Ranti paykuna payparayku kallpachi tukunchi yaya piñawa nisa.
ranti pay-kuna pay-pa-rayku kallpa-chi-ø tuku-nchi yaya piña-wa ni-sa
instead 3-PL 3-POSS-CAUS run-CAUS-AG make-1PL father be.angry-INS say-ADVSS
'They just (said) "Because of him Father chased us away in anger" they were saying.'

JP:58

Ranti   Juan Pikichuwa   piñariska   kanakuska.
ranti   Juan Pikichu-wa   piñari-ska   ka-naku-ska
instead Juan Pikichu-INS   become angry-PTCPL   be-PL-PRF
'Instead, they were angry with Juan Pikichu.'

JP:59

Chayrayku   ranti   wawkita   washamanta   wawki   katisa
chay-rayku ranti   wawki-ta   washa-manta wawki   kati-sa
that-CAUS   instead brother of male-ACC after-ABL   brother of male continue-ADVSS

   ripika   ranti   wawkikuna   ranti   paywa   piñarisa
   ri-pi-ka   ranti   wawki-kuna   ranti   pay-wa piñari-sa
   go-ADVDS-TOP   instead brother of male-PL instead 3-INS   become angry-ADVSS

   waktasa   wanchinakuska   Juan Pikichuta.
   wakta-sa   wanchi-naku-ska   Juan Pikichu-ta
   beat-ADVSS   kill-PL-PRF   Juan Pikichu-ACC
'That's why instead when they saw (their) brother following behind the brothers, instead the
   brothers were just angry with him, beating and killing Juan Pikichu.'

JP:60

Chasna wanchisa   sakinakuska   waktaska   kaspiwa.
chasna wanchi-sa saki-naku-ska wakta-ska   kaspi-wa
thus   kill-ADVSS leave-PL-PRF   beat-PTCPL   stick-INS
'Thus killing they left (him) beaten with a stick.'

JP:61

Waktasa   sakipipas   mana wañuskachu.
wakta-sa   saki-pi-pas   mana wañu-ska-chu
beat-ADVSS   leave-ADVDS-COP   NEG   die-PRF-FOC
'Even though beating they left (him), he didn't die.'

JP:62

Chay   kaballu payta   yanapaska.
chay   kaballu pay-ta   yanapa-ska
that   horse   3-ACC   help-PRF
'That horse helped him.'

JP:63

Kawsachiska   kuti.
kawsa-chi-ska   kuti
live-CAUS-PRF   again
'He revived (him).'

JP:64

Kuti   washamanta   riska.
kuti   washa-manta ri-ska
again   after-ABL   go-PRF
'Again he went behind (them).'

JP:65

Chasna kaypipas   kuti   wanchinakuska   waktasa   rumikunawa.
chasna kay-pi-pas   kuti   wanchi-naku-ska wakta-sa   rumi-kuna-wa
thus   here-LOC-COP   again kill-PL-PRF   beat-ADVSS   rock-PL-INS
'In this way there again they were killing (him), beating with rocks.'

JP:66

Rumi waktasa ukupi panpasa sakinakuska, rumi ukupi.
rumi wakta-sa uku-pi pamba-sa saki-naku-ska rumi uku-pi
rock beat-ADVSS inside-LOC bury-ADVSS leave-PL-PRF rock inside-LOC

'Beating with rocks (and) burying (him) inside they left (him), underneath the rocks.'

JP:67

Chaymanta kawsachiska kuti chay kaballu Juan Pikichuta.
chay-manta kawsa-chi-ska kuti chay kaballu Juan Pikichu-ta
that-ABL live-CAUS-PRF again that horse Juan Pikichu-ACC

'From there he revived Juan Pikichu once again, that horse.'

JP:68

Kaballu hawapi riska.
kaballu hawa-pi ri-ska
horse up-LOC go-PRF

'Up on the horse he went.'

JP:69

Payta rimana puriskawa.
pay-ta rima-na puriska-wa
3-ACC talk-INF walk-INS

'He went talking with him.'

JP:70

Wawkikunaka chakiwa hudirisa rinakuska.
wawki-kuna-ka chaki-wa hudiri-sa ri-naku-ska
brother of male-PL-TOP foot-INS suffer-ADVSS go-PL-PRF

'The brothers suffering on foot went.'

JP:71

Payka kaballu hawapi puri kaska.
pay-ka kaballu hawa-pi puri-ø ka-ska
3-TOP horse up-LOC walk-AG be-PRF

'He up on the horse was going around.'

JP:72

Wawkikunaka piñasa paypa pabuta illakta mikunakuska.
wawki-kuna-ka piña-sa pay-pa pabu-ta illakta miku-naku-ska
brother of male-PL-TOP be angry-ADVSS 3-POSS duck-ACC completely eat-PL-PRF

'The brothers being angry ate all of his duck.'

JP:73

Ranti piñasa paykuna tulluta shitapika ranti pay mikupi pay
ranti piña-sa pay-kuna tullu-ta shita-pi-ka ranti pay miku-pi pay
instead be angry-ADVSS 3-PL bone-ACC throw-ADVDS-TOP instead 3 eat-LOC 3

makiwa hapipika, ranti aycha sakiri kaska.
maki-wa hapi-pi-ka ranti aycha sakiri ka-ska
hand-INS grab-ADVDS-TOP instead meat remain be-PRF

'So being angry they (were) just throwing their bones instead on his plate, when he grabbed (the bones) with his hand, their was actually meat remaining.'

JP:74

Paypa chay aychata   miku   kaska.
pay-pa   chay aycha-ta   miku-ø ka-ska
3-POSS   that meat-ACC   eat-AG be-PRF
'His (own) meat he was eating.'

JP:75

Wawkikuna   yuyaykuna kaska   tullutami   karanchi pero pay mana.
wawki-kuna   yuyay-kuna ka-ska   tullu-ta-mi kara-nchi pero pay mana
brother of male-PL think-PL   be-PRF   bone-ACC   feed-1PL but   3   NEG
'The brothers were thinking "We're feeding him bones" but (they were) not.'

JP:76

Ranti   chay kaballu yanapaskawa   pay puriska.
ranti   chay kaballu yanapa-ska-wa   pay puri-ska
instead that horse   help-PTCPL-INS 3   walk-PRF
'Rather, with that horse's help he went.'

JP:77

Chasna purisa   rinakurka.
chasna puri-sa   ri-naku-rka
thus   walk-ADVSS go-PL-PST
'Thus they went going on.'

JP:78

Washa ña   mana wanchinakuskachu,   mana wañupi   rikusa.
washa ña   mana wanchi-naku-ska-chu mana wañu-pi   riku-sa
after   now NEG   kill-PL-PRF-FOC   NEG   die-ADVDS see-SUB
'Then they were not killing him anymore, seeing that he wasn't dying.'

JP:79

Kawsa   riska.
kawsa-ø ri-ska
live-AG   go-PRF
'He went on living.'

JP:80

Umata   pakipakirapipas   mana wañuskachu   Juan Pikichu.
uma-ta   pakipaki-ra-pi-pas   mana wañu-ska-chu Juan Pikichu
head-ACC hit-PROG-ADVDS-COP NEG   die-PRF-FOC   Juan Pikichu
'Even when (they were) hitting his head, Juan Pikichu did not die.'

JP:81

Chayrayku ranti   mana wanchinayanakuska   washaka   ña.
chay-rayku ranti   mana wanchi-naya-naku-ska washa-ka   ña
that-CAUS   instead NEG   kill-DIS-PL-PRF   after-TOP   now
'That's why instead they did not want to kill (him) anymore after that. '

JP:82

Washa paypa   cargeruta   churanakuska   wawkita.
washa pay-pa   cargeru-ta   chura-naku-ska wawki-ta
after   3-POSS cargo-bearer-ACC put-PL-PRF   brother of male-ACC
'After that the brothers made him as their cargo-bearer.'

JP:83

Washa kaballupi payka purichi kaska kargakunata.
washa kaballu-pi pay-ka puri-chi-ø ka-ska karga-kuna-ta
back horse-LOC 3-TOP walk-CAUS-AG be-PRF cargo-PL-ACC
'(Putting) the cargo on the back of the horse he led it.'

JP:84

Mana pay kikin hudirichu kaska.
mana pay kikin hudiri-ø-chu ka-ska
NEG 3 alone suffer-AG-FOC be-PRF
'He didn't suffer by himself.'

JP:85

Chaykamalla kay kwintu ña.
chay-kama-lla kay kwintu ña
that-TER-JUST here story now
'That (is) all this story now.'

My Childhood

Childhood:1

Ñuka wiñaskamanta kwintaskankichi.
ñuka wiña-ska-manta kwinta-ska-nki-chi
my raise-PTCPL-ABL talk-PRF-2-2PL
'I'll tell you (lit. you told) about my childhood.'

Childhood:2

Ñuka wawa kaska ura, ñuka mamawa ñuka yayawa wiñarkani.
ñuka wawa ka-ska ura ñuka mama-wa ñuka yaya-wa wiña-rka-ni
1 child be-PTCPL time my mother-INS my father-INS grow-PST-1
'When I was a child, I grew up with my mom and dad.'

Childhood:3

Eskuelama ñuka mama ñuka yaya yachachiwarka.
eskuela-ma ñuka mama ñuka yaya yachachi-wa-rka
school-DIR my mother my father teach-1OBJ-PST
'My mom and dad sent me to school to learn.'

Childhood:4

Yachankapa purirkani wawa uras.
yacha-nkapa puri-rka-ni wawa uras
know-PUR walk-PST-1 child time
'I went learning when (I was) a child.'

Childhood:5

Kaymanta kay Ingano puri karkani Campo Serioma remuwa bugasa.
kay-manta kay Ingano puri ka-rka-ni Campo Serio-ma remu-wa buga-sa
here-ABL here Ingano walk be-PST-1 DIR paddle-INS row-ADVSS
'From here in Ingano I would go to Campo Serio rowing with a paddle.'

Childhood:6

Chayma karka eskuela.
chay-ma ka-rka eskuela
that-DIR be-PST school
'There was a school.'

Childhood:7
Chaymanta ri karkanchi wawa ura.
chay-manta ri-ø ka-rka-nchi wawa ura
that-ABL go-AG be-PST-1PL child time
'From there we would go when (we were) children.'

Childhood:8
Las ocho de la mañana paktankapa, aunque llega a las cinco paktankapa.
las ocho de la mañana pakta-nkapa aunque llega a las cinco pakta-nkapa
eight o'clock of the morning arrive-PUR although arrive five o' clock arrive-PUR
'At eight in the morning arriving and arriving (back) at five.'

Childhood:9
A las ocho eskuelama yaykunkapa Campo Serioma.
a las ocho eskuela-ma yayku-nkapa Campo Serio-ma
at eight o'clock school-DIR enter-PUR Campo Serio-DIR
'At eight (we would arrive) in Campo Serio to enter the school.'

Childhood:10
Tardi shamu karkanchi las cuatro paktamu karkanchi a las cinco
tardi shamu-ø ka-rka-nchi las cuatro pakta-mu-ø ka-rka-nchi a las cinco
afternoon come-AG be-PST-1PL four o'clock arrive-afar-AG be-PST-1PL at five o' clock

   urayta.
   uray-ta
   down-ACC
'In the afternoon we would leave at four and we would arrive at five downriver.'

Childhood:11
Y ñuka yaya ñuka chasna shamu paktapi ñuka mama chay chasna mikuna
y ñuka yaya ñuka chasna shamu-ø pakta-pi ñuka mama chay chasna mikuna
and my father 1 thus come-AG arrive-ADVDS my mother that thus food

   listo mikunata karankapa chapawanakurka.
   listo mikuna-ta kara-nkapa chapa-wa-naku-rka
   ready food-ACC feed-PUR wait-1AFE-PL-PST
'And my parents, when I arrived my mom would have food ready to feed me, they waited for me.'

Childhood:12
Aswashitu upyana.
aswa-shitu upya-na
fermented drink-DIM drink-INF
'We would drink some masato.'

Childhood:13
Y tardipi ñukanchi armanchi puñunchi wasipi.
y tardi-pi ñukanchi arma-nchi puñu-nchi wasi-pi
and afternoon-LOC we bathe-1PL sleep-1PL house-LOC
'And in the late afternoon we bathe and go to sleep in the house.'

Childhood:14
Y tutamanta kuti hatarinchi.
y tutamanta kuti hatari-nchi
and morning again get up-1PL
'And in the morning we get up again.'

Childhood:15

pichika	urapi	kutillata	rinchi	wichayta	bugasa	remowa.
pichika	uras-pi	kuti-llata	ri-nchi	wichay-ta	buga-sa	remo-wa
five	hour-LOC	return-same	go-1PL	up-ACC	row-ADVSS	paddle-INS

'At five in the morning we go returning upriver, rowing with a paddle.'

Childhood:16

Chayma	paktanchi	pusak	urapi	kanchi	Campo Seriupi	eskuelama	yaykunchi.
chay-ma	pakta-nchi	pusak	uras-pi	ka-nchi	Campo Seriu-pi	eskuela-ma	yayku-nchi
that-DIR	arrive-1PL	eight	hour-LOC	be-1PL	LOC	school-DIR	enter-1PL

'There we arrive at eight and we enter the school in Campo Serio.'

Childhood:17

Y	a las diez	recreo	mediodía	chupi	diapi	sama	karkanchi	hasta
y	a las diez	recreo	mediodía	chupi	dia-pi	sama-ø	ka-rka-nchi	hasta
and	ten o'clock	recess	noon	half	day-LOC	breathe-AG	be-PST-1PL	until

la unakama.
la una-kama
one o'clock-TER

'And at ten o'clock we had recess and at midday we would rest until one o'clock.'

Childhood:18

Chaymanta	la unamanta	kati	karkanchi	eskuela	hasta	las cuatro.
chay-manta	la una-manta	kati-ø	ka-rka-nchi	eskuela	hasta	las cuatro
that-ABL	one o'clock-ABL	continue-AG	be-PST-1PL	school	until	four o'clock

'From there from we would continue in school until four.'

Childhood:19.1

Las cuatromanta	uraykunchi.
las cuatro-manta	urayku-nchi
four o'clock-ABL	go down-1PL

'After four o'clock we go downriver.'

Childhood:19.2

Purinchi	wasima	puñunkapa.
puri-nchi	wasi-ma	puñu-nkapa
walk-1PL	house-DIR	sleep-PUR

'We go home to sleep.'

Childhood:20.1

Chasna	puri	karkani	Pani.
chasna	puri-ø	ka-rka-ni	pani
thus	walk-AG	be-PST-1	sister of a male

'That's how I lived, Sister.'

Childhood:20.2

Chayta	kwintani.
chay-ta	kwinta-ni
that-ACC	talk-1

'That's what I tell.'

The Frog Lady

Frog:1

Kwintasha shuk kwintu, shuk awlashitumanta.
kwinta-sha shuk kwintu shuk awla-shitu-manta
talk-1FUT one story one granny-DIM-ABL
' I will tell a story about a little old woman.'

Frog:2

Chay awlashitu ri chakrapi trabaharaska.
chay awla-shitu ri chakra-pi trabaha-ra-ska
that granny-DIM go farm-LOC work-PROG-PRF
'That old woman going to (her) farm worked.'

Frog:3

Y pay kaska yapa trabahasiki awlashitu.
y pay ka-ska yapa trabaha-siki awla-shitu
and 3 be-PRF very work-SPR granny-DIM
'And she was the hardest working old woman.'

Frog:4

Hatun chakrapi, pay shuk rura kaska.
hatun chakra-pi pay shuk rura-ø ka-ska
big farm-LOC 3 one do-AG be-PRF
'A big farm she was making.'

Frog:5

Pay sapalla yapa sinchi tuta trabaha awlashitu kaska.
pay sapalla yapa sinchi tuta trabaha-ø awla-shitu ka-ska
3 alone very strong night work-AG granny-DIM be-PRF
'She worked alone very hard until nightfall, the little old lady she was.'

Frog:6

Pay tukuy puncha chayma chishiya kaska.
pay tukuy puncha chay-ma chishiya ka-ska
3 all day that-DIR spend the afternoon be-PRF
'She spent the whole afternoon there everyday.'

Frog:7

Puñunkapalla wasima shamu kaska.
puñu-nkapa-lla wasi-ma shamu-ø ka-ska
sleep-PUR-JUST house-DIR come-AG be-PRF
'She was coming to the house only to sleep.'

Frog:8

Chasna pay trabaharaskapi chay wawakuna paktakrinakuska shuk ishkay
chasna pay trabaha-ra-skapi chay wawa-kuna pakta-kri-naku-ska shuk ishkay
thus 3 work-PROG-SIMT that child-PL arrive-PRMO-PL-PRF one two

wawakuna.
wawa-kuna
child-PL
'So she was working when these two children arrived, a pair of (lit. one two) children.'

Frog:9

Paktapi *rimaska:* *maymantata* *shamunkichi* *wawakuna.*
pakta-pi *rima-ska* *may-manta-ta* *shamu-nki-chi* *wawa-kuna*
arrive-ADVDS talk-PRF where-ABL-Q come-2-2PL child-PL
'Upon their arrival she said, "where do you come from children?"'

Frog:10

Kanta *maskasa* *purihurkanchi* *nisa* *rimanakuska* *shuk* *ishkay*
kan-ta *maska-sa* *puri-hu-rka-nchi* *ni-sa* *rima-naku-ska* *shuk* *ishkay*
2-ACC look for-ADVSS walk-PROG-PST-1PL say-ADVSS talk-PL-PRF one two

   wawakuna.
   wawa-kuna
   child-PL
'"We were walking looking for you," said the two children.'

Frog:11

Chay *awlashitu* *rimaska* *kay* *chupi* *chakrama* *rishu* *rimaska* *chay.*
chay *awla-shitu* *rima-ska* *kay* *chupi* *chakra-ma* *ri-shu* *rima-ska* *chay*
that granny-DIM talk-PRF here half farm-DIR go-12FUT talk-PRF that one
'That little old woman said, "Let's go here to the middle of the farm" that one said.'

Frog:12

Ishkay *wawakuna* *awlata* *pushasa* *rinakuska.*
ishkay *wawa-kuna* *awla-ta* *pusha-sa* *ri-naku-ska*
two child-PL granny-ACC transport people-ADVSS go-PL-PRF
'The two children went carrying the old woman.'

Frog:13

Paypa *chakra* *hatun* *chakra* *kaskama.*
pay-pa *chakra* *hatun* *chakra* *ka-ska-ma*
3-POSS farm big farm be-PRF-COND
'Her farm would be a big farm.'

Frog:14

Chaypi *chay* *wawakuna* *llullachinakuska.*
chay-pi *chay* *wawa-kuna* *llulla-chi-naku-ska*
that-LOC that child-PL lie-CAUS-PL-PRF
'There those children lied.'

Frog:15

Kaypi *tiyaranki* *ñukanchi* *ña* *shamurinka* *mikunata* *apasa.*
kay-pi *tiya-ra-nki* *ñukanchi* *ña* *shamu-rinka* *mikuna-ta* *apa-sa*
here-LOC be seated-PROG-2 we now come-FUT food-ACC bring-ADVSS
'"Sit here, we will come bringing food."'

Frog:16

Chay *awlashitu* *kapariraska:* *wawakunaaaaa* *wawakunaaaaa* *pusha*
chay *awla-shitu* *kapari-ra-ska* *wawa-kuna* *wawa-kuna* *pusha-ø*
that granny-DIM yell-PROG-PRF child-PL child-PL transport people-AG

   shamuway.
   shamu-wa-y
   come-1OBJ-2IMP
'That little old woman cried "children, children, come carry me"'

Frog:17

Utka   shamuychi   wawakuuuuna   kapariraska.
utka   shamu-y-chi   wawa-kuna   kapari-ra-ska
fast   come-2IMP-2PL   child-PL   yell-PROG-PRF
'"Hurry, come children!" she cried.'

Frog:18

Chay awla   wawakuna pay sakiskapi   chay wawakuna paykunapa ushaywa   chay
chay   awla   wawa-kuna pay saki-skapi   chay wawa-kuna pay-kuna-pa ushay-wa   chay
that   granny   child-PL   3   leave-SIMT that   child-PL   3-PL-POSS   strength-INS that

   wawakuna   ashwan yalli   hatun chakrata   ruranakuska.
   wawa-kuna ashwan yalli   hatun chakra-ta   rura-naku-ska
   child-PL   more   more   big   farm-ACC make-PL-PRF
'That old woman, the children leaving her, those children, with their strength, made the farm much bigger.'

Frog:19

Chaypi   chay awlashitu   kaparisa   tiyaska.
chay-pi   chay awla-shitu   kapari-sa   tiya-ska
that-LOC   that   granny-DIM   yell-ADVSS be-PRF
'There that little old woman was yelling.'

Frog:20

Mana   shamunakuska.
mana   shamu-naku-ska
NEG   come-PL-PRF
'They didn't come.'

Frog:21

Chaypi   ña   kuna chaypawasha mana ri   ushasa.
chay-pi   ña   kuna chaypawasha mana ri   usha-sa
that-LOC now   now   after   NEG   go   be able-ADVSS
'Now she couldn't go.'

Frog:22

Sapupi   sakiriska.
sapu-pi   sakiri-ska
frog-CMPVL   turn into-PRF
'She turned into a frog.'

Frog:23

Sapu ña   kaparihulla   baaaa baaaa ña   sapushina   sapu sakiriska.
sapu ña   kapari-hu-lla   baaaa baaaa ña   sapu-shina   sapu sakiri-ska
frog   now   yell-PROG-JUST   ON   ON   now   frog-CMPV frog turn into-PRF
'The frog (was) just yelling, "baaa, baaa" now that she became like a frog.'

Frog:24

Chay kamalla   kan mi   cuento.
chay   kama-lla   ka-n mi   cuento
that   until-JUST be-3 my   story
'That is all my story.'

Marriage Story

Marriage:1

A	Romulo	ñuka	purikarkani	eskuelapi	rikukarkani	pero	pay	kawsakarka
a	Romulo	ñuka	puri-ka-rka-ni	eskuela-pi	riku-ka-rka-ni	pero	pay	kawsa-ka-rka
to	Romulo	1	walk-be-PST-1	school-LOC	see-be-PST-1	but	3	live-be-PST

chinpa	partima.
chinpa	parti-ma
other side	part-DIR

'(How I met) Romulo, I would go to school and see him but he lived on the other side (of the river).'

Marriage:2

Ñuka	kawsakarkani	hanama.
ñuka	kawsa-ka-rka-ni	hanama
1	live-be-PST-1	upriver

'I was living upriver.'

Marriage:3

Y	maypi	kawsa	komadre	Clorinda.
y	may-pi	kawsa	komadre	Clorinda
and	where-LOC	live	comadre	Clorinda

'And where comadre Clorinda lives.'

Marriage:4

Chay	hanamalla	chaypilla	kawsa	karkanchi	chay.
chay	hanama-lla	chay-pi-lla	kawsa-ø	ka-rka-nchi	chay
that	upriver-JUST	that-LOC-JUST	live-AG	be-PST-1PL	that

'There right upriver, right there we we were living.'

Marriage:5

Chaymanta	yaykurkani	mana	anchi	riku	karkanichu	payta	pero	paypas	puri
chay-manta	yayku-rka-ni	mana	anchi	riku-ø	ka-rka-ni-chu	pay-ta	pero	pay-pas	puri-ø
that-ABL	enter-PST-1	NEG	?	see-AG	be-PST-1-FOC	3-ACC	but	3-COP	walk-AG

karka	regatón	ñupa	uras.
ka-rka	regatón	ñupa	uras
be-PST	peddler	before	time

'From there I entered (school), I didn't see him much, but he was also going with the peddler in that time.'

Marriage:6

Pero	mana	ansa	riksi	karkanichu.
pero	mana	ansa	riksi-ø	ka-rka-ni-chu
but	NEG	little	be aquainted with-AG	be-PST-1-FOC

'But I didn't know him very well.'

Marriage:7

Y	tiyarka	shuk	cumpleañosma	charika	uraynishitu	Kompa Felix
y	tiya-rka	shuk	cumpleaños-ma	chari-ka	uray-ni-shitu	kompa Felix
and	exist-PST	one	birthday-DIR	have-TOP	down-LMT-DIM	compadre Felix

kawsaraskapi	Kompa Nikolas	kawsaraska.
kawsa-ra-skapi	kompa Nikolas	kawsa-ra-ska
live-PROG-SIMT	compadre Nikolas	live-PROG-PRF

'And there was a birthday party downriver where compadre Felix lives and compadre Nikolas was living.'

Marriage:8
Chaypi   payta   rikuskani   Romuluta.
chay-pi   pay-ta   riku-ska-ni   Romulu-ta
that-LOC   3-ACC   see-PRF-1   Romulo-ACC
'There I saw Romulo.'

Marriage:9
Ñukapas   ña   hatun   ña   karkani   Susyshina.
ñuka-pas   ña   hatun   ña   ka-rka-ni   Susy-shina
1-COP   now   big   now   be-PST-1   Susy-CMPV
'I was big already, then I was like Susy.'

Marriage:10.1
Y,   chaypi   rikuskani   payta.
y   chay-pi   riku-ska-ni   pay-ta
and   that-LOC   see-PRF-1   3-ACC
'And there I saw him.'

Marriage:10.2
Paypas   chaypi   rikuwaska.
pay-pas   chay-pi   riku-wa-ska
3-COP   that-LOC   see-1OBJ-PRF
'He also would see me there.'

Marriage:11
Y   ña   chaypi...   rikuwaska   entonces   ranti   shuk   puncha   karka.
y   ña   chay-pi   riku-wa-ska   entonces   ranti   shuk   puncha   ka-rka
and   now   that-LOC   see-1OBJ-PRF   so   instead   one   day   be-PST
'And so there he saw me, so then it was one day.'

Marriage:12
Y,   sapalla   karkani   ranti   kawsahurkanchi   ñukanchi   uraypi   eskuela
y   sapalla   ka-rka-ni   ranti   kawsa-hu-rka-nchi   ñukanchi   uray-pi   eskuela
and   alone   be-PST-1   instead   live-PROG-PST-1PL   we   down-LOC   school

   mayapi.
   maya-pi
   riverbank-LOC
'And I was by myself, we were living close to the school at the riverbank.'

Marriage:13
Y   chaypi   paktarka,   ñuka   sapalla   patiuta   picharaskapi.
y   chay-pi   pakta-rka   ñuka   sapalla   patiu-ta   picha-ra-skapi
and   that-LOC   arrive-PST   1   alone   yard-ACC   sweep-PROG-SIMT
'And he arrived there while I was alone sweeping the yard.'

Marriage:14
Y   kwintachiwankapa.
y   kwinta-chi-wa-nkapa
and   talk-CAUS-1OBJ-PUR
'And, to talk to me.'

Marriage:15
Y   kasarankapa   nisa   y   paypa   warmipa.
y   kasara-nkapa   ni-sa   y   pay-pa   warmi-pa
and   marry-PUR   say-SUB   and   3-POSS   woman-POSS
'And he was saying to marry him and (be) his wife.'

Marriage:16
Ñuka rimaskani y mana ñukataka sirbiwanki.
ñuka rima-ska-ni y mana ñuka-ta-ka sirbi-wa-nki
my talk-PRF-1 and NEG 1-ACC-TOP serve-1OBJ-2
'I replied, "and what if you don't support me? '

Marriage:17
Kanpas kanki wawa.
kan-pas ka-nki wawa
2-COP be-2 child
'You are also a child.'

Marriage:18
Ruku runa kasa ñukata sirbiwanki.
ruku runa ka-sa ñuka-ta sirbi-wa-nki
old person be-ADVSS 1-ACC serve-1OBJ-2
'Being an older person, you (would) support me.'

Marriage:19
Ñukapas kani wawa.
ñuka-pas ka-ni wawa
1-COP be-1 child
'I'm also a young child.'

Marriage:20
Wawapura imata ñukanchi imata— imasnata trabahasa kawsarinka
Wawa-pura ima-ta ñuka-nchi ima-ta imasna-ta trabaha-sa kawsa-rinka
child-INT what-ACC 1-1PL what-ACC how-ACC work-ADVSS live-FUT

   rimaskani ñuka Romuluta.
   rima-ska-ni ñuka Romulu-ta
   say-PRF-1 1 romulo-ACC
'Between children like us how can one live working?" I said (all that) to Romulo.'

Marriage:21
Y pay rimawaska trabahaska kawsasha rimawaska.
y pay rima-wa-ska trabaha-ska kawsa-sha rima-wa-ska
and 3 talk-1OBJ-PRF work-PTCPL live-1FUT talk-1OBJ-PRF
'And he said to me, "I will live working" he said to me.'

Marriage:22.1
Mana uyanayaskani.
mana uya-naya-ska-ni
NEG hear-DIS-PRF-1
'I didn't want to hear.'

Marriage:22.2
Pay rimaskata kwintachiwarka y picharaskapi patiu picharaskapi.
pay rima-ska-ta kwinta-chi-wa-rka y picha-ra-skapi patiu picha-ra-skapi
3 talk-PTCPL-ACC talk-CAUS-1OBJ-PST and sweep-PROG-SIMT yard sweep-PROG-SIMT
'He just kept talking to me while I was sweeping and sweeping the yard.'

Marriage:23
Y rimaskani ñuka mana munanichu.
y rima-ska-ni ñuka mana muna-ni-chu
and talk-PRF-1 1 NEG want-1-FOC
'And I said "I don't want to.'

Marriage:24

Kan kanki wawa y ñukapas kani wawa.
kan ka-nki wawa y ñuka-pas ka-ni wawa
2 be-2 child and 1-COP be-1 child
'You are a young child, and I too am a young child.'"

Marriage:25

Y ña Pay rimawaska ñukanchi trabah— ñuka trabahasha y charishu shu
y ña pay rima-wa-ska ñukanchi trabah ñuka trabaha-sha y chari-shu shu
and now 3 talk-1OBJ-PRF we work 1 work-1FUT and have-12FUT one

imata rimawaska pay.
imata rima-wa-ska pay
what talk-1OBJ-PRF 3
'And then, he said to me, "We will work--I will work and we will have enough (lit. the things)." he told me.'

Marriage:26

Chaypi ña yuyariska pay mañankapa paypa ayllukunawa.
chay-pi ña yuyari-ska pay maña-nkapa pay-pa ayllu-kuna-wa
that-LOC now think-PRF 3 ask for-PUR 3-POSS family-PL-INS
'There then he decided he would ask with his family.'

Marriage:27

Washa shuk puncha paktamurka mañankapa ñuka papata.
washa shuk puncha pakta-mu-rka maña-nkapa ñuka papá-ta
after one day arrive-afar-PST ask for-PUR my father-ACC
'So one day he arrived to ask my father.'

Marriage:28

Pay presentankapa ñuka papawa ñuka mama,
pay presenta-nkapa ñuka papá-wa ñuka mama
3 introduce-PUR my father-INS my mother
'He (came) to present himself to my father and my mother.'

Marriage:29

y ña kasarankapa.
y ña kasara-nkapa
and now marry-PUR
'And so to get married then.'

Marriage:30

Ñuka pay mañankapa shamuska urapas mana munaskanichu, ari.
ñuka pay maña-nkapa shamu-ska ura-pas mana muna-ska-ni-chu ari
1 3 ask for-PUR come-PTCPL less-COP NEG want-PRF-1-FOC yes
'Even when he came to ask I didn't want to, so yeah.'

Marriage:31

Pay— ñuka mama rimawaska kan chay runawa kasarana kanki.
pay ñuka mama rima-wa-ska kan chay runa-wa kasara-na ka-nki
3 my mother talk-1OBJ-PRF 2 that person-INS marry-INF be-2
'My mother told me, "You will marry that guy."'

Marriage:32

Y   ña   kasaraskanchi.   Ña   washa hasta kuna kawsanchi   paywa.
y   ña   kasara-ska-nchi   ña   washa hasta kuna kawsa-nchi   pay-wa
and   now marry-PRF-1PL   now after   until now   live-1PL   3-INS
'So then we got married after that and until now we live together (lit. with him).'

Election Day

Election:1

Kay   viaje rirkanchi.   Kuna ñuka kompa   Profesor Pedrowa   rirkanchi.
kay   viaje ri-rka-nchi   kuna ñuka kompadre Profesor Pedro-wa   ri-rka-nchi
here   trip   go-PST-1PL   now   my   compadre Professor Pedro-INS go-PST-1PL
'We went on this trip. Now, we went with my compadre Professor Pedro.'

Election:2

Entre   siete   rirkanchi.   Siete   personas rirkanchi.
entre   siete   ri-rka-nchi   siete   personas ri-rka-nchi
between seven go-PST-1PL seven people   go-PST-1PL
'Seven of us went. Seven people went.'

Election:3

Kaymanta   llukshirkanchi   a las nueve.
kay-manta llukshi-rka-nchi a las nueve
here-ABL   leave-PST-1PL   at nine o'clock
'From here we left at nine.'

Election:4.1

Rirkanchi   Pantojama.
ri-rka-nchi   Pantoja-ma
go-PST-1PL Pantoja-DIR
'We went to Pantoja.'

Election:4.2

Llukshisa   rirkanchi   y   paktanchi   domingo diez... las once de la mañana
llukshi-sa   ri-rka-nchi   y   pakta-nchi   domingo diez   las once de la mañana
leave-ADVSS go-PST-1PL and arrive-1PL Sunday   ten   eleven   of the morning

  paktarkanchi.
  pakta-rka-nchi
  arrive-PST-1PL
'Leaving we went and we arrived Sunday at ten...at eleven in the morning we arrived.'

Election:5

Viaje rihuskalla   chupi viajepi   hatun tukuskanchi   yuyayta   tamya.
viaje ri-hu-ska-lla   chupi viaje-pi   hatun tuku-ska-nchi   yuyay-ta tamya
trip   go-PROG-PRF-JUST half   trip-LOC big   result-PRF-1PL ACC   rain
'While we were still going mid-trip we suddenly met strong rain.'

Election:6

Tamya wayra hukuchisa   chirichirka   ña.
tamya wayra huku-chi-sa   chiri-chi-rka   ña
rain   wind   get wet-CAUS-ADVSS cold-CAUS-PST now
'Rain and wind making us wet and we became cold then.'

Election:7

Yarkay pero rirkanchi.
yarkay pero ri-rka-nchi
hunger but go-PST-1PL
'We were hungry but we went.'

Election:8

Paktarkanchi   Tempestad, Tempestad puñunchi.
pakta-rka-nchi   Tempestad   Tempestad puñu-nchi
arrive-PST-1PL Tempestad Tempestad sleep-1PL
'We arrived in Tempestad, in Tempestad we slept.'

Election:9

Tempestad rirkanchi   a las seis   de la mañana.
Tempestad ri-rka-nchi   a las seis   de la mañana
Tempestad go-PST-1PL at the six of the morning
'We went from Tempestad at six in the morning.'

Election:10

Pakta karkanchi   Pantojama las once.
pakta ka-rka-nchi   Pantoja-ma las once
arrive be-PST-1PL DIR   eleven
'We were arriving in Pantoja at eleven.'

Election:11

Bueno, ñukanchi paktaskapi   tiyarka   achka runa   tiyaska.
bueno ñukanchi pakta-skapi   tiya-rka   achka runa   tiya-ska
well   we   arrive-SIMT exist-PST much person exist-PRF
'So, when we arrived there were lots of people.'

Election:12

Kola raska   suni kola kuna tiyanakurka.
kola ra-ska   suni kola kuna tiya-naku-rka
line do-PRF long line now exist-PL-PST
'A line was made, a long line was there now.'

Election:13

Y   ña   kay   washa maskanakurka   por apellido.
y   ña   kay   washa maska-naku-rka por apellido
and now here after   look for-PL-PST by surname
'And after this they looked (organized everyone) by surname.'

Election:14.1

Por ejemplo ñuka kani Noa.
por ejemplo ñuka ka-ni Noa
for example 1   be-1 Noa
'For example, I am Noa. '

Election:14.2

Pura Noa, Noa, Noa chaykunata   maskanakurka   pura Noa.
pura Noa Noa Noa chay-kuna-ta   maska-naku-rka pura Noa
pure Noa   Noa   Noa that one-PL-ACC look for-PL-PST pure Noa
'All the Noa, Noa, Noa, those ones they looked for, all Noa.'

Election:15.1

Apellido paterno Noa, Noa gente.
apellido paterno Noa Noa gente
surname paternal Noa Noa people
'The people (who have) a paternal surname Noa, Noa.'

Election:15.2

DNIta rikuchinki.
DNI-ta riku-chi-nki
identification-ACC see-CAUS-2
'They make you show your ID (DNI).'

Election:16

Rana kanki kanpa fila, maypi kan kanpa mesa, chaypi churanakun.
ra-na ka-nki kan-pa fila may-pi ka-n kan-pa mesa chay-pi chura-naku-n
do-INF be-2 2-POSS line where-LOC be-3 2-POSS table that-LOC put-PL-3
'You make your line (of people) where your table is, there they put (you).'

Election:17

Y churanakun Grefa aparte.
y chura-naku-n Grefa aparte
and put-PL-3 Grefa separate
'And they put (anyone with the surname) Grefa separate.'

Election:18

Y chasna karkanchi kantama, hasta las cuatro.
y chasna ka-rka-nchi kan-ta-ma hasta las cuatro
and thus be-PST-1PL 2-ACC-DIR until four o'clock
'That´s how we were until four.'

Election:19

Ñuka llukshirkani shuk ratu imashti, kanma secreto killkakrirkani
ñuka llukshi-rka-ni shuk ratu imashti kan-ma secreto killka-kri-rka-ni
1 leave-PST-1 one moment um 2-DIR secret write-PRMO-PST-1

llukshimurkani.
llukshi-mu-rka-ni
leave-afar-PST-1
'I left for a moment, um, (I will tell) you a secret, I went and wrote, and I left.'

Election:20

Ñuka sufragarkani yuyarisa kay gobiernupa, este, PPK.
ñuka sufraga-rka-ni yuyari-sa kay gobiernu-pa este PPK
1 vote-PST-1 think-ADVSS here governor-POSS um PPK
'I voted thinking about this government, um, PPK.'

Election:21

Chay partima markarkani ñuka.
chay parti-ma marka-rka-ni ñuka
that party-DIR vote-PST-1 1
'That´s what party I voted for.'

Election:22

Ñuka mamaruku markaska Keiko.
ñuka mama-ruku marka-ska Keiko
my mother-elder vote-PRF Keiko
'My grandma voted for Keiko.'

Election:23

Mana	*yachaska*	*maypi*	*killkanata*	*pantachiska*	*mayama*	*hawiska.*
mana	*yacha-ska*	*may-pi*	*killka-na-ta*	*panta-chi-ska*	*maya-ma*	*hawi-ska*
NEG	know-PRF	where-LOC	write-INF-ACC	be mistaken-CAUS-PRF	edge-DIR	write-PRF

'She didn´t know where to write and was mistaken and she marked the other side.'

Election:24

Achka	*chasna*	*pasanakurka.*
achka	*chasna*	*pasa-naku-rka*
much	thus	happen-PL-PST

'That´s what happened to many people.'

Election:25.1

Profesor	*Pedro*	*hasta*	*wichayta*	*rihusa*	*yachachisa*	*chasna*	*killkay*	*PPK.*
profesor	*Pedro*	*hasta*	*wichay-ta*	*ri-hu-sa*	*yachachi-sa*	*chasna*	*killka-y*	*PPK*
professor	Pedro	until	up-ACC	go-PROG-ADVSS	teach-ADVSS	thus	write-2IMP	PPK

'Professor Pedro even going upriver (was) teaching "Write like this, PPK."'

Election:25.2

Chaypi	*shitankichi.*
chay-pi	*shita-nki-chi*
that-LOC	throw-2-2PL

"That´s where you mark."

Election:26.1

Total	*paypas*	*pantarka*	*kanma*	*secreto*	*mana*	*yachaska*	*maypita*	*kan.*
total	*pay-pas*	*panta-rka*	*kan-ma*	*secreto*	*mana*	*yacha-ska*	*maypi-ta*	*ka-n*
result	3-COP	mistake-PST	2-DIR	secret	NEG	know-PRF	where-ACC	be-3

'As it turns out, he also made a mistake (I tell) you a secret, he did not know where it was.'

Election:26.2

Ña	*wishi*	*mana*	*kaska.*
ña	*wishi*	*mana*	*ka-ska*
now	red	NEG	be-PRF

'It was not red.'

Election:27

'SAHT'	*pintaska.*
SAHT	*pinta-ska*
ON	mark-PRF

"SAHT" he marked it.'

Election:28

Chasna	*pasarka.*
chasna	*pasa-rka*
thus	happen-PST

'That's what happened.'

Election:29

Chaywasha	*chaymanta*	*Pantojamanta*	*ñukanchi*	*shamurkanchi*	*a las cuatro*	*de la tarde.*
chay-washa	*chay-manta*	*Pantoja-manta*	*ñukanchi*	*shamu-rka-nchi*	*a las cuatro*	*de la tarde*
that-AFT	that-ABL	Pantoja-ABL	we	come-PST-1PL	four o'clock	the afternoon

'After that, we left from there from Pantoja at four in the afternoon.'

Election:30

Paktamarkanchi	*Tempestad.*
pakta-ma-rka-nchi	*Tempestad*
arrive-DIR-PST-1PL	Tempestad

'We arrived in Tempestad.'

Election:31

Paktamarkanchichari	*kanchis*	*urapi.*
pakta-ma-rka-nchi-chari	*kanchis*	*uras-pi*
arrive-COND-PST-1PL-DUB	seven	hour-LOC

'We arrived around seven o´clock.'

Election:32

Puñurkanchi.
puñu-rka-nchi
sleep-PST-1PL

'We slept.'

Election:33

Kayanti	*chasna*	*ñukanchi*	*paktamarkanchi*	*lunes*	*las cuatro*	*las cinco*
kaya-nti	*chasna*	*ñukanchi*	*pakta-ma-rka-nchi*	*lunes*	*las cuatro*	*las cinco*
tomorrow-INS	thus	we	arrive-DIR-PST-1PL	monday	four o'clock	five o' clock

paktamarkanchi	*kayma.*
pakta-ma-rka-nchi	*kay-ma*
arrive-DIR-PST-1PL	here-DIR

'The next day thus we arrived on Monday at four or five we arrived here.'

Election:34

Kuna	*urarkani*	*tiyanka*	*segundo*	*vuelta.*
kuna	*ura-rka-ni*	*tiya-nka*	*segundo*	*vuelta*
now	go down-PST-1	be-3FUT	second	round

'Now (that) I came down, there will be a second round.'

Election:35.1

Cinco de junio	*tiyan.*
cinco de junio	*tiya-n*
five of June	exist-3

'It will be on the fifth of June.'

Election:35.2

Kuti	*chari*	*risha.*
kuti	*chari*	*ri-sha*
again	maybe	go-1FUT

'I might go again.'

Election:36

Kuti	*huku*	*gustu*	*tamyapi.*
kuti	*huku*	*gustu*	*tamya-pi*
again	get wet	pleasure	rain-LOC

'Once again to enjoy getting wet in the rain. (sarcastic)'

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