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ECUADORIAN QUICHUA: DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH AND VARIATION

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ECUADORIAN QUICHUA:  
DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH AND VARIATION

BY  
LAWRENCE KIDD CARPENTER

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF  
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Lawrence Kidd Carpenter

## PREFACE

What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is a plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death. The ideal of a single civilization for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life.

Octavio Paz, from Seven  
Voices by Rita Guibert

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are times when, through the eyes of my mind, I can still see bits and pieces of almost four years spent among Ecuador's Indian people. The crystalline dew on the fields, the sweet, pungent smell of eucalyptus burning in early-morning fires, the quiet serenity of the countryside--all provide a backdrop to the daily activities of the runa. These activities run the full range of human experience. The joyous sounds of birth, the controlled sounds of a recitation for family and friends of a poem learned in school, the angry sounds of a property boundary dispute, or the haunting, sad sound of a velorio "wake"--all are brought together producing a composite of life in the Ecuadorian campo. I am fortunate to have experienced it.

When I first arrived in Ecuador my paramount concern was to learn the Quichua language and how it varied from place to place. Fortunately for me, the people from whom I learned were adamant in their insistence that I know how the language fit into life as a whole. "You cannot learn to speak Quichua unless you know how it is used." As a result, I learned much more than what a given word or phrase means; the runa taught me how and when it is used, enabling me to participate, observe, and intervene in the daily events of



their culture. I am forever indebted to the runa for showing me the ways of the people of the earth. Through their patience and insistence, they have provided me with experience, knowledge, and understanding that I shall never forget.

In addition to the runa of Ecuador with whom I lived, many other people in that country and this, in one way or another, aided with the progress of the dissertation. In Ecuador the staff and members of the Comisión Fulbright helped, in every possible way, to facilitate my research. The difficult times were easier knowing that Maria Eugenia Freile, Jenny Castillo, Maria Mogollon, Marcelo Erazo (Director of the Comisión), and Wallace Kiederling (U.S. Embassy Cultural Attaché) were available whenever needed. In addition to the Comisión Fulbright, the director of the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Hernán Crespo Toral, allowed access to museum facilities.

Later periods of field work have been greatly facilitated by the Director of the Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural, Dra. María del Carmen Molestina. Her honest, objective criticisms, suggestions, and encouragement to continue research in the region are deeply appreciated.

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Although the majority of this research was conducted in Ecuador, final analyses and presentation took place in the United States. The support and encouragement of my family, especially my mother, Mrs. Daisy Vaughan, and my grandmother, Mrs. Ola Montgomery, have been constant and free-flowing. It is deeply appreciated, always remembered, and I thank them warmly.

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Shinaka kashpaka, kayta kikinkunapakmi, kikinkunata nima ura kunkayta ushapasha. Kunankarin, kikinkuna nuka ayllu kuyntamari. Ninan-ninanta agradisipani. Nalla nalla tigrasha. Shuyawapankilla.



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**Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council  
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Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**ECUADORIAN QUICHUA:  
DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH AND VARIATION**

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There are at least ten separate indigenous languages in Ecuador. Quichua, the largest, is spoken in the Andean highlands and the eastern lowlands; the majority of the approximately three million speakers resides in the highlands.

Quichua belongs to the Quechua language family. Other extant members are distributed from southern Colombia to northwestern Argentina. Ecuadorian Quichua is subdivided into central and non-central varieties with at least seven and six dialects, respectively. Since each distinct ethnic



group uses a different Quichua dialect, the resulting variations are indicative of the diversity of Ecuadorian Society.

Because such dialect diversity has led to mutual unintelligibility in other Quechua-speaking areas, the present study was conceived to study systematically the dialects, determine their nature, and address implications for development programs.

Based on research in various Quichua-speaking communities and the literature survey, this study examines language ecology, phonological and morphological systems, aspects of geographic and social dialectology, and implications for national and international development programs. The appendices include comparative Peruvian data, texts, instructional materials, and elicitation lists.

This study describes the basic structure of the dialects and discusses intelligibility across linguistic boundaries. The greatest variation occurs among the central dialects, introduced as a trade language in pre-Inca times. Less variation is found in the non-central dialects, introduced as the Inca Conquest language and as a trade language in the colonial era. The study also confirms that even though Quichua is moribund in some regions, it is quite vigorous in others.

While many innovations in Ecuadorian Quichua are attributable to the increasing influence of Spanish, Quichua

is active and will survive in many regions for several generations. Ultimately, the future of Quichua depends on several factors, not the least of which are the extent of use in education and whether the non-indigenous population accepts the indigenous cultures as human and worthy of respect.

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The principal goal of this investigation is to provide a description of Ecuadorian Quichua and its variation. Since my initial exposure to Quichua in 1972, I have always been intrigued by its complexities and have sought to learn more about its usage. Quichua is a non-western language and, as such, is different from Indo-European languages such as Spanish and English. Therefore it was felt that observance of Quichua's role and usage in situ was a necessary prerequisite for any investigation and description of the language's nature and structure. It is for these reasons that I have conducted almost four years of field work among Quichua speakers.

Quichua is used to refer to varieties of the major indigenous language spoken in the highland and eastern lowland regions of Ecuador. (See Figure 1 for a map of Ecuador.) The present thesis describes one of the two major subdivisions in detail, examines and compares the variations of Quichua in general, discusses the important role of this language in Ecuadorian society, and draws some implications for development programs such as bilingual education.

The present chapter is divided into two major sections; the first provides a description of the organization of this thesis, and the second provides an ecology of Quichua.

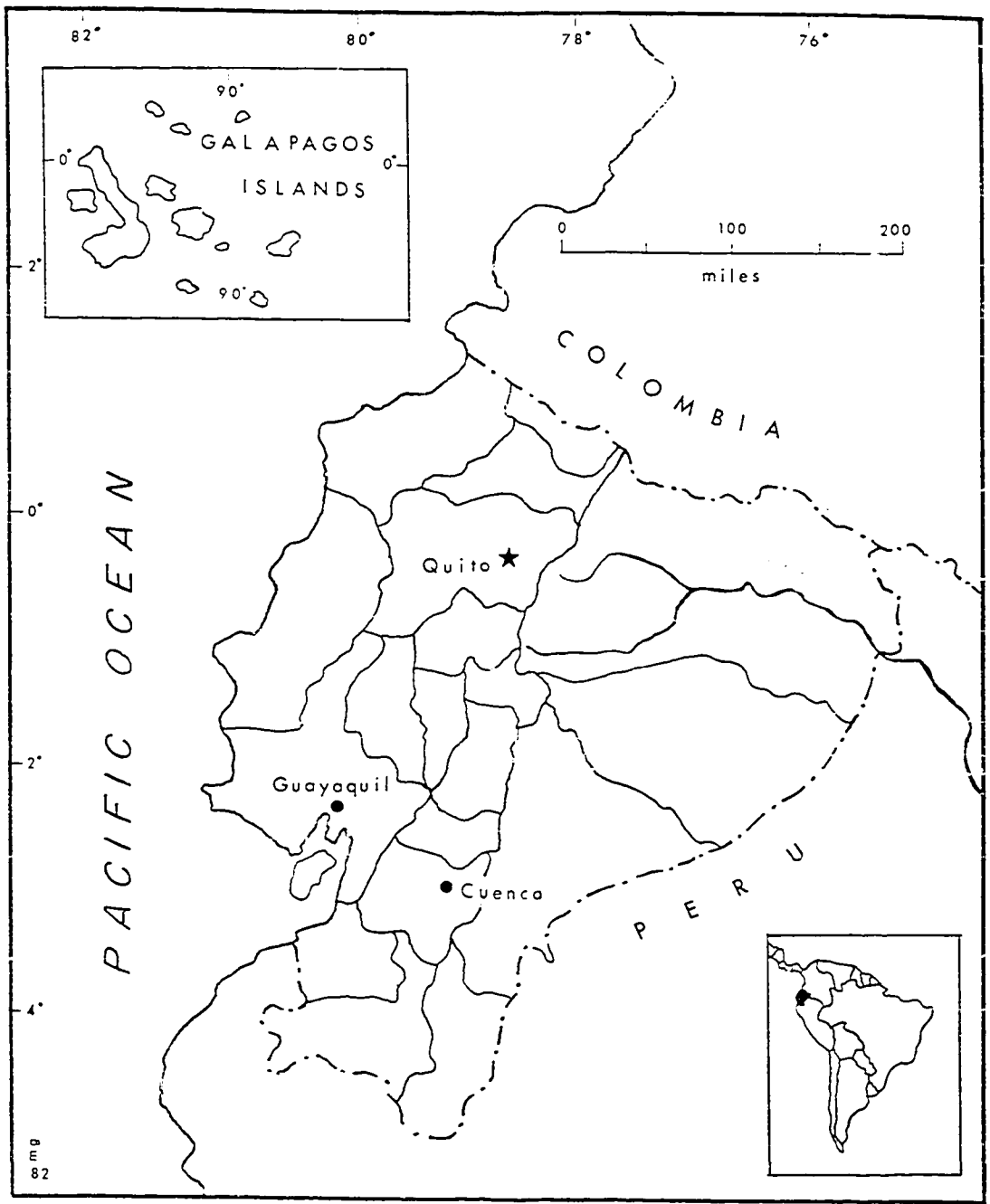


Figure 1: Ecuador

## Organization

### Purpose

As indicated below in the ecological treatment of Quichua, the Quechua (1) family is geographically distributed over a large area of the Andean and upper Amazon regions and, as a consequence, exhibits a substantial amount of dialect variation. In Peru the amount of dialect variation has led to mutual unintelligibility in some areas and has resulted in separate distinct Quechua languages. In Ecuador, the dialect variation of the central Sierra coupled with an overlay of the Quechua language as spread by the Incas (and later by the Spanish) has resulted in a diverse and complicated dialectology of Ecuadorian Quichua. As late as 1974, Ecuadorian Quichua was described as '...not yet sufficiently defined' (Torero, 1974). Consequently, this investigation is designed to provide a description of Ecuadorian Quichua, aspects of its dialectology, and a clarification of the relationships across various dialects in order to contribute to the knowledge of the language family as a whole. The focus of this study on varieties of the language family spoken in Ecuador is intended to continue the needed description of Quechua dialectology.

Although many investigators have referred to aspects of Quechua dialectology (Cerrón Palomino, 1976; Coombs, et al., 1976; Cusihuamán, 1976; Orr, 1978; Parker, 1969; Quesada, 1976; Soto Ruíz, 1976; Stark, 1975; Stark et al., 1974), the

most inclusive and enlightening descriptions and classification remain those of Torero (1974). As impetus and a basis for comparison, the classification which Torero proposes in El Quechua y la Historia Social Andina (1974) is used throughout this study.

Adapting Torero's methodology to Ecuador, I decided to gather as much linguistic data as possible from a sample representing speakers of the various dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. These data were then analyzed for phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic variation. Combined with existing studies and investigations, the resulting information is used in the search for answers to the following questions: To what extent does dialect variation occur in Ecuadorian Quichua? Is it negligible or does it lead to unintelligibility? If mutual unintelligibility occurs among certain dialects, is communication maintained? If so, how? Within the range of dialects, which is/are the more conservative? Regarding which aspects? The more innovative? Regarding which aspects? Are all the linguistic levels equally innovative or conservative? Is there intra- in addition to inter-dialect variation? How was Quechua spread into Ecuador? From where? By whom? Once? More than once? Do dialects cluster into major groupings? What external linguistic pressures influence dialectology? What are attitudes of Indians and non-Indians towards the language?

Are their prestigious dialects? Is Quichua in decline or vigorous?

While answers to such questions may be of interest to quichuólogos 'Quichuists' and other linguists, by application they may be useful in the reconstruction of Proto-Quechua, and thereby shed light on past population movements. Differences in Quichua may also yield information on language movement which may or may not parallel population movements. In other words, is the Quichua of a given area the result of an introduced Quechua-speaking population or is it the result of the adoption of the language by a conquered population. The Quichua dialects spoken by the Saragureños and Salasacas are representative of the former situation and those spoken by the Otavaleños and the Loretanos are representative of the latter.

In addition to the intrinsic value of answers to the above questions for linguists and anthropologists, they may also be useful to governmental and educational administrators. For example, the consideration and undertaking of bilingual education programs creates a growing demand for descriptions of Ecuadorian Quichua. Such descriptions are useful in the selection of sound, judicious national education policies, especially those pertaining to the linguistic minorities. In addition to their usefulness in policy decisions, linguistic descriptions are useful,

beneficial, and necessary for the preparation of pedagogical materials.

My first introduction to Ecuadorian Quichua was as a Peace Corps Volunteer in 1972 and 1973. During this time I became increasingly aware of the salience of the language and the role and position of its speakers within Ecuadorian society. However the bulk of the field work for the present investigation occurred from October, 1977, to September, 1979. After returning to the University of Florida, portions of the field data were reanalyzed as a check using the Northeast Regional Data Center facilities. In addition to the primary field data, relevant secondary sources from the existing literature were consulted and incorporated into the study.

### Theoretical Perspectives

The present investigation was undertaken with two goals in mind: first, to answer questions regarding the nature of Ecuadorian Quichua, and second, to provide a scientific analysis of the linguistic system and its variation across dialects.

A sound structural description is seen as a means to achieve the above goals. The decision to provide a structural description was dictated by two concerns. First, the most productive discovery procedures in the field situation remain those which are structurally based, and



second, such a description provides necessary primary information useful to further investigations.

Structurally-oriented discovery procedures are extremely useful for the acquisition and analysis of data in field conditions. Once the collected data have been described within a structural framework that is faithful to and respectful of the inherent nature of the language, the data and their description may then serve as a necessary basis for further theoretical or applied linguistic investigations. After a structural description is available of the linguistic items, their arrangements within a system, and the processes they undergo, one may then use such primary information to evaluate (and construct) different theoretical models regarding the nature of human language.

Fortunately for the analysis of any language, various theoretical models currently exist which allow for the presentation from different perspectives of the primary data. The data may be presented so as to allow for a general overview of the language, or it may be presented from a specifically highlighted perspective. Regarding the phonological level, data may be presented as a study of the various contrasting points within the phonemic system, or as a study of the sequences of phonological processes which generate well-formed constructions. At the morphological level, individual morphemes may be described by their arrangement and distribution, by the transformations they

undergo, or by a combination of both. At the semantic level, ethnosemantic analysis provides information regarding the nature of the underlying fundamental bedrock concepts of the language and how these concepts determine the behavior and social interactions of the speakers. The often elusive semantic level may also be analyzed from the deep structure perspective of case grammar or of generative semantics. Finally, componential analysis of the semantic level provides information on the structuring of the language into domains consisting of elements that share at least one semantic feature.

It is the task of the anthropological linguist to use the different theoretical models mentioned above in ways which best represent the nature and structure of the language under investigation. In other words, portions or all of these models in different combinations are used to elucidate, illustrate, and interpret the language data available in the corpus. In opposition to this 'eclectic structuralism' approach is the (sometimes forced) application of the primary data to a given theory which often leads to a distorted perception of the language.

In light of the above discussion, my desire to present a description of Ecuadorian Quichua useful to both linguists and the indigenous people, and the fact that no single theory may adequately explain all the subtle complexities of human language, I decided to describe the field data using

an eclectically structural base. In instances where a particular theoretical model most adequately explains an individual linguistic phenomenon, the appropriate mode is incorporated into the overall description. The linguist must use all theories and explanatory devices available in order to present a linguist description of the salient and distinctive features of the language.

After a given synchronic variety of a language has been described, questions regarding variation in the language may then be addressed. The extensional investigation of dialect variation can only occur once a primary structural description of the language is available. The bulk of the present thesis is concerned with such a primary description of Ecuadorian Quichua; the remainder of this study takes this primary description as base in order to answer questions about Ecuadorian Quichua dialectology.

#### Data Base and Methods

The basic discovery procedures and methodology derive from those of Pike (1947), Nida (1946), and Samarin (1969). In combination with classroom training using informants, these procedures are further interpreted and refined by Hardman (2). These procedures not only provided a framework for data collection, but also provided the methodologies which were used for analysis in the field of the primary data. In addition to the above, Torero's (1974)

classification was taken as a point of departure, and the methodologies he utilized to determine the degree of mutual intelligibility across dialects (and Quechua languages) were adapted to the Ecuadorian situation.

Below are descriptions of the corpus collected during the field stay, the sources which provided the data, and the sites visited.

Corpus. One of the joys of field work in Ecuador is that there are all types of opportunities available to observe the use of Quichua in situ. In addition formal elicitation sessions are much more easily arranged in environments familiar to the native speaker of Quichua. From the data collected in all these situations there emerged two basic types of data: free texts and elicitation lists.

The free texts consist primarily of tape recordings and the available printed material in Quichua. Included in the tape recordings are autobiographical sketches (the first Sierra text of Appendix B), life histories, retellings of legends and myths (both Oriente texts of Appendix B), weddings, wakes, baptisms, confirmations, music contests, medicinal sales pitches, prayers, incantations, business negotiations, et cetera. Included in the printed materials are bilingual texts, pamphlets in Quichua describing the educational system, primers and other pedagogical materials in Quichua, political slogans and graffiti, et cetera.

The elicitation lists were used primarily in formal elicitation sessions with native Quichua speakers, and were designed to illustrate and clarify specific aspects of Quichua; some were word lists and others were intended to elicit paradigms. After an overall linguistic description was available for the variety studied, elicitation lists were constructed to yield information on phonological and syntactic variation in Ecuadorian Quichua.

The initial study of Quichua proceeded via the bilingual method (Pike, 1947) using Spanish as the primary contact language. Since some of the informants were bilingual or multilingual, English, Portuguese, and French were also used on occasion as contact languages. As my proficiency in spoken Quichua grew, the use of the monolingual method (Pike, 1947) for data collection also increased. Although misunderstandings did occasionally arise, in many areas the use of the monolingual method was the only way to carry out the linguistic investigation.

Sources. The majority of the sources used in this study are primary; countless hours were spent in various Indian communities and many people provided the bulk of the data. Where possible, a random cross-section of a given community was consulted. By including data from both sexes along the parameters of age, residence, and mobility, it was possible to acquire information from a broad range of the Quichua speaking population within a given dialect area. In

addition to the acquisition of data on the nature of Ecuadorian Quichua and its geographic dialectology, the use of such a varied range of linguistic consultants also provided provocative information on social dialectology. Although the primary focus of this study is the description of Ecuadorian Quichua and its geographic dialectology, linguistic variations associated with social processes and phenomena are presented throughout.

Secondary sources consist of personal communication (with non-native Quichua speakers) and texts and articles written by Quichua speakers as well as other investigators of the language. (See Chapter 2.)

Sites. During the initial planning of the field investigation, I hoped to gather information about the Quichua language from at least one site within each of the known dialect areas. However, certain political altercations arose which prevented my frequent travel within the country. Approximately one fourth of the field stay was devoted to clearing up the resulting misunderstandings. Due to the inconveniences caused by these altercations, I had to limit the dialect investigations to the non-central varieties where I had already collected the majority of the data. In spite of these unforeseen difficulties, I was nonetheless fortunate enough to be able to travel throughout many areas of Ecuador. Whenever possible, I collected a wide range of data from several locations, sometimes under adverse physical conditions (3).

The following list provides by province the sites from which data are included in this study. After each site an abbreviation is given for the dialect area which the site represents. The abbreviations are used throughout the text. The 15 indicated dialects are listed on page 20, where their geographic distribution is described.

|           |                        |
|-----------|------------------------|
| Imbabura  | Otavales (Imb.)        |
|           | Mariano Acosta (Imb.)  |
|           | Natabuela (Imb.)       |
|           | San Roque (Imb.)       |
|           | Calpaquí (Imb.)        |
|           | San Antonio (Imb.)     |
|           | Ibarra (Imb.)          |
|           | Quichinche (Imb.)      |
|           | Espejo (Imb.)          |
|           | San Rafael (Imb.)      |
|           | San Pablo (Imb.)       |
|           | Gonzalez Suarez (Imb.) |
| Pichincha | Calderón (Pch.)        |
|           | Cayambe (Pch.)         |
|           | Guallabamba (Pch.)     |
|           | Quinche (Pch.)         |
|           | Checa (Pch.)           |
|           | Pueumbo (Pch.)         |
|           | Tumbaco (Pch.)         |
|           | Sangolquí (Pch.)       |
| Cotopaxi  | Latacunga (Ctp.)       |

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| Tungurahua | Pillaro (Tsl.)            |
|            | Pelileo (Tsl.)            |
|            | Baños (Tsl.)              |
|            | Rosario Churumanga (Tsl.) |
|            | Chibuleo San Pedro (Tch.) |
|            | Rumipata (Tpl.)           |
| Bolivar    | Guaranda (Blv.)           |
| Chimborazo | Riobamba (Nch.)           |
|            | Troje (Nch.)              |
|            | Nizag (Sch.)              |
| Cañar      | Cañar (Cñr.)              |
|            | El Tambo (Cñr)            |
|            | Ingapirca (Cñr.)          |
|            | Biblián (Cñr.)            |
| Azuay      | Gualaceo (Azy.)           |
|            | Cuenca (Azy.)             |
| Loja       | Saraguro (Lja.)           |
|            | Las Lagunas (Lja.)        |
|            | Oña Capac (Lja.)          |
|            | Gunodel (Lja.)            |
| Napo       | Loreto (Npo.)             |
|            | Chonta Cocha (Npo.)       |
|            | Suno (Npo.)               |
|            | Caspi Sapa (Npo.)         |
|            | Limoncocha (Npo.)         |
|            | Primavera (Npo.)          |
|            | Lago Agrio (Npo.) (Chm.)  |



|         |                     |
|---------|---------------------|
|         | Ahuano (Tna.)       |
|         | Misahuallí (Tna.)   |
|         | Tena (Tna.)         |
|         | Archidona (Tna.)    |
|         | Baeza (Tna.) (Imb.) |
|         | Papallacta (Pch.)   |
| Pastaza | Puyo (Ptz.)         |
|         | Arajuno (Tna.)      |
|         | Tarqui (Ptz.)       |
|         | Tigueno (Huau)      |

The last site, Tigueno, is inhabited by Huaurani rather than Quichua speakers (See the language ecology for a discussion of Huaurani.), and was visited to find out the degree of influence between the two languages. The decision to include this site was reached after discussions of the Huau by Loreto (Npo.) Quichua speakers.

The map in Figure 2 gives the location of the sites. Dots indicate places visited by this investigator, and squares represent sites of the secondary sources.

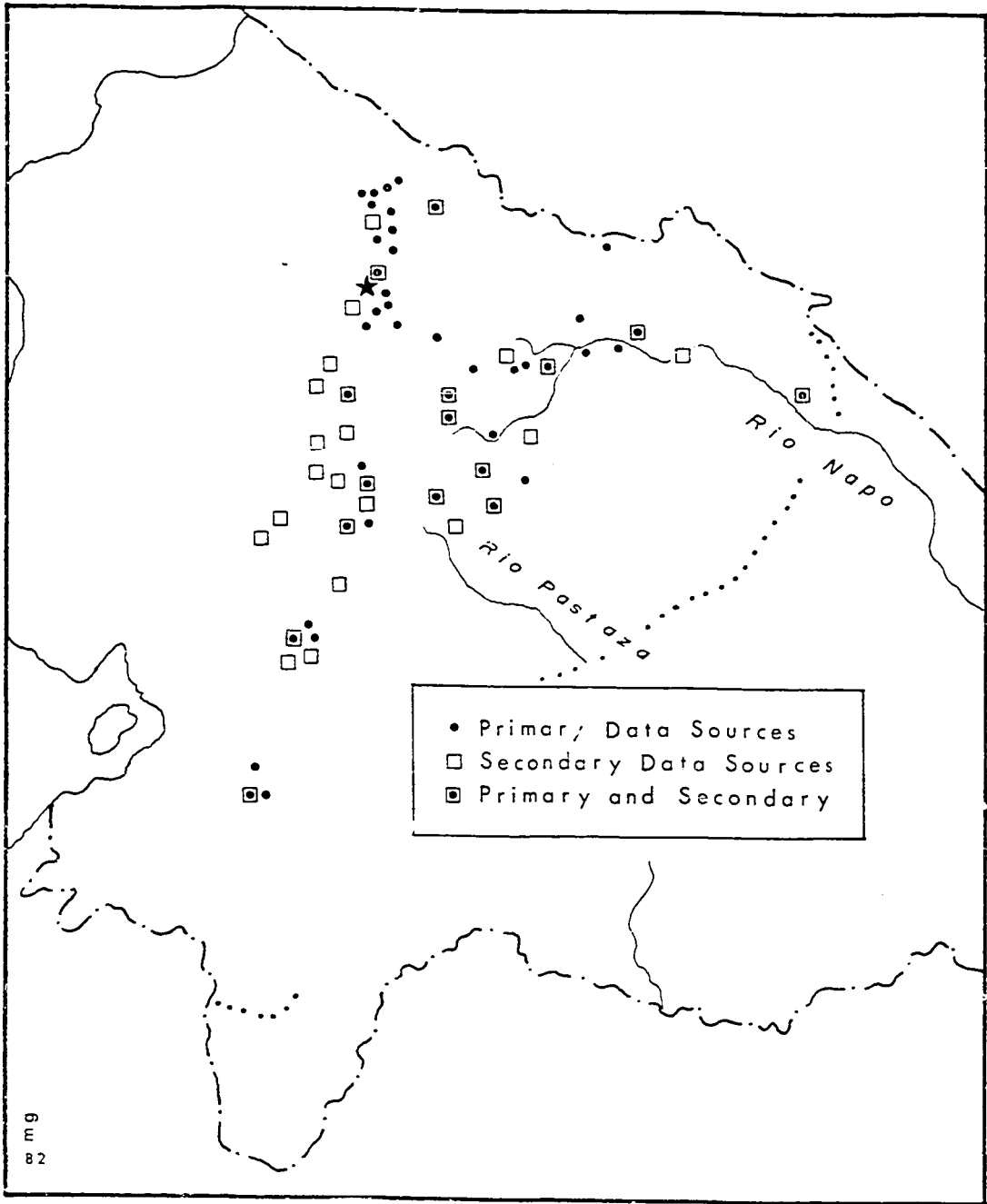


Figure 2: Research Sites

### Study Organization

The study is organized into chapters treating the following topics: an ecological statement, a survey of the literature, an ethnographic sketch, the phonological system, the morphological system, salient syntactic features, dialectology, implications, and conclusions. In the last chapter dialect areas based on linguistic and cultural features are identified and points of departure for future research are suggested. Immediately after the chapters are appendices containing the following: Quechua phonologies, sample texts (both highland and lowland), analysis of a text by morpheme, instructional materials, elicitation lists, text of the Ecuadorian President's inaugural speech, text of the bilingual education law, and symbols and terms. Following the appendices are the bibliography and biographical sketch.

### Symbols and Terms

In the present investigation, the following conventions are employed throughout.

With the exception of the phonology chapter, all examples of Ecuadorian Quichua presented are written using a phonemic orthography. Since the phonological system can vary from dialect to dialect, separate phonemic alphabets were developed where necessary employing the methodology and procedure proposed by Pike (1947). In addition to phonemic

transcription, some examples in the phonology chapter are given in phonetic transcription indicated by square brackets ([ ]). The allomorphs of the individual morphemes are indicated by slants (/ /). Regarding the diacritics, an apostrophe indicates phonemic aspiration, e.g., p'iti- 'cut.' This usage of the apostrophe is different from the usage of the same diacritic in investigations of Peruvian Quechua. In Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua as well as Aymara, Jaqaru, and Kawki the apostrophe as a diacritic indicates glottalization while the quotation marks (") as diacritics indicate aspiration. Since glottalized consonants do not occur in Ecuadorian Quichua the apostrophe is used for aspiration; this is more consistent with more recent studies of Ecuadorian Quichua (Muysken, 1977; Stark and Muysken, 1977; Yanez, 1974). An acute accent indicates suprasegmental non-penultimate stress, e.g., wagrana 'a cow?'. Quichua examples presented from secondary sources maintain the original orthography of the source.

Within the word, morphemes are separated by periods, as in rumi.kuna 'stones.' Verb roots, which are bound, are followed by a hyphen, as in wakta- 'smack.' Immediately contiguous suffixes which are unable to close a construction are indicated by preceding and following hyphens, as in -pa- 'politeness/curviness.' Any nominal, verbal, or independent suffix which may close a construction is preceded by a hyphen, as in -shi 'reportative.'

In addition to the above symbols and terms employed throughout the text, the abbreviations presented above with the sites are used in the following manner.

japi-        'take (Imb.)'  
                  'choose (Nch.)'  
                  'find (Tsl.)'

This means that the root japi- is glossed as 'take' in the Imbabura dialect, 'choose' in the Northern Chimborazo dialect, and 'find' in the Salasaca dialect. Any occurrence of an abbreviation following a morpheme or gloss indicates the source dialect of said items. When a given morpheme occurs throughout the Quichua of Ecuador, the usage of the abbreviation 'EcQ.' indicates this fact. For example:

warmi        'woman (EcQ.)'

This means that in all dialects the root warmi is glossed as 'woman.'

### Ecology

A language ecology is a description of the environment in which a given language is found. It presents an overview of phenomena external to the linguistic system which can have an influence or an effect upon the natural progression of the language and provides an understanding of the interaction of language with other social systems and

institutions. The following ecological statement explains various aspects of the Quichua language's existence within Ecuador by examining the language from the perspectives of demography, history, sociolinguistics, et cetera.

### Demography

Geographic Distribution. The dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua (EcQ.) are located in the highlands (Sierra) and the eastern lowlands (Oriente), but not in the coastal region (Litoral). In the highlands, a different dialect of Quichua is encountered almost everytime one crosses the ridges connecting the two major mountain ranges. Listed from north to south the 12 known Sierra dialects include Imbabura (Imb.), Pichincha (Pch.), Cotopaxi (Ctp.), Salasaca (Tsl.), Chibuleo (Tch.), Platillo (Tpl.), Bolivar (Blv.), North Chimborazo (Nch.), South Chimborazo (Sch.), Cañar (Cñr.), Azuay (Azy.), and Loja (Lja.). The three known Oriente dialects are the Napo (Npo.), Tena (Tna.), and Pastaza (Ptz.). The map in Figure 3 illustrates the geographic distributions of these EcQ dialects.

Ecuador is indeed a land of geographic contrasts. The three major regions, the coastal plains, the highlands, and the eastern lowlands offer almost unparalleled geographic diversity. The coastal plains extend close to 60 miles (100 kilometers) inland and, with the exception of the southern coast, all have an abundance of lush tropical vegetation.

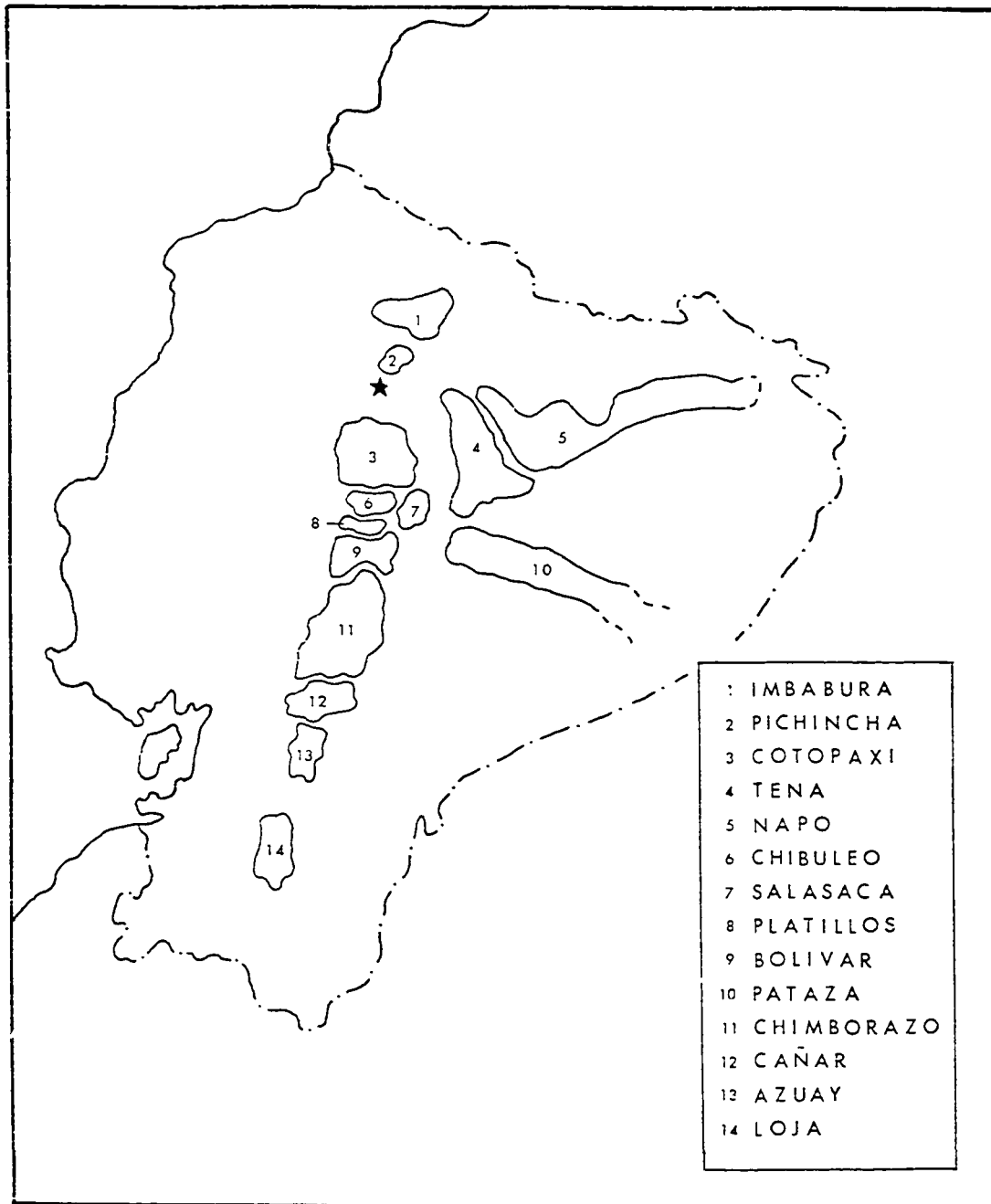


Figure 3: Distributions of Quichua Dialects

Many areas of the coastal region are used for the intensive agriculture of crops such as coffee, cacao, and bananas. Guayaquil, the country's largest seaport, economic and industrial center, is the major coastal urban area.

From the coastal plains, one ascends the western range of the Andes. At 6,271 meters (20,576 feet), the snow-covered volcano Chimborazo is Ecuador's highest peak; on a clear day it can be seen from Guayaquil, almost 150 kilometers distance. The high, often active volcanic peaks are separated by passes that allow one to enter the intermontane callejón 'valley' between the two Andean ranges. This high callejón averages 2,800 meters (9,186 feet) in altitude and has a year-round spring-like climate; much of the country's population resides here. The capital, Quito, and the third largest city, Cuenca, are located in this intermontane region.

The eastern and western ranges come within 100 kilometers (60 miles) of each other in Ecuador; it is the shortest distance separating the ranges along the entire Andean chain. Joining the two major ranges are several connecting ridges, which create 15 intermontane basins (Basile, 1974). The map in Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of these basins. As one flies north to south, such topography presents a ladder-like appearance.

Volcanic as well, the eastern range has as its highest peak, Cayambe. Reaching 5,790 meters (18,997 feet), this



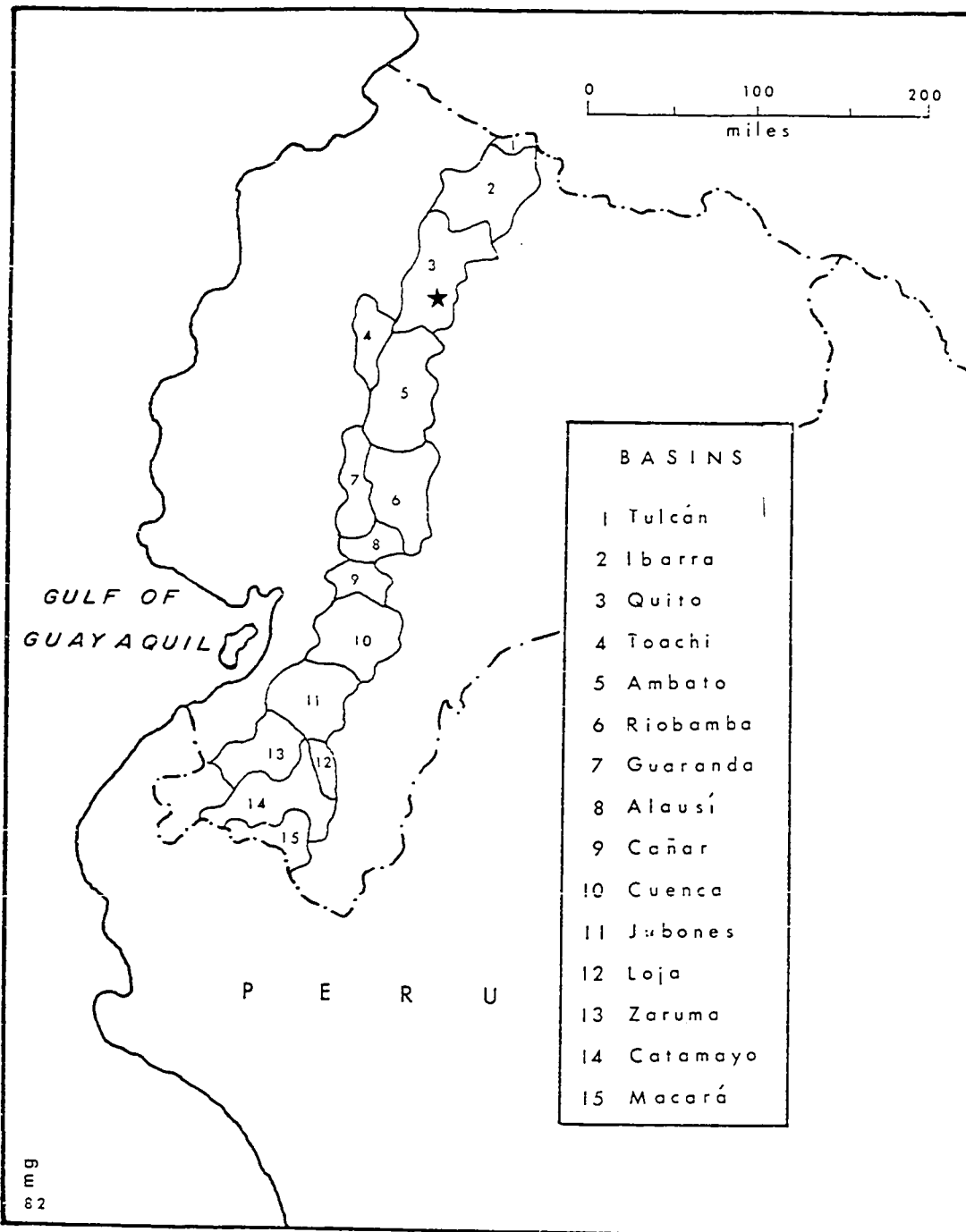


Figure 4: Intermontane Basins

massive snowcap sits just north of the equator. As with the western range, high passes must be crossed before one descends to the Oriente, or eastern lowlands.

From wind-swept passes as high as 4,300 meters (14,000 feet), one drops quickly to the tropical rainforest at approximately 615 meters (2,000 feet). From this rapid decline, many streams and tributaries form the headwaters of the Amazon River. The ecology of the rain-forest is very fragile; in some areas, the environment is being altered by clearing vast tracts of land for cattle production and for oil exploration, and removal of crude petroleum.

There are three major routes of descent from the highlands to the eastern lowlands; from Pimampiro, Quito, and Banos to the east. The spread of the Quichua language seems to have followed these highland to lowland transects. From the initial area in the lowland foothills, the language appears to have followed the Napo river eastward. Along the Pastaza--the major river of the southern Oriente--the Quichua spoken there seems to be a merger of downriver expansion from the Sierra as well as upriver expansion from the Peruvian Oriente. Consequently the distribution and variation evident in the present-day Oriente dialects of Quichua has been in part determined by trade and communication along the headwaters of the Amazon River.

Number of Speakers. Depending on the source consulted, there are between one half and four million Quichua speakers

among the more than seven million inhabitants of Ecuador. As the Ecuadorian government has begun taking census data every 12 years since 1950, official population figures do exist. However, since categories relating to language and to provincial boundaries are either not mentioned or are inconsistent from one census to the next, it is difficult to determine rates of growth or decline using the official census information. Furthermore, the census gathering procedure itself often leads to skewed numerical data. For example, usually the census taker is a blanco ' (upper class) white' and therefore immediately suspect upon entering an indigenous community; within a single ethnic group such as the Canaris, it is often difficult for even an Indian from one community to enter another community without meeting a barrage of sticks and stones. In the 1950 census the hesitancy of census takers to enter certain indigenous communities such as Canuendo and La Compañía in the Imbabura province and Columbe and Llicto in the Chimborazo province caused the data to be either missing for the area or to be simply created (Anonymous Census Taker, Personal Communication) (4).

All three censuses provide information regarding literacy, but due to the different age parameters used in each, the data do not lend themselves to intra-census comparisons; in the 1950 and the 1974 censuses, literacy was given for those of 10 years of age or over, whereas in the

1962 census it is given for those over six years of age. Literacy is officially defined as the '...ability to read and write a simple paragraph in any given language...' (Ministerio de Economía, 1950) (5). In reality the respondents were usually asked if they could write their name (Anonymous Census Taker, Personal Communication). By taking the mechanical production of one's name as an indication of literacy, the resulting figures are probably skewed. Unfortunately, these are the figures used in the preparation of national and international governmental reports and documents. Such reports based only on strict quantification of social phenomena do not reflect the subtle complexities inherent in the realization of such a phenomenon. In the case where writing one's name is equivalent to literacy, the different perceptions of writing are not reflected in the quantified reports of literacy figures. In some varieties of Ecuadorian Quichua ishkribina (<Sp. escribir 'to write') refers to writing skills acquired in school and kilkana refers to 'writing as before.' For those who can write only their names, kilkana is used. However, the production of the name seems to be more of an artistic endeavor. The number of angles in the curve of a letter are counted as are the number of concavities or convexities from the end of a word which determine where the 'i' is dotted and the 't' is crossed (6). In response to na kanpak shutita ishkribirkanki 'did you already write your

name?' one often hears na kulkarkani 'I already wrote it (as before).' Such aspects of literacy perception and interpretation are often ignored in government reports and documents and consequently provide an illusion of high literacy rates within the country's population.

Table 1 gives the total of the populations and literates as reported in the official censuses of 1950, 1962, and 1974.

| Census | Population | Literate  | Percent |
|--------|------------|-----------|---------|
| 1950   | 2,214,500  | 1,245,665 | 56.3    |
| 1962   | 4,476,007  | 2,326,278 | 51.9    |
| 1974   | 6,521,710  | 5,413,038 | 83.0    |

Although figures in Table 1 appear to indicate a rather high literacy rate for the entire country as well as a quantum leap in the ratio of literates to the general population, this is simply not true in the rural areas, especially those with substantial Indian populations. It may be noted that in no census is there any information regarding the size or even the names of the Indian populations themselves; it is possible, however, that such information may be covertly given as the percentage of the

population that '...wears shoes...' or '...sleeps in a bed...' (Ministerio de Economía, 1950).

The first official census is the only one that provides information regarding the multilingual situation of Ecuador. French, English, Bulgarian, etc., are considered the major languages in addition to Spanish, whereas Quichua is defined as an "aboriginal language" and anything else spoken by the indigenous populations of the country is an 'aboriginal dialect' (Ministerio de Economía, 1950).

Although Ecuador is a multilingual nation (see Concurrent Languages), the 1950 census implies that the population is either monolingual or bilingual with Spanish as one of the two languages. However, even though Spanish is the assumed language for bilinguals, other examples of bilingualism abound in which Spanish plays no part. In the highlands for example, among the Otavaleños, there exists some Quichua-English bilingualism. In the central highlands, there are examples of Chawpi Shimi-Quichua bilinguals. (See Concurrent Languages for an explanation of Chawpi Shimi.) Among the southern Saragureños, many are involved in cattle raising which requires travel due east to the Oriente. This region of the eastern lowlands is inhabited by the Shuar, often referred to as the Jívaro,' or 'Jíbaro,' in much of the existing literature. Since negotiations regarding land and cattle-grazing possibilities are sometimes conducted with Shuar who do not speak Spanish, some Saragureños also

speak the Shuar language, and some Shuar are conversant in the Saraguro (Lja.) dialect of Quichua.

In the eastern lowlands the situation of linguistic interface is more intense; in addition to Quichua, there are eight distinct unrelated indigenous languages spoken. In most cases, members of these various ethnic groups are in contact with neighboring groups. However, due to the relative isolation of certain indigenous populations, the sometimes resulting bilingualism is between the respective languages of the groups involved and not Spanish. Accompanying the advance of oil production technology, the Spanish language (accompanied by English) is only recently effectively penetrating the 'interior' jungle region.

In addition to bilingual individuals, there are those who are fluent in three or more languages. One informant from the Napo Region is not only diglossic in varieties of jungle Quichua, but is also conversant in Spanish, Huau, and English. Huau is an unrelated indigenous language spoken near his home, and he learned English while working for the Texaco oil exploration teams.

In the highlands, some Otavaleños are among the more multilingual. The dominant textile industry has caused some Otavaleños to become 'international migrants' and the existing multilingualism among them is a reflection of the necessity to communicate with prospective non-Spanish speaking clients. For example, some informants, all of whom

are traveling business comerciantes and negociantes, are fluent in Quichua, Spanish, French, and English. Another group has fluency in Quichua, Spanish, and Portuguese. There is even one informant who speaks Quichua, Spanish, English, and some Japanese. While these cases do present interesting examples of multilingualism, it should be noted that such individuals are a minority relative to the vast numbers of Quichua monolinguals. As one leaves the Panamerican Highway, the incidence of monolingualism rises; closer to the Panamerican (referred to as la pana in the Sierra) increasing bilingualism with Spanish is found. While Table 2 provides the information regarding monolingualism and bilingualism presented in the 1950 census, it is apparent from the preceding discussion that such data, based on the assumption that Spanish is one of the two languages used by a bilingual, is erroneous and therefore does not provide a complete representation of the general linguistic situation within Ecuador.

More recent studies (Stark, forthcoming) provide a clearer understanding of the numbers and distributions by regions of present-day Quichua speakers. A summary of the information in these investigations is given in Table 3 with the approximate totals of Quichua speakers and percentages of those who are monolingual in the various Sierra provinces and Oriente region.



TABLE 2

## Mono- and Bilingualism Reported in the 1950 Census

| Categories      | Numbers    | Percent |
|-----------------|------------|---------|
| Monolinguals    | 2,364,537. | 93.6    |
| Bilinguals      | 187,003.   | 7.9     |
| Spanish/Native  | 84,361.    | 45.1    |
| Spanish/Foreign | 17,669.    | 9.4     |
| Native/Spanish  | 82,305.    | 44.0    |
| Foreign/Spanish | 2,668.     | 1.4     |

TABLE 3

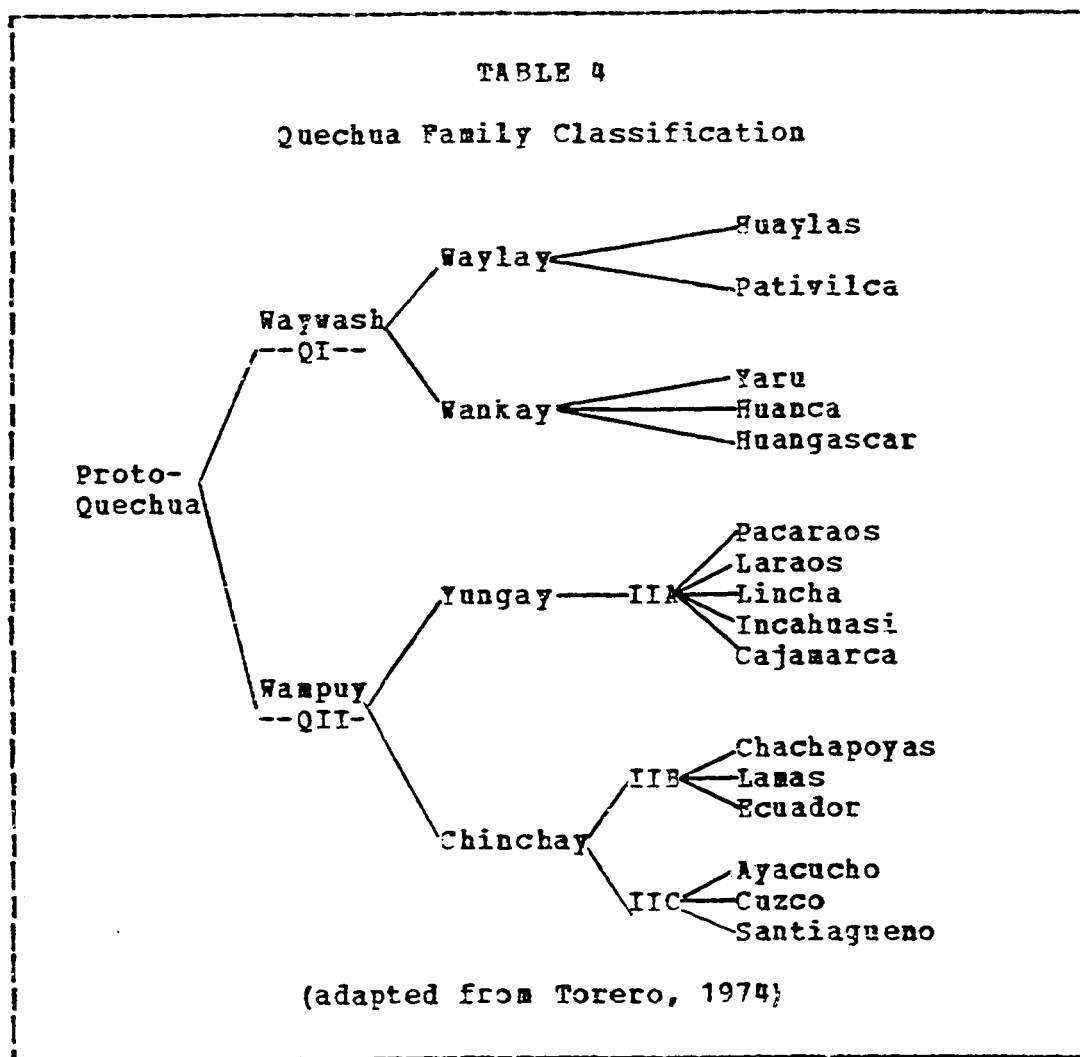
## Quichua-speaking Population

| Region     | Total   | % Monolingual |
|------------|---------|---------------|
| Imbabura   | 115,000 | 70            |
| Pichincha  | 20,000  | 10            |
| Cotopaxi   | 100,000 | 85            |
| Tungurahua | 54,000  | 70            |
| Bolivar    | 30,000  | 50            |
| Chimborazo | 200,000 | 90            |
| Cañar      | 70,000  | 80            |
| Azuay      | 40,000  | 50            |
| Loja       | 30,000  | 25            |
| Oriente    | 10,000  | 70            |

Classification

This Ecuadorian variety of the Quechua language family (7) is classified as a member of the Chinchay division of Wampuy Quechua, or Quechua IIB, hereafter QIIB (Torero, 1974). This major division has a geographic extension from

southern Colombia to northwestern Argentina, as far east as Tabatinga in Brazil, and in small enclaves in major North American, South American, and European cities; it is interrupted only by Spanish, Aymara (a Jaqi language spoken in the Bolivian altiplano region), and by varieties of Quechua I, Waywash, and Jaqi languages other than Aymara which are spoken in the central Peruvian highlands. Table 4 provides a branching diagram of Torero's classification.



Within Ecuador, the language is called Quichua. The use of this term rather than indigenous terms in reference to the indigenous language appears to have been a foreign innovation (Rowe, Personal Communication). During the early colonial period the language was often referred to as la lengua general 'general language.' The first Ecuadorian reference calls it la lengua común 'common language,' or runa shimi 'language of the people' (Nieto Polo, 1964). Today, the word 'Quichua' is generally used by non-native speakers to refer to the language. In addition, the word is used to refer to other distinct Indian languages as well. While native speakers also use 'Quichua' on specific occasions, e.g., talking to non-native speakers, almost every ethnic group has a unique way of referring to the language in inter-group communication such as yanka shimi 'independent language,' among the inhabitants of Otavalo, runa shimi 'Indian language,' among the inhabitants of Loreto, ingá shimi 'Inca language,' among the Salasacas or ingano 'Inca-ese,' among the speakers in the Sibundoy region of Colombia.

#### Brief Description of Ecuadorian Quichua

Quichua is an agglutinative, suffixing language.

The phonemic inventory consists of three vowel phonemes, and, depending on the dialect, up to 30 consonant phonemes. These include aspirated and plain voiceless stops and

affricates, voiced stops, fricatives, nasals, flap and assibilated vibrants, laterals, and glides. Unlike other Andean indigenous languages, the morphophonemics are not extensive and in most cases are phonologically conditioned.

Within the morphology, roots and suffixes constitute the morpheme form classes; to date only one prefix-like element has been discovered, but its use is geographically restricted to jungle Quichua and is used only to mark certain affinal kin terms. The combination of the root and suffix form classes creates stems. The root class is composed of nominals, verbals, ambivalents, and particles. The suffixes are classified as nominal, verbal, and independent; these elements indicate almost all grammatical relationships between the constituent elements of each utterance. Both derivational and inflectional nominal and verbal suffixes may be followed by independent suffixes. Certain suffixes may be combined to function at the phrase or discourse level in addition to the word level. Various suffixes in sequence may occur on a single root or stem. The nominal roots, ambivalent roots, and particles are free forms whereas the verbal roots are always bound. A change in classification of the roots is accomplished through nominalization and verbalization with a preponderance of the former.

Since the majority of the grammatical relationships are indicated by suffixes, a prescribed word order in a Quichua

utterance applies only to certain elements of noun phrases. Verbs tend to be phrase or sentence final, but accusative complements may occur in this position as well. Clause subordination is accomplished via suffixes which focus on whether the actor of the subordinated verb is identical to or distinct from the actor of the verb in the principal clause. Combinations with certain independent suffixes indicates the simultaneity or consecutiveness of the subordinated verb to the main verb. Discourse elements include the use of demonstratives and the independent suffix -ka. Depending on the element to which it is attached, the suffix indicates whether the discourse is advancing to a new topic, returning to an older one, or continuing with the elaboration of the current topic.

In addition to these specific linguistic features, Ecuadorian Quichua shares with other members of the Quechua family certain linguistic postulates (Hardman, 1978), which are reflected in the morphology, syntax, and semantics. Outstanding among the linguistic postulates are those of politeness and body duality; not only are these concepts linguistically marked, they are also manifested in the behavior, social relationships, and general culture of Quichua speakers.

## History

Quichua appears to have been brought into Ecuador in at least two distinct periods. As spread by the Chinchay from the central and southern Peruvian Coast, it was probably used as early as 900 A.D. as a trade language along the Pacific coast of Ecuador during the Chinchay cultural florescence, and from there spread into the intermontane valleys of the central Ecuadorian highlands. Later, with the northern expansion of the Inca Empire into Ecuador beginning in 1455 (Hemming, 1970), Quichua was introduced again as the Chinchay Inca conquest language. This second Quichua influx provided a linguistic overlay on the already extant varieties of the Quichua previously introduced by the Chinchay (8). As Torero (1974) explains, '...the presence of Quechua in Ecuador can only be explained linguistically as having proceeded from the central and southern Peruvian coast.' Figure 5 provides a map showing the expansion of Quechua at the height of the Inca Empire.

With the defeat of the Palta in 1455 under the Inca Tupac Yupanqui, the Saragureños were brought in as *mitimae* to teach Inca language and culture to the recently conquered Ecuadorians. Proceeding north for the conquest of the Cañaris, after which entire Cañar villages were moved south to Peru, Tupac Yupanqui began his city in Tumibamba, modern-day Cuenca. It was this new administrative center which was used as a base for the northern Conquest, and as

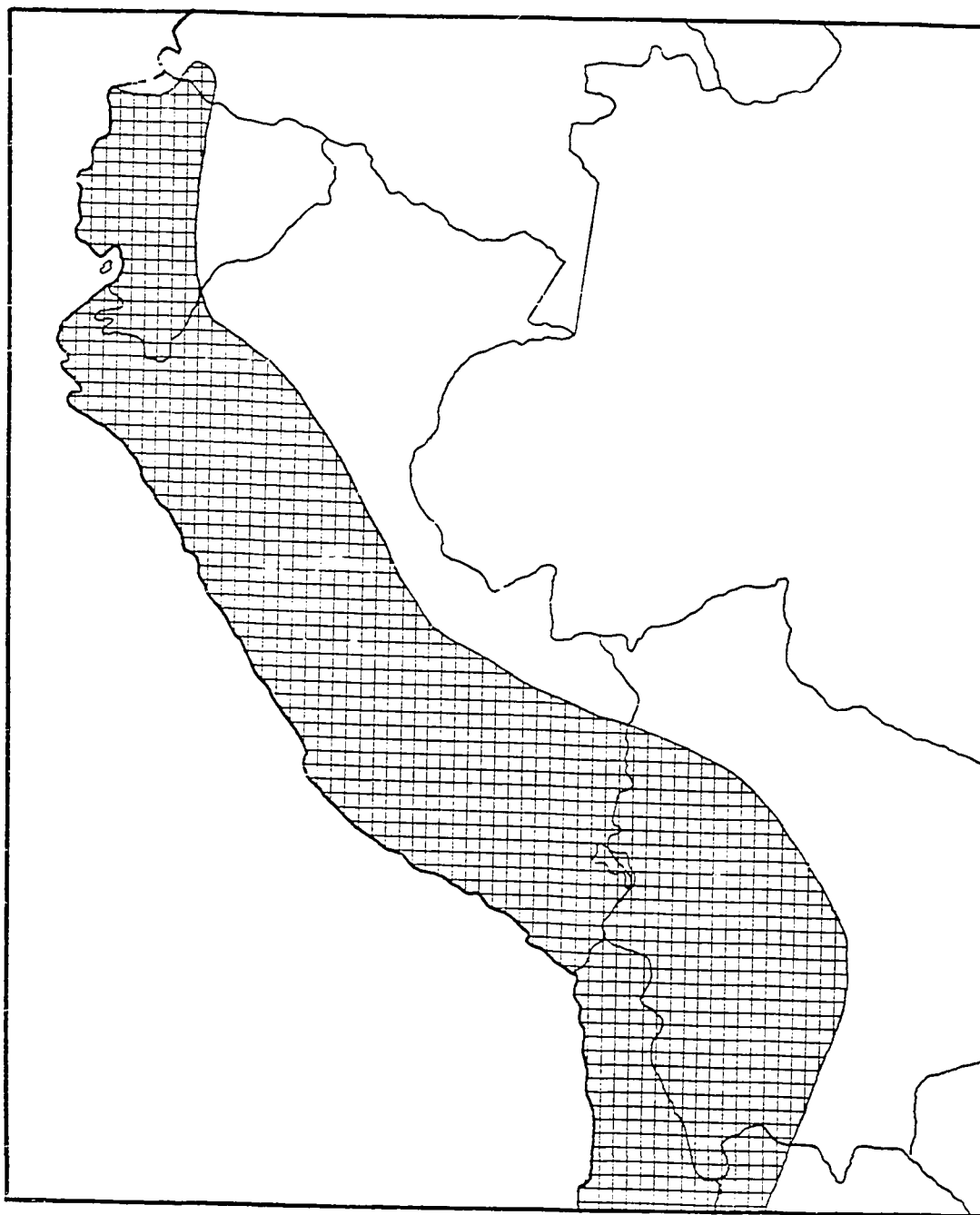


Figure 5: Pre-Conquest Quechua Expansion

such became the second capital of the expanding Inca Empire. After Tupac Yupanqui's death, his son, Huayna Capac, continued the northern expansion and, in the process, brought the Saiaacas as mitimae into the central highlands. The Inca forces soon conquered the regionally powerful Quito kingdom making it the second capital of Tahuantinsuyu. Shortly afterwards in 1478, Huayna Capac's armies were engaging the northern Cara in conflict. Putting up a fierce, seventeen-year defense, the Cara did not yield until 1495. They were the last group to be conquered in the Inca northern expansion.

Less than 100 years after the Inca expansion into Ecuador, Sebastian de Benalcazar began the Spanish Conquest of Ecuador in 1534. Some of the groups recently conquered by the Incas quickly began to switch allegiances and to learn Spanish. Although some groups lost Quichua entirely, in other regions varieties of the language continued to flourish and to be spread by early Spanish missionaries in their efforts to utilize a single indigenous language to christianize the local populations.

Although some varieties of the Chinchay trade language may have been spoken along the Ecuadorian (and Peruvian) coast, this is no longer true. As the Spanish Conquistadors gained control of the coastal regions during the Conquest and early colonial era, the varieties of coastal Quechua and many of the remaining indigenous languages soon began to



disappear. Today only members of the Chibcha language family are located in the northern Ecuadorian coastal region. Cayapa and Colorado (Tsatchela) are the extant members of this family remaining in Ecuador.

The highland varieties of Quichua continued and eventually spread into the upper Amazon basin. Consequently, during the last half millennium in both Ecuador and Peru, the language family has spread from west to east, from the coast across the Andean ranges and into the Oriente regions. As mentioned earlier, it is spoken today at least as far east as Tabatinga in western Brazil (Stark, Personal Communication). Regarding the distribution of present day Quichua, the only difference from the early colonial distribution is that the language is spoken in the Oriente and no longer along the coast; during the early colonial period, the opposite was probably true. Figure 6 provides a map illustrating present-day distributions of the Quechua family.

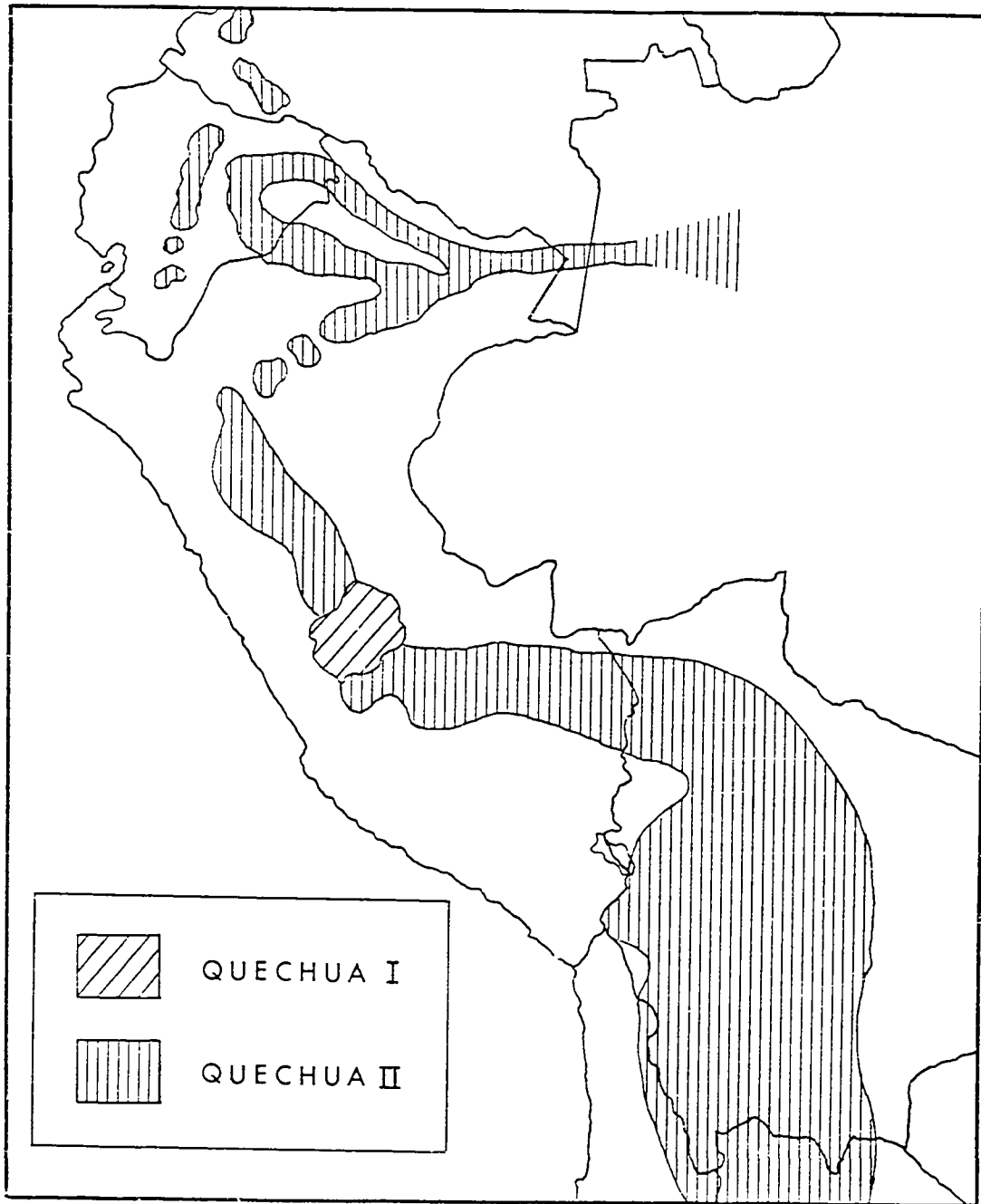


Figure 6: Present-day Quechua Distribution

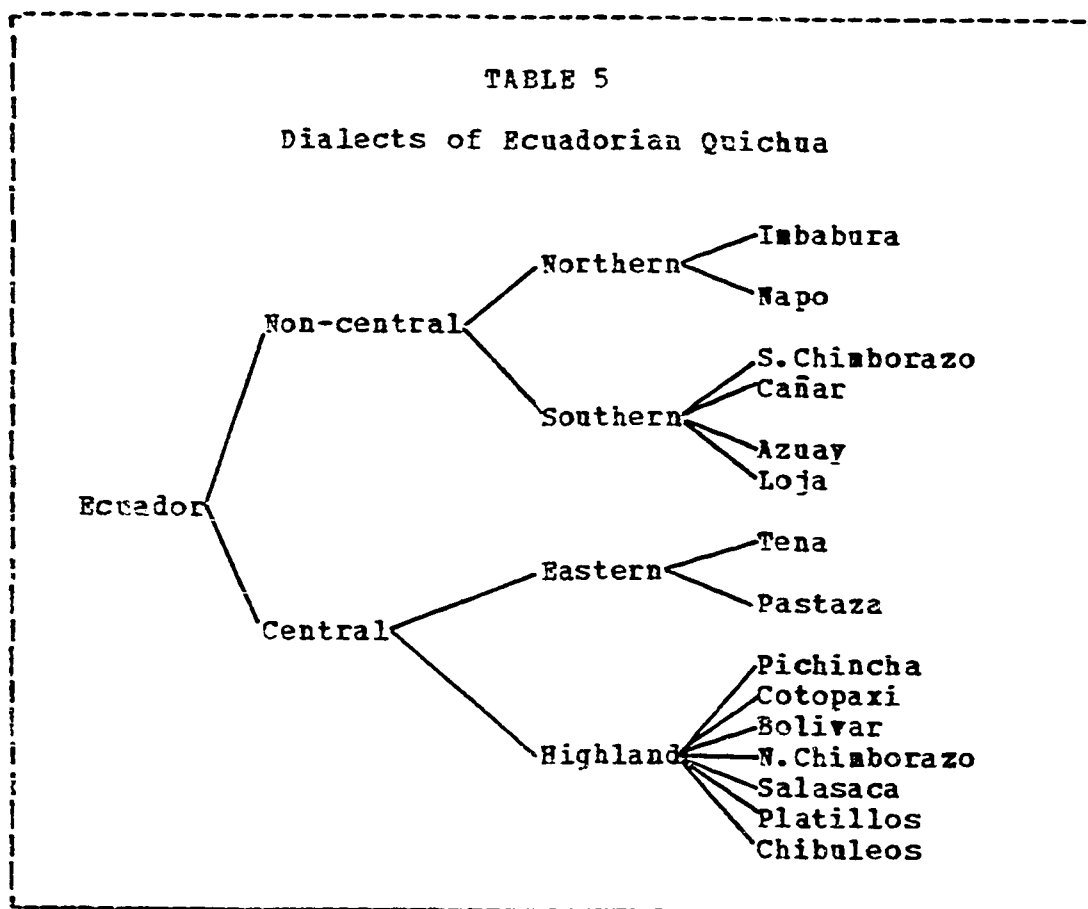
### Internal Variation

Since aspects of dialectology of Ecuadorian Quichua are one of the concerns of this investigation, these internal variations of Ecuadorian QIIB are briefly introduced here.

Within Ecuador, Quichua exhibits variation at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexemic levels. There are at least 14 dialects of Ecuadorian QIIB subdivided into two major groups, central and non-central. The central varieties exhibit a substantial amount of innovation and variation and most of these dialects probably have their origin in the varieties of Quechua spread by the Chinchay. The central dialects of the highlands include Cotopaxi (Ctp), Bolivar (Blv), northern Chimborazo (Nch), Platillo (Tpl), Chibuleo (Tch), Pichincha (Pch), and Salasaca (Tsl). As previously stated, the speakers of the last dialect were mitimae moved from Bolivia by the Incas, but this dialect is included as a central variety because of its location and interplay with the surrounding dialects. The Oriente varieties of central Ecuadorian Quichua include the Tena (Tna) and the upper regions of the Pastaza (Ptz.) dialects.

Most of the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua probably have as their genesis the variety of Quechua that was introduced during the Inca Conquest. The highland dialects include those in the provinces of Imbabura (Imb), southern Chimborazo (Sch), Cañar (Cñr), Azuay (Azy), and Loja (Lja), while the Napo (Npo) variety constitutes the

only non-central Oriente dialect. Although some innovations occur, the non-central dialects are the more conservative. Table 5 provides a branching diagram of these divisions.



Within the two major groups, central and non-central, members are generally mutually intelligible within the major grouping, while mutual intelligibility across this division is usually much less likely. For example, although some minor phonological, syntactic, and lexical adjustments are made, speakers of the Imbabura and Napo dialects understand

each other quite readily in Quichua, whereas speakers of the former dialect prefer to communicate in Spanish, with speakers of the Salasaca dialect, each group claiming that the other speaks a '...lazy, mixed, unintelligible...' variety of Quichua.

### Sociolinguistic Concerns

The position of Quichua and its speakers in relation to other languages and groups is defined by several factors, including dialinguistic, glottopolitical, and ethnological concerns. As a result, it is difficult to describe Ecuadorian Quichua as a homogeneous language. For example, the percentage of bilingualism can vary from ten to ninety percent the percentage of bilingualism with Spanish can vary from ten to ninety percent depending on the ethnic group and the particular dialect of Quichua. Also affecting the percentage of bilingualism is sex and occupation; more men tend to be bilingual than women, and in some areas, more negociantes 'business people' tend to be bilingual than those not engaged in marketing activities. As illustrated above, one can be bilingual and not necessarily speak Spanish. Therefore, a discussion of the concurrent languages spoken in Ecuador is included in the following section.

Concurrent Languages. The following treats indigenous languages and Spanish spoken in the country. Several

non-indigenous languages, often European, are also spoken. For the sake of discussion, the former group is referred to as 'Ecuadorian languages,' while the latter group is referred to as 'non-Ecuadorian languages.'

Although many of these non-Ecuadorian languages like Bulgarian and Lebanese Arabic, have fewer than one hundred speakers in the country, this does not imply that these languages have no influence on Quichua. For example, in the Korean-owned restaurant in Otavalo, the only type of Korean cuisine offered was carne bulcoquí 'bulkoki meat.' In a Quichua conversation among the restaurant's kitchen employees, the following was heard:

Chay bulkukita na munajunimari.

'I really don't like that bulkoki.'

|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| Chay     | demonstrative |
| bulkuki- | bulkokí       |
| -ta      | accusative    |
| na       | negation      |
| muna-    | want          |
| -ju-     | progressive   |
| -ni-     | 1p            |
| -mari    | emphatic      |

Paralleling the acquisition of "skunk" into American English (i.e., the borrowing of both the item and the form),

the adoption of both the Korean item and the form into Quichua illustrates the effect, albeit small, that any given language may have upon another. With the temporal extension of contact between the two languages, their mutual influence becomes greater. Similar instances involving other non-Ecuadorian languages are discussed where applicable.

Perhaps the most widely known of the Ecuadorian languages and usually the second language spoken by Indian bilinguals is Spanish, the country's only official language. This variety of Spanish is uniquely Ecuadorian and there are several dialects spoken within the country. Among other features, certain syntactic constructions help distinguish Ecuadorian Spanish from the remaining varieties. Due to indigenous substrate influence, the following examples are basically Quichua syntax with Spanish lexical items.

Déme trayendo.

'Bring it to me.'

Vendrá breve.

'Come quickly.'

In a more standard variety of Spanish the above phrases are generally realized as follows.

Traigameío.

'Bring it to me.'

Venga pronto.

'Come quickly.'

While syntactic constructions like the above help distinguish Ecuadorian Spanish in general, various stages of certain phonological processes are indicative of dialect differences within the country. Outstanding among these are the processes of vibrant assibilation, žeísmo, yeísmo, and seseo. Basically, these processes describe the changes in pronunciation which occurred during the transfer of standard Castillian Spanish to the New World. Vibrant assibilation means that the trilled vibrant of Castillian Spanish has acquired a sibilant quality in parts of the New World. The variations in the New World pronunciation of the palatal lateral, /ʎ/, are the concerns of žeísmo and yeísmo. Both processes treat the fusion of the Iberian palatal lateral /ʎ/ and the palatal semi-consonant /y/. In the process of žeísmo the palatal lateral is realized as a voiced palatal fricative, [ʒ]; in yeísmo it is realized as a palatal semi-consonant, [y]. Finally, the process of seseo describes the phonetic realization of the voiceless alveolar fricative, /s/, in both syllable- and word-final position. The process of ceceo treats the fusion of the Iberian theta /θ/ and the alveolar /s/. Basically, the process of seseo



treats the fusion of two Iberian phonemes into the /s/ in Latin America, while the process of ceceo indicates that the phonemic distinction has been maintained, i.e., the two Iberian phonemes have not fused.

In some cases, Spanish phonological processes parallel those of Quichua. In other words, vibrant assibilation and žeiśmo share the same geographic distributions in the highlands. The separation of the southern from the central and northern dialect areas of highland Spanish is illustrated below. For example:

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| Sp. llora     | '(s)he cries'         |
| ---> [łora]   | southern Sierra       |
| ---> [žora]   | elsewhere (in Sierra) |
| Q. llaki      | 'sadness'             |
| ---> [łaki]   | southern Sierra       |
| ---> [žaki]   | elsewhere             |
| Sp. rápido    | 'quick'               |
| ---> [Rápido] | southern Sierra       |
| ---> [řápido] | elsewhere             |
| Q. runa       | 'person'              |
| ---> [Runa]   | southern Sierra       |
| ---> [řuna]   | elsewhere             |

Since the southern Sierra has been and is one of the more isolated regions of Ecuador, the more conservative pronunciations in this area reflect characteristics of sixteenth century Spanish. Areas with more frequent outside contact reflect characteristics of seventeenth century Spanish (9).

Neither of these phonological processes, xeísmo nor vibrant assibilation, are direct influences of Quichua; both processes occur in other areas of the Spanish-speaking world where Quichua has never existed. Whether the occurrence of these processes in Quichua derives from internal or external motivations remains to be determined. However, it should be pointed out that in all of Latin America the maintenance of the Iberian palatal lateral and the palatal semi-consonant distinction resulting in the voiced palatal fricative pronunciation of the palatal lateral in calle 'street' and the pronunciation of the palatal semi-consonant in cayó '(s)he, it fell.' This occurs only in the central and northern Ecuadorian Sierra and in the Tucuman region of northwestern Argentina. Both areas are located near or on the peripheries of ancient Tawantinsuyo, the Inca Empire. Also derived from the phonemic palatal lateral /ʎ/, the voiced palatal fricative [ʝ] occurs in the Quichua varieties of both places. As possible substrate influence during the early colonial period, the occurrence of this phonological process in

Quichua perhaps may have been influenced by the natural sound change of the Spanish which was concurrently spoken in these areas.

Obviously one of the areas with frequent contact during the colonial period is the coastal region. The most notable differences between Sierra and coastal Spanish are the processes of yeísmo and ceceo. Yeísmo has occurred when both the standard Castillian palatal lateral and the palatal semi-consonant are realized as a palatal semi-consonant, as in Spanish /llora/ ---> [yora] and /cayó/ ---> [kayó] on the coast. The process of ceceo refers to the fusion of two significant sounds of standard Castillian, /s/ and /θ/, into a single sound in the Americas. This one phoneme, /s/, usually has four automatic variants. The aspirated variant distinguishes coastal Spanish from that of the Sierra. For example, estos 'these' is pronounced [ehtoh], or even [eto], in most of the coastal area.

Perhaps the following example will help clarify the amount of phonetic variation possible in Ecuadorian Spanish. The first transcription below is from southern Sierra Spanish while the second is from the northern coastal region. Both are broad phonetic transcriptions of la marea esta vaciando 'the tide is going out.'

[la marea está basiyando] (Imbabura)

[la mahea tá bašāndu] (Esmeraldas)

Although united by a common standardized orthography, understanding the variation in spoken Spanish often causes initial difficulties. Such variation in the official language should be one of the concerns of bilingual education policy makers. Unfortunately, it is not. Although people are aware of some of the dialect differences, it is of little concern in the planning of bilingual programs. It has often been said that '...even though the best Spanish is spoken in Loja, and the coastal people swallow their s's, we all speak pure Castillian Spanish.'

Indigenous Languages. In addition to Spanish, at least ten separate indigenous languages are spoken in Ecuador. There are three representatives of the Macro-Chibchan phylum of the Barbacoan languages (Colorado, Cayapa, Coaiquer), two, possibly three members of the western Tucanoan languages (Siona, Secoya, Tetete), two sister languages of the Shuaran branch of Proto-Jivaroan (Shuar, Achuar), a member of the Zaparoan family (Zaparo), two isolate languages (Cofán, Huau), and a recently nascent creole (Chawpi Shimi). The Barbacoan languages are located in the coastal region, Chawpi Shimi in the highlands, and the remainder in the eastern lowlands. The map in Figure 7 illustrates present day geographic distributions of these distinct indigenous languages.

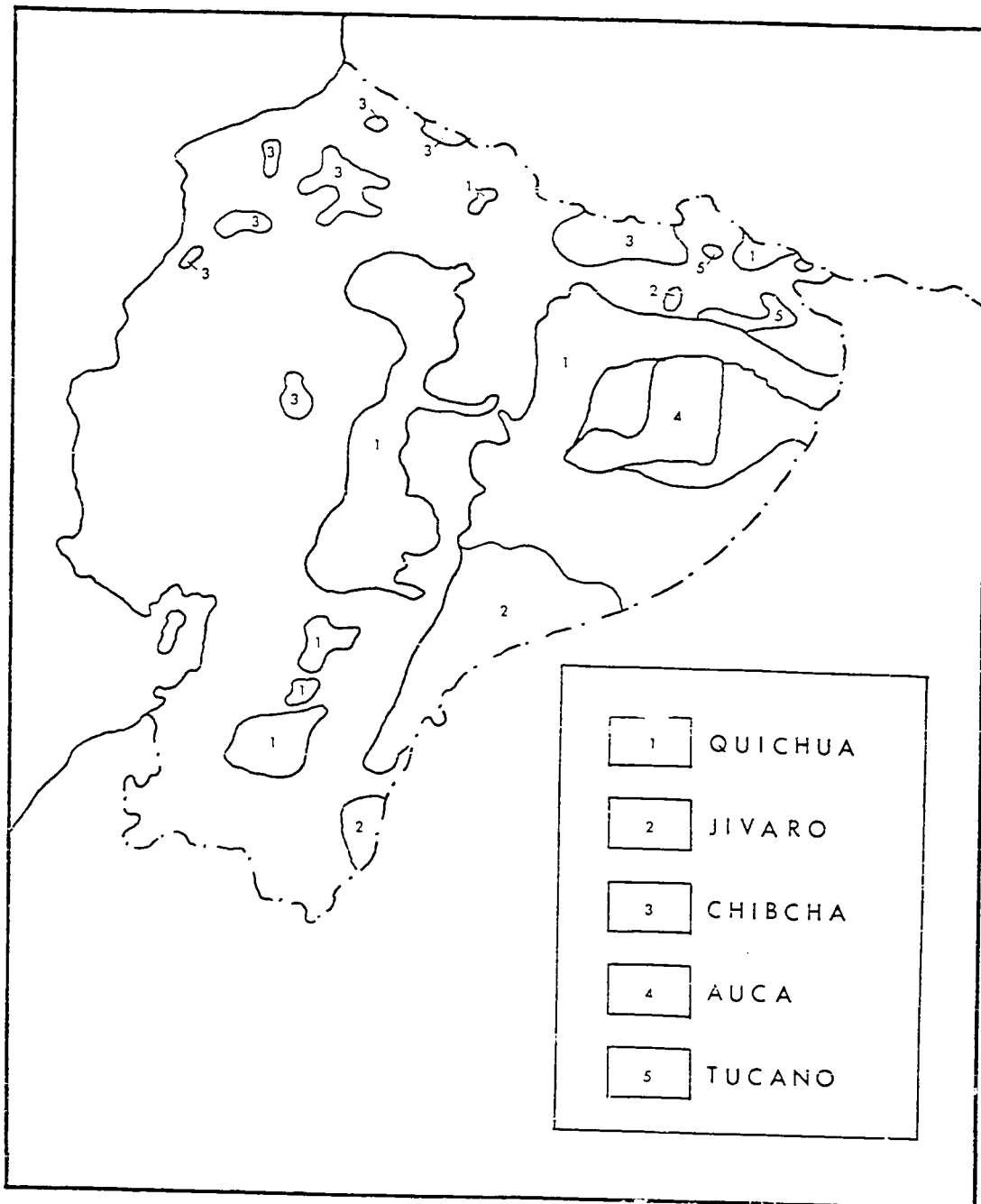


Figure 7: Distributions of Indigenous Languages

Although references to these language groups were made throughout the historical period, much of the present-day linguistic knowledge is derived from works of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). In 1981, the late President of Ecuador, Jaime Roldós, expelled this missionary group from the country. If the Institute actually leaves Ecuador, future investigations of these sometimes moribund languages will depend on the efforts of independent scholars. Examples of the existing literature produced by the SIL resulting from their investigations of these Oriente languages are given in the bibliography.

Because of former and present-day trade routes that exist in the three geographic regions of Ecuador (Oberem, 1967), some of these indigenous languages have more contact with Quichua (and Spanish) than do others. For example, despite the fact that Colorado, Shuar, and Imbabura Quichua do not share a contiguous linguistic boundary, there is contact between these ethnic groups. Since some Otavaleños from Imbabura are traveling negociantes, they are seen almost everywhere in Ecuador. As well, some Otavaleños work as migrant laborers on the banana plantations of the coast and consequently have contact with the Colorados. Direct planned contact among these three groups occurs when an apprentice to an Otavalo bruju 'curer' must travel to the coastal Colorados and the eastern lowland Shuar, to receive part of their training and instruction. Although few people

actually undertake such journeys, many Otavaleños are aware of the necessity of any aspiring bruju to do so. This apparently happens with other ethnic groups as well. For example, when a member of a lowland Quichua-speaking group visited in Otavalo, I introduced him to the residents of the communities where I was working. After the initial conversational pleasantries, invariably the first question asked by both parties was '...do you really know how to cure?'

Based on remaining toponyms in the Otavalo region, it is quite possible that the language spoken there prior to Quichua was a member of the Barbacoan family. This no longer extant language is referred to as Caranqui or Cara (Villegas, 1977). The larger pre-existing language probably extended from Colombia down the western slopes of the western cordillera and down the intermontane valley to Quito (Stark, forthcoming).

Trade appears to have been extensive between the Cayapas and the Caranquis. Identical weaving motifs appear in the textiles of both groups, and certain yarns were '...obtained by trade through Indians of the interior mountain region...' (Barrett, 1925).

During and after the Inca Conquest, highland Caranqui or Cara was partially replaced by Quichua. After the Spanish Conquest, Caranqui was completely replaced by Quichua, and Spanish was introduced as well. Today, the three existing

members of the Chibcha language family in Ecuador, Colorado, Cayapa, and Coaiquer, continue a westward progression to avoid the onslaught of non-Indians who wish to use their land for agriculture.

Of the nine indigenous languages in the Ecuadorian Oriente, six have fewer than 1,000 speakers each. Within the western Tucanoan family, various studies indicate that Siona is being replaced by Secoya and Spanish (Stark, forthcoming; Vickers, 1976). Since only three elderly speakers of Tetete were contacted in 1965, it is very probable that this language is now extinct.

Of the two isolate languages, Cofán is probably moribund. With fewer than 500 speakers (Stark, forthcoming), this group is undergoing considerable pressure from two main sources as a result of the joint venture by Cepe-Texaco, the oil consortium. This venture has turned the Cofán region into the nation's center for oil exploration and removal.

The introduction of this new technology to the region has attracted both highland and lowland Quichua speakers as well as bianco and mestizo colonos 'colonizers' in search of employment. Whether the Cofan become bilingual or completely assimilate to the dominant culture remains to be seen.

The other isolate language, Huañ, seems to be fairly stable (Yost, Personal Communication). This may be due in part to the missionaries' maintenance of the Huañ as 'the



jungle tribe of 'savage Aucas.' Despite the attempt by the missionaries to 'protect' the Huau and isolate them, the Ecuadorian government plans to construct a road through the Huau Protectorate. The opening of such a road is bound to encourage already emerging alliances between the Huau and the lowland Quichua. It remains to be seen whether the Huau conserve their separate ethnic identity or assimilate to the lowland Quichua culture or to Ecuadorian society.

Of the remaining indigenous languages sharing the eastern lowlands with Quichua, Shuar and Achuar are not declining. With their own printing presses, schools, and radio, the Shuar are extremely politicized; this group has held 'leadership workshops' for other indigenous groups. Often referred to as Jívaro (or Jíbaro) in the literature, the Shuar were never reconquered by the Spanish after the uprising of 1599 (Harner, 1972). The Shuar maintain contact with the Quichua-speaking Saragureños of the highlands to the west. Some Saragureños spend considerable amounts of time in the Shuar region and are consequently bilingual in Quichua and Shuar. Even one group of the more remote Achuar are now beginning to emulate the Shuar. Therefore, being the largest indigenous ethnic group in the eastern lowlands, the Shuar appear to be quite vital and expanding the range of their influence. Observing the interface between the Shuar, Quichua speakers of the Saraguro dialect, and those of the Pastaza dialect should provide some interesting insights into synchronic cultural contact and change.

The remaining indigenous language, Chawpi Shimi, is of recent genesis, probably within this century (Buysken, 1978). Chawpi Shimi, or Media Lengua, is spoken in the areas around San Andres Pilaló of the central highlands and Oña Capac of the southern highlands. This is unusual since the language is of such recent birth and has so few speakers. That Chawpi Shimi is a separate language and not a speech style is evidenced by the fact that speakers must learn either Spanish or Quichua as a second language.

Basically, Chawpi Shimi consists of Quichua syntax and Spanish lexical items. For example, the following phonemically transcribed utterances from Spanish, Chawpi Shimi, and Quichua are glossed as 'What are you doing?'

Sp /ke ase.s/  
 CS /inki.da azi.ngi/  
 Q /ima.da ura.ngi/

As illustrated, roots are shared by Spanish and Chawpi Shimi while suffixes are shared by Chawpi Shimi and Quichua. Obviously, difficulties in classification do arise. Rather than relate the language lexically to Spanish or syntactically to Quichua, the best procedure at present is to consider Chawpi Shimi as an isolate example of creolization.

The above brief summary of concurrent languages spoken within the political boundaries of Ecuador is illustrative

of the continuing linguistic diversity of the region. While some languages like Tetete may completely disappear, others like Chawpi Shimi may appear and increase. Although many more languages were spoken at the time of the Spanish conquest, efforts to linguistically unify the country by the official use of Spanish have not been entirely successful. While much of Ecuador's population is bilingual in Spanish, Quichua remains the native language of as many as half the country's inhabitants. The degree of influence of the remaining indigenous languages on Quichua is determined by the degree of contact with and vitality of a given ethnic group.

#### Glottopolitical Considerations

In multilingual societies, the dynamics of linguistic systems are usually complicated enough without the influence of extra-linguistic factors. Nonetheless, forces outside the linguistic system often affect either positively or negatively the role of the language in society. On the one hand, legal institutions may give the language full official status and thereby positively influence native perception and pride (as did Peru with Quechua and Aymara). On the other hand government institutions may in effect ignore the indigenous languages, or worse yet, perpetuate the myth that the indigenous languages are chaotic ramblings which fail in their attempt to attain the "purity" of true human

communication. In Ecuador, legal, economic, religious, and educational institutions affect, both directly and indirectly, the status and perception of Quichua in that country.

As is true with many languages, the first inconsistency regarding the status of Ecuadorian Quichua is the non-agreement of linguistic and political boundaries. By comparing the dialect distributions with the provincial boundaries, one can easily see the lack of conformity between the two systems. Contrary to popular belief, each province does not possess its own dialect. For example, within the Tungurahua Province of the central highlands, at least three dialects are known, i.e., Salasaca (Tsl.), Chibuleo (Tch.), and Platillo (Tpl.). On the other hand, the dialect spoken in the Imbabura province of the northern highlands extends north into the Carchi province and south into the northern Pichincha province. By comparing the Quechua language family distributions, one can easily see that this phenomenon is not restricted to Ecuador. With the collapse of the Inca Empire after the Spanish Conquest, the political boundaries of Tahuantinsuyu rather quickly gave way to those reflecting Spanish desires and requirements.

The inconsistency between linguistic and political boundaries may initially appear innocuous, but programs of most social institutions are usually restricted to the provincial, or even the cantonal levels. Because of the

political limits within which a well-designed program must operate, it can, and does, often fail. For example, a bilingual program for speakers of Iababura Quichua may further marginalize those living on the peripheries of the dialect area unless the linguistic rather than provincial boundaries are included in the program design. On the other hand, a provincial-wide bilingual program in Tungurahua will not be acceptable to many speakers unless specific linguistic and ethnic differences are equally treated in program design and materials production.

Finally, when an international boundary divides a linguistic area, ethnic cohesion can be seriously jeopardized unless certain restrictions are alleviated. Fortunately, many groups are extremely adept at border crossings so that long distance trade and family ties may be maintained internationally. Such is the case with the Napo (Npo.) and Pastaza (Ptz.) dialects of Oriente Quichua. However, when political tensions between neighboring countries increase, an ethnic group divided by an international boundary may suffer the consequences. Such is the case with the Shuar and the Achuar. Many non-Indians do not realize the effect of this externally imposed boundary, but are aware of its existence. In a discussion about the capture of vast tracts of the Ecuadorian Oriente by Peru, one usually hears the following.

No ganaron el petroleo sino los jíbaros.

'They didn't get the oil, but they did get the Jibaros (Shuar).'

Obviously, political boundaries will continue to change, as did the Ecuadorian provincial limits between the censuses, or as do international boundaries around the world. Whether or not shifting limits lead to linguistic autonomous independence or heteronomous interdependence will be determined by the specifics of each case.

The use of indigenous languages by government institutions usually reflects the political perceptions of the language's role. Below is an English translation of the Quichua text of Jaime Roldós' inaugural address as it appeared in El Comercio, Quito's leading newspaper. It is followed by an English translation of the Spanish text also appearing in the newspaper. The original Quichua and Spanish texts are provided in Appendix H.

Today, not worthlessly like last year we will carry each other along. Now, we will take all people along. From taking some people along, we will live doing whatever needs to be done.

Now, to whom am I talking brusquely. Only to the whites? Only to those who know? No. I am talking to all people who live in this land. To the people who live in the land where the sun rises: Shuar, Huau,

Secoya, Siona, Cofan, to all the people that live in the mountains; to those people that live in the land where the sun is lost: the Colorado, Cayapa; to all the Castellians; to all thousands and thousands of people, to all of us that live in this mother earth: to the white people, to the black people, even to those people who have come here from far away.

By helping among all, we will go forward. By not speaking to the worthless air with just our mouths, saying whatever, we will open up doing what is remembered, until the sadness is made better.

This morning, not in vain like last year we work now, all men together we will go forward. All the men of our country we will live doing, working, laboring.

Now, I ask myself, to whom shall I speak? To whom will my word be directed? Only to the literate, only to those who know? No. I speak for all men that live in this country. I speak to the men that live in the region where the sun is born (Oriente): Shuar, Huau Secoya, Siona. I speak to the men who live in the most remote regions of our country. I speak to the men who live in the region where the sun sets (Occidente): Colorados, Cayapas. I speak to the thousands and thousands of men to live united in our mother earth, with white men, with black men, with all, including with men who come from far-away countries.

We must all cooperate, help each other, in order to go forward, so that our work be not in vain and in order to liberate the poor from misery and sadness.

As can be seen from the translations, the texts are rather different. Although the speechwriter may have desired the message of the second translation, the composition of the first version was delivered, since only the Quichua text was read over radio and television. The choice of words, many of them perjorative, more adequately reflects the government's perception of Quichua's role. Interestingly, no mention is made of the Quichua speaking groups in Ecuador, but the remaining indigenous groups are mentioned by name. In many ways, the Quichua language is obviously still thought of as a type of trade language, where trade may be conducted in the political realm.

Furthermore, the overall tone of speech was as dominant addressing subordinates, i.e., an attempt will be made to change, but the status quo will remain constant. The Indians with whom I listened to the speech were amused at the perjorative reference to non-Indians, and were pleased at the president's attempt to speak Quichua, but were basically unimpressed with the overall tone. As they continued to weave, one informant said ña kutin iwallatak parlajun 'they are speaking the same again.'



As evidenced by the inaugural address, Quichua is receiving increased recognition. However, in spite of efforts by various individuals and groups, Quichua has not yet received official status. Furthermore, the overall tone of speech was as that of dominants addressing subordinates.

### Notes

1. Quechua refers to the language family and Quichua refers to varieties of this family spoken in Ecuador, Colombia, and northwestern Argentina; this is primarily a European distinction.
2. A new field manual based on these refinements is forthcoming (Hardman and Hamano, Personal Communication). This field manual is already in use at the University of Florida.
3. I am reminded of two specific occasions. The male members of one Sierra community which was especially hostile to outsiders met me at the community entrance with rocks, sticks, and (life) threatening stances. Fortunately, this potentially violent situation was difused. By the time of the visit to that community I was able to speak a certain amount of Quichua, but from a different dialect. The community members who met me seemed to be amazed (and intrigued) that a foreigner was attempting to speak their language. Permission to enter the community was not given until I promised to learn their dialect and until we spent the remainder of the day drinking chicha and trago.

The other occasion occurred when I was returning to the field base after spending two weeks in an isolated Oriente community. After a two day hike to the Napo river and an eight hour upstream canoe ride, a passenger carelessly tossed a cigarette out of the canoe. The wind blew the cigarette into the open gasoline containers at the back of the canoe resulting in an ear-splitting explosion. Miraculously and fortunately none of the twenty-some passengers and crew were injured, just wet. Unfortunately, the collected data, camera, and tape recorder were submerged, and most of the data collected from that community were washed downstream. (The data were recollected at a later date.)

4. This creation of data seems to prevail in many circumstances; for example, rather than do actual field investigations for projectile points, university students will often fabricate both the number and kinds of points found.
5. This definition is adopted from the 1950 COTA Conference held in Bogota, Colombia.
6. The use of angles and concave/convex parameters are very important when investigating aspects of Andean social interaction. In other words, the plains of Nazca are said to be produced using repeating combinations of 13 and 17 angles. The use of concave/convex parameters are an important feature of lexical structure of Quechua body parts (Stark, 1969).
7. There is an earlier somewhat parallel classification proposed by Parker (1969). However, in order to be consistent with more recent Andean studies, Torero's system is used in this thesis.
8. Muysken (1977) refers to the Chinchay variety as 'Chinchay Standard' and the Inca overlay as 'Chinchay Inca.'
9. In deciphering the Spanish orthography used to represent Quechua, the following works were consulted: Luna, 1623; Owen, 1625; Oudin, 1622.

## CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Due in part to the large geographic distribution of the Quechua family, the diversity and varieties of the language family have been the object of the many investigations realized since Santo Tomás' 1552 grammar. Comprising this chapter are brief synopses of several of the Quechua language studies that were consulted during field research and thesis preparation.

In addition to these primarily linguistic studies, literally thousands of documents remain which refer to Quechua (or Quichua) in some way. Although precise linguistic analyses are relatively few, the Quechua language family is by far the most documented indigenous language of the western hemisphere. This wealth of documentation is due in part to the incessant proclivity of early chroniclers and administrative bureaucrats of the Spanish empire. For example, by 1635 approximately 400,000 royal edicts had been decreed (although not all in or about Quechua) (Herring, 1968); by 1681, the increasingly unmanageable quantity of documents were re-edited into a document containing only 6,400 of the most important laws (Recopilación de las Leyes de las Indias). Although many of these documents have been republished, others unfortunately are lost or unavailable

(1). In recent years, linguistic and other social science studies of the Quechua family have rapidly increased. Leon (1946) and Larrea (1977) provide extensive bibliographies listing works focusing on Ecuadorian Indians. Rivet and Creguí-Montfort (1951-1956) provide a monumental four volume bibliographic source for works on Quechua and Aymara. Nonetheless, since the focus of this thesis is primarily the description and dialectology of the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua, only those works having direct relevance to the present linguistic investigation are reviewed. Other studies of the language and its speakers are used when they contain information useful to a particular section. A more extensive review of the Peruvian Quechua studies is available in Davidson (1977).

When surveying the available linguistic studies pertaining to the Quechua language family, it is useful to have a basis for comparison. Fortunately, a grammatical taxonomy has been developed and proposed by Hardman (Hardman and Hamano, 1981) which adequately serves as a comparative base.

Briefly, Hardman's taxonomy categorizes grammars as two basic types, primary and extensional grammars. Primary grammars provide grammatical information of a given language, and are further subdivided into professional and public grammars. A professional primary grammar is intended for linguists studying the same language (family) or for

those who share the same theoretical ilk and contains extensive exemplification. A public primary grammar is intended for the general public and indicates grammatical structure without formal justification, but with explanations and examples.

Extensional grammars are those which are built upon the information provided by primary grammars; the information is reanalyzed for specific purposes or for the addition of other relevant material. Extensional grammars consist of three types: theoretical, applied, and extended. A theoretical extensional grammar is designed for the evaluation, illustration, argumentation, or comparison of theories. An applied extensional grammar usually contains additional information necessary for the resolution of different problematics or for application to different situations. For example, contrastive and pedagogical grammars are useful in regular and bilingual education or for propagandizing the equally valid complexities of any language. Finally, an extended extensional grammar has the information of a primary grammar as its base and includes sociolinguistic and historical analyses. Such grammars may provide information on situations of cultural contact reflected in the language or may result in primers and textbooks to be used in education. Consequently, most the grammars reviewed below are classified according to the above taxonomy and the salient aspects of each investigation are listed.

### Peruvian Quechua

The varieties of the Quechua family spoken in Peru since the Spanish Conquest have received the most attention. This is in part due to the acceptance and the perpetuation of Peruvian Quechua, especially the Cuzco variety, as the Imperial language of the Incas. By analogy with sociolinguistics of Iberian Spanish, the Conquistadors assumed that the language of Tawantinsuyu's capital, Cuzco, had to be the most prestigious form; they were unaware of Quechua's recent adoption by the Incas as a conquest language.

Of the many available investigations of Peruvian Quechua, several stand out as de rigueur references. Early pre-twentieth century works include those of Santo Tomás (1947, original in 1552) and Holguín (1952, original in 1607). The more recent studies reviewed include Torero (1974) and the six reference grammars produced by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

### Early Investigations

Regarding Peruvian (and general) Quechua studies, two important works were published within less than a century after the Spanish Conquest. Although both present an extremely latinized view of the language for use by the Church for christianization of the local population, the following two works are still valuable today as the only

primary references on sixteenth and early seventeenth century varieties of the Quechua language.

Appearing less than 30 years after the Conquest, Santo Tomás' Gramática o Arte de la Lengua General (1552), hereafter Gramática, is invaluable; it represents Chinchay Quechua, a language spoken along the Peruvian coast as late as the early colonial period. Although no longer extant in the present century, this variety was most probably spread along the Pacific coast as a trade language by sea-faring merchants before and possibly during the Inca occupation.

In 1607 Gonzalez Holguín published Gramática o Arte nuevo de la lengua general de todo el Perú, llamada lengua quichua o del inca, hereafter Arte nuevo. Representing what appears to be the Inca Quechua dialect spoken in Cuzco, this variety was used and spread by the Incas as a conquest language during expansion. This volume, describing a variety of Quechua long under the influence of the neighboring Jaqi languages, represents the dialect erroneously assumed by the Spaniards to be Imperial Quechua; it is the earliest reference of Cuzco Quechua.

### Recent Investigations

Regarding more recent studies of Peruvian Quechua, Torero's Quechua y la historia social andina (1974) is indispensable for both linguistic and cultural investigations related to the language.

In the first of two major sections, Torero proposes a classification of the not always mutually intelligible members of the Quechua language family which is distributed geographically from southern Colombia to northern Argentina (as well as small enclaves in major North American and European cities). The system consists of two major divisions. Quechua I (hereafter QI), 'Waywash,' is spoken almost continually in the central Peruvian sierra departments of Ancash, Huanuco, Pasco, Junin, north- and southeast Lima, and northeast Ica; it is the less geographically extensive and more conservative. Quechua II (hereafter, QII), 'Wampuy,' covers most of the remaining sierra and jungle areas and, as such, is the more extensive and innovative division. QI is distinguished from QII by the use of vowel length to indicate first person possession; it is further subdivided into the Waylay and Wankay varieties. QII is subdivided into Yungay and Chinchay. Yungay, QIIA, although closely related to QI, is distinguished from the remaining dialects by the use of /-y -yni/ to indicate first person possession. Chinchay, divided into QIIB and QIIC, is distinguished by the use of /-ni/ to indicate first person. Due to its wide distribution, this is the variety often referred to as 'la lengua general' in the early writings. Table 4 gives a branching diagram of the above classification. Torero (1979) then posits the following five distinct languages,



each dialectically diverse, belonging to the Quechua family within Peru.

1. Ayacucho-Cuzco,
2. Ancash-Yaru,
3. Jauja-Huanca,
4. Cañaris-Cajamarca, and
5. Chachapoyas-Lamas.

He concludes this first section by providing two possible orthographies which utilize various doublets in order to be applicable to all dialects of the five major languages. These orthographies appear in Appendix A.

The remainder and the bulk of Torero's work consist of a historical and cultural analysis of Quechua. In the first part he discusses the role of Quechua and its diffusion in ancient Peru from the social, geographic, demographic, and political perspectives; the second part describes how Quechua was used by the Spaniards as an instrument for destruction of the Andean world, colonial control, and 'castellanización.'

In summary, Torero's work serves a dual purpose: not only does it provide a generally well-motivated classification system which is used as a point of departure in subsequent investigations, it also provides sociolinguistic information useful in understanding the general ecological parameters of any given Quechua language or dialect.

In 1976 a collection of six 'reference grammars,' along with their accompanying dictionaries, was published in Peru. These grammars, now viewed as standard references, are the results of a project that received impetus from the 'implementation of Quechua as an official language' within Peru. These 'less complicated, more accessible' grammars are directed toward the bilingual, for informal self-instruction and satisfaction of linguistic inquisitiveness. Although these volumes may be used to disseminate information about the various Quechua languages to other linguists, a major aim of the project was to create grammars which could be used by the Quechua-Spanish bilingual to facilitate acquisition, fluency, and understanding of Quechua as a complex, yet structured language. For the 'quechuólogo' the general layouts of the six grammars are complementary and therefore very useful in dialectology. These public primary grammars are indicative of not only the linguistic diversity within Peru, but also the Peruvian government's continuing interest in Quechua since its establishment as a regular course of study at the Universidad Nacional de San Marcos in 1577. Unfortunately, the course has not been regularly offered.

Closely following Torero's classification, the division of QI into Waylay and Wankay is represented by Parker's Gramática Ancash-Huailas (1976) (hereafter AH) and Cerron-Palomino's Gramática Junin-Huanca (1976) (hereafter

JH), respectively. QIIA, Yungay, is represented by Quesada's Gramática Cajamarca-Cañaris (1976) (hereafter CN). The division of Chinchay into QIIB is represented by Coombs, Coombs, and Weber's Gramática San Martín (1976) (hereafter SM). QIIC is represented by both Soto-Ruiz's Gramática Ayacucho-Chanca (1976) (hereafter AC) and Cusihuaman's Gramática Cuzco-Collao (1976) (hereafter CC). All the above grammars contain from seven to eleven chapters. Common to all volumes are chapters treating the linguistic ecology, phonology (2), noun phrases, verb phrases, enclitics, and complex sentences. The distribution of these and the remaining chapters are illustrated in Table 6

TABLE 6

## Contents of IEP Grammars

|                      | AC | JH | AH | CC | CN | SM |
|----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Ecology              | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| Phonology            | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| Grammar Generalities | +  | +  |    | +  | +  | +  |
| Simple Sentences     | +  | +  | +  |    | +  | +  |
| Noun Phrases         | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| Verb Phrases         | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| Enclitics            | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| Derivation           | +  |    |    | +  |    |    |
| Complex Sentences    | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| Question/Negation    | +  |    |    |    |    | +  |
| Particles            | +  |    |    | +  | +  |    |
| Phrase Structures    |    |    |    | +  |    |    |
| Derived Phrases      |    |    |    | +  |    |    |
| Possessives          |    |    |    |    |    | +  |
| Interjections/Idioms |    |    |    |    |    | +  |

Parker's Ancash-Huailas (AH) grammar has a structuralist framework and contains enough examples to support his statements. Information, particularly phonological (See Appendix A), on subdialects of AH are included when necessary, and are illustrative. Although the phonology and morphology sections are well documented, some of the statements regarding enclitics and complex phrases could use further exemplification.

Of the two representatives of QI in this collection, Cerrón-Palomino's Junin-Huanca (JH) grammar seems to be more complete. In the phonology chapter, the data are arranged to illustrate processes rather than phonemic contrasts. (Huanca is distinguished phonologically from the remaining dialects by lateralization of \*/r/.) Chapters 5 and 6, treating noun phrases and verb phrases respectively, are well-illustrated, concise descriptions of roots and suffixes, both inflectional and derivational.

Quesada's Cajamarca-Cañaris (CN) grammar is the only volume of the collection representing QIIA. A very brief phonological statement illustrates both synchronic and diachronic processes of this dialect rather than phonemic contrasts. The organization of the remaining chapters indicate a quasi-transformational approach to the relatively small data base. In addition, a verbal conjugation paradigm reflects an Indo-European orientation to the Quechua tense system. The chapter on particles seems to be classified

according to the translations rather than the data. The chapter on enclitics is more complete than in the preceding two volumes, but the presentation lacks cohesion.

Coombs, Coombs and Weber's San Martin (SM) grammar provides a description of a little-studied variety of Quechua spoken in the Peruvian jungle (as opposed to the Sierra dialects). Unfortunately, many statements presented suggest a strong Indo-European orientation towards the data, such as reflecting a third person singular and plural pronominal set and a verbal conjugation paradigm reflecting this number-marked system. One of the better chapters on enclitics, this description not only contains illustrative examples, but explains in detail the sometimes peculiar behavior and subtle meaning changes caused by inclusion of this suffix class on Quechua phrases. Using a sample text, the behavior of some enclitics at the discourse level is illustrated. Short chapters on possessive and negative constructions seem to have been added as an afterthought, but the chapter on interjections, idioms, and greetings discusses an area of Quechua treated barely or not at all in the remaining grammars.

Soto Ruiz's Ayacucho-Chanca (AC) grammar represents QIIC. The phonology chapter presents phonemic charts and describes their production, but is practically devoid of phonemic contrast examples. The next two chapters explain word classes and sentence types, but are again lacking sufficient

illustration. The chapters treating noun phrases and verb phrases appear to have a rather latinate framework; not only is the third person singular and plural system given, but some tenses are translated into the Spanish subjunctive mood. As presented, this could lead to the assumption that such subjunctive information is marked within the Quechua verb; instead, it is often expressed in many dialects by validational enclitics. As one of the better chapters of this volume, derivation examines a very productive Quechua process. The chapter on adverbials mixes both particles and certain substantives, although examining them in a somewhat confusing fashion. Basically, what the author calls time, place, and modal adverbials are distributed and function within many dialects of Quechua as a substantive subclass.

The last volume of this collection, and also one of the most complete, Cusihaman's Cuzco-Collao (CC) grammar represents another variety of QIIC. An earlier variety of this dialect was chosen by Spanish Conquistadores as the standard imperial Quechua since it was spoken in Cuzco, capital of the Inca Empire. Because of its close proximity to and sustained contact with earlier varieties of Aymara, a Jaqi language (Hardman, 1979), this variety exhibits heavy influence from the latter language in all component levels. Since the phonology closely resembles that of Aymara (cf Appendix A), it has led some investigators, by comparing only this variety of Quechua with Aymara, to erroneously

assume a 'Quechumaran' linguistic phylum. The phonology chapter is well organized and illustrated, but few examples are of the contrastive nature. Word classes and sentence structures are described using a transformational framework, while descriptions of the nominal and verbal systems are structurally oriented. This grammar further treats the rather productive derivation processes. All in all, most of the statements in this grammar are explanatorily adequate and well documented.

Published with these grammars are complementary dictionaries. Although AH and CC have the most entries, all the accompanying 'lexical treasuries' are very useful and provide basic core vocabulary items. Unfortunately, the materials used in production of both the grammars and dictionaries do not lend themselves to frequent or demanding use.

Taken as a whole and in spite of some shortcomings, the volumes in the collection represent a bona fide contribution to both linguistics and Quechua studies. In addition to being useful individually for the study of a specific Quechua dialect or language, collectively they are the sine qua non of the serious student of Quechua dialectology. The general organization of the grammars allows for easy cross-referencing and accessibility to almost anyone interested in the Quechua language.

More importantly, this collection is indicative of Peru's attempt to integrate Quechua as a national language. Under the auspices of the Ministerio de Educación Pública and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, these volumes are the results of a very optimistic, productive project. It is hoped that interest in and investigation of Quechua languages will continue; as Escobar so aptly states in the prologue to each volume, a truly 'authentic national society' will emerge from the 'reciprocal respect' of the speakers and members of various languages and cultures. These reference grammars constitute an affirmative fundamental step in that direction.

#### Ecuadorian Quichua

Much of the early Spanish Conquest was focused in Peru because the early conquistadores assumed that the capital of Tahuantinsuyu held all that was of interest to them. As stated earlier, Cuzco was perceived by the Spanish as the imperial sanctum of the Incas, and the language spoken in that city was therefore assumed to be the imperial standard. Thus, many of the early writings are devoted to the analysis of the Quechua spoken in the Cuzco area at the time of the Conquest. As a consequence, almost 200 years passed before a variety of Ecuadorian Quichua was first described (3).



### Early Investigations

Nieto Polo (1964), writing first about Ecuadorian Quichua in 1753 may be called the founder of Ecuadorian Quichua studies; he wrote Breve Instrucción o Arte para entender la lengua comun de los Indios, según se hable en la provincia de Quito. Primarily for the purposes of proselytization, it nevertheless provides excellent information on earlier forms of the language as it was spoken around Quito and the Maynas region of the upper Amazon basin.

More than a century later in 1889, Julio Paris (1961) produced Un ensayo de gramática quichua. This work consists basically of a word list with an introductory statement about the nature of Quichua. Since Quichua was seen as homogeneous at that time (still a prevalent view), no information is provided as to the source dialect. However, judging from the forms used, the grammar appears to be representative of non-central Ecuadorian Quichua. This work is divided into three major sections: one treating '...the grammatical value of words,' another which teaches one to '...correctly construct grammatical phrases,' and a final section of exercises. Also included are an orthographic statement and a valuable appendix of Hispanicisms. The framework of this grammar however is latinate; after stating that '...there aren't exactly declensions,' Paris then provides the declension of substantives. Although the latinate framework constrains his description of the

language there is nonetheless a great wealth of data on late nineteenth century Ecuadorian Quichua.

### Recent Investigations

From the middle of the twentieth century there has been an increasing number of investigations of Ecuadorian Quichua. The majority of these studies are designed to be pedagogical grammars aimed at different target populations. These include the works of Elliot (n.d.), Ross (1963), Stark and Carpenter (1974), Beukema (1975), Mugica (1967), and Naula and Burns (1975). The remaining studies are devoted to specific aspects of the grammar or to orthographic proposals and statements. Representing the former are Maysen (1977) and Yañez (1974a); representing the latter is Yañez (1974b).

Mugica's Aprenda El Quichua: Gramática y Vocabularios (1967) is intended to be an applied extensional grammar with a pedagogical orientation. The author intends to '...gently push the student into conversation...' by '...gathering phrases, sayings, and expressions from life and the environment.' By '...departing from classical structure [and] without imposed categories...' the author focuses on the verb from a practical angle. Unfortunately, the presentation of the data is so haphazard that it is difficult to obtain an idea of the nature of Quichua. The grammar is divided into 11 lessons including one of

preliminary statements, two each on nouns and adjectives, and one each treating pronouns, relatives, verbs, infixes, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. About half of Mugica's work presents a valuable Quichua Spanish lexicon from the Ecuadorian Oriente. Although Mugica, who was a Capuchine missionary to the Oriente region, attempts to break free of standard grammatical presentation, as can be seen from the lesson contents, his Indo-European grid very definitely influences the presentation of Quichua. Although the grammar was intended as a guide to Quichua for a general audience, the presentation is probably more valuable to the quichuologo for the documentation of Ecuadorian Oriente Quichua.

Elliot's (n.d.) Jungle Quichua: A Pedagogical Grammar is another applied extensional grammar treating Oriente Quichua. Like the former work, no information is provided as to the source dialect(s); it is a composite presentation of the language. This manuscript is divided into lessons containing vocabulary, lists of suffixes, brief grammatical explanations, and translation exercises. It is designed as a training manual for missionaries working in the Ecuadorian Oriente.

The majority of the remaining studies use data from the Ecuadorian Sierra dialects, and one of the earliest is Ross' (1963) Intoduction to Ecuadorian Highland Quichua. This applied extensional grammar is also of a pedagogical nature

and is divided into 50 lessons (10 'easy' and 40 'rather difficult') and five reviews. Each lesson contains model dialogues to be memorized, grammatical explanations, vocabularies, and paradigmatic exercise frames. The grammar also contains sample verb conjugations, an index, and a wordlist. The source dialects for the study are primarily from central Ecuadorian Quichua, but references to the non-central varieties are also included. The grammar is designed to be used with an informant and is written for the novice to Quichua (and language) studies, i.e., very few linguistic explanations are provided. Unfortunately, many of these simplified explanations do not present the complexities of the language since everything is directed toward English. Consequently, 'singular' and 'plural' forms are presented as well as a past/present/future temporal division. In spite of such shortcomings, the grammar is useful for the beginning Quichua language student. When I first arrived in Ecuador Ross' grammar was the only one available which was in any way helpful in gaining speaking fluency. In this way, the grammar succeeds and is very valuable to the Quichua linguist who also wishes to speak the language.

The remaining applied extensional pedagogical grammar is Stark and Carpenter's (1974) El Quichua de Imbabura: Una Gramática Pedagógica. Designed for the Spanish speaker, this grammar is presented as '...an appreciation of the

Quichua language and its accompanying culture.' It is one of the first grammars to focus on a single Ecuadorian Quichua dialect, in this case, Imbabura. To be used with the help of a native informant, each lesson contains a dialogue to be memorized, vocabularies, frame drills, paradigmatic exercises, free conversation themes, and detailed grammatical explanations. The grammatical statements are more inclusive than Ross', but Ross' grammar contains much more exercise material. Taken together, both Ross and Stark and Carpenter's works provide an extremely valuable resource to both the Quichua linguists and the beginning Quichua language student.

In addition to the above pedagogical grammars more recent investigations are both theoretical extensional and professional primary grammars highlighting specific aspects of Ecuadorian Quichua. Intended for the linguist rather than the language learner, these grammars are given a more detailed review below. Included are Yañez (1974a), Muysken (1977), Beukema (1975) and Naula and Burns (1975).

Yañez's (1974a) Notas Sobre El Verbo Quichua: Morfología presents a primarily structural description using the Imbabura (Imb.) Chimborazo (Nch.) and Loja (Lja.) dialects as data sources. The article treats the most common aspects of the verb morphology of these dialects. Yañez describes personal morphemes, verbal specifiers, verbal time, verbal composition, atemporal and apersonal morphemes

(derivational and subordinators), and concludes with a summary morphological outline of the Quichua verb. Even though Quichua verbs are analyzed as having singular and plural, the remaining description of shared morphemes is very succinct and minimal exemplification is provided. It is nonetheless quite valuable as an introduction to Ecuadorian Quichua verb morphology.

Maysken's Syntactic Developments in the Verb Phrase of Ecuadorian Quechua (1977) is a theoretical extensional grammar used for illustration and argumentation of a particular position. The theoretical framework for the organization of this volume is that of diachronic syntax. (It has been subsequently republished as a volume in the Generative Syntax series.) Nonetheless, in discussing the relevance of such works for the Ecuadorian case, Maysken intends the grammar to be useful for development of vernacular instruction as well as contributing to the development of a syntactic theory. The data corpus is from two years of field work in principally the central Ecuadorian Quichua dialects, most notably Tungurahua and Cotopaxi; where relevant, some data are included from other dialect areas. Although some biographical sketches and legends were utilized as control data, the types of data are translation and paraphrase questions as well as sentence acceptability judgments.

The grammar consists of seven chapters, the first of which provides much of the specific information in the preceding paragraph.

The second chapter is a brief description of certain characteristics of Ecuadorian Quechua (EcQ). Muysken identifies the variety analyzed as Torero's QII but implies that all members within this major division are perhaps mutually intelligible. The orthography used is to be valid for all of EcQ; although doublets are utilized to achieve this validity, representations for some phonemic segments are lacking. For example, the assibilated versus the flap vibrant (/karru/ 'bus' versus /karu/ 'far') and the alveolar versus the alveo-palatal voiceless stop (/tukana/ 'play an instrument' versus /tyukana/ 'spit') are not represented. Muysken's description of dialect variation treats the following phonological processes: voicing of initial consonants in many of the substantive suffixes (/ta/ 'accusative' ---> /da/); vowel changes (/man/ 'ablative' ---> /mun/); monothongization (/chay/ 'demonstrative' ---> /chi/); consonant cluster reduction (/kpi/ 'different actor subordinator' ---> /ki/); syllable deletion ((haplology) pasangagama 'until his definite passing' ---> pasangáma); reduction of non-emphasized morphemes (/shpa/ 'same actor subordinator' ---> /sh/); and final consonant deletion (/man/ 'ablative' ---> /ma/). For the most part, these processes are useful in distinguishing central from non-central EcQ dialects.

The grammatical portion of this chapter discusses the constituent members of phrases, inflections and usages of the substantive system surface case marking, and includes a description of the following sentence types: direct and WH question, left extraposed, copula contracted, and negated. A section on independent suffixes describes elements classified as enclitics in Peruvian Quechua (PeQ). The grammatical processes explained are subordination (/shpa/ 'same actor,' and /kpi/ 'different actor') and nominalization (/na/ 'indefinite anticipative,' /nga/ 'definite anticipative,' /k/ 'agentive,' /shka/ 'completive,' and /y/ 'potential'). Unfortunately, the rather homogeneous view of PeQ and its distribution within northern Peru is misleading.

In Chapter III, 'Changes in the EcQ Verbal Paradigm,' Maysken discusses four tenses (unmarked present, -rka past, -shka sudden discovery, and the person-combined future), person (seven person system with inclusive and exclusive first person plural), number (singular and plural), types and possible development of verbal inflectional homonyms (-nga, -shka), the potential /man/, and the third person imperative /chun/, referred to as a 'purposive complementizer.'

The majority of the fourth chapter treating complex (high) verb nodes in EcQ attempts to justify a rule which could account for infinitive and gerundial complements



(i.e., the conditioning of /-na/ + /-ta/ versus /-y/ + /-ta/), modal or semi-auxiliary verbs (ni- 'say,' auna- 'want,' pudi- 'be able,' etc.), and action verb complements. The analysis presented, while intriguing and provocative, is not convincing and the chapter is therefore somewhat disappointing.

The fifth chapter discusses the optional modal suffixes such as the 'inchoative' /-gri-/ and the 'cislocative' /-mu-/. Regarding the stem formatives (/ -chi-/, /-ri-/, etc.), Muysken then proceeds to discuss whether these are better analyzed from a lexicalist, rule-generated, or higher verb framework. He claims that /-chi-/ should be considered a higher verb and the remaining modals as rule-generated from a base.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the verb yalli- 'exceed, surpass,' and its peculiar behavior (some would call it a defective verb). Muysken posits possible interpretations, saying that the validity of any one would depend on particular features and distributions.

The final chapter relates the specific findings of this study of EcQ to a more general theory of historical change, particularly syntactic change. The nature of the EcQ data, Muysken concludes, indicates the need for theoretical devices limiting the syntactic category shifts of certain lexical items.

In summary, this highlighted technical description of the synchronic and diachronic verbal paradigm in EcQ presents various analyses of specific verbal phenomena. The cases and exemplification of each position are well presented, but in many instances no one analysis is supposed superior to the rest; the specifics of each situation determine which analysis is preferred. Although rather technically oriented, the thesis contributes to the understanding of the behavior of certain EcQ verb phrase constituents across major dialect boundaries; while this volume is useful to the generative syntactician, it is of little use for the Quichua speaker or to anyone interested in learning to speak the language.

In addition to Muysken's work (1977), Beukema's A grammatical Sketch of Chimborazo Quichua and Naula and Burns' (1975) Bosquejo Gramatical del Quichua de Chimborazo (4) focusing on the Chimborazo dialect are representative of more recent investigations in central Ecuadorian Sierra Quichua. Beukema's thesis is a professional primary grammar aimed at Quichua linguists and stratificational theoreticians while Naula and Burns' work is an applied extensional grammar with a simplified tagmemic description aimed at orienting the production of didactic materials for proposed bilingual education programs sponsored by the Ministerio de Educación Pública. Despite the dissimilar phonemic inventories and varying analyses of certain

morphological and syntactic features, the grammars together provide a basically thorough understanding of the structure and characteristics of Chimborazo Quichua.

Beukema's grammar is organized into six chapters, the last of which is a sample text illustrating the application of the stratificational model. In the introduction the author provides brief ecological information, explains the corpus based on '...narrative texts from the principal informant...', and describes the basic philosophy of the theoretical model (i.e., describing the system of Quichua via the '...phonemic, morphemic, lexemic, and sememic levels of representation').

In the first chapter treating phonology, 33 phonemes are analyzed both articulatorily and componentially. However, at least three of the proposed phonemes do not seem well-motivated. The voiceless laryngeal plosive /ʔ/ (glottal stop) appears to be a predictable phonetic feature preceding word-initial vowels, the voiceless retroflex spirant /s/ seems suspicious at the phonemic level since all the examples presented share an identical intervocalic environment indicating that this is really an allophone of the voiceless palatal spirant, and the phonemic distinction position for /k/ and /g/ is also suspect since in all examples except a single loan-word the proposed /g/ may be reanalyzed as an allophone of the /k/ conditioned by the environment. In addition to the phonemic treatment, Beukema

discusses phonetic variation, determined features (redundancy), phonemic overlapping (primarily between the velar stops /kh/, /k/, and the fricative /j/), clusters, vowel and glide restrictions, nasal assimilation, the phonological word, phonemic distribution, stress, and morphophonemic alternation. The theoretical notation utilized in the latter section illustrates only the segments in alternation among the nasals, but not the conditioning factors.

In the second chapter on morphology, the morphotactics are explained as comprising roots and stems, suffixes, and enclitics. Several examples used to justify certain lexemic classifications are based on the gloss rather than the Quichua linguistic form. The four classes posited as verb suffixes appear to function both morphologically and syntactically. The four types are those that form stems, derive nominals, and function as the head of a dependent or independent clause. In the illustration of roots and suffixes, the notation does not indicate whether the element is bound or free and may therefore confuse the novice to Quichua studies. After presenting a third person singular and plural verbal paradigm, each of the relatively few suffixes presented is defined and exemplified via stratificational relations.

In a third chapter on phrases, Beukema posits noun, adjective, and verb phrases. Although many examples

stratificationally described appear to be well-motivated, others do not: quantifiers, demonstratives, and interrogatives are treated as peripheral determining elements of a noun phrase only, when, in reality, all may serve as its head.

In the fourth chapter on lexotactics (syntax), various types of sentences are presented from both a holistic perspective and as constructions composed of the units in the preceding chapters. The fifth chapter treats briefly those features of Quichua which this particular theoretical model is supposed to elucidate. As in sections of preceding chapters, the data seem to have been arranged to fit the theory rather than test it.

Although Naula and Burns' (1975) volume is primarily a collection of texts, one of the principal aims of the simplified tagmemic model used is to view Quichua structure from the paragraph and discourse perspective. The volume is divided into five chapters with an introduction defining the basic theoretical terms.

The phonology chapter describes structurally 31 phonemes although the proposed voiceless bilabial fricative appears only in Spanish loans. In many dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua the voiceless velar and glottal fricatives have fused to velar articulation, but here the distinction is maintained for purposes of inter-Andean studies. In addition to the presentation of the phonemic inventory with

the principal allophones and their distributions, the phonological rule of obstruent voicing after nasals is treated also. (This process occurs in various gradations throughout the Ecuadorian dialects.) The chapter ends with a discussion of subdialect variation, morphophonemics (nasal assimilation, stop voicing, monothongization), and the prosodic, or supra-segmental, elements such as accent (paroxytonic) and intonation (a five-level system with interplay indicating sentence, phrase, or dependent clause finality, specification, verification, admiration, and semantic focus).

After an initial definition of terms in the morphology chapter, the authors classify Quichua words as either noun, verb, or particle. The section on substantive morphology combines elements including both nominal and verbal derivationals, substantive inflection, and independent suffixes. Although the inflectional suffix /-kuna/ 'aggregate' has a distribution and functions like other relational suffixes, it is classified here as the only member of the 'plural' inflectional subclass. After describing their formation, each suffix is discussed. (The /-lla/ 'qualitative diminutive' presented as a single suffix of 'major flexibility' and almost random behavior is most probably two homophonous suffixes.) The verbal suffixes and their formation are treated, but the existence of various homophonous suffixes is missed. The chapter ends with an

interesting description of the independent suffixes, but the organization does not reflect the structure evident in other EcQ dialects.

In the third chapter, syntax is discussed at the phrase, clause sentence, and discourse levels. According to the analysis, the noun phrase has no obligatory constituents, but may be substituted by phrase fractions although in reality these fractions are demonstrative pronouns which may serve as the phrase head, or nucleus. The authors present four types of verb phrase: desiderative, narrative, past state, and habitual state. There are three principal clause types: independent, dependent, and 'encajonada.' In the latter the authors discuss the clause-like behavior of a nominalized verb. After very brief treatments of the sentence and discourse, a lexico-grammatical analysis of a text is presented. It is here, in combination with the previously presented formulae, that this volume is most useful. The importance of Quichua discourse mechanisms is clearly explicated. The final two chapters consist of a lexicon and nineteen texts.

In summary, these two volumes focusing on a single EcQ dialect present analyses of similar data using two distinct models. While Beukema's (1975) stratificational work may be theoretically sound, the presentation makes Quichua seem suspiciously Indo-European. Of the two grammars, Paula and Burns' (1975) presentation not only simply illustrates the

modified tagmemic theory as proposed, but also more effectively retains the flavor of EcQ. Both works are useful to the Quichua linguists, but most probably only the latter grammar will be of value to a wider audience.

The final secondary source frequently used during the field stay is Yañez's (1974b) Fonología y escritura del Quichua Ecuatoriana. Using only three source dialects (Imb., Nch., and Lja.) Yañez attempts to provide a phonemic analysis and orthography which is applicable to all of Ecuadorian Quichua (Again, the concept of language homogeneity rears its ugly head.). The analysis presented is for the most part very useful, but the use of orthographic doublets creates confusing lexical representation in some dialects areas. As a phonemic analysis Yañez's article is very informative, but the proposed orthography needs refining.

Regarding dictionaries and word lists available the most helpful and informative are those of Ross (1950), Orr and Wrisley (1965), and Stark and Muysken (1977).

Ross' Quichua-English Dictionary (1950) is viewed as '...a word list...' designed as '...a small service to...fellow missionaries...' The items presented are from the Sierra region; the notation used in Introduction to Ecuadorian Highland Quichua is continued in this dictionary since it is '...a byproduct of [that work].' The items defined in this dictionary are cross referenced and



correspondences across dialects are given where known. The dialects represented are Iab, Pch, Wch, Azy, Lja, Tsl, and Tch. Aspiration is represented by an apostrophe over the phoneme as in tyaca 'thick.' Lexical items sharing phonological correspondences across dialects are indicated by umlaut over the phoneme as in chuca 'saliva.' The orthography used is sometimes misrepresentative of the vowel system by proposing a five, rather than a three vowel phonemic system. Morphophonemic variation is also represented in the orthography used.

Orr and Wrisley's Vocabulario Quichua del Oriente del Ecuador (1965) represents lexical items from the three Oriente dialects of Npo, Ptz, and Tna. The Quichua-Spanish/Spanish-Quichua dictionary is enhanced by detailed illustrations of more frequently used lexical items. An added feature of this work is the detailed section devoted to flora and fauna, making this dictionary extremely valuable to those researching the ethnosemantics of Oriente plant taxonomies. The dictionary remains the most useful reference for terms from the Ecuadorian Oriente.

Stark and Muysken's Diccionario Español-Quichua/Quichua-Español (1977) is more comprehensive than Ross' in that lexical information is provided for all the Sierra dialects. Simple illustrations are provided for some lexical items and a handy key to the symbols and abbreviations is provided on every other page.

Unfortunately, there are some symbols used which are not defined in the key. This work concludes with an appendix on the orthography used and pronunciation of specific graphemes, including many diagraphs. In spite of some production flaws (upside down pages), this dictionary remains the most complete accounting of vocabulary items of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Sierra.

Taken together, the three dictionaries rather effectively complement each other. Ross and Stark and Muysken represent Sierra Quichua while Orr and Wrisley represents Oriente Quichua. Ross is Quichua-English while the other two are Quichua-Spanish. Ross and Orr and Wrisley are technically well produced and can withstand frequent use while Stark and Muysken easily falls apart with frequent use. Unfortunately all three use different orthographies and accommodations conforming to phonemic orthographies must be made in order to use the dictionaries in tandem. Nonetheless, these dictionaries as a whole provide an indispensable resource for the student of Ecuadorian Quichua linguistics.

In summary, the above literature review is not meant to be exhaustive of the available sources. However it does represent the secondary sources most frequently used in the field stay and preparation of this thesis. The less frequently used secondary sources are noted in the remainder of the text where relevant. Even though more recent investigations focus on specific aspects of Ecuadorian

Quichua, much remains to be done. Fortunately, the increasing interest in and study of Ecuadorian Quichua will continue to clarify and add to our knowledge of this language.

#### Notes

1. I am reminded of thousands of documents which are currently deteriorating in archives located in the upper alcoves of private homes. For various reasons, access to such documents is extremely difficult.
2. The phonologies of this series are presented in Appendix A.
3. More specifically, because Cuzco was considered the cultural and linguistic 'norm' for the Inca Empire, descriptions of the Chinchay varieties were sometimes rewritten to conform to the Hispanic conception of an imperial standard.
4. It should be noted that the informants in these two studies are brothers, and yet the quantity of phonemic units described is different.

### CHAPTER III ETHNOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide ethnographic information about the speakers of Quichua so that one may better understand the exceedingly complex relationship that exists between Quichua language and culture. It is the conviction of this investigator that linguistic description must acknowledge the fact that language is a social process and is used by people. Acquisition of fluency in a foreign language allows broader access to the accompanying culture. It is my belief and that shared by the anthropological linguistics program at the University of Florida that one cannot provide an adequate description of a language unless one has observed the language in situ, participated in the speakers' daily activities, and shared in their sadnesses and joys. It is this type of rigorous, demanding field investigation that provides the bulk of the information presented in this chapter.

A word regarding methodology is in order here. Obviously certain aspects of a culture may be visually observed without recourse to the language; understanding is a different matter. The type of information provided below can only be acquired through language. When a contact language is the vehicle of communication for investigations

about concerns such as those described below, the data may often be skewed; the contact language is usually no one's native language. For example, an ethnographic study of an Aymara community yielded inklis jaji as a member of the pantheon. Had the investigator been equipped with at least rudimentary skills in Aymara, he would have known that the people were referring to him, the 'English person,' rather than a deity. Another example comes from an ethnographic investigation conducted among the blacks of the Chota valley in northern Ecuador. The researcher, who did not speak Spanish, determined that the region had been originally settled by east European Slavic peoples since '...everyone keeps talking about esclavos. Esclavo is Spanish for 'slave,' not 'slavic.' Unfortunately, such examples may be continued ad infinitum.

The point I wish to make here is that attempts at cultural investigations without at least a rudimentary knowledge of the language used by the people of that culture are inevitably flawed. The vast majority of the information provided in this chapter came from Quichua explanations of Quichua terms. In essence it is (secondary) supporting information provided by Quichua speakers regarding 'when' and 'how' to use a given term, not what the term 'means' (i). A knowledge of the language is often the key to unlocking what at first may seem to be complex cultural mysteries. Through the language such mysteries begin to

disappear and one can more adequately understand the cultural complexities and raison d'être. This point cannot be over-stressed; language and culture are two sides of the same coin and must be approached holistically in order to eliminate misrepresentations of either the language or the culture.

There are two types of information contained in this chapter. The first section treats ethnographic considerations and other important cultural concerns which are mirrored by the language while the second section provides a series of ethnographic sketches designed to shed light on aspects of daily life among Quichua speakers.

### Linguistic Postulates

In the analysis of any language, certain categories and conceptualizations can occur with high frequencies at various levels; such categories are both linguistically and culturally important. Such underlying fundamental bedrock concepts which form the basis upon which the entire language operates are called 'linguistic postulates' (Hardman, 1978a). A linguistic postulate is defined as '...those recurrent categorizations in the language which are most directly and most tightly tied to the perceptions of the speakers, those elements which, while language imposed, are so well imposed that speakers consider them just naturally part of the universe...' (Hardman, 1978a). In Indo-European

languages linguistic postulates include those of number and sex; in the Jaqi languages (Aymara, Jaqaru, and Kawki), the linguistic postulates are data source, humanity, and second person preeminence (see Hardman, 1978a for a detailed comparison of these postulates). In Ecuadorian Quichua, high level linguistic postulates include bipartization and body duality. Lower level postulates include those of animate/inanimate and human/non-human distinctions.

### Bipartization and Body Duality

Bipartization is a pervasive feature of Ecuadorian Quichua that is marked both linguistically and culturally (see Miller, 1977, for a discussion of tripartization in Indo-European languages). Viewed as a natural part of the universe (2), this bipartization controls much of the Quichua speaker's linguistic performance and social behavior. For example, there are beneficial and malevolent forces in the cosmology, two basic levels of courtesy (tiyuquwan 'with strangers'/ aylluwan 'with family'), drinks taken by twos (shukniki 'first one'/ ishkayniki 'second one'), front and back topography (ñawpa 'in front of'/ jisa 'in back of'), upper and lower community divisions (jana 'above'/ urin 'below'), two distinct rainbows (kuychik 'red rainbow'/ walanparia 'white rainbow'), two types of air '(good)air'/ wayra '(bad) air'), and two people required to tell a story. Linguistically, this duality is manifested by

reduplication, future/non-future time, definite/indefinite actions, personal/non-personal knowledge, and "curved/straight" speech. Perhaps one of the more intriguing aspects of linguistic and cultural bipartization is that of body duality. The basic premise of this concept is that an individual possesses interior, uncontrollable and exterior, controllable selves. (In fact, the Quichua pronoun generally glossed as 'we,' nukanchik, literally means 'our I/both of me.')

Body duality is marked in the morphological, syntactic, and lexical linguistic components and helps determine prescribed behavior in many social situations. The body duality postulate presented here is closely related to what Custred (1979) calls the ethno-pneumatology of Quichua culture; both linguistically and culturally this phenomena reveals that '... the physical aspect of man [is] inseparable from that of his spiritual nature.' (Custred, 1979) This is in contrast to the Indo-European system in which an individual's physical and spiritual aspects are in opposition. Since this inseparable body duality is inextricably tied to the world view of Quichua speakers, an identification and description of some of the linguistic and cultural manifestations may help avoid possible intragroup conflicts in development programs. Evidence supporting this postulate in Quichua language and culture is presented below.



When viewed from the postulate level, items that initially seemed to be unrelated are seen to be related. the syntactic and morphological functions of subordination, causation, and person inflection appear to be unrelated to each other when viewed from an internal linguistic perspective; however the interrelationships of these phenomena becomes clear once the effect of the underlying body duality postulate on the language and culture is recognized and understood.

While investigating the processes of same actor subordinator and different actor subordinator (see Chapter 5) in the different dialect areas, almost all examples conformed to analyses already presented, i.e., the verbal suffix /-shpa/ indicates that the actor of the verbal root to which it is attached is identical to the actor of the verb in the principal clause, while the verbal suffix /-kpi/ indicates that the actors of the two verbs are distinct (Guacho and Burns, 1975; Mugica, 1967; Muysken, 1977; Nieto Polo, 1953; Paris, 1889; Ross, 1963; Stark et al., 1973; Yañez, 1974). For example:

1a. Kalpashpa shamurkani.

'I came running.'

b. Mikunata karashpa kausajupani.

'I live giving (them) food.'

c. Silluta muchushpa yaykumupanki.

'Cutting off your "claws", come on in.'

- 2a.  $\bar{N}$ ukanchik aikukpi, payka chayarka.  
'While we (were) eating, (s)he arrived.'
- b.  $\bar{N}$ uka jaripacharak kaypi kakpi, risha.  
'When my husband's here first, then I'll go.'
- c. Pay shamukpika, karu vichayman risha.  
'If (s)he comes, I'll go far away.'

As expected, the use of the suffix /-shpa/ in the first data set indicates identical actors in the verbal constructions, while the use of /-kpi/ in the second data set indicates different actors. examples, one expects an occurrence of the same actor subordinator in similar constructions where the actors appear to be identical. However, other data seem initially to suggest that this is not the case. For example:

- 3a. Puñunayakpika, puñuyari.  
'If you're sleepy, then (you) go to sleep.'
- b. Yarjanayakpika, mikuyari.  
'If you're hungry, then (you) eat.'
- c. Ufyanayakpika, ufyapay.  
'If you want to drink, (you) drink.'

Having already identified the same/different actor parameters in the usage of /-shpa/ and /-kpi/, the examples in data set 3 were very perplexing when first heard. Although /-kpi/ has been analysed as indicative of a

different actor, the above examples appeared to be contradictory; clearly, it seemed, only one person was being addressed in all three utterances. It was later explained that the /-kpi/ constructions in data set 3 refer to that part of one over which there is 'no control,' the part that ukupi tiyajun, 'sits or exists on the inside.'

The items in data set 4 exhibit three subordinating suffixes and the relationship among them that is dependent on the focus of the subordinate clause. After discussing the first utterance, the second was volunteered as an alternative.

4a. Shuk jampita karawarka puñunayachun.

'(S)he gave me medicine so I can sleep.'

b. Shuk jampita karawarka, puñunayashpa,  
puñunayakpi.

'(S)he gave me medicine so I can sleep.'

Although identically glossed, it was explained that the use of the purposive subordinator /-chun/ in the first example focuses on the medicine itself giving one the desire to sleep, while the use of both /-shpa/ and /-kpi/ in the second example focuses on the desire of both components of the person to go to sleep. It is interesting to note that when the person is the focus in the subordinate clauses, the participation of the dual nature of the individual may be inflected. In keeping with the ethnopoetics of the language

(Burns, 1980), the first utterance might be better translated as '(s)he gave me medicine so it can make me sleep.'

Another data set not related to subordination also appears to mark an individual's duality. For example:

5a. Mikunayan.

'I feel like eating.'

b. Mikunayachini.

'I feel like eating, (I make myself want to eat).'

6a. Nukataka yarjanayan.

'I'm hungry.'

b. Nukaka yarjanayachini.

'I'm hungry, (I make myself feel hungry).'

7a. Puñunayan.

'I'm sleepy.'

b. Puñunayachini.

'I'm sleepy, (I make myself feel sleepy).'

As explained to me, 5, 6, and 7a are more common. Nonetheless 5 and 6b may be said if, for example, one smells some very good fritada and decides to eat, while 7b may be used if one decides that sleep is needed and proceeds to try to sleep. In the data sets above, the first utterance in each (5, 6, and 7a) indicates that one has no control over the particular action or feeling, while the second utterance

(5, 6, and 7b) indicates that the action or feeling is the result of the reaction to some particular external physical stimulus. This is further illustrated by the occurrence of the first person pronoun nuka in data set 6. In the first utterance nuka occurs inflected for the accusative case, while in the second utterance it occurs in the unmarked nominative form. Although in many cases identically glossed, the constructions in each data set are distinct in person inflection with /-n/ for the third person and /-ni/ for first person; since the (non-future) first person /-ni/ may not contiguously follow the desiderative /-naya-/, it requires the concomitant obligatory use of the causative suffix /-chi-/. This type of construction indicates the control of the speaker over the specific action or feeling. As one informant explained, '...this process happens with all "natural" verbs; it's the only situation in which the two "I's" can occur.'

While utterances similar to the preceding are illustrative of an individual's duality, other constructions indicate the implicit participation of two separate and distinct people. Consider the following:

8. Kuntuta ali rashun shinallatak munajupani.

'Telling the story well is what I want to do.'

Constructions of this type are associated with specific speech events, i.e., the telling of stories, legends, life histories, etc. The inflection of the verb /((ru)ra-/ 'to make, do' with the (future) fourth person /-shun/ does not indicate that both components of the story teller want to perform well. This inflection demonstrates the sociolinguistic fact that at least two people are needed for the performance, one to tell the story and the other to supply the appropriate remarks. (Compare Burns' work with Yucatec Maya, 1980.) This was emphasized early in field work when I asked my compadre if he would tell me a story. His response, '... you don't speak enough Quichua yet for me to do it well, how can just one person tell a story.'

In addition to an individual's duality being marked morphologically and syntactically, the concept also occurs in the lexicon as well. Early in the investigation, the elicitation of certain items from a word list provided evidence supporting this postulate. When the term for 'heart' was elicited while discussing body parts, the response was mayjantak, 'which one?'. In the ensuing discussion two terms were given, kurasun and shunku. It was explained that the former refers to the physical organ itself while the latter refers to the heart that ukupi tiyajun, 'sits/exists on the inside. The inside heart is most important to an individual's well-being; this fact clarifies one of the incantations used to cure a child of

sustu 'fright' or wayrashka 'bad air.' Three times daily the child is shaken head down towards a dishpan of water while the following is said:

Shunku jatariy, yakupi yakupi.

Shunku jatariy, yakupi yakupi.

'Get up heart, in the water, in the water.

Get up heart, in the water, in the water.'

The power of the water is said to help pull the fright away from the shunku. This preoccupation with the well-being of the spirit is so strong that it has spread beyond the Indian culture; when used by non-Quichua speakers, the incantation is reduced to 'shunku' with each shake of the child.

The dichotomy between the internal uncontrollable and the external controllable surfaced again when my compadres elaborated on the meaning as well as the sociolinguistic usage of the two types of air. Wayra 'air/wind' was explained as referring to the air that surrounds us all while samay 'air/breath' refers to more than the physical air inside the body. The compadres went on to explain that a person can often become wayrashka 'with bad air' which results in many types of illness, aches, and pains, but a person becomes samashka 'breathed' usually only once, happening inside a young child. Samashka refers to the infusion of the exterior body with its interior side. At a first birthday celebration, several older participants

remarked of the child n̄a samashkamari '(he) has already breathed.' My compadres explained that the child had become complete, that it was now on its way to becoming a whole person. My comadre further explained that the care and protection of the child were very important because there is always a malevolent spirit waiting samayta japinkapak 'to catch the (baby's) breath.' A reason sometimes given to explain the death of infants is that their spirit has been caught. Although wayrashka 'bad air' may be serious, it can often be easily cured whereas the treatment of an individual whose samayta japishka 'spirit has been caught' is very difficult. In general, when a person is extremely ill, (s)he is said to be sick paypura 'between him or herself,' implying disharmony between the individual's physical and spiritual components. The importance of samay, wayra, and their interaction again illustrate the spiritual and physical duality of the individual.

The following accounts illustrate the co-existence of the individual's duality. During field work I was often able and permitted to attend various fiestas in celebration of weddings, confirmations, and other events. At the majority of fiestas, the consumption of chicha and trago was continuous. Several days after one fiesta began, some of the participants explained one of the important aspects of drinking; it allows people to be in their 'other head.' Many of the conflicts and their consequences that occur



during such events are not considered the fault of an inebriated individual because one has no control over one's behavior while in the other head. For example, explaining why a rock was used to strike someone, one compadre stated that he was so mad between himself that this agitation caused the rock to jump into his hand and hit the other person. Of course, it was not his fault since he was in the other head. In addition, the relative quietness of another participant was also explained by saying that *shuk umapi tiyajupan* 'he is sitting in his other head.'

Later several compadres asked if I understood the many ways to use *ñukanchik* 'we.' I was told that the form cannot only be used to express the 'nosotros' of Spanish but may also be used to express other types of we that aren't quite possible in Spanish. Then, pointing to himself with both hands, one compadre said the form is used when one wants to express '... we, meaning both of me.' My compadre further explained that one can take advantage of an individual's duality when trying to get someone's attention at a fiesta. If several increasingly stronger attempts to gain someone's attention have failed, one can then call to the other part of the individual by using the third person pronoun 'pay.' It is as if to say that if one cannot gain another's attention directly, perhaps addressing the other side of the individual indirectly may work. In all the observed instances, this appeal to the other self within an individual was very effective.

In summary, the preceding examples illustrate both linguistic and cultural evidence of the individual's dual nature, which consists of interior uncontrollable and exterior controllable components. Furthermore, these components have a relationship that is co-existent, inseparable, and that of part to the whole. The components are closely tied to each other and not in opposition as they are in many Indo-European cultures. This allows for freedom of movement between the two, and helps to maintain both components in harmony, ensuring an individual's well-being. It is so basic that the Quichua speakers assume it to be a natural part of everyone's existence. Upon announcing to my compadres that I had discovered the dual nature of the individual, their reaction was similar to what ours would be if someone announced that we had singular and plural in English. The realization of this body duality at various levels of Quichua language and culture indicates that it is a fundamental linguistic postulate.

In addition to the linguistic postulates of bipartization and its focus on body-duality other linguistically marked phenomena also play an important role in the world view of Quichua speakers. These include the concept of politeness with its cultural correlates and categorizations based on animate/inanimate and human/non-human distinctions.

Foiteness

Consider for example the following affirmative commands using the verb root yayku- 'to go in/enter.'

|     |               |                         |
|-----|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1   | yaykuy        | go in.                  |
| A 2 | yaykuylla     | go on in.               |
| 3   | yaykupaylla   | please go on in.        |
| 1   | yaykuyki      | go in please.           |
| B 2 | yaykunkilla   | go on in please.        |
| 3   | yaykupankilla | please go on in please. |

The choice of which form to use is determined by the relationships of the people involved. The choice is further compounded by whether one wishes to speak 'straight' or 'curved.' The use of palabras curvadas 'curved words' or shimta kinkuyashpa 'curving the mouth' is much esteemed and people enjoy using these forms. Speaking en curvas 'in curves' is also an effective way of softening what are potentially accusatory or threatening statements. For example:

Sillata muchushpa yaykupankilla.

'Cutting off your claws, oh please come on in.'

This is said when one ever so slightly accuses another as a potential culprit who may have removed items from the speaker's home. Since cats are perceived as having a thief-like quality, the reference to cutting off one's

(invisible) claws (3) indirectly implies that the accused shares certain behaviors with cats. The use of feline metaphors in reference to robbery is frequent. For example, a non-verbal gesture to indicate the presence of thieves in a crowd is to hold the hand in a claw-like position and move it from top to bottom of the jaw. Finally, in addition to using feline metaphors as an indirect accusation the statement is further extremely softened by the highest polite imperative.

In addition to marking politeness at the linguistic level, it is seen as the preferred behavior. For example, it is polite to offer drinks several times to guests at a fiesta, to shake hands when greeting and leave taking, to hear another out whether one agrees or not, to strike only the face and the abdomen during a fight (4), to ask for information only indirectly, to kiss the hands of one's affinal kin, to share food with affinal kin, to remain awake at an all night velorio 'wake,' et cetera. The list is endless. A great amount of time is devoted to carrying off almost all social interactions in a polite fashion.

The fact that politeness is such a basic concern has far reaching implications for development programs. Because it is impolite to disagree or directly question others, program administrators are often surprised to find out that a certain project has not been accepted in what was believed to be a receptive community. Since politeness is a

reciprocal behavior, inadequate reciprocity on the part of administrators often leads to their being ostracized. It behooves those who wish to interact with the Quichua speaking population to learn what is felt by that population to be acceptable and polite forms of behavior and speech.

### Animate and Inanimate

On the surface, Ecuadorian Quichua initially does not appear to make any distinctions in its root classes regarding qualities of animacy or inanimacy. However as one progresses with the study of this language, it becomes evident that such a distinction is made and that it determines the privileges of occurrence of certain suffixes, most notably the substantive aggregate /-kuna/ and the independent suffix /-llalla/ 'somewhat.'

Although the aggregate /-kuna/ (not plural as many have proposed) may have more strict restrictions as to the elements to which it can be added in other dialects of the Quechua language family, it appears to be regularizing in the sense that it may be added to almost any substantive of Ecuadorian Quichua, especially in those areas where Quichua was introduced during the Inca Conquest and later during the Spanish colonial era. For example, in Ibabura Quichua /-kuna/ may be postposed to any substantive, whether animate or inanimate.

|           |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|
| warmi     | 'woman/en (Imb.)' |
| warmikuna | 'women (Imb.)'    |
| yura      | 'tree(s) (Imb.)'  |
| yurakuna  | 'trees (Imb.)'    |
| nina      | 'flame(s) (Imb.)' |
| ninakuna  | 'fires (Imb.)'    |
| rumi      | 'stone(s) (Imb.)' |
| rumikuna  | 'stones (Imb.)'   |

Even though it is possible to postpose the aggregate to any substantive root, the more monolingual informants preferred not to use /-kuna/ with obvious animate entities, saying chawpushka uyachin 'it sounds mixed.' Whether the monolinguals are referring to Quichua being mixed with Spanish or with the prior substrate indigenous language, Cara, remains to be definitively determined. However, more likely than not, the regularization of the aggregate /-kuna/ reflects increasing pressures and influences from Spanish. Regarding the above examples, most monolinguals prefer to use a quantifier before the animate substantive root. For example:

|               |                        |
|---------------|------------------------|
| ashtaka warmi | 'many women (Imb.)'    |
| tawka yura    | 'several trees (Imb.)' |
| wawkin nina   | 'some fires (Imb.)'    |

After explaining this usage to me, many of these informants said shinallatak ali yali uyachia 'it sounds much better that way.'

Determining what is animate and what is not in Quichua at times presents problems for the non-native speaker. Most often this is due to the learner's own linguistic grid influencing the interpretation of the data according to one's own cultural perceptions. This interference from one's own grid became most evident when I was attempting to pretest some pedagogical materials in the science curriculum for a bilingual education project. Since one of the governmental requirements of that project was that the students be exposed to exactly the same material as in the regular school system, it was necessary to include what may have seemed to Quichua speakers to be vacuous, even ludicrous learning exercises. For them there was certainly no problem in determining what was animate and what was not. However, it became quite obvious in this pretest environment that certain learning objectives of the national educational system were incongruous with the daily lives of Quichua speakers. For example, an education administrator or materials producer may concede that a candle flame can be viewed as animate, but the Indo-European grid of Spanish speakers does not allow them to view a wheelbarrow as animate. For the most part, a wheelbarrow is inanimate for Quichua speakers with one exception. If a wheelbarrow rolls

down a hill (a common occurrence given Andean topography), it is seen as animate at that time, as having a life of its own, and even may be potentially harmful should it strike someone. Interpretation differences between the dominant Spanish speaking educational administrators and the targeted Quichua speaking population are bound to produce more instances of non-agreement regarding the classification of objects in the environment. Great care should be taken in order to assure that Indo-European biases are not inadvertently imposed on the Quichua speaking child in bilingual projects.

In spite of the fact that the aggregate /-kuna/ is apparently undergoing a process of (imposed) regularization due to superstrate influences, the suffix /-llalla/ 'somewhat' is not. This latter suffix does not have the same high frequency of occurrence as does the aggregate, but its usage definitely denotes that the substantive root to which it is attached is inanimate. The occurrence of /-llalla/ is rare (only after 20 months of field work did it emerge), and people are quick to correct its misuse through addition to an animate root. Informants say that it can be added to such a root grammatically, but that it does not make any sense semantically. For example:

|               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| rumillalla    | 'somewhat stone-like (Imb.)' |
| waykuliälla   | 'somewhat hole-like (Imb.)'  |
| *jarillalla   | 'somewhat man-like (Imb.)'   |
| *wambrallalla | 'somewhat youth-like (Imb.)' |



As one informant who is multilingual explained to me '...[-llalla] is almost like the 'were' of were-wolf in English. [English speakers] can do this, but not in Quichua. It just does not make any sense to us. There are other ways of expressing this [idea].' The 'other ways' involve the use of the comparative suffix /-shna/ added to the root. For example:

|            |                       |
|------------|-----------------------|
| jarishna   | 'like a man (Imb.)'   |
| wambrashna | 'like a youth (Imb.)' |

In short, the animate/inanimate distinction still appears to have vestiges in modern Ecuadorian Quichua, although its salience as a distinctive categorization is under pressure in Quichua areas where there are high levels of bilingualism with Spanish. Nonetheless, for monolingual Quichua speakers this distinction is still quite strong and it remains an important categorization and concept in Quichua world-view.

#### Human and Non-human

The human/non-human categorization of Ecuadorian Quichua is not nearly as opaque as that of animate/inanimate. It is marked within the pronominal system and all speakers, whether monolingual or bilingual, are quick to point out errors in its usage.

Within the pronominal system pay is generally glossed as a third person pronoun. In the case of Quechua and

languages of the Jaqi family such pronouns more closely indicate the absence of the speaker and the hearer rather than the presence of a third person. For example:

pay tiyajun

'(s)he(/they) sit(s)/exist(s) (Imb.)'

In addition to this third person human pronoun, the demonstrative chay 'that/there' may further function as a third person non-human pronoun. For example:

chay tiyajun

'it (/those) sit(s)/exist(s) (Imb.)'

Should novice Quichua learners mistakingly misuse these forms, they are immediately corrected. Subsequent misuse is interpreted as an insult since one does not (unless wishing to insult or defame) use chay when referring to humans.

The distinction between human and non-human is also manifested within the lexical component as certain verbal roots may only be used with humans; other verb forms may be used with either human or non-human actors, but the resulting meaning is different. For example:

chay jari nichichijunmi.

'That man is giving pasture (Imb.).'

\*Chay alku nichichijunmi.

\*'That dog is giving pasture (Imb.).'

The verb michi- 'to pasture' may only be used with human actors. Other verbs are only used with non-human actors. For example:

atalpa wachajun.

'The chicken is laying an egg (Imb.).'

The occurrence restrictions on verbs such as these are so strong that the verbs are practically never used in metaphorical constructions. The use of a definite non-human verb with a human actor and vice versa are not within the realm of possible constructions.

In addition to these verbs that are definitely either human or non-human, other verbs may be used with both categories, but change their meaning. For example, the verb puñu- is generally glossed as 'to sleep,' but as seen below, changes meaning when used with a non-human subject.

chay wawa puñujunmi.

'The child is sleeping (Imb.).'

wagra puñujunmi.

'The cattle are copulating (Imb.).'

In order to indicate that cattle are sleeping, one must use the distributive suffix /-naju-/. For example:

wagra puñunajujunmi.

'The cattle are sleeping (Imb.).'

In many ways the categorizations of human/non-human and animate/inanimate interact. Basically, items are divided into animate and inanimate groups with the animate grouping further divided into human and non-human groups. While this configuration exists in many languages of the world, the rigidity of the boundaries which separate each group is determined by the specifics of each individual language. In Ecuadorian Quichua one (especially the novice language learner) may confuse the boundary separating animacy and inanimacy, but to do so with the division between human and non-human is unthinkable, insulting, and intolerable (5). As with the Jaqi languages (Hardman, 1978a), Quichua speakers are either horrified, appalled, or amused when they learn that English (and Spanish) speakers regularly 'confuse' the distinction and use human pronouns with obvious non-human references (6).

#### Other Semantic Areas

In addition to the fundamental postulates of Quichua language and culture there are several other lower level themes reflected by the language that run throughout Quichua culture. Although these themes are not nearly as marked as are the linguistic postulates, they are nonetheless very important to and indicative of the nature of Quichua world-view. These themes include preoccupations with action orientation, the relationships between humans and the land, and categorizations according to texture and shape.

Action Orientation

By action orientation I mean that one aspect of the nature of Quichua is focused on active rather than stative phenomena. For example, there is a preponderance of verbs in Quichua; the number of free nominal referents to objects in the environment is not nearly as great as the number of referents based on verbal roots. Verb roots are changed into substantives through class-changing derivationals. The resulting substantive stem may undergo further nominal inflection and as a substantive may even be changed back into a verb. Regarding the class-changing derivationals, there are only three suffixes which derive verbs from nouns, and two of these are no longer productive. The verbal derivational /-ya-/ 'to become' may occur with almost any nominal root. For example:

|               |                      |
|---------------|----------------------|
| rumi.ya.shka  | 'changed into stone' |
| ruku.ya.shka  | 'became old'         |
| alku.ya.shka  | 'turned into a dog'  |
| warmi.ya.shka | 'effeminate'         |

The verbal derivational /-li-/ is restricted to usage with articles of clothing and ways of wearing clothing on the body. For example:

|               |                            |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| walka.li.ju.n | 'is putting on beads'      |
| facha.li.ju.n | 'is putting on head wraps' |
| kunka.li.shka | 'threw poncho around neck' |

Finally, the derivational /-la-/ only occurs once in the corpus with the root *chanka* 'thigh.' For example:

*chanka.la.ju.n* 'is step/stretching'

Regarding nominal derivationals, there are four which in essence function to freeze the action of a verb root at a particular time, including the completive /-shka/, the indefinite future /-na/, the definite future /-nka/ and the potential /-y/. (There are homophonous forms for all four suffixes.) In addition there is the agentive /-k/. For example:

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>faki.shka.kuna</i>  | 'broken hard objects'                               |
| <i>jatu.shka.kuna</i>  | 'sold items'  |
| <i>chaya.na.manta</i>  | 'about their arrival'                               |
| <i>shuwa.na.manta</i>  | 'about thievery'                                    |
| <i>chaya.nka.manta</i> | 'about their certain/<br>definite/imminent arrival' |
| <i>shuwa.nka.manta</i> | 'about certain/definite/<br>imminent thievery'      |
| <i>wisha.y.kuna</i>    | 'potential winners'                                 |
| <i>winka.y.kuna</i>    | 'potential work parties'                            |
| <i>jatu.k</i>          | 'a seller'  |
| <i>ranti.k</i>         | 'a buyer'   |

In addition to being reflected in the language, action orientation is also evident in prescribed social behaviors. For example, during the fiesta of San Juan (with roots in the Inca celebration of Inti Raymi), women are required to keep a constant vigil while men continuously dance from house to house. This is supposedly done for ten days. Even though given individuals may not continuously dance for ten days, at any given time some member of their social group is dancing. By such continuity, good fortune is had by all participants during the coming year. The celebration will be ineffective unless there is shina bavlashpa tukuy tiaputa 'dancing [continuously] all the time.'

From the above illustrations, we can see that action orientation is an integral part of Quichua world-view. Quichua speakers are more concerned with actions rather than objects. Although this concept is not as pervasive as the Quichua linguistic postulates, it is nonetheless culturally manifested and linguistically reflected, and therefore indicative of the nature of Quichua and its speakers.

### Topographic Relationships

The salience of the relationship between Quechua speakers and the surrounding topography has already been discussed by Stark (1969). Describing the overlap between the domains of topography and body parts, Stark points out that the convex-concave conceptions of both body parts and geographic

features allow for the overlap between the two domains. Basically, simple lexical items of body parts are egressively extended to cover geographic features and compound lexical items involve ingressive extensions of geographic lexemes to cover smaller divisions within the domain of body parts. For example, egressive transfers include *wixsa* 'stomach' also referring to 'small hill' and *siki* 'buttocks' referring to foot of a hill.' Ingressive transfers include *chaki pampa* 'palm of hand' which literally is 'hand field' and *sintura pata* 'hips' which literally is 'waist ledge.' Although Stark's study utilized data from the Cuzco-Chincho region of Peru (QIIC), with minor variations it is nonetheless applicable to and intact in many dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua.

In addition to the relationship between topography and body parts, the importance of land surfaces in other areas as well. Many of the geographic sacred places and shrines within the cosmology are anthropomorphized and certain climatic conditions may be metaphorically referred to as bodily functions of these anthropomorphic entities. As well, one must always appease and placate spirits of the land or misfortune may befall the project, whether it is the construction of a new community stable or the planting and harvesting of crops. Furthermore, during any celebration involving drinking (I know of no celebration that does not) the participants must always throw the last drops of a drink



to pacha mama 'earth mother' as an act of appeasement and/or supplication. When my informants explained this behavior to me they said that unless this was done the earth mother would fiñarishpa chakijunga 'get mad and definitely dry up (7).' Finally, most rural inhabitants feel that they are descended from and are an integral part of the land. When rural inhabitants take up residence in an urban environment, they are often criticized by the remaining rural inhabitants. One of the initial criticisms is the following:

llaktamantallatakmi, na [siyuta]kunachu.

'they are from the land itself, not from the cities.'

Urban residence by indigenous people is disapproved of by the vast majority of rural inhabitants. Rural people claim that living in the city makes one llaktata kunkashka 'a forgetter of the land' as well as fankallagu 'like little leaves/lazy.'

Another interesting feature of this topographic concern by Quichua speakers is that of directions. Unlike Indo-European languages that usually have fixed cardinal points, reference to direction in Quichua is determined by one's physical location. For example, if people on the west side of a mountain wish to refer to the directions of east and west as perceived from their location, they refer to the

former by hana 'up (the mountain to the east)' and urin 'down (the mountain to the west)' For people located on the east side of the same mountain, the inverse is true, i.e., hana 'up (the mountain to the west)' and urin 'down (the mountain to the east.' For speakers of languages with fixed cardinal points encountering such a system of directions is bewildering and confusing. However, when one realizes that the reference to a particular direction is determined by one's physical location, the mysteries of the system soon begin to fade away.

Further complicating the directionality system is the fact that place names for continuous geographic features such as rivers and mountain ranges frequently change. (This may account for some of the confusion of the early cartographic representations.) For example, in a forty mile hike (covered in a day and a half) from Saraguro due east into the Oriente lowlands inhabited by the Shuar a river alongside the trail changes names three times according to the same informant. At the start of the hike in the high paramo region the river is called Quimi. Further downstream it is called Yacuambi and entering the lowlands it is called Namakuntsa. This fluctuation of toponyms is noticed in all dialect areas studied.

### Texture and Shape

Although the categorizations of texture and shape are a very low level phenomenon of Ecuadorian Quichua, they are still extremely culturally relevant. The ethnosemantic divisions of these domains in Quichua are highly complex. For example, there are many forms glossed as carry, but the use of any one form is determined by both the shape of the objects to be carried and the manner in which it is done. For example, *apana* 'to carry' is used as the top taxa of domain. To carry in the arms is expressed by *markana*, to carry in a cloth is expressed by *mikllana*, and to carry by several people is expressed by *huantuna* or *aysanakuna*. The division of this domain is not nearly as extensive as the ethnosemantics of 'carry' in Aymara, but it does exist in a more limited form within varieties of Ecuadorian Quichua. It is still very important in Ecuador. Since pack animals like llamas and mechanized transportation are not always readily available, many items ranging from a handful of seeds to refrigerators are transported by humans. Being able to carry is seen as a necessary attribute for survival, and many proverbs and social behaviors are so oriented. For example, in order to inquire about one's luck, a person asks *imashnallatak kanpak washa* 'how is your back.' As well, one of the reasons given for tightly wrapping a newborn infant is so the infant's back will be straight and strong. It is rare to see an Indian without some sort of *kipi* 'bundle;'

walking without carrying is a luxury reserved for the more wealthy Indians.

Regarding the ethnosemantics of texture, this domain is marked in a few lexical items, especially when referring to textiles and their production. For example:

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| fakina | 'break hard objects (Imb.)'            |
| fitina | 'break threads (Imb.)'                 |
| likina | 'break/tear cloth (Imb.)'              |
| lirina | 'break/unravel warp threads<br>(Imb.)' |

The preoccupation with textile items may be restricted to the Imbabura dialect since the area has long been known as a weaving center since the establishment of the weaving obraje by Rodrigo de Salazar in the 1550's (Casagrande, 1977); at one time the Imbabura area, especially around Otavalo, provided many of the textiles and much of the cloth used throughout South America during the early Spanish colonial period. However, weaving does occur in other dialect areas (the Cañaris exhibit the most difficult and complicated weaving presently done in Ecuador) and it is likely that weaving terms in these areas are as diverse as in the Imbabura area. As an illustration of the salience of weaving in the daily lives of Quichua speakers, consider the following. A five year old indigenous child can often adequately estimate the number of warp threads needed to

fill a given space; compare this to a five year old American child who can easily estimate the number of cars needed to fill a space. Among the Saragureños where spinning produces thread often finer than commercial machine made thread, women become marriageable only after they have acquired the skills necessary to consistently and efficiently spin. In addition there are many proverbs and songs with spinning and weaving as themes. For example, if people spin *ali makiwan* 'with the right (good) hand,' they are doing so for their spouses, whereas spinning *lluki makiwan* 'with the left (bad) hand' is done for their lovers.

As can be seen from the above illustrations of these other semantic areas, certain aspects and concerns of Quichua speakers figure preeminently in their daily lives. The linguistic postulates of bipartization, body duality, and politeness appear in some form in all the dialects studied. These linguistic postulates are combined with the lower level themes of animacy versus inanimacy and human versus non-human. These are further combined with the other semantic areas of action orientation, human-topographic relationships, and texture-shape concerns. The various realizations of these combinations give Ecuadorian Quichua its unique flavor and a distinct foundation upon which the bulk of the language and many social behaviors are determined and interpreted. Although the lower level themes and other semantic areas may vary from dialect to dialect,

they do occur in at least all the dialects of non-central Ecuadorian Quichua, and in large part determine the world view of Quichua speakers.

### Biographic Sketches

#### Nicolas and Roberta

Roberta and her husband Nicolas live on the town plaza in Iluman; Nicolas' father used to live in the house by himself but he decided to let Nicolas and his family move in. Previously, they lived about a block and a half from the plaza, but now that the four daughters were growing up, the household needed larger quarters. Nicolas, Roberta, the four daughters, his grandmother, the two cows, donkey, pigs, cubs, chickens, and bees moved into one half of the two story house on the upper end of the plaza. No one lived in the other half (which was separated by a stack of roof tiles), but it was supposed to go to one of Nicolas' uncle's children and it consequently remained empty. Nicolas' uncle lived on the other side of the plaza and some friction between Nicolas and his uncle had developed. Uncle Enrique, who had cut his braid in an effort to integrate himself into white lifestyle, was faced with the presence of his nephew Nicolas, who had kept his traditional dress and who had acquired many items attesting to his success. With the occasional help of their daughters, Nicolas and Roberta maintained one of Otavalo's original tourist shops on the

corner of the Poncho Plaza. This enterprise meant someone had to go to and from Otavalo twice a day in order to open and close the store. More often than not this duty fell to Roberta, since Nicolas had recently been appointed as a visiting instructor of weaving in the Nucleo of Quinchugui, and was constantly traveling to different schools giving classes in the traditional art of backstrap weaving. This was a very prestigious appointment since rarely had anyone, especially an Indian, been allowed to teach without the proper credentials. Occasionally, one of the younger daughters would accompany Roberta, or the oldest daughter would come by herself to open the store, but generally the daughters were in school during most of the hours that the store was open. The abuelita 'grandmother' never came into Otavalo since she was very old, bitter, and senile. There was constant tension between the abuelita and Roberta; if only the abuelita could once pay Roberta the compliment of saying that her clothes were as white as fresh hail, but in reality there was no love lost between these two women. Roberta often spoke of how she wished the abuelita would soon die.

Roberta had changed quite a lot in five years; by learning Spanish she could now mind the store, and as a result of contact with other people who resided in the town of Otavalo she had access to different ideas and consumer items. She attempted to integrate these into her own

particular world view and thus show her sophistication and worth to her husband. She became fascinated by illness and remedies of the townspeople and on any given occasion, she could produce from her blouse dozens of flasks filled with pills, which for the most part, she promptly classified as 'cool remedies.' In addition to the remedies, she also began to acquire some of the foreign diagnoses of her maladies; if this called for scatological analysis, she would have it done. Besides these medicinal values, she began to acquire material goods which she soon came to see as indispensable in the efficient running of the household. Now that their income had increased since Nicolas' appointment, they could afford the pressure cooker, the gas stove, the plastic containers, the silverware, the salt and pepper shakers, and the blender, which meant going to a neighbor's house to use since their electricity had not yet been installed. Roberta also learned different recipes and modified them to her own repertoire of culinary skills. Her meals were always highly nutritious and very delicious; her children were healthy and well-fed. Nicolas and Roberta were considered very fortunate in that they had never had one of their children become a little angel of heaven.

In many ways Roberta had changed, but in many ways she was quite the traditional woman; she still believed that one prays to Saint Bernard to kill enemies (an act which necessitated among other things, taking dirt on which the



enemy had stood and putting it underneath the garment of the saint's image in the cathedral), that devils and Chusa Longo lived in caves, that a neighbor's jealousy of their financial success was causing their marital problems, that most diseases were either hot or cold, that laughing too hard will cause something terrible to happen, and that hearing the song of a scarlet bunting will bring bad luck. She felt that she was all a wife should be, but yet she and her husband seemed to constantly vacillate between loving and fighting relationships. At times she suspected there was another woman and frequently tried to find out about this from all her relatives and acquaintances. Whenever Nicolas would get drunk, which was rare, all of Roberta's little insecurities bothered him so that he would end up by giving Roberta a black eye or knocking out one of her teeth; the gold-filled ones in the front were especially vulnerable. Such a physical encounter caused the daughters to cry, the elders to admonish, and the compadres to advise. When everyone had become sober, the matter was discreetly avoided by all but Roberta, who would recount the entire affair to anyone who would listen, displaying physical evidence that her husband did, in fact, love her.

Nicolas' irritation with his wife stemmed from the fact that he felt he had grown so much more than she since their marriage. After all, he was now an instructor, and Roberta certainly did not understand the mechanisms nor the politics

of the educational structure. His weaving skills had greatly improved, he knew how to read and write, and he had learned a great many things through the books he had acquired. Although he had not yet been able to travel outside the country, he was well versed in his knowledge of the world which was distant from his native soil. He had even begun to master English, since he knew that most tourists and potential customers were more likely to speak that language than either of his own. At times he even helped his children with their English homework assignments. He often attended special workshops and events at the museum in the capital city. His contact with people outside Iltuman led him to also acquire many new material items; all types of tools, a power saw, a bicycle, a short wave radio, a typewriter, cassette recorders, a stereo, and for a while he even contemplated buying a motorcycle. Oftentimes, he would spend hours dismantling a newly acquired item, only to reassemble it with a thorough knowledge of its inner workings. Because of his inquisitiveness and leadership, Nicolas was instrumental in forming a co-operative of his extended kin group; the co-op was dedicated to constructing a communal center which consisted of a methane gas production unit, a wind-powered mill, and a combination barn-kitchen-community house where the cattle would be kept, the women would cook, and young children would learn to weave. He was so busy that there was hardly any time

available for him to have acquired a mistress; how could Roberta possibly think that he would do such a thing.

Despite the occasional vacillations in the complacency of their married life, Nicolas and Roberta usually managed to adhere to the standards dictated by the community. She almost always attended the cooking and nutrition group that the women of the co-operative had formed (with the help of the Peace Corps); he was always ready to assume almost any duty that would ensure the successful completion of the co-operative's project. Even after he had served as president of the eleven family group, Nicolas was often returned to this leadership position for everything from deciding the length of the nails to be used on the roof to initiating contact with foreign funding agencies hoping that such organizations would be able to help with the co-op's long range objectives. Nicolas was indeed a man of many talents.

Above all else, Nicolas considered himself a master weaver; not only did he know the techniques of the upright Spanish loom, he had also fashioned his own out of beautifully hand crafted eucalyptus. In addition to his skills on the upright loom, Nicolas produced excellent textiles on the backstrap loom; he was one of the few who still included traditional designs and techniques in his weavings. In spite of the fact that the main purpose of the co-operative's project was to serve as an alternative energy

source, Nicolas viewed the proposed weaving workshop as one of the primary benefits the co-op could have for the children. Here under the careful tutelage of the older men, the young boys could begin to learn the subtleties of technique so necessary for the master craftsman.

Nicolas is deeply committed to passing on his skills to the children for they are the future of his group. He is proud of the fact that now, both boys and girls attend school and learn many of the skills that are becoming increasingly important. Times are changing; in order to ensure credibility and future success, the younger children must now know how to read, write, and figure in addition to possessing the necessary weaving skills. Should a young son become a negociante, it would be necessary to keep good records. Nicolas often remarked that in spite of these accounting skills new businesspeople would be doomed to failure if they did not know enough about weaving to select quality products. Although weaving was traditionally learned in the home, Nicolas felt that some children were beginning to feel that the only truly important things were those taught in the school. The children were beginning to lose respect for the older ways. Now, by studying weaving in school, the children will become more aware of this important aspect of their culture. In order to ensure that such values are perpetuated, Nicolas felt that a weaving school in the communal house not only would teach

traditional and innovative weaving, but would also allow the students to integrate writing, reading, and mathematics in a cottage industry internship. He also hoped that the classroom and shop would attract some of the tourist business now going to Peguche. Although he is glad that weaving is now part of formal education; proper instruction in technique and style necessitates instruction in another environment. Traditional backstrap loom weaving is an extremely slow process and there is not enough uninterrupted time allowed in the schools.

### Rodolfo

Rodolfo is from the Cotacachi side of the valley, and he married a 'saltless woman' from the Peguche area; after a few years of marital bliss, many problems crept in leading to a divorce and leaving Rodolfo with a teenage daughter to raise, educate, and eventually marry off. The pride he had in his daughter was indeed impressive; he had planned to send her to the University in Quito. Oftentimes Rodolfo's profession as a negociante necessitated his traveling to Cali, Colombia, leaving his daughter at home. He sensed possible problems with this situation, and a series of happenings occurred which eventually lead to Rodolfo taking a job on a part-time trial basis as a disc jockey at the local Ba'hai World Wide Radio Station. However, before he could become a full-time employee at the station, he

returned from a selling trip in Cali to find that his daughter had gotten married to a young son of an Indian family now living in Otavalo. One of the biggest disappointments for Rodolfo was that his daughter probably would not attend the University; Mila, the daughter, however, felt that she had already acquired the necessary skills in school. She could read and write, and was a veritable whiz at numbers (a valuable characteristic in a prospective wife). Another disappointment for Rodolfo was that now he was a 32 year old man without a woman in the house to do her required chores. His initial reaction of freedom soon gave way to feelings of loneliness, and Rodolfo began to see his wife again; there is even talk now that they will be remarried.

#### Daniel and Zoila

To get to San Luis de Agua Longo, one takes the old Panamerican highway from the northern edge of Iluman; from there it is little over a mile. On the way, one passes a large ravine after which the road forks; the road going down the hill to the west is the private entrance to the Hacienda Pinsaqui. The road going northwest up the hill leads to the cemetery that serves both Iluman and Agua Longo. From the entrance to the cemetery at the top of the hill, the road, with several packed earth tile roofed houses located on either side, leads straight to the next horizon. Just

beyond, the old highway had completely washed away; Agua Longo was the last stop on the occasional Eighth of September bus route from Otavalo.

Agua Longo was rumored to be a fierce community; some residents would even badly beat and bloody their compadres. They would beat, steal, or maybe even kill, said the Indians from Otavalo, Peguche, and Iluman. There was no reason to spend time with the Agua Longo people for they were surely bad; the Indians from nearby Quinchuqui regarded them as a source of cheap labor.

In 1964, Agua Longo became a free indigenous community; many people remember being 'huasipungeros' on the hacienda. As a reminder of this past, an old run-down main house still stands on the upper side of the highway. With ownership of their plots came responsibilities; because they lacked education during the first years of independence, both community and outside events were difficult to handle. Since seventy percent of the 1,500 residents were Quichua monolinguals, they were still subject to exploitation by Spanish speaking Indians and whites. For example, the Quichua monolinguals were often charged four times the regular price for an item, or denied access to seats on the bus. The plots of land that the families received were so carefully guarded that the slightest movement of a boundary marker led to a dispute involving scores of community residents.

When one passes the entrance to the cemetery going over the hill from Iluman, one of the first houses that catches the eye is the local machankpak wasi. People could almost always buy puro 'grain alcohol' here, but only if they were in the know. A member of the house was within earshot almost constantly. More likely than not, this person was Mama Rosa.

Mama Rosa had a well organized little store in the front of the house. Bananas, little breads, soft drinks, candies, both 'worthless' and 'Quito' cigarettes, a small selection of embroidery threads, and occasional oranges were available at practically any time. Mama Rosa managed the house extremely well; with cooking on a wood fire, cleaning, braiding the men's hair, mediating disputes, attending the little front store, and selling trago puro, she had her hands full. Her labors gave her husband, Taita Rafael, time to weave ponchos on the backstrap loom.

Taita Rafael learned to weave when he was a young boy; the polished state of his instruments attested to the many years he spent at his craft. He had taught all of his living sons to weave and the younger ones, Alfonso and Leonidas, were still at home. They also learned to weave on the upright loom and usually made tapestries to be sold in the Otavalo tourist market.

Taita Rafael's poncho weaving was the culmination of activities in which the entire household took part; a large



amount of work was necessary to turn sheep's wool into a finely executed textile. First, the fleece had to be cleaned by the women, and then dyed and dried by Taita Rafael before it could be carded. Many days Taita Rafael would sit in the back of the house with his outstretched legs wrapped in a poncho and card wool. (This activity is especially suited to those suffering from hangovers.) He was helped by his two older retarded sisters, Maria Rosa and Rosa Maria. While all three sat teasing and carding the wool, the abuelita, Micaela, used the spinning wheel to make yarn from a constant supply of newly carded fleece. While all were engaged in these weaving activities, Mama Rosa was either tending the cuys, taking the donkey to pasture, letting the pigs out, harvesting some of the season's crops, or cooking. At the noon meal the topics of conversation ranged from local events to stories of when Micaela's husband was the cook for the main hacienda house.

After enough yarn had been spun, Taita Rafael warped the loom. After the loom was prepared it generally took three days of steady work for Taita Rafael to complete the halves, remove them from the loom, sew them together, and finish the poncho. Only weaving the collar and 'taking out the poncho's hair' remained before it could be sold. From freshly shorn fleece to finished product took about two weeks; the poncho brought about \$20.00 in the Saturday morning market.

In spite of the importance of weaving as an extra source of income, most of the time was spent in agricultural activity. Even though most of the men knew something about weaving, they were first and foremost people of the earth; almost all of the food consumed in the house was planted and harvested by the family. It was difficult at times to understand how Indians could move to the city and forget the earth; they were not people of the city.

Taita Rafael's oldest living son, Daniel, now resided in Otavalo where his wife was managing their own store and he was managing his boss's shop. Even though most of his worldly belongings were at their rented place in town, Daniel spent whatever time he could at his home in Agua Longo, helping in any way he could. As a young child, he had moved to Agua Longo with the family. With the advent of the inequitable land reform program, new economic pressures caused his departure from school after about two years, but he had learned to read and write and some Spanish.

Before he married, he had traveled within the country and had, like many other young Otavaleños, even spent some time working the coastal banana fields. Because of the unbearable heat and the frequent encounters with snakes, he returned to the 'awakening valley' and went to work in a weaving factory in Quinchugui. Working ten and twelve hours a day, he commuted between Agua Longo and the factory, passing through Iluman each way. Here, he met young

eligible Zoila and began to court her. Soon after they were married, Daniel began to have lung trouble from constantly breathing teased and carded wool at the factory. His doctor told him not to work again unless he wished to die. Daniel's boss, Ernesto, did him the 'favor' of letting him run the busy Otavalo store. Soon after, Zoila gave birth to a child and Ernesto and his wife, Caballu Shimi, became the godparents, thus sealing a relationship of indentureship. The child soon died, but Daniel and Zoila continued to work for Ernesto, always grateful for the few dollars a month they received.

#### Notes

1. This is often a mistake of beginning language learners. Because of their desire to attach a 'meaning' to a given item, the constraints of the item's usage are often ignored. In my beginning language classes, I always instruct the student to never ask what an item 'means,' but rather to ask what they need to know in order to use the item correctly.
2. When I 'discovered' the two me's in Ecuadorian Quichua, my compadres and comadres were very nonchalant in their acknowledgement of the discovery. In fact, one of them remarked '...we wondered how long it would take you to figure it out.'
3. Claws are not the only invisible aspect of an individual. Young children have invisible horns which must be removed one at a time through baptism and confirmation.
4. It is considered impolite to strike another in the temporal or the groin areas since this too quickly

debilitates the opponent. A fight won quickly by a knockout is considered extremely unfair.

5. The salience of the human/non-human distinction has existed in Quechua (and other Andean languages such as members of the Jaqi family) for quite some time. When making quipu (kipu) 'knotted cords' accountings of the resources available in a given region four resources were consistently counted first in the specific order as follows: humans, camelids, textiles, and ceramics.
6. Quichua speakers are further aghast to find out that Americans routinely treat the pets as family members and at times even better than family members. In many United States groceries, pet foods are displayed and sold along side human food while (human) baby formula is displayed in the housewares section. Those Quichua speakers who have visited me in the United States were speechless when shown this incongruity.
7. Most informants said that the earth mother used to show her anger by violent earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Fortunately in recent years such tectonic phenomena have not occurred.

## CHAPTER IV PHONOLOGY

### Introduction

The following descriptive statements of the phonology of Ecuadorian Quichua are accompanied by illustrative examples. The exemplification illustrates the particular statement: it may also be useful to other linguists and quichuólogos for further comparative study of the Quichua language. To paraphrase Margaret Mead (Personal Communication, 1976), '...theories may come and go, but you are remembered by the data.'

In the description of any linguistic system, be it phonological or otherwise, many statements are made about the elements and processes which compose and define that system. Only after description may the information be used to refine or expand a given theory. Description is a necessary first step in producing materials which can serve as a reference grammar of the language itself. Extensional grammatical statements usually result in vacuous conclusions unless there is a basic support consisting of the description and illustration of a substantial data base.

One of the problems that arises in the status interpretation of a given phone is as follows: that which

is merely allophonic variation in one dialect may be phonemically distinct in another. For this and other reasons, the vast majority of the examples provided in this and subsequent chapters are from the Imbabura dialect; examples from other dialect areas are indicated by a parenthetical abbreviation following the gloss (see Chapter 1 and Appendix E for the definition of these abbreviations). To further complicate matters, the wide distribution of Quichua has brought it into contact with many other languages at several different time periods, and, as a consequence, both super- and substrate influences have often altered the phonological structure of various dialects. For example, initial consonant clusters only occur in Spanish loan words, such as Spanish trabajar "to work." Borrowed into Quichua, it yields trabajana "to work" in the Imbabura dialect. In dialect areas with a high incidence of Quichua-Spanish bilingualism such as Imbabura, these initial consonant clusters tend to be maintained. However, in isolated dialect areas where there is substantial Quichua monolingualism, these loaned initial consonant clusters tend to be broken up by an epenthetic vowel, usually [a]. For example, the above Spanish loan word yields Quichua tarawana "to work" in the Napo dialect. (Consonant cluster weakening via epenthesis is not unique to Ecuadorian Quichua; it also occurs in Ecuadorian Spanish as in Spanish cangrejo 'crab' yields [kangaréjo].) Thus a statement of consonant clusters

would show distribution in both initial and medial position for the Sierra dialects, but only in medial position for the Oriente dialect.

When one attempts to describe a language or any of its systems, the choice of which dialect or variety to take as a point of departure is always difficult: in the case of the present study, a decision was made to use the dialect most represented in the corpus. Consequently, the phonology presented here is as all-inclusive as possible, with the phonological structure of the Imbabura dialect taken as the point of departure. This is not meant to imply that the Imbabura dialect is more conservative or more innovative or more illustrative; this dialect is used merely as the most convenient for addressing specific aspects of the phonological system. Phonological variation and correspondences across dialects are treated in Chapter 7.

### Background

In collecting the phonological data, an attempt was made to be as representative as possible of Ecuadorian Quichua as a whole. Unfortunately political altercations prevented an exhaustive description of all the dialects, but I was able to acquire some data from the central dialects and these data are included where relevant in the following descriptive statements. As a consequence the majority of the data in the following descriptive chapters are primarily

from the non-central dialects, with the Imbabura dialect being primary.

Early in the field stay, I traveled north to south through the intermontane basins, and then from the highlands to the eastern lowlands. The long Swadesh list was used for preliminary elicitation, but as the investigation progressed, Ecuadorian-specific word lists were developed. (One such list, designed to give maximum information on phonological variation, is given in Appendix I.) Initially, the bilingual method was used in elicitation, but as proficiency in Quichua progressed, subsequent investigation was conducted as far as possible through the monolingual method.

### Dialects Studied

An attempt was made to investigate the phonological systems of all known Sierra and Oriente dialects. As the study progressed and the dialects began to cluster into two major groupings, it was decided to focus intensively on one major group for the remainder of the field stay. This group, non-central Ecuadorian Quichua, includes the dialects of Imbabura (Imb), Pichincha (Pch), South Chimborazo (Sch), Cañar (Cñr), Azuay (Azy), Loja (Lja), and Napo (Npo)--six Sierra dialects and one Oriente dialect. (See Figure 3 in Chapter 1 for the distribution of these dialects.) Although the majority of the data in this and subsequent chapters is



primarily from the Imbabura, Cañar, Loja, and Napo dialects of non-central Ecuadorian Quichua, other dialect areas are included where relevant.

Phonetic Inventory

Table 7 provides a composite phonetic inventory of Ecuadorian Quichua.

| TABLE 7         |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-----------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Phonetic Chart  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| <u>Contoids</u> | p' | t' | ɬ' |    | k' |    |
|                 | p  | t  | ɬ  | t* | k  | ʔ  |
|                 | b  | d  |    |    | g  |    |
|                 |    | ʃ  | ʃ< |    |    |    |
|                 | ʃ  | s  | s< |    | h  |    |
|                 | ʃ  | z  | z< |    | ʒ  |    |
|                 | m  | n  | ɲ  | n' | ɳ  |    |
|                 |    | l  | ɭ  |    |    |    |
|                 |    | ɾ  | ɾ< |    |    |    |
|                 | w  |    | y  |    |    |    |
| <u>Vocoids</u>  | y  |    |    |    | w  | u  |
|                 | i  |    |    |    | u  | u  |
|                 | ĩ |    |    |    | ũ | ũ |
|                 | ɪ  |    |    |    | o  | o  |
|                 | e  |    |    |    | õ | õ |
|                 |    |    | a  | ã  |    |    |

### Phonemic Inventory

On the basis of contrasts in both minimal pairs and analogous environments, and of distributions of these phonetic elements, the above phonetic chart may be reduced to the following composite phonemic inventory of Ecuadorian Quichua containing 30 consonantal and three vocalic phonemes. Although all dialects share the same vowel phonemes, not all share the same configuration of consonants. This is further discussed in the dialectology chapter. As pointed out in the discussion of symbols and terms, an apostrophe ['] as a diacritic is used to indicate aspiration in Ecuadorian Quichua. Glottalization does not exist in the dialects of Ecuador. Glottalized consonants either merged with the aspirates or were lost during the expansion of Quechua into Ecuador. The chart in Table 8 provides the phonemic inventory of Ecuadorian Quichua. The segments in parentheses occur primarily in the speech of Quichua-Spanish bilinguals. However, in some dialects, these segments occur in the speech of Quichua monolinguals as well.

TABLE 8  
Phonemic Chart

|                        |     |     |     |      |     |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| <u>Consonants</u>      |     |     |     |      |     |
| <u>Stops</u>           | p'  | t'  | t'  | q'w' | k'  |
|                        | p   | t   | ʔ   |      | k   |
|                        | (b) | (d) |     |      | (g) |
| <u>Affricate</u>       |     | ʧ   |     |      |     |
| <u>Fricatives</u>      | ɸ   | s   | ʃ   |      | j   |
|                        | b   | z   | ʒ   |      |     |
| <u>Nasals</u>          | m   | n   | ɲ   |      |     |
| <u>Laterals</u>        |     | l   | ɭ   |      |     |
| <u>Vibrants</u>        |     | r   | (r) |      |     |
| <u>Semi-Consonants</u> | w   |     | y   |      |     |
| <u>Vowels</u>          |     |     |     |      |     |
| <u>High</u>            | i   |     |     | u    |     |
| <u>Low</u>             |     | a   |     |      |     |

Production of Segmental Phonemes

Following is a description of the segmental phonemes. The Ecuadorian Quichua consonantal system described below is divided by series. The list of the phonemes, with principal allophones, and examples accompany each series statement. The examples include both phonetic and phonemic transcriptions, gloss, and a parenthetical abbreviation indicating the source dialect.

### Consonants (Non-syllabics)

The 30 consonant phonemes of Ecuadorian Quichua are divided by series into occlusives, affricates, fricatives, nasals, laterals, vibrants, and semi-consonants. No single dialect utilizes all 30 phonemes listed below; the range of occurrence is between 21 and 28 consonant phonemes.

Occlusives. There is a series of aspirated occlusives--stop or affricate--at the bilabial, dental, alveopalatal, palatal, and velar points of articulation consisting of /p'/, /t'/, /tʃ'/, /k'/, and /kʃ'/, respectively. The palatal affricate /tʃ'/ is included in this occlusive series since it shares the same distributions and undergoes many of the same phonological processes as do the stops. The aspirated consonants only occur in word-initial position and only once per grammatical word. Although the frequencies of occurrence are higher in the central than in the non-central dialects, the frequencies of the aspirated occlusives in relation to the other consonantal phonemes of Ecuadorian are very low. In a running text these aspirated occlusives account for less than one percent of the occurrences of the entire occlusive series. In the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua the aspirated occlusives appear to be in the process of merging with other members of the occlusive series. The aspirated occlusives are modern-day reflexes of segments borrowed from the Jaqi languages during periods of sustained

contact prior to the arrival of (Inca) Quechua to Ecuador (1).

/p'/

-->[p'] aspirated voiceless bilabial stop;  
occurs in word-initial position only.

[p'alakina] /p'alakina/

'shine (Tsl.)'

/t'/

-->[t'] aspirated voiceless dental stop;  
occurs in word-initial position only.

[t'angana] /t'aakana/

'push (Imb.)'

/tʰ'/

-->[tʰ'] aspirated voiceless palatal stop;  
occurs in word-initial position only.

[tʰ'ungucina] /tʰ'unucina/

'hit/strike (Tsl.)'

[tʰ'ungil] /tʰ'ungil/

'frog (Blv.)'

/tʃ'/

-->[tʃ'] aspirated voiceless palatal affricate;  
occurs in word-initial position only.

[tʃ'uka] /tʃ'uka/

'spittle (Tch.)'

/k'/

-->[k'] aspirated voiceless velar stop;  
occurs in word-initial position only.

[k'ari] /k'ari/

'male (Tsl.)'

There is a series of voiceless occlusives at the bilabial, dental, alveopalatal, palatal, and velar points of articulation. Included are the /p/, /t/, /tʃ/, /č/, and /k/, respectively. The voiceless affricate is included in this series since, like its aspirated counterpart, it undergoes many of the same phonological processes as do the stops.

/p/

-->[b] voiced bilabial stop;  
occurs after nasals.

[walambariya] /walanpariya/

'white rainbow (Imb.)'

-->[p] voiceless bilabial stop;  
occurs elsewhere.

[pamba] /panpa/

'uncultivated field (Imb.)'

[upa] /upa/

'fool/non-normal (Imb.)'

/t/

-->[d] voiced dental stop;

occurs after nasals.

[tanda] /tanta/

'bread (Imb.)'

-->[t] voiceless dental stop;

occurs elsewhere.

[tožo] /tužu/

'bone (Imb.)'

[tota] /tuta/

'night (Imb.)'

There are some exceptions in the corpus to the voicing of dental stops in one native and several borrowed items. The Quichua ambivalent root for 'sun/shine' /inti/, is generally realized as [inti] in all dialects studied. There are two possible explanations: (1) pressure may have been exerted to maintain the more archaic form in those dialects that regularly voice occlusives after nasals due to the salience of the sun to indigenous cosmology (Tayta Inti 'Father Sun,' Tayta Killa 'Father Moon,' and Mama Puyu 'Mother Cloud'). (2) This form was picked up by early Spanish writers and today most Spanish speakers are aware of its origin and meaning. It may have been later reborrowed into the indigenous languages in the present form, with the original form appearing as a verb. For example,

[indijan] /intijun/

'[The sun] is shining.'

The other exceptions occur in Spanish loan words. For example,

[intindini] /intintini/

'I understand (Imb.) (<Sp. entender)'

[kintu] /kintu/

'fifth (Imb.) (<Sp. quinto)'

The remaining voiceless occlusives are as follows.

/t̥/

-->[t̥] voiceless palatal stop;

occurs in word-initial position only.

[t̥ukana] /t̥ukana/

'spit (Imb.)'

/č̥/

-->[č̥] voiced palatal affricate;

occurs after nasals.

[kanč̥a] /kanč̥a/

'outside (Imb.)'

-->[č̥̥] voiceless palatal affricate;

occurs elsewhere.

[č̥̥učiaki] /č̥̥učiaki/

'hangover (Imb.)'

/k/

-->[0] nothing (not-realized);



occurs in word-final position.

[<sup>h</sup>nukan<sup>h</sup>ci] /<sup>h</sup>nukan<sup>h</sup>čik/

'we (Imb.)'

-->[h] voiceless velar fricative;  
occurs word final position.

[<sup>h</sup>řopah] /rupak/

'heat (Lja.)'

-->[ɣ] voiced velar fricative;  
occurs syllable or word  
final before voiced consonants.

[aɣžana] /akžana/

'choose (Imb.)'

[paypaɣ wasi] /paypak wasi/

'his/her house (Imb.)'

-->[g] voiced velar stop;  
occurs after nasals.

[langana] /lankana/

'swallow (Imb.)'

-->[k] voiceless velar stop;  
occurs elsewhere.

[kuŋga] /kunka/

'neck/pass (Imb.)'

The allophones of the voiceless velar stop /k/ occur in free variation within a single non-central dialect and several of the allophones may occur in a single utterance.

In addition to the above aspirated and plain stop series, there are voiced counterparts in some dialect areas. Some voiced phonemes occur as a result of substratum borrowings from the languages spoken in the areas prior to Quichua (2). For example,

[gikuna] /gikuna/

'to swing over one's head (Imb.)'

Nonetheless, the majority of the voiced stops are the results of superstratum borrowings from Spanish, which is leading to a restructuring of the phonemic systems in those dialects. The more bilingual speakers know Spanish, the more likely they are to maintain the stops of the Spanish loans as voiced. More monolingual Quichua speakers usually modify the borrowed elements in the direction of Quichua. For example, Spanish word besar "kiss" yields the following variation:

--> [besana] in bilingual speech, and

--> [pisana] in monolingual speech.

The voiced stop phonemes are as follows.

/b/

-->[b] voiced bilabial stop;

word initial and medial positions.

[buɣyana] /bukyana/

'burp (Nch.)'

[taytabuk] /taytabuk/

'for father (Tsl.)'

/d/

-->[d]   voiced dental stop;  
word initial and medial positions.

[diru] /diru/

'finger (Npo.)'

[didu] /didu/

'finger (Imb.)'

[kuydana] /kuydana/

'care for (Imb.)'

/g/

-->[g]   voiced velar stop;  
word initial and medial positions.

[gustana] /gustana/

'stare (Imb.)'

[payga] /payga/

'and him/her? (Tsl.)'

**Affricates.** This series consists of a single member /c/  
at the alveolar point of articulation. The alveolar

affricate has a very low frequency of occurrence. The remaining affricates function phonemically as stops (see above).

/tʃ/

-->[tʃ] voiceless alveolar affricate;  
word initial and medial positions.  
[tʃikʃi] /tʃikʃi/  
'bat (Ctp.)'  
  
[paʃah] /pacak/  
'one hundred (Imb.)'

**Fricatives.** The fricative series includes voiceless members at the bilabial, alveolar, palatal, and velar points of articulation and voiced members in all but the velar position.

/p/

-->[p] voiceless bilabial fricative;  
word initial and medial positions.  
[pɔyu] /pɔyu/  
'cloud (Imb.)'  
  
[upiyana] /upiyana/  
'drink (Imb.)'

/s/

-->[s] voiceless alveolar fricative;

occurs in all positions.

[sisa] /sisa/

'flower (Imb.)'

[nukas] /nukas/

'I also (Tna.)'

/š/

-->[š] voiceless palatal fricative;  
word initial and medial positions.

[šungu] /šunku/

'heart (Imb.)'

[nši] /uši/

'daughter (Kpo.)'

/h/

-->[h] voiceless velar fricative;  
word initial and medial positions.

[haku] /haku/

'let's go (Imb.)'

[uhuna] /uhuna/

'cough (Kpo.)'

/ɸ/

-->[ɸ] voiced bilabial fricative  
word-initial and medial positions.

[ɸira] /ɸira/

'lard (Imb.)'

[ubiyana] /ubiyana/

'drink (Tsl.)'

/z/

-->[z]   voiced alveolar fricative;  
word-initial and medial positions.

[zuzuh] /zuzuh/

'wrinkle (Ctp.)'

[uzi] /uzi/

'wedding term (Imb.)'

/ž/

-->[ž]   voiced palatal fricative;  
word-initial and medial positions.

[žaki] /žaki/

'sadness (Imb.)'

[žaru] /žaru/

'rough/sour (Cnr.)'

[hažu] /hažu/

'tongue (Imb.)'

Nasals.   There is a series of nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, and palatal points of articulation.

/m/

-->[m]   bilabial nasal  
all positions.

[maki] /maki/

'hand (Lja.)'

[kiasa] /kiasa/

'three (Imb.)'

[uma] /uma/

'head (Lja.)'

/n/

-->[m̥] bilabial nasal;  
before bilabial stops.

[kasba] /kanpa/

'yours (Imb.)'

-->[ŋ] syllabic nasal;  
occurs after word-final  
assibilated vibrant.

[asukarŋdi] /asukarntik/

'with sugar (Imb.)'

-->[ŋ] velar nasal;  
before velar stops.

[čaŋga] /čanka/

'upper leg (Imb.)'

before other nasals.

[řiŋmi] /rinmi/

'(s)he is going (Imb.)'

word-final position.

[kikiŋ] /kikin/

'you (Imb.)'

-->[n] alveolar nasal;  
occurs elsewhere.

[ninahun] /ninajun/

'they say (Imb.)'

Since the alveolar nasal /a/ homorganically articulates to the following consonant in roots and across suffix boundaries, we may posit an archiphoneme /N/ to account for this process. For example,

/kaN+pak/ -->[kamba] 'yours (Imb.)'

/kaN+ta/ -->[kanda] '(to) you (Imb.)'

/kaN+ka/ -->[kaŋga] 'and you? (Imb.)'

/ñ/

-->[ñ] palatal nasal;  
word-initial and medial positions.

[ñañã] /ñañã/

'sister, female term (Imb.)'

**Laterals.** The lateral series consists of alveolar and palatal laterals.



/l/

- >[l] alveolar lateral;  
word-initial and medial positions.  
[lolun] /lulun/  
'egg (Imb.)'  
  
[alku] /alku/  
'dog (Imb.)'

/ʎ/

- >[ʎ] palatal lateral;  
word-initial and medial positions.  
[ʎaki] /ʎaki/  
'sadness (Npo.)'  
  
[kaʎpana] /kaʎpana/  
'run (Lja.)'

**Vibrants.** This series consists of an alveolar flap and trilled vibrants.

/r/

- >[R] trilled vibrant;  
word-initial and word-final positions.  
[Runa] /runa/  
'person (Cār.)'  
  
[yawarʀ] /yawar/  
'blood (Lja.)'

-->[f]    assibilated vibrant;  
word-initial and word-final positions.

[řana] /rana/

'make/do (Imb.)'

[cavař] /cavar/

'century plant (Imb.)'

-->[r]    alveolar flap;  
elsewhere.

[purina] /purina/

'wall (ab.)'

The distribution of the trilled /R/ versus the assibilated vibrant /ř/ is not in free variation within a given dialect. However it is identical to the distribution of the allophones of this vibrant in Ecuadorian Spanish. In other words, the trilled allophone occurs on the coast and in the southern Sierra and Oriente regions whereas the assibilated allophone occurs in the central and northern Sierra regions (see Robinson, n.d.b, for a more detailed description of vibrant assibilation in Ecuador). For example,

/hablar/           -->[ablaR] 'to speak (from Sch. south)'

                  -->[ablař] 'to speak (from Nch. north)'

The occurrence of the assibilated vibrant in Spanish cannot be attributed to indigenous Quichua substrate since vibrant assibilation occurs in other areas of Spanish-speaking Latin America where Quichua has never existed, such as parts of Mexico and Costa Rica.

Due to heavy Spanish borrowings the assibilated vibrant contrasts in medial position with the alveolar flap in some dialect areas. For example,

/r/

-->[r̥] assibilated vibrant;  
word-medial position.

[kařu] /kařu/

'bus (Imb.)'

[karu] /karu/

'far (Imb.)'

In only one Quichua root from the corpus does the assibilated vibrant occur intervocally. In much of the Imbabura dialect the form /rurana/ 'to make/do (Imb.)' is realized as [řuřana]. Ross (1963) commented on this irregularity of this form as well. Perhaps as an attempt to regularize the form, it has undergone haplology of the initial syllable in some areas of the Imbabura dialect. Thus, the form /rurana/ 'to make/do (Imb.)' is realized as [řana], thereby conforming to the constraints on the occurrences of the assibilated vibrant in native roots.

Semi-Consonants. Within the semi-consonant series there are members at the labial and palatal points of articulation.

/w/

-->[w] bilabial semi-consonant;  
occurs in all positions.  
[wawa] /wawa/  
'baby (Npo.)'  
  
[panikow] /panikow/  
'hey sister, male term (Imb.)'

/y/

-->[y] palatal semi-consonant;  
occurs in all positions.  
[yaya] /yaya/  
'father (Npo.)'  
  
[yuyariy] /yuyariy/  
'remember (Imb.)'

The above description of the consonant phonemes and their major allophones accounts for all contoid elements of the phonetic chart in Section 4.2 except three. In addition to the above mentioned syllabic nasal [n̩], they are the velaric implosive [t\*] and the glottal stop [ʔ].

Although the syllabic nasal is listed as an allophone of the alveolar nasal /n/, there is only one occurrence in the

corpus. The suffix /-ntik/ 'in conjunction with (Imb.)' is realized as [-ɲdi] when following a (loaned) root terminating with an assibilated vibrant /r/. For example,

[asuka<sup>ɲ</sup>ɲdi] /asuka<sup>ɲ</sup>ntik/  
 'with some sugar (Imb.)'

Not only is this syllabic allophone very rare (occurring only in this one item in the corpus), but it initially produces a consonant cluster composed of three segments since it is attached to /asuka<sup>ɲ</sup>/ from Spanish azucar 'sugar.' Through syllabification of the alveolar nasal allophone, the three segments then conform to the canonical shape of the majority of Quichua forms. Since all other consonant clusters are composed of two segments only, the nasal in the suffix /-ntik/ usually occupies syllable-final position. For example, when added to a Quichua root, it yields the following.

[miskindi] /miskintik/  
 'with some sweetness (Imb.)'

In essence nasal syllabification produces a phonologically-conditioned allomorph of the suffix /-ntik/ 'in conjunction with' when it is postposed to the borrowed root /asuka<sup>ɲ</sup>/ 'sugar;' in all other cases the alveolar nasal /n/ of this suffix is in syllable-final position.

The velaric implosive [t\* ], functioning as a vocal segregate or ideophone, is primarily followed by a voiceless open mid back vowel [ɔ], as in [t\*ɔ]. It is used only as an interjection of surprisal in the Napo dialect (see Morphology for further discussion of interjections).

The glottal stop [ʔ] occurs prevocally when the vowel is in word-initial position and, therefore, not recorded in the broad transcriptions utilized in this description. For example,

[ʔima] /ima/ 'what (EcQ.)'

[ʔama] /ama/ 'no (EcQ.)'

[ʔuma] /uma/ 'head (EcQ.)'

The glottal stop [ʔ] does surface intervocally only once in the corpus. At an early phase of the field investigation, the following form was given as the Quichua term for 'earth;' [paʔal]. When later checking the form with other Quichua speakers, I learned that it was indeed yanka shimimanta 'from Quichua,' but ɓultiyaciska 'turned around.' This type of language play in Quichua basically involves metathesizing the syllables of the root. Should this produce a geminate vowel cluster, the glottal stop is utilized to prevent degemination and monosyllabification of the bisyllabic source root. Thus, the form [paʔal] is derived from [alpa] /alpa/ 'earth (Imb.)' (3).

The glottal stop [ʔ] also occurs in word-final position as a stylistic feature in some dialects. For example,

[naʧoʔ] /anču/

'Isn't that right? (Imb.)'

The use of the glottal stop as a stylistic feature is not restricted to Quichua; it also occurs in word-final position after the negative morpheme in Spanish no, to imply certainty. For example,

[noʔ] /no/

'certainly not'

### Vowels (Syllabics)

In all the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua only three vowel phonemes exist. They are /i/, a front, unrounded vowel; /a/, a central, unrounded vowel; and /u/, a back, rounded vowel. However, the range of variants of each of these vocalic phonemes is extremely great. The various allophones may occur on a sliding scale, i.e., the same form may be heard at different times with different allophones. The vowels of Quichua, like those of Aymara, must be considered in terms of their range and not in terms of specific allophones with strictly stated distributions. For example, /i/ has the following allophones: [y], [i], [I],

[i], [ĩ], and [e]. Likewise, /u/ has the following allophones: [w], [u], [U], [u̇], [ũ], and [o]. As well, /a/ has the following allophones: [ae], [a], [ȧ], and [ã]. The front unrounded /i/ and the back, rounded /u/ behave as a class and undergo many of the same phonological processes, such as lowering after liquids. For example,

|         |                          |
|---------|--------------------------|
| /lulun/ | -->[lolõŋ] 'egg (Imb.)'  |
| /liki-/ | -->[leki-] 'tear (Imb.)' |

A statement of all the vocalic allophones in Quichua will be possible only after a more detailed study of this phonological aspect. Nonetheless, the following general guidelines regarding the choice of allophone are proposed and listed in an approximate order of power.

1. Lowering after liquids (see above).
2. Raising or fronting after palatals.
3. Lowering after /p/ and /t/.
4. Stressless /a/ raises almost to schwa quality.
5. Lowering with stress.
6. Word-final devoicing.

Illustrations of these processes are given with the allophonic statements of each vowel.

Front, unrounded vowel. The front, unrounded /i/ undergoes many of the same phonological processes as does the back rounded /u/.



/i/

- >[y] front glide;  
occurs word-initial position  
within a phrase.  
[ñuka ycu] /nuka ica/  
'my water jug (Imb.)'
- >[ĩ] nasalized high front vowel;  
occurs before nasals.  
[li'ĩn] /kikin/  
'you (Imb.)'
- >[i̥] devoiced high front vowel;  
occurs word-final position.  
[wasimi] /wasimi/  
'it's a house (Lja.)'
- >[ɪ] lax high front vowel;  
occurs in word-final position.  
[ñukančɪ] /ñukaačik/  
'we (Imb.)'
- >[e] mid front vowel;  
occurs after liquids.  
[leya] /liya/  
'tangle (Imb.)'
- >[i] high front vowel;  
occurs elsewhere.  
[ima] /ima/

'what (Imb.)'

[riksina] /riksina/

'to know someone (Imba.)'

**Back, rounded vowel.** In many ways, the back rounded /u/ parallels the front, unrounded /i/.

/u/

-->[w] back glide;

occurs in word-initial position

within a phrase.

[ima wra] /ima ura/

'when (Imb.)'

-->[ũ] nasalized high back vowel;

occurs before nasals.

[samunún] /samunún/

'they are coming (Tna.)'

-->[ɸ] devoiced high back vowel;

occurs in word-final position.

[načɸ] /naču/

'right? (Imb.)'

-->[ʊ] lax high back vowel;

occurs in word-final position.

[puringičʊ] /purinkicu/

'gadabout (Imb.)'

-->[o] mid back vowel;  
occurs after liquids.  
[loloŋ] /lulun/  
'egg (Imb.)'

-->[u] high back vowel;  
occurs elsewhere.  
[uhunahun] /uhunahun/  
'they cough (Imb.)'

Central, unrounded vowel. The remaining member of the Ecuadorian Quichua vocalic system is the central unrounded /a/, with four principal allophonic variants.

/a/

-->[ã] nasalized low vowel;  
occurs before nasals.  
[kãŋ] /kan/  
'you (Imb.)'

-->[ḁ] devoiced low vowel;  
occurs word-final position.  
[šazuša] /šamuša/  
'I'll come (Lja.)'

-->[ae] low front vowel;  
occurs after palatals.  
[ñaeñae] /ñaña/  
'sister, female term (Tna.)'

[yaecaek] /yacak/

'wise (Tna.)'

-->[a] low central vowel;  
occurs elsewhere.

[ana] /ana/

'no (Imb.)'

[waktana] /waktana/

'snack (Imb.)'

Many of the allophonic variants of these vocalic phonemes, especially those occurring in word-final position, are in free variation. For example,

[ñukanči] [ñukančĭ] [ñukančI] [ñukanče]

'we (Imb.)'

[naču] [načŭ] [načŮ] [načo]

'right? (Imb.)'

The determining factor of this free variation appears to be related to the social categories of profession and economic status. It is further discussed in the section treating social dialectology.

Phonemic Contrasts

The following is an illustrative list of the phonemic contrasts in Ecuadorian Quichua.

Consonants.

/p' /

p'illu- 'wrap'

p'itilla 'little'

/p /

pillu- 'cover'

pitilla 'fist-full'

/t' /

t'iyu 'sand'

/t /

tiyu 'unrelated man'

/t̥' /

t̥'uka 'spit'

/t /

timpu 'time'

/č' /

č'uzu 'thin'

/č /

čuzu 'tiny'

/k' /

k'uya- 'want'

k'aspa- 'singe'

k'aka 'valley'

/k /

kuyu- 'move'

kaspi 'stick'

kaka 'excrement'

/p /

pisku 'bird'

pata 'ledge'

/b /

bisku 'twisted'

bata 'underskirt'

/t /

turu 'mud'

tunu 'music'

tanka- 'push'

/d /

duru 'strong'

dunu 'owner'

dansa- 'dance'

/k/

kinku 'curvy'

kaču 'horn'

kani- 'bite'

/g/

giku- 'swing over head'

gaču 'slope'

gana- 'earn/win'

/ʧ/

ʧakra 'path'

/č/

čakra 'field'

/ʧ/

ʧikʧi 'bat'

/s/

siksi 'reed'

/p/

pica 'ray'

/p/

pica 'broom'

/p/

piña- 'get angry'

/b/

biña- 'grow'

/s/

usa 'lice'

/z/

uzi 'wedding term'

/š/

šunku 'heart'

/č/

čunka 'ten'

/ž/

žaki 'sadness'

/č/

čaki 'foot'

/h/

hipa 'afterwards'

/k/

kipi 'bundle'

/n/

ima 'what'

/n/

ina 'never'

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| /n/           | /ñ/           |
| mama 'mother' | ñaña 'sister' |
| /n/           | /ñ/           |
| na 'no'       | ña 'already'  |
| /l/           | /r/           |
| ali 'good'    | ari 'yes'     |
| /l/           | /r/           |
| luki 'left'   | ruku 'old'    |
| /r/           | /r̄/          |
| karu 'far'    | kaŕu 'bus'    |
| /w/           | /y/           |
| wawa 'baby'   | yaya 'father' |

### Vowels.

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| /a/           | /i/         |
| caka 'bridge' | caki 'foot' |
| ama 'no'      | ima 'what'  |
| /a/           | /u/         |
| ama 'no'      | uma 'head'  |
| apa- 'bring'  | upa 'fool'  |
| /u/           | /i/         |
| uma 'head'    | ima 'what'  |

SuprasegmentalsStress

Stress in Quichua is non-phonemic; it falls on the penultimate syllable, and shifts to the right when suffixes are added (for exceptions, see below). For example,

[wañú.špa]

'dying'

wañu-

'to die'

-špa

'same actor subordinator'

[wañu.či.špa]

'causing to die'

-či-

'causative'

[wañu.či.ri.špa]

'causing to commit suicide'

-ri-

'reflexive'

[wañu.či.ri.naya.špa]

'desiring to cause to commit suicide'

-naya-

'desiderative'

[wañu.či.ri.naya.ju.špa]

'to be desiring to cause to commit suicide'

-ju-

'progressive action'

[wañu.či.ri.naya.ju.či.špa]



'to cause to be desiring to cause to commit  
suicide'

-č<sup>h</sup>i-                    'causative'

Stress may be used paralinguistically for semantic focus. Stress is placed on the root or suffix carrying the contrastive semantic load. For example, the following items are responses to the greeting kawsa.nahu.pa.nki.chik.chu 'Are you living well?':

[kawsa.naju.pa.nč<sup>h</sup>iḡ.mi]

'we are living'

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| kawsa- | 'to live'              |
| -nahu- | 'distributive'         |
| -pa-   | 'politeness'           |
| -ncik- | '4p'                   |
| -mi    | 'witness validational' |

[kawsa.náhu.pa.nč<sup>h</sup>iḡ.mi]

'We are living well'

[kawsa.naju.pa.nč<sup>h</sup>iḡ.mi]

'We are living well (politely).'

In the more innovative dialects, there are some exceptions to stress placement. For example,

[šáau.nú.n] /šáau.nú.n/

'they are coming (Npo.)'

[kay.gá] /kan.ká/

'and you? (Imb.)'

[kay.pi.ráh] /kay.pi.rák/

'still here? (Imb.)'

In the first example above the distributive suffix /-nú-/ is an innovative reflex in the Napo dialect of the distributive /-naku-/ and its variants in other dialects. The derivation may have proceeded as follows: /-naku-/ --> /-naju-/ --> /-naw-/ --> /-nú-/. The remaining suffixes are the independents /-ka/ 'topic' and /-rak/ 'still/yet/first' which generally take stress in interrogative constructions.

### Intonation

Briefly, there are four basic intonation patterns in all Quichua constructions. Since these intonation patterns are used to define and determine different utterance types, they are further described in the chapter treating syntax.

It should be noted however that in dialect areas with frequent contact with Spanish and with high rates of Quichua-Spanish bilingualism that the independent interrogative suffixes are being replaced with a rising question intonation. For example,

[sánu.hu.n.chu] --> [sánu.hu.ŋ]

'Are they coming?'

### Syllable Structure

The construction of the syllable in Ecuadorian Quichua has the following configurations.

V  
VC  
CV  
CVC

The majority of roots are bisyllabic composed primarily of open syllables. These syllable structures may occur in any bisyllabic combination. For example,

V.CV        --> ama 'no (EcQ.)'  
CV.CV       --> kipi 'bundle (Imb.)'  
CVC.CV      --> žakta 'land (Imb.)'  
CV.CVC     --> wakan 'cries (Imb.)'  
VC.CV       --> ayča 'meat (Imb.)'  
V.CVC       --> asin 'laughs (Imb.)'

Due to the vocalization of the semi-consonants, it is possible to have phonemic (but not phonetic) vowel clusters. For example,

CVCV.V     --> [ñaña.w] /ñaña.w/  
             'sister (Imb.)'  
  
             --> [yanu.y] /yanu.y/  
             'cook (Imb.)'

VCV.VCV --> [ima.wra] /ima ura/  
 'when (Iab.)'

While such vowel clusters are phonemically possible, in every instance they are derived from vowel plus a vowel that has become realized phonetically as a consonant. Consequently, the basic canonical forms of Ecuadorian Quichua are V, CV, VC, and CVC.

### Phoneme Distribution

As noted above, no vocalic clusters per se exist in Ecuadorian Quichua. Consonant clusters do exist word medially and across syllable boundaries with a maximum of two consonants. Regarding distribution the consonant phonemes may be divided into classes of occlusives, fricatives, nasals, liquids, and semi-consonants. All possible combinations of these classes occur except fricative-fricative, liquid-liquid, liquid-fricative, and fricative liquid. Of the more than 500 possible combinations, only 69 consonant clusters have been attested. The chart in Table 9 illustrates these combinations.

Occlusive/Occlusive. Six occlusive/occlusive consonant clusters are attested. For example,

kp Šamu.kpi 'upon their coming'  
 kt awa.ju.k.ta 'to the weaver'  
 kč yurakča 'maybe white'

TABLE 9  
Consonant Clusters

|     | Occl.                | Fric.                                  | Nasal          | Liq.           | Semi-C               |
|-----|----------------------|--|----------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Oc. |                      | kp<br>kt<br>k <del>ʃ</del><br>kč<br>čk | kš<br>kš<br>kn | km<br>kn       | kr<br>kl<br>kř<br>kw |
| Pr. | sp<br>st<br>sk       | šp<br>št<br>šk                         |                | šm<br>šn       | sm<br>sn<br>sw<br>sy |
| N.  |                      | np<br>nt<br>nč<br>nk<br>nǾ             | mš ns nm       | nr<br>nl       | ny<br>nw             |
| Lq. | rp<br>rt<br>rč<br>rk | lp<br>lt<br>lč<br>lk                   |                | rm<br>lm       | lw                   |
| Sc  | wp<br>wt<br>wč<br>wk | vp<br>vt<br>vč<br>vk                   | wš<br>wš       | yš<br>yš<br>yn | wr<br>wř<br>wř<br>yw |

kč miku.k.ča 'maybe the eater'

kk miku.k.kuna 'those who eat'

čk pička 'five'

Occlusive/Fricative. Only two occlusive/fricative clusters are attested. For example,

ks viksa 'stomach'

kš puri.k.ši 'maybe the one who walks'

Occlusive/Nasal. There are only two occlusive/nasal clusters. For example,

kn waka.hu.k.man 'to the crier'

kn mici.k.na 'a pasturer?'

Occlusive/Liquid. Two occlusive/liquid clusters occur in the corpus. For example,

kr kani.k.rak 'first for the one who chews'

kl puklana 'to play'

Occlusive/Semi-Consonant. There are only two clusters composed of occlusive and semi-consonant phonemes. For example,

ky rupa.k.ya.ri 'for sure one who burns'

kw tarpu.k.wan 'accompanying the planters'

Fricative/Occlusive. There are six clusters composed of a fricative plus an occlusive. For example,

sp kaspi 'stick'

šp šamu.špa '(same actor) coming'

st kastiyanu 'castilian'

št mašti 'whatever'

sk haya.waska 'hallucinogenic vine'

šk pišku 'bird'

Fricative/Nasal. There are four attested clusters containing fricatives and nasals. For example,

sm isnu 'rotten/vile'  
 šm kušma 'shirt'  
 sn kančis.na 'and seven?'  
 šn kušni 'socks'

Fricative/Semi-Consonant. There are only two clusters composed of a fricative plus a semi-consonant. For example,

sw aswa 'chicha'  
 sy kanchis.wa 'the small seven (items)'

Nasal/Occlusive. There are five attested clusters containing nasals and occlusives. For example,

np kan.pak 'for you'  
 nt kan.ta 'to you'  
 nč čunču 'foolish'  
 nk kan.kənan 'up to you'  
 nč yača.nčik 'we know'

Nasal/Fricative. There are only two nasal/fricative clusters. For example,

ns kimsa 'three'  
 ns hansı 'tiny'

**Nasal/Nasal.** Only one nasal cluster has been attested.  
For example,

nr rin.mi 'goes (and I saw it)'

**Nasal/Liquid.** There are three clusters of this type employing only the alveolar nasal as the first member. For example,

nr rinri 'ear'

nl tinlana 'tightly wrap'

nr kan.ʔa 'just you'

**Nasal/Semi-Consonant.** Two clusters are attested containing nasals and semi-consonants. For example,

ny tanya 'rain'

nw kan.wan 'accompanying you'

**Liquid/Occlusive.** There are seven clusters composed of liquids and occlusives. For example,

rp tarpu.na 'to plant'

rt hurti.la 'a little sour'

rk urku 'mountain'

rč yavarču 'is it a cabuya cactus?'

lp kalpa.na 'to run'

lt palta 'avocado'



lč salčina 'to break off an ear of corn'  
 tk kuški 'money'

Liquid/Nasal. To date only two clusters are attested composed of liquids and nasals. For example,

rn warri 'woman'  
 ln milna 'wool'

Liquid/Semi-Consonant. Only one cluster of this type occurs in the corpus. For example,

lw čalwa 'fish'

Semi-Consonant/Occlusive. There are eight clusters composed of semi-consonants and occlusives. For example,

wp čawpi 'middle'  
 wt žawtu 'headband'  
 vč kavču 'rubber'  
 wk wawki 'brother'  
 yp pay.pak 'for them'  
 yt pay.ta 'to them'  
 yč kay.ču 'this one?'  
 yk wayku 'hole'

Semi-Consonant/Liquid. There are four clusters of this type. For example,

ws kawsa- 'to live'  
 wś pawśi 'there'  
 ys pay.si 'maybe then?'  
 yś chayśi 'someone said that one'

Semi-Consonant/Nasal. There are two clusters composed of semi-consonant and nasal. For example,

yn kay.man 'to this'  
 yn pay.na 'and then?'

Semi-Consonant/Liquid. There are four clusters of this type. For example,

wr awru 'sour'  
 wī sawŋi 'large knife'  
 yr pay.rak 'then first?'  
 yī ayŋu 'family'

Semi-Consonant/Semi-Consonant. There is only one cluster composed solely of semi-consonants. For example,

yv misa.y.wan 'with the winning'

Morpheme Structure Rules

Wolck (1972) has provided a morpheme structure rule for the majority of the lexical items of Peruvian Quechua, and if we disregard those items borrowed into the language, the same rule may apply to the lexical items of Ecuadorian Quichua.

$$\#C V (C V) C \#$$

This rule adequately accounts for the majority of Ecuadorian Quichua forms. For example,

[ $\bar{n}a$ ] / $\bar{n}a$ / 'already (EcQ.)'  
 [ $\bar{n}an$ ] / $\bar{n}an$ / 'road (EcQ.)'  
 [kipi] /kipi/ 'bundle (Imb.)'  
 [šakta] /šakta/ 'homeland (Imb.)'  
 [waktan] /waktan/ 'smacking (Imb.)'

As can be seen, the consonant clusters of Ecuadorian Quichua roots are only composed of two members. There is one item that appears to be a counter-example with three consonants, but closer scrutiny indicates that the process of excrescence produces the extra member. For example,

[wambra] /wambra/ 'youth (Imb.)'

Due to the consistency of this morpheme structure rule provided above, discrepancies due to influence from super- and substratum languages are usually easily recognizable. For example,

/p'içilkiritu/ 'chest (Tsl.) (<Aymara p'ich'i)'  
 /çilinkiçi/ 'lizard (Tbl.)'  
 /grada/ 'path (Ctp) (<Spanish)'  
 /ligadu/ 'liver (Lja.) (<Spanish)'  
 /akapana/ 'hurricane (Imb.)'  
 /kwiça/ 'young girl (Imb.) (<Cara) '

In the speech of monolinguals, borrowed consonant clusters are often dissolved with an epenthetic [a]. For example,

/tarawana/ 'work (Npo.) (<Sp. trabajar) '

As well, voiced consonants of loans are usually devoiced by monolingual speakers of Quichua. For example,

/pisana/ 'kiss (Imb.) (<Sp. besar) '

Finally, monolingual Quichua speakers of the central dialects replace initial consonant-glide clusters with aspirated consonants, while those of other dialect areas utilize fricatives. For example,

Sp. fiesta --> /p'ista/ 'party (Tsl.)'

Sp. fiesta --> /fista/ 'party (Imb.)'

### Orthographic Considerations

Since the beginnings of Spanish domination in the Andes, there have been many attempts to write Quichua. Most often, Spanish orthography was used since Quichua had '...no alphabet of its own, and could have been written only from analogy in sound to the Spanish pronunciation' (Temple, 1833). From time to time certain alphabets have been adopted officially, but not registered and consequently not used. To my knowledge only one phonemic alphabet has been proposed for Ecuadorian Quichua (Yañez, 1974a), but it was intended for country-wide usage. The use of doublets creates a situation in some dialects in which there are two graphemes for a single sound, thereby invalidating the phonemic nature of the alphabet. The following proposed orthography is phonemic; different dialects have different configurations of the graphemes listed below.

#### Phoneme List with Illustrative Examples

In the following list the phoneme is followed by the grapheme which is utilized in the remainder of this investigation. These are followed by a phonemically written lexical item. The texts of Appendix B are also phonemically written.

##### Consonants.

/p'/ --> p'

p'ukurina

'blow up, inflate'

/t'/ --> t'

|              |                   |
|--------------|-------------------|
| t'iyu        | 'sand'            |
| /ɬ'/ --> ty' |                   |
| ty'nkuchina  | 'hit/strike'      |
| /č'/ --> ch' |                   |
| ch'uzu       | 'skinny, thin'    |
| /k'/ --> k'  |                   |
| k'achu       | 'type of junebug' |
| /t/ --> t    |                   |
| tata         | 'night'           |
| /b/ --> ty   |                   |
| tyukana      | 'spit'            |
| /č'/ --> ch  |                   |
| chay         | 'that/there'      |
| /k/ --> k    |                   |
| kay          | 'this/here'       |
| /b/ --> b    |                   |
| baylana      | 'dance'           |
| /d/ --> d    |                   |
| diru         | 'finger'          |
| /g/ --> g    |                   |
| gushtana     | 'look slowly'     |
| /ʧ/ --> ts   |                   |
| tsia         | 'lice egg'        |
| /p/ --> f    |                   |
| fuyu         | 'cloud'           |
| /b/ --> v    |                   |
| viksa        | 'stomach'         |

|     |        |                |
|-----|--------|----------------|
| /s/ | --> s  |                |
|     | sakina | 'leave'        |
| /z/ | --> z  |                |
|     | uzi    | 'wedding term' |
| /š/ | --> sh |                |
|     | shuti  | 'name'         |
| /ž/ | --> zh |                |
|     | Azhuka | 'Azhuka'       |
| /h/ | --> j  |                |
|     | jari   | 'man'          |
| /m/ | --> m  |                |
|     | mishu  | 'non-Indian'   |
| /n/ | --> n  |                |
|     | ninan  | 'intensely'    |
| /ñ/ | --> n  |                |
|     | ñan    | 'road'         |
| /r/ | --> r  |                |
|     | ruku   | 'old person'   |
| /ř/ | --> rr |                |
|     | karru  | 'bus'          |
| /l/ | --> l  |                |
|     | lulun  | 'egg'          |
| /ž/ | --> ll |                |
|     | llaki  | 'sadness'      |
| /ʎ/ | --> ll |                |
|     | llapi  | 'flattened'    |
| /w/ | --> w  |                |

|           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| wasi      | 'dwelling' |
| /ɪ/ --> y |            |
| yapa      | 'extra'    |

**Vowels.**

|           |                      |
|-----------|----------------------|
| /i/ --> i |                      |
| ima       | 'what'               |
| /a/ --> a |                      |
| ari       | 'yes'                |
| /u/ --> u |                      |
| uchi      | 'little, of stature' |

**Transcribed Texts**

Transcribed Oriente and Sierra texts are included in Appendices B and C, respectively. They are given with Spanish and English translations. The text entitled 'About the Minga' is given by morpheme and literal glosses in Appendix D.

**Notes**

1. See Hardman (1978), Stark (1969), and Torero (1974), etc., for treatment of the Jaqi-Quechua interface in the Andes.
2. The substrate languages include Cara in the Imbabura province, Cañar in the Cañar and Azuay provinces, and Palta in the Azuay and Loja provinces.
3. More examples of this word play formulation include the following.

wasi.kuna --> siwa.kuna 'houses'  
 ñuka --> kañu 'I'  
     -->kwa (deprecated form)  
 ñuka.nchik --> kañunchik 'we'



--> kwanchik (deprecated form)

In addition, some roots do not undergo syllable metathesis in this form of language play since the resulting forms are considered taboo. For example,

čaki 'foot' --> kiča 'excrement'

Finally, more bilingual children are combining Quichua language play with that of Spanish language play where either [ka] or [po] is inserted before each metathesized syllable. For example,

wasi.kuna 'a bunch of houses'  
 -->kasikawa.kuna  
 -->posipowa.kuna

## CHAPTER V MORPHOLOGY

The basic elements of grammatical constructions in Quichua are the morphemes, which consists of roots and suffixes. Syntax, completing the bulk of the grammatical processes and units of Ecuadorian Quichua, are described in the following chapter.

### Roots

Within the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua there are four basic root classes which are determined by the suffixes with which the roots may combine. These four classes are substantives, verbals, ambivalents, and particles.

### Substantive Roots

Substantive roots are characterized by the fact that they may occur as free forms or in combination with any of the substantive suffixes. For example:

|            |                      |
|------------|----------------------|
| ichu       | 'water jug'          |
| ichu.manta | 'about water jugs'   |
| tsiya      | 'lice egg'           |
| tsiya.sapa | 'too many lice eggs' |

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| usa     | 'lice'         |
| usa.pak | 'for the lice' |

Within the class of substantive roots there are four subclasses which are characterized and determined by restrictions of occurrence with certain suffixes and by their syntactic distribution within the noun phrase. These subclasses include quantifiers, attributives, nouns, and pronouns.

**Numbers.** The substantive subclass of numbers consists of specific numerical quantifiers. Although 'general quantifiers' have been included in this class (see Cerron-Palomino, 1976), there is no reason to do so according to the structure of Ecuadorian Quichua since the general quantifiers may combine with certain nominal suffixes whereas the numbers themselves may not. General quantifiers include the following:

|              |                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| ashta        | 'a bunch/many/a great deal' |
| ashta wagra  | 'many cattle'               |
| tawka        | 'a few/several/some'        |
| tawka jinti  | 'several people'            |
| wawkin       | 'some/a few'                |
| wawkin wawki | 'some brothers'             |
| asha         | 'very little/a few'         |
| asha kulki   | 'not much money'            |

The numerical quantifiers include both cardinals and ordinals. In addition, there are two separate sets of numerals, one from Quichua proper used for counting items in the environment, and the other from Spanish, used for business and trade. The Spanish numerical system as borrowed into Quichua is used for referring to hours and dates in combination with the appropriate Quichua suffixes. Due to increasing pressure from Spanish and since the numerical systems have long been borrowed across languages in the Andes due to trade, the numerical system of Quichua is losing ground to that of Spanish. The Quichua numerical system is used primarily by monolinguals, but even these Quichua speakers are increasing their usage of the Spanish borrowings.

The cardinal numbers of Ecuadorian Quichua are the following:

|         |               |
|---------|---------------|
| shuk    | 'one'         |
| ishkay  | 'two'         |
| kimsa   | 'three'       |
| chusku  | 'four'        |
| pichka  | 'five'        |
| sukta   | 'six'         |
| kanchis | 'seven'       |
| pusak   | 'eight' (1)   |
| iskun   | 'nine'        |
| chunka  | 'ten'         |
| patsak  | 'one hundred' |

waranka 'one thousand'

The earlier form hupo 'ten thousand' (Santo Tomas, 1947 [1552]) has no reflex in modern Ecuadorian Quichua. The above cardinal numbers may be combined as follows:

chunka ishkay 'twelve'

ishkay chunka 'twenty'

ishkay chunka ishkay 'twenty-two'

ishkay waranka ishkay patsak ishkay chunka ishkay  
'two thousand two hundred twenty two'

The ordinal numbers of Quichua have all but disappeared from the varieties spoken in Ecuador. The ordinals that remain are generally formed by adding the suffix /-niki/ to any of the cardinal numbers and are restricted to use when describing the behavior of drinking in celebrations and fiestas. To date, only two Quichua ordinals have occurred in free texts. For example:

shuk.niki 'first (drink)'

ishkay.niki 'second (drink)'

The Quichua ordinals are used to encourage a fiesta participant to drink more. For example:

Shuk.niki ufiya.pa.rka.nki, ishkay.niki  
minishti.pa.nki.

'You have only drunk the first one, you need a second one.'

|           |                         |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| Shuk-     | 'one'                   |
| -niki     | 'numerical ordiner'     |
| ufiya-    | 'to drink'              |
| -pa-      | 'politeness'            |
| -rka-     | 'PK past'               |
| -nki      | '2p'                    |
| ishkay-   | 'two'                   |
| -niki     | 'numerical ordiner'     |
| minishti- | 'need (<Sp. necesitar)' |
| -pa-      | 'politeness'            |
| -nki      | '2p'                    |

In other cases when ordinal numbers are used (and their frequency of occurrence is low), they are borrowed from Spanish, adapted to Quichua phonology (but with Spanish allomorphs) and occur only up to the sixth order (see Cerron-Palomino, 1976, for similar numerical processes in Junin-Huanca Quechua). For example:

|           |          |
|-----------|----------|
| primir(u) | 'first'  |
| sikuntu   | 'second' |
| tirsir(u) | 'third'  |
| kwartu    | 'fourth' |
| kintu     | 'fifth'  |
| sishtu    | 'sixth'  |

In addition to using Spanish numerical borrowings to express business transactions and ordinal numbers, references to time and dates are also borrowed from Spanish and are further inflected using Quichua suffixes. For example:

lasinku.ta alsa.ri.rka.nchik.

'We made it by five.'

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| lasinku- | 'five (<Sp. las cinco)' |
| -ta      | 'accusative'            |
| alsa-    | 'reach'                 |
| -ri-     | 'reflexive'             |
| -rka'    | 'PK past'               |
| nchik    | '4p'                    |

chay bintiyunu di juniyu.ta shamusha.

'I'll come by the twenty-first of June.'

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| chay       | 'demonstrative'           |
| bintiyunu  | '21st (<Sp. vientiuno)'   |
| di juniyu- | 'of June (<Sp. de junio)' |
| -ta        | 'accusative'              |
| shamu-     | 'to come'                 |
| -sha       | '1p future'               |

**Attributives.** Any noun may be placed before another noun and thereby become an attribute of that second noun. For example:

kusi wambra 'a sweet/nice/loving youth'

wambra kusi 'a youthful sweetness'

wasi duynu 'a house owner'

duynu wasi 'an owned/owner house'

However, certain substantive roots function primarily as attributives and precede other substantive roots. These include the following:

ali 'good' as in ali warni 'a good woman'

firu 'bad' as in firu runa 'a bad person'

yurak 'white' as in yurak yura 'a white tree'

puka 'red' as in puka nawi 'a red face'

yana 'black' as in yana alpa 'black earth'

uki 'grey' as in uki ruwana 'a grey poncho'

suki 'greyish' as in suki fachalina 'a greyish head wrap'

Although this subclass may theoretically occur with the substantive inflectional suffixes, they generally do not in most free texts.

**Nouns.** Members of this subclass may occur with any of the substantive suffixes, or they may stand alone.



Furthermore, this subclass functions as the head of a noun phrase. For example:

jaka 'small stream'  
 java 'above'  
 yaku 'water'  
 urku 'mountain'  
 chay chusku jatun urku 'those four big mountains'  
 chay shuk ruku warmi 'that other old lady'

Due to sustained contact with Spanish, many roots have been borrowed and some of these roots belong to a restricted subsystem which exhibits gender. For example:

tiyu 'uncle/unrelated older man'  
 tiya 'aunt/unrelated older woman'  
 riku 'wealthy man'  
 rika 'wealthy woman'

Otherwise, natural gender is expressed by distinct simple lexical items or by lexical compounds. Grammatical gender is not expressed in Quichua. For example:

wagra 'cattle'  
 tura 'bull'  
 jari kuchi 'boar'  
 warmi kuchi 'sow'

Furthermore, within the domain of kin terms references to siblings is determined by the sex of the speaker. For example:

ñaña 'sister's sister'  
 pani 'brother's sister'  
 turi 'sister's brother'  
 wawki 'brother's brother'

It should be pointed out that these kin terms are not restricted to sibling reference only. They may also be used to refer to the spouses of siblings. For example, pani may also be used to refer to the wife of one's brother and wawki may also be used to refer to the husband of one's sister. The kinship system is very intriguing in Ecuadorian Quichua and needs further study.

**Pronouns.** The pronouns of Ecuadorian Quichua may replace any of the nouns and they constitute a closed subclass. The pronominal subclass may be further subdivided into personal, demonstrative, and interrogative members.

The personal pronouns consist of three base roots including the following:

ñuka 'first person (1p)'  
 kan 'second person (2p)'  
 pay 'third person (3p)'

The second person pronoun has a variant in certain dialects that are in frequent contact with Spanish speakers. This second person pronominal variant, kikin, is used with kin members and close friends. It is further said to indicate 'curviness' in one's speech, whereas kan indicates the 'straightness' or 'abruptness' of speech. Although the use of kikin in these dialects is highly esteemed, in the remaining dialects the 'curved/straight' speech dichotomy is not reflected in the pronominal system. In these dialects the form kikin is generally glossed as 'own.' For example,

kikin churi

'one's own son (Npo.)'

As substantives, the pronouns may occur with any of the substantive suffixes, including the aggregate /-kuna/. Translation tradition has interpreted the combination of the subject pronouns with the aggregate /-kuna/ to indicate plural pronouns, but this interpretation is not correct. For example, instead of being translated as 'they,' the third person pronoun plus the aggregate, pay.kuna, is better translated as 'a bunch of third people.' Furthermore, the first person pronoun nuka may be inflected with the aggregate yielding nuka.kuna, but this is extremely rare and only restricted to those dialect areas near the Ecuadorian-Peruvian (Oriente) frontier (2). The process is very similar to the pronominal system proposed by Coombs et

al (1976) for the Quechua of San Martin in the Peruvian Oriente. More often the first person pronoun is inflected with -nchik. It is quite possible that this suffix in modern Ecuadorian Quichua is a frozen form composed of -n plus -chik. but it is more likely that the suffix is a reflex of an earlier system of substantive possessive suffixes. This substantive possessive system is still manifested in many dialects of Peruvian Quechua but except for a few occurrences is lost in the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. Furthermore, informants provided the information that the proper gloss of n̄uka.nchik is as follows. 'Of course n̄ukanchik may be translated as the nosotros of Spanish, but it actually means "our I's"...' (see Chapter Three for an explanation of how this relates to the body duality postulate). The other occurrence of the suffix -nchik is in the following form:

yacha.nchik.pak.man

'to the place that we all know about'

|        |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|
| yacha- | 'to know/(knowledge)' |
| -nchik | '4p possession'       |
| -pak-  | 'genitive'            |
| -man   | 'dative'              |

The above construction is primarily used when teasing someone about the place where they regularly meet their lover. If n̄ukanchik is analyzed as a single root, then the

pronominal system of Ecuadorian Quichua consists of four grammatical persons, including first, second, third, and fourth persons. Such a four person system is very similar to the pronominal system of the Jaqi languages (see Hardman, 1976b, for a more detailed explanation of the Jaqi system and its reconstruction). Since the Jaqi and the Quechua language families have had sustained periods of cultural contact and linguistic interface, it is quite probable that the Jaqi system influenced those varieties of Quechua that it contacted. It is these varieties of Quechua that were spread into Ecuador by the Incas. The pronominal system of Ecuadorian Quichua is very complex and there are questions that remain to be answered. Nonetheless, the basic interpretation used in this description is that the pronominal system consists of four grammatical persons, including first, second, third, and fourth person. With this interpretation, the pronominal forms may be seen as consisting of the presence or absence of the speaker or hearer. Thus, nuka is glossed as 'me, but not you,' kan (kikin) is glossed as 'you, but not me,' pay is glossed as 'neither you nor me,' and nukanchik may be glossed as 'me and me' or 'both you and me.' Such an interpretation seems to be more consistent with the verbal morphology and with the concerns of the Quichua speakers regarding the salience of the participants in a conversation.

The demonstratives in Ecuadorian Quichua have a heavy functional load and consist of two members. They are:

kay 'this/here/this one'

chay 'that/there/that one'

Although demonstratives most frequently function as the first constituent of a noun phrase, they may also serve pronominal functions. For example:

Mayjan.tak muna.nki?

'Which one do you want?'

|         |                             |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| Mayjan- | 'which'                     |
| -tak    | 'information interrogative' |
| muna-   | 'to want'                   |
| -nki    | '2p'                        |

Chay.ka.

'That one.'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| Chay- | 'demonstrative' |
| -ka   | 'topic/focus'   |

In addition, the demonstratives also carry an important functional load as conversational fillers and linkers in Quichua discourse. For example:

chay.pak jipa 'and then after that'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| chay- | 'demonstrative' |
|-------|-----------------|

|                    |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| -pak               | 'genitive'      |
| jipa               | 'after/behind'  |
| chay.ka 'and then' |                 |
| chay-              | 'demonstrative' |
| -ka                | 'topic/focus'   |

Finally, the interrogative subclass consists of the following members.

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| pi     | 'who'        |
| ima    | 'what/which' |
| may    | 'where'      |
| mayjan | 'which'      |

Although it is possible to separate the /-jan/ in the form mayjan, this suffix is unproductive and only occurs in this one form. Mayjan is included therefore as one of the base interrogatives in Ecuadorian Quichua.

In combination with productive comparative /-shna/, the genitive /-pak/, the obviative /-shpa/, the base interrogatives yield the following forms.

|          |            |
|----------|------------|
| ma.shna  | 'how much' |
| ima.shna | 'how'      |
| ima.pak  | 'for what' |
| ima.shpa | 'why'      |

Compound blends with Spanish hora 'hour' produce temporal interrogatives. For example:

|          |                       |
|----------|-----------------------|
| ima ura  | 'when (generally)'    |
| ima uras | 'when (specifically)' |

Finally, the interrogatives may be followed by the independent suffix /-pash/ 'too/also' or with a combination of the accusative /-ta/ plus /-pash/ to produce indefinite interrogatives. For example:

|                 |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| ima.ta.pash     | 'whatever'   |
| pi.ta.pash      | 'whoever'    |
| ima ura.ta.pash | 'whenever'   |
| may.pi.pash     | 'where ever' |

### Verbal Roots

Unlike the substantive roots, the verbal roots are always bound and must occur with verbal inflectional suffixes. For example:

|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| uju-     | 'to cough'    |
| shamu-   | 'to come'     |
| niku-    | 'to eat'      |
| asi-     | 'to smile'    |
| uju.ju.n | 'is coughing' |
| uju-     | 'to cough'    |



|             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| -ju-        | 'progressive action'      |
| -n          | '3p'                      |
| shamu.shpa  | 'coming'                  |
| shamu-      | 'to come'                 |
| -shpa       | 'same actor subordinator' |
| miku.naya.n | 'feels like eating'       |
| miku-       | 'to eat/food'             |
| -naya-      | 'desiderative'            |
| -n          | '3p'                      |
| asi.ri.n    | 'laughs'                  |
| asi-        | 'to smile'                |
| -ri-        | 'reflexive'               |
| -n          | '3p'                      |

This class of roots may be further subdivided on the basis of their syntactic behavior into five subclasses consisting of transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, copula, and auxiliary functions.

**Transitives.** Although not required to do so, members of this subclass may take a direct object, usually inflected with the accusative suffix /-ta/. Transitive verbs always imply an object or complement whether it is stated or not. For example:

kara.sha

'I will give food.'

kara-            'to give food'  
 -sha            '1p future'

pucha.ta fiti.rka.ni.

'I broke the thread.'

pucha-            'thread'  
 -ta                'accusative'  
 fiti-              'break (thread)'  
 -rka-              'PK past'  
 -ni                '1p'

shita.wa.rka.0.

'3p threw (it) to me.'

shita-            'to throw'  
 -wa-              '1p object'  
 -rka-              'PK past'  
 -0                 '3p'

pay.ta riksi.ni.

'I know them.'

pay-              '3p pronoun'  
 -ta                'accusative'  
 riksi-             'to know a person'  
 -ni                '1p'

**Intransitives.** Members of this subclass do not take objects. For example:

asi.n.

'3p smiles'

|      |            |
|------|------------|
| asi- | 'to smile' |
| -n   | '3p'       |

ri.ju.ni.

'I am going.'

|      |                      |
|------|----------------------|
| ri-  | 'to go'              |
| -ju- | 'progressive action' |
| -ni  | '1p'                 |

yayku.ju.n.

'3p is going in/entering'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| yayku- | 'to go in/enter'     |
| -ju-   | 'progressive action' |
| -n     | '3p'                 |

Furthermore, verb roots that have been classified as impersonal existential and climatic verbs also belong to this class. When used as impersonals, these verbs are inflected with the 3p inflection as in the following:

tamya.ju.n.

'it is raining'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| tamya- | 'to rain/rain'       |
| -ju-   | 'progressive action' |
| -n     | '3p'                 |

tiya.ju.pa.n.

'there is/are(they are sitting)'

|       |                |
|-------|----------------|
| tiya- | 'to sit/exist' |
|-------|----------------|

|      |                      |
|------|----------------------|
| -ju- | 'progressive action' |
| -pa- | 'politeness'         |
| -u   | '3p'                 |

While such verb roots occur predominantly in these forms, they may be inflected for any other grammatical person resulting in metaphors. For example:

tanya.ju.ni.

'I am raining/urinating'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| tanya- | 'to rain/rain'       |
| -ju-   | 'progressive action' |
| -ni    | '1p'                 |

tiya.ju.ni.

'I am sitting down.'

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| tiya- | 'to sit/exist'       |
| -ju-  | 'progressive action' |
| -ni   | '1p'                 |

**Ditransitives.** This limited subclass of verb roots belong structurally with the transitive root class but are pointed out here since they usually occur with two complements, one direct non-human and the other indirect human. For example,

kikin.ta sara.ta kara.sha

'I will give you corn.'

|        |      |
|--------|------|
| kikin- | '2p' |
|--------|------|

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| -ta   | 'accusative'     |
| sara- | 'corn'           |
| -ta   | 'accusative'     |
| kara- | 'to give (food)' |
| -sha  | '1p future'      |

pay.ta kulki.ta ku.sha

'I'll give them money.'

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| pay-   | '3p pronoun' |
| -ta    | 'accusative' |
| kulki- | 'money'      |
| -ta    | 'accusative' |
| ku-    | 'to give'    |
| -sha   | '1p future'  |

Other members of the subclass include mana- 'to ask,' and apanu- 'bring.'

Copula. This subclass consists of only one root, the verb /ka-/ 'to be.'

jatun.mi ka.nki.

'you are big (of stature)'

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| jatun- | 'big'                  |
| -mi    | 'witness validational' |
| ka-    | 'to be'                |
| -nki   | '2p'                   |

jatu.shka ka.rka.0.

'it was (a) sold (item)'

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| jatu- | 'to sell'                |
| -shka | 'completive nominalizer' |
| ka-   | 'to be'                  |
| -rka- | 'PK past'                |
| -0    | '3p'                     |

This verb also functions as an existential along with /tiya-/ 'to exist.' The verb /ka-/ refers to the existence non-human subjects and the verb /tiya-/ refers to the existence of human subjects. For example:

ichu ka.pa.n.

'there are water jugs'

|      |              |
|------|--------------|
| ichu | 'water jug'  |
| ka-  | 'to be'      |
| -pa- | 'politeness' |
| -n   | '3p'         |

runa tiya.n.

'there are people'

|       |                |
|-------|----------------|
| runa  | 'people'       |
| tiya- | 'to sit/exist' |
| -n    | '3p'           |

**Auxiliaries.** The members of the auxiliary subclass of verb roots in Ecuadorian Quichua include the following.

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| muna-  | 'to want'     |
| yacha- | 'to know how' |

|          |              |
|----------|--------------|
| kallari- | 'to begin'   |
| tukuchi- | 'to finish'  |
| tuku-    | 'to happen'  |
| usha-    | 'to be able' |
| ka-      | 'to be'      |
| ni-      | 'to say'     |

Used as auxiliaries, these verbs usually follow a nominalized verb form. For example:

kawsa.na.ta muna.ni.

'I want to live.'

|        |                                 |
|--------|---------------------------------|
| kawsa- | 'to live'                       |
| -na-   | 'indefinite future nominalizer' |
| -ta    | 'accusative'                    |
| muna-  | 'to want'                       |
| -ni    | '1p'                            |

awa.na.ta yacha.nki.chu.

'Do you know weaving/how to weave?'

|        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| awa-   | 'to weave'                  |
| -na-   | 'indefinite future nom.'    |
| -ta    | 'accusative'                |
| yacha- | 'to know'                   |
| -nki-  | '2p'                        |
| -chu   | 'affirmation interrogative' |

kalpa.y.ta kallari.rka.0.

'3p begin to run.'

|          |              |
|----------|--------------|
| kalpa-   | 'to run'     |
| -y-      | 'potential'  |
| -ta      | 'accusative' |
| kallari- | 'to begin'   |
| -rka-    | 'PK past'    |
| -0       | '3p'         |

yanu.y.ta tuku.chi.rka.0.

'3p finished cooking.'

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| yanu- | 'to cook;    |
| -y-   | 'potential'  |
| -ta   | 'accusative' |
| tuku- | 'to finish'  |
| -chi- | 'causative'  |
| -rka- | 'PK past'    |
| -0    | '3p'         |

llapi.y tuku.nki.

'you'll end up squashed.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| llapi- | 'to squeeze'    |
| -y     | 'potential'     |
| tuku-  | 'to end/finish' |
| -nki   | '2p'            |

parla.y.ta na usha.pa.ni.

'I'm not able to talk.'

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| parla- | 'to talk'    |
| -y-    | 'potential'  |
| -ta    | 'accusative' |



|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| na    | 'negation'   |
| usha- | 'to be able' |
| -pa-  | 'politeness' |
| -ni   | '1p'         |

ranti.shka ka.rka.0

'it was (a) bought (item).'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| ranti- | to buy'           |
| -shka  | 'completive nom.' |
| ka-    | 'to be'           |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'         |
| -0     | '3p'              |

### Ambivalents

There is a small class of roots which may occur inflected as either nominals or verbals. When these roots occur as substantives they may stand as free forms. For example:

shina 'like this/in this fashion'

shina.kuna 'the ones like this'

ama shina.nki 'don't be like this'

wasi 'house/dwelling'

wasi.manta 'about the dwelling'

wasi.ni 'I make a house.'

pampa 'field'

pampa.pak 'for the field'

pampa.ju.n 'is covering/burying'

atalpa 'chicken'

atalpa.kuna 'a bunch of chickens'

atalpa.nayan.n 'feel like eating chickens'

papa 'potatoes'

papa.wan 'with potatoes'

papa.nayan.n 'feel like eating potatoes'

### Particles

This class of roots has a very small membership and its members do not occur with any type of inflection. For example:

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| na     | 'already'              |
| ana    | 'imperative negator'   |
| tunsis | 'then (<Sp. entonces)' |

This particle class is further subdivided into interjections, functors, conjunctions, adverbials, and onomatopoeics.

The interjections sometimes include vocal segregates such as the surprisal [t\*] of the Napo dialect (see Chapter 3), but more frequently are composed of regular phonemic units. For example:

|          |                     |
|----------|---------------------|
| añañay   | 'how pretty'        |
| atatay   | 'what a pity/shame' |
| araray   | 'how hot'           |
| achachay | 'how cold'          |

ajajay 'how disgusting'

ayayay 'what pain'

The functors in Ecuadorian Quichua generally consist of conjunctions and subordinators borrowed from Spanish. They include the following:

i 'and (<Sp. y)'

u 'or (<Sp. o)'

piru 'but (Sp. pero)'

sinu 'but rather (<Sp. sino)'

tunsis 'then (<Sp. entonces)'

ni 'neither/none (<Sp. ni)'

inku 'in what (<Sp. en que)'

maski 'even though (<Sp. mas que)'

purki 'because (<Sp. porque)'

usiya 'or rather (<Sp. o sea)'

anki 'meanwhile (<Sp. aungue)'

The negative particles of Ecuadorian Quichua include one native root and the negative loans from Spanish listed above. For example:

mana 'negative'

ama 'imperative negative'

ni...ni 'neither...nor (<Sp. ni...ni)'

ni 'not (<Sp. ni)'

The last negative loan may be blended with the temporal interrogatives such as ima 'what' to produce the following.

nima ura 'never'

The adverbial particles consist of the following forms.

n̄a 'already'

ɗunabis 'all at once (<Sp. de una vez)'

siapri 'always (<Sp. siempre)'

kunan 'now'

unay 'a long time'

nunka 'never (<Sp. nunca)'

sarun 'before'

puydi 'after (<Sp. despues de)'

jipa 'after'

kayna 'yesterday'

kaya 'tomorrow'

Finally, onomatopoeic particles are frequently used in relating past events or telling stories. For example,

tun tun tun 'sound of a male infant's heartbeat'

tin tin tin 'sound of a female infant's heartbeat'

tulun 'sound of thunder'

chuluk chuluk 'sound of boiling water'

kukuruku 'sound of a rooster's crow'

talak talak talak 'sound of a chicken's cackle.'

pun 'sound of hitting a person'

haw haw 'sound of a bird'

Many of these particles are potential verb roots as well, and consequently may be considered as members of the ambivalent class of roots. For example,

tulu.ju.n

'it's thundering'

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| tulu- | 'sound of thunder'   |
| -ju-  | 'progressive action' |
| -n    | '3p'                 |

kukuruku.ju.n

'(the rooster) is crowing.'

|           |                      |
|-----------|----------------------|
| kukuruku- | 'sound of rooster'   |
| -ju-      | 'progressive action' |
| -n        | '3p'                 |

The onomatopoetic forms not terminating in a vowel may occur in verbal phrases with the auxiliary ni- 'to say.' For example,

talak talak ni.ju.n.

'(the chicken) is cackling.'

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| talak talak | 'sound of chicken'   |
| ni-         | 'to say'             |
| -ju-        | 'progressive action' |
| -n          | '3p'                 |

krin krin krin ni.n.

'(a small parrot) chirps.'

krin krin krin 'sound of small parrot'

ni- 'to say'

-n '3p'

### Suffixes

The nominal, verbal, and ambivalent roots may be further inflected or derived by processes of suffixation. Only suffixes exist in Ecuadorian Quichua (3).

Even though there are claims that Quichua possesses infixes (Yañez, 1974a), this is simply not true by definition of infix; no affixes occur within the Quichua root. All the elements which have been interpreted as infixes are simply suffixes which must be followed by further inflection or derivation.

### Substantive Suffixation

Members of this suffix class occur postposed only to substantive or ambivalent roots, themes, or nominalized verbs. This class of suffixes may be further subdivided into relational and derivational suffixes.

### Substantive Relationals

There are fifteen substantive relational suffixes. The system of substantive relationals has two order classes after the root. The first order class is occupied only by the aggregate /-kuna/ with the remaining occupying the second order class. All suffixes may occur finally on the noun or noun phrase. The system of substantive relationals is quite different from that of the order classes of the more conservative languages and dialects of the Quechua family such as Junin-Huanca (Cerron-Palomino, 1976) and Ancash-Huailas (Parker, 1976), both Quechua I. In these dialects there are four order classes. The first two, determination and person allocation, do not occur in the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. The order class of determination appears to be unique to Junin-Huanca (Cerron-Palomino, 1976), and the person allocation paradigm has practically disappeared in Ecuadorian Quichua except for the examples of archaic residue previously discussed under personal pronouns.

Table 10 provides the relative position of the order classes of Ecuadorian Quichua with respect to their occurrence after the root.

Below is a list of illustrative constructions using the substantive relational suffixes.

1. -ta, kan.ta 'to/for you'
2. -man, urku.man 'to the mountain'

TABLE 10

## Relative Order of Relationals

| 1     | 2      |
|-------|--------|
| -kuna | -ta    |
|       | -man   |
|       | -manta |
|       | -pi    |
|       | -pak   |
|       | -kaman |
|       | -pura  |
|       | -shna  |
|       | -w     |
|       | -rayku |
|       | -ntik  |
|       | -wan   |
|       | -laya  |

3. -manta, sisa.manta 'from/about the flowers'
4. -pi, ñan.pi 'in the road'
5. -pak, tayta.pak 'for father'
6. -kaman, pampa.kaman 'up to the hill'
7. -pura, wawki.pura 'among the brothers'
8. -shna, wawa.shna 'like a baby'
9. -w, Zoila.w 'hey, Zoila'
10. -rayku, chay.rayku 'because of that'
11. -ntik, ñuminku.kuna.ntik 'and Sundays'
12. -wan, ñuka.wan 'with me'
13. -laya, alku.laya 'like a dog'



-kuna. Aggregate. The suffix /-kuna/ constitutes the only member of the first order class, and may be glossed as 'a bunch of.' Translation tradition has established that the general interpretation of this suffix be plural, but according to the nature of Ecuadorian Quichua it is not a plural in the sense of Indo-European pluralization. Rather than plural, this suffix has an aggregate function. For example:

wawki.gu.kuna

'a bunch of little brothers'

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| wawki- | 'brothers'   |
| -gu-   | 'diminutive' |
| -kuna  | 'aggregate'  |

ñan.kuna

'a bunch of roads'

|       |             |
|-------|-------------|
| ñan-  | 'road/path' |
| -kuna | 'aggregate' |

In earlier descriptions (Santo Tomas, 1947/1552) the aggregate /-kuna/ occurs with animate nouns, but in the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua this distinction is not reflected in the privileges of occurrence of this suffix. It may occur with any substantive root.

The remaining relational suffixes are members of the second order class.

-ta. Accusative. The accusative /-ta/ is used to indicate complementarity, either direct or indirect, when attached to most substantive roots. For example:

kaa.ta kara.sha

'I'll give you (food)'

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| kan-  | '2p'                   |
| -ta   | 'accusative'           |
| kara- | 'to give (sustenance)' |
| -sha  | '1p future'            |

pay.ta sisa.ta ku.gri.ni

'I'm going to give them flowers.'

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| pay-  | '3p'               |
| -ta   | 'accusative'       |
| sisa- | 'flower'           |
| -ta   | 'accusative'       |
| ku-   | 'to give'          |
| -gri- | 'incipient action' |
| -ni   | '1p non-future'    |

When the suffix /-ta/ is attached to substantive roots of time, the entire construction functions adverbially. For example:

lasnuvi.ta shamun.ki

'you come at nine'

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| lasnuvi- | 'nine (<Sp. las nueve)' |
| -ta      | 'accusative'            |
| shamu-   | 'to come'               |
| -nki     | '2p non-future'         |

When the accusative /-ta/ occurs in a phrase containing a verb of motion, it implies the general vicinity of the item to which it is attached. For example:

wasi.ta ri.ni

'I'm going by/near/around the house'

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| wasi- | 'dwelling'   |
| -ta   | 'accusative' |
| ri-   | 'to go'      |
| -ni   | '1p'         |

-man. Dative. The dative /-man/ marks the direction, either spatial or temporal, to which an actor moves. For example:

Kitu.man ri.ni

'I'm going to Quito'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| Kitu- | 'Quito'         |
| -man  | 'dative'        |
| ri-   | 'to go'         |
| -ni   | '1p non-future' |

lasinku.man chaya.nka

'they'll arrive about fiveish'

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| lasinku- | 'five (<Sp. las cinco)' |
| -man     | 'dative'                |
| chaya-   | 'to arrive'             |
| -nka     | '3p future'             |

-manta. Ablative. The ablative /-manta/ indicates the provenience or procedence, either spatial or temporal, from which a given item or individual comes. It is also used to express reasons for actions or origins of events. For example:

jana.manta apa.mu.ni

'I bring (it) from up above'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| jana-  | 'up (an incline)' |
| -manta | 'ablative'        |
| apa-   | 'to take'         |
| -mu-   | 'cislocative'     |
| -ni    | '1p non-future'   |

lasuchu.manta kay.pi ka.rka.0

'they were here since eight'

|          |                         |
|----------|-------------------------|
| lasuchu- | 'eight (<Sp. las ocho)' |
| -manta   | 'ablative'              |
| kay-     | 'demonstrative'         |
| -pi      | 'locative'              |
| ka-      | 'to be'                 |

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| -rka- | 'PK past'       |
| -0    | '3p non-future' |

faki.shka.manta. fiña.ri.rka.ni

'I got mad because it broke'

|        |                           |
|--------|---------------------------|
| faki-  | 'to break (hard objects)' |
| -shka- | 'completive nominalizer'  |
| -manta | 'ablative'                |
| fiña-  | 'to get mad'              |
| -ri-   | 'reflexive'               |
| -rka-  | 'Pk past'                 |
| -ni    | '1p non-future'           |

-pi. Locative. The locative /-pi/ indicates the spatial or temporal location in which something exists or happens. For example:

chay.pi ka.rka.0

'it was there/then'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| chay- | 'demonstrative' |
| -pi   | 'locative'      |
| ka-   | 'to be'         |
| -rka- | 'Pk past'       |
| -0    | '3p non-future' |

wasi.pi

'in the house'

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| wasi- | 'dwelling' |
|-------|------------|

-pi                    'locative

-pak. Genitive. The genitive /-pak/ indicates that the item to which it is attached possesses some other item. For example:

wasi.pak jipa

'back of the house'

|       |               |
|-------|---------------|
| wasi- | 'dwelling'    |
| -pak  | 'genitive'    |
| jipa  | 'back/behind' |

mama.pak nāna

'mother's sister'

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| mama- | 'mother'   |
| -pak  | 'genitive' |
| -nāna | 'sister'   |

The genitive /-pak/ frequently occurs postposed to the definite future nominalizer /-nka/. The combination /-nka+-pak/ functions as an identical subject purposive and is further treated under verbal suffixation.

-kaman. Allative. The allative /-kaman/ indicates the spatial or temporal limits within which an action or item is realized or exists. For example:

urku.kaman ri.sha

'I'll go up to/as far as the mountain'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| urku-  | 'mountain'  |
| -kaman | 'allative'  |
| ri-    | 'to go'     |
| -sha   | '1p future' |

wata.kaman ka.sha

'I'll be (here) for a year'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| wata-  | 'year'      |
| -kaman | 'allative'  |
| ka-    | 'to be'     |
| -sha   | '1p future' |

-pura. Interactive. The interactive /-pura/ indicates that there are more than one of the items or individuals to which it is postposed, and it further indicates that there is interaction among them. For example:

turi.pura

'among the brothers'

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| turi- | 'brother (female term)' |
| -pura | 'interactive'           |

kuchi.gu.pura

'among the piglets'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| kuchi- | 'pig'         |
| -gu-   | 'diminutive'  |
| -pura  | 'interactive' |

-shna. Comparative. The comparative /-shna/ establishes comparison among items. It is glossed as 'like' or 'similar.' For example:

pishku.shna

'like a bird'

pishku-

'bird'

-shna

'comparative'

wawa.shna

'like a baby'

wawa-

'baby'

-shna

'comparative'

Comparison of non-animate forms may be expressed by placing kuynta after the root. For example:

rumi kuynta

'like a stone'

-w. Vocative. The vocative /-w/ is used only in exclamation or greeting. For example:

pani.gu.w

'hey little sister'

pani-

'sister (male term)'

-gu-

'diminutive'

-w

'vocative'



**-rayku.** Causal. The causal /-rayku/ indicates the cause of impetus of a given action and is glossed as 'due to/because of.' The use of this suffix also carries a slight negative connotation. The suffix has a very low frequency of occurrence and is used primarily in the central dialects. In the non-central dialects it is replaced by the ablative /-manta/. For example:

chay.rayku

'because of that'

chay- 'demonstrative'

-rayku 'causal'

punki.shka.rayku

'because of the swelling'

punki- 'to swell'

-shka 'completive nominalizer'

-rayku 'causal'

**-ntik.** Sequential Conjunctive. The sequential conjoiner /-ntik/ is often attached to the last element of a series and is glossed as 'and/with.' For example:

sisa mayu.ntik

'flowers and seeds'

sisa 'flower'

mayu- 'seed'

-ntik 'conjoiner'

sabadu duwinku.kuna.ntik

'Saturdays and Sundays'

|          |                          |
|----------|--------------------------|
| sabadu   | 'Saturday (<Sp. sabado)' |
| duwinku- | 'Sunday (<Sp. domingo)'  |
| -kuna-   | 'aggregate'              |
| -ntik    | 'conjoiner'              |

-wan. Instrumental. The instrumental /-wan/ indicates that the non-human item to which it is postposed functions as an instrument of an action and is glossed as 'with.' If the suffix is attached to a human root, it indicates accompaniment. For example:

kaspi.wan maka.rka.0

'they hit (it) with a stick'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| kaspi- | 'stick'         |
| -wan   | 'instrumental'  |
| maka-  | 'to strike/hit' |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'       |
| -0     | '3p non-future' |

pay.wan shuwa.rka.0

'they stole with them'

|        |                |
|--------|----------------|
| pay-   | '3p'           |
| -wan   | 'instrumental' |
| shuwa- | 'to rob/steal' |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'      |

-0

'3p non-future'

-laya. Perjorative Comparative. The perjorative comparative /-laya/ is questionable as a suffix at the present time. Since it only occurred once in the corpus, it is not yet known if it is indeed a suffix or two substantives (one borrowed from Spanish laya 'kind/sort') in juxtaposition. For example:

alku.laya

'like a dog (very insulting)'

alku-

'dog'

-laya

'perjorative comparative'

### Substantive Derivationalals

In addition to the relational suffixes above, there are seven derivational suffixes in the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. Four of these suffixes result in endocentric constructions, i.e., the nominal root to which it is attached becomes a verbal stem. The remaining three suffixes result in exocentric constructions, i.e., the nominal root to which it is attached becomes a verbal theme. Below are the four suffixes which result in nominal themes.

-ni-. Nearator. This suffix occurs immediately after the root and is the only suffix which must be followed by

further inflection or derivation. The nearator /-ni-/ may occur with the diminutive /-gu/, the aggregate /-kuaa/, or the locative /-pi/. For example:

wasi.ni.pi

'just by the house'

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| wasi- | 'dwelling' |
| -ni-  | 'nearator' |
| -pi   | 'locative' |

chay.ni.pi

'just right there'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| chay- | 'demonstrative' |
| -ni-  | 'nearator'      |
| -pi   | 'locative'      |

naja.ni.gu

'right in front'

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| naja- | 'front'      |
| -ni-  | 'nearator'   |
| -gu   | 'diminutive' |

jawa.ni.kuna.pi

'just up above (here)'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| jawa-  | 'up'        |
| -ni-   | 'nearator'  |
| -kuna- | 'aggregate' |
| -pi    | 'locative'  |

-gu. Diminutive. The diminutive /-gu/ is the first member of the second group of derivationals resulting in endocentric constructions. This suffix adds a diminutive aspect to the form to which it is postposed. For example:

wawki.gu

'little brother'

wawki- 'brother'

-gu 'diminutive'

rumi.gu.kuna

'a bunch of little rocks'

rumi- 'rock'

-gu- 'diminutive'

-kuna 'aggregate'

The diminutive suffix /-gu/ has two morphologically-conditioned allomorphs. Both allomorphs appear to be borrowings of allomorphs of the diminutive in Spanish. For example:

mam.ita

'dear mom (affectionate)'

mam- 'mother (<mama)'

-ita 'affectionate diminutive

(<Sp. -ita 'diminutive')

tayt.iku

'dear dad (affectionate)'

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| tayt- | 'father (<tayta)'                                     |
| -iku  | 'affectionate diminutive<br>(<Sp. -ico 'diminutive')' |

pani.iku

'dear sister (affectionate)'

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| pani- | 'sister (male term)'                                  |
| -iku  | 'affectionate diminutive<br>(<Sp. -ico 'diminutive')' |

These diminutive allomorphs only occur with the above roots.

-yuk. Possessed. The suffix /-yuk/ is the second member of the second order class. In the majority of the dialects the suffix indicates possession. In the Imbabura dialect it generally means that an individual has come into recent possession of the item to which the suffix is postposed. For example:

mutu.yuk

'new motorcycle owner'

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| mutu- | 'motorcycle (<Sp. moto)' |
| -yuk  | 'possessor'              |

wakra.yuk

'new cattle owner'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| wakra- | 'cattle'    |
| -yuk   | 'possessor' |

When an individual has been in possession of the item for a period of time, this is expressed by juxtaposition to the loan duyñu 'owner' from Spanish dueño. For example:

wasi duyñu  
 'owner of a house'  
 wasi                    'dwelling'  
 duyñu                   'owner'

-rku. Perjorative. The final member of the second order class is the perjorative /-rku/. This suffix may be an encliticized form of the root ruku 'old,' but has taken on a derogatory and perjorative meaning. It is generally only suffixed to human nouns. For example:

mama.rku  
 'that ol' lady'  
 mama-                    'mother'  
 -rku                      'perjorative'  
 turi.rku  
 'that ol' brother'  
 turi-                      'brother'  
 -rku                      'perjorative'

The derivational suffixes listed above occur after the substantive root and before the relationals, but, like the

relational suffixes, are optional in the sense that substantive roots may stand alone and may function as a complete Quichua utterance. Table 11 gives the relative order of the class-conserving derivationals and the relational suffixes.

TABLE 11

## Relative Order of Derivationals and Relationals

| Derivationals |      | Relationals |        |
|---------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 1             | 2    | 3           | 4      |
| -ni-          | -gu  | -kuna       | -ta    |
|               | -yuk |             | -man   |
|               | -rku |             | -manta |
|               |      |             | -pi    |
|               |      |             | -pak   |
|               |      |             | -kaman |
|               |      |             | -pura  |
|               |      |             | -shna  |
|               |      |             | -v     |
|               |      |             | -rayku |
|               |      |             | -ntik  |
|               |      |             | -wan   |
|               |      |             | -laya  |

In addition to the class-conserving derivationals, there are three derivationals which alter class membership forming verbal themes which then act as verbs and take all possible verbal inflection and derivation.

-ya-. Attribute Acquisition/Evolver. The suffix /-ya-/ indicates that one becomes like or acquires the attributes



of the substantive root to which it is attached. Functioning as a evolver, it may be glossed as 'becomes/turns into.' It is a bound suffix and must be followed by verbal suffixes. For example:

rumi.ya.shka.0

'they turned into stone'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| rumi-  | 'stone'         |
| -ya-   | 'evolver'       |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -0     | '3p non-future' |

jari.ʔa.ju.ni

'I'm getting better'

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| jari- | 'man'                |
| -ya-  | 'evolver'            |
| -ju-  | 'progressive action' |
| -ni   | '1p non-future'      |

-li-. Body Incorporative. The suffix /-li-/ indicates that the item to which it is attached is incorporated into or on the body. It is used primarily with items of clothing. The body incorporative has a very low frequency of occurrence. For example:

chuzpi.li.ju.n

'they are putting on belts'

|         |        |
|---------|--------|
| chumpi- | 'belt' |
|---------|--------|

|      |                      |
|------|----------------------|
| -li- | 'body incorporative' |
| -ju- | 'progressive action' |
| -n   | '3p non-future'      |

facha.li.ju.n

'they are putting on head wraps'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| facha- | 'head wrap'          |
| -li-   | 'body incorporative' |
| -ju-   | 'progressive action' |
| -n     | '3p non-future'      |

It is interesting to note that there exists a suffix which primarily verbalizes articles of clothing. This is supportive of the concept of textile primacy in the Andes; after humans and camelids, textiles were usually the next item counted on the kipus 'knotted cords.'

With certain body parts, the suffix /-li-/ indicates a particular style or manner in which clothing is worn. For example:

kunka.li.ju.n

'they are putting (the ponchos) up around their necks'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| kunka- | 'neck'               |
| -li-   | 'body incorporative' |
| -ju-   | 'progressive action' |
| -n     | '3p non-future'      |

-la-. Verbalizer. The suffix /-la-/ is quite unproductive. It occurs only with one item in the corpus. For example:

chanka.la.ju.n

'they are step/stretching'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| chanka- | 'upper thigh'        |
| -la-    | '?'                  |
| -ju-    | 'progressive action' |
| -n      | '3p non-future'      |

The above class-altering derivationals /-ya-/ 'attribute acquisitional,' /-li-/ 'body incorporative,' and the verbalizer /-la-/ all result in verb themes from nouns. The resulting bound forms must then be followed by verbal suffixation (see below).

#### Verbal Suffixation

The verbal suffixes of Ecuadorian Quichua are grouped into inflectionals and qualifiers. The majority of the inflectional suffixes end the Quichua verbal construction. The qualifying verbal suffixes are further subdivided into those that alter or qualify the verb root and those that derived both exocentric and endocentric constructions.

Members of the verbal suffix class occur postposed only to verbal and ambivalent roots, themes, or verbalized nouns. This suffix class is further subdivided into those which

must be followed by further inflection or derivation and those which end the verbal construction.

Verbal suffixes which must be followed by further suffixation are the verbal specifiers. Those suffixes which terminate Quichua verbal constructions include subordinators, person suffixes, the conditional, and the verbal aggregate.

There are fourteen inflectional suffixes in the corpus, which may close the verbal construction to further inflection and derivation. The fourteen suffixes which may end a verbal construction have three relative order classes after the verb root. The first order class consists of four subordinators and also includes the two non-closing past temporals. The second order class consists of future and non-future person inflections. The third order class contains a verbal aggregate (4) and conditional suffixes. The subordinators of the first order may not occur with any of the suffixes of the second or third order. The temporals of the first order must occur with non-future personal inflections of the second order. Furthermore, the suffixes of the third order may only occur with certain person inflections of the second order. Table 12 illustrates the relative order of these verbal inflectional suffixes as they occur following the verbal root. Since all verb roots are bound in Ecuadorean Quichua, they must occur with at least one of the suffixes or combinations of the suffixes in these

three order classes in order to be a complete construction. Once a verbal construction is closed to further inflection it may then function as a complete utterance.

TABLE 12

## Relative Order of (Closing) Verbal Inflections

| 1         | 2      | 3           |
|-----------|--------|-------------|
| TEMPORALS | PERSON | CONDITIONAL |
| -rka-     | -ni    | -man        |
| -shka-    | -y     |             |
|           | -n     |             |
| SUBORD.   | -nchik | AGGREGATE   |
| -kpi      | -nki   | -chik       |
| -shpa     | -shun  |             |
| -chun     | -nka   |             |
| -nkapak   | -sha   |             |

Subordinators

The subordinators of the first order class may close a construction and may not occur with constituents of the second or third order. Whether the subordination is done to mark simultaneous or consecutive action, or purpose all mark whether the actors of the subordinated verb are the same or different from the main verb the the phrase or sentence.

-kpi. Different Actor (DA) Subordinator. When the suffix /-kpi/ occurs postposed to a verb root or stem, it indicates that the subject of that verb is distinct from the subject of the verb in the principal clause. The suffix is primarily atemporal, picking up the time of the action relative to the action of the main verb in the principal clause. The suffix can, on occasion, be used to indicate consecutive action, that is, the action of the verb to which it is attached precedes the action of the principal verb (5). For example:

pay shamu.kpi, nuka ri.sha

'when 3p comes, I'll go.'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| pay    | '3p'              |
| shamu- | 'to come'         |
| -kpi   | 'DA subordinator' |
| nuka   | '1p'              |
| ri-    | 'to go'           |
| -sha   | '1p future'       |

ali awa.kpi ranti.nka.ma.ri

'if you weave well, they'll definitely buy (it)'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| ali    | 'good/well'       |
| awa-   | 'to weave'        |
| -kpi   | 'DA subordinator' |
| ranti- | 'to buy'          |
| -nka-  | '3p future'       |
| -ma-   | 'emphatic'        |

-ri                    '3p'

-shpa. Same Actor (SA) Subordinator. When the suffix /-shpa/ occurs postposed to a verb root or stem, it indicates that the subject of that (subordinate) verb root or stem is identical to the subject of the verb in the principal clause. Like the different actor subordinator /-kpi/, the same actor subordinator /-shpa/ is atemporal. A verbal construction with the /-shpa/ may indicate the simultaneity of the action of both verbs in the utterance. For example:

pay.ta saki.shpa sham.rka.ni.

'I came leaving them (at the house).'

|        |                     |
|--------|---------------------|
| pay-   | '3p'                |
| -ta    | 'accusative'        |
| saki-  | 'to leave (behind)' |
| -shpa  | 'SA subordinator'   |
| shamu- | 'to come'           |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'           |
| -ni    | '1p'                |

mancha.ri.shpa tigra.mu.pa.rka.ni.

'being very afraid I returned here.'

|         |                   |
|---------|-------------------|
| mancha- | 'to be afraid'    |
| -ri-    | 'reflexive'       |
| -shpa   | 'SA subordinator' |

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| tigra- | 'to return'   |
| -su-   | 'cislocative' |
| -pa-   | 'politive'    |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'     |
| -ni    | '1p'          |

uklla.ri.shpa ri.ju.n.

'they go around embracing'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| uklla- | 'to embrace'         |
| -ri-   | 'reflexive'          |
| -shpa  | 'SA subordinator'    |
| ri-    | 'to go'              |
| -ju-   | 'progressive action' |
| -n     | '3p non-future'      |

As illustrated above, the basic function of the DA subordinator /-kpi/ and the SA subordinator /-shpa/ is to indicate whether the subject of the verb roots or stems to which they are attached is distinct from or identical to the verb of the main clause. However with experiential verbs, these subordinating suffixes acquire another dimension. For example:

miku.naya.kpi.ka, miku.y.yari.

'if you are hungry (feel like eating food), then eat.'

|       |               |
|-------|---------------|
| miku- | 'food/to eat' |
|-------|---------------|



|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| -naya- | 'desiderative'    |
| -kpi-  | 'DA subordinator' |
| -ka    | 'topic/focus'     |
| niku-  | 'food/to eat'     |
| -y-    | 'imperative'      |
| -yari  | 'confidential'    |

puñu.naya.kpi.ka, puñu.y.yari.

'if you are sleepy (feel like sleeping), then go to sleep.'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| puñu-  | 'to sleep'        |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'    |
| -kpi-  | 'DA subordinator' |
| -ka    | 'topic/focus'     |
| puñu-  | 'to sleep'        |
| -y-    | 'imperative'      |
| -yari  | 'confidential'    |

In both of the above utterances one expects the SA subordinator /-shpa/ to occur (if the analysis were based on the gloss). However, the occurrence of the DA subordinator /-kpi/ with such experiential verbs indicates that the interior uncontrollable self is the actor of the subordinated verb. If one considers the interior uncontrollable self distinct from the exterior controllable self, then the actors of the two verbs in utterances of this

type are indeed distinct, and therefore require the use of the DA subordinator /-kpi/. With the example regarding eating, my informant said that it was lo que se sienta adentro 'that which sits on the inside' which wanted to eat. If one were walking down the street, saw food, and then decided to eat simply because the food was there, one would then say the following.

ñuka.ka miku.naya.chi.ni.

'I'm hungry/I cause myself to be hungry.'

|        |                |
|--------|----------------|
| ñuka-  | '1p'           |
| -ka    | 'topic/focus'  |
| miku-  | 'to eat/food'  |
| -naya- | 'desiderative' |
| -chi-  | 'causative'    |
| -ni    | '1p'           |

The addition of the causative /-chi-/ followed by the first person inflection /-ni/ is what indicates that the exterior controllable self is desiring food. This concept of body duality is treated further in Chapter 3 (6).

The following subordinators /-chun/ and /-nkapak/ also indicate whether the subject of the subordinated verb is identical to or distinct from the subject of the main verb, but in relation to the purpose of an action. Like the DA and SA subordinators, the purposive subordinators are atemporal.

-chun. Different Actor (DA) Purposive. When the suffix /-chun/ is postposed to a verb it indicates that the actor is distinct from the subject of the main verb. It further indicates that the action of the main verb is done so that the action of the verb form plus /-chun/ may be done. For example:

kikin miku.chun jatu.ju.ni.ma

'I sell so you can eat.'

|       |                      |
|-------|----------------------|
| kikin | '2p (curved)'        |
| miku- | 'food/to eat'        |
| -chun | 'DA purposive'       |
| jatu- | 'to sell'            |
| -ju-  | 'progressive action' |
| -ni-  | '1p'                 |
| -ma   | 'emphatic'           |

trabaja.chun pusha.rka.ni.

'I took (her) so (she) could work.'

|          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| trabaja- | 'to work (<Sp. trabajar)' |
| -chun    | 'DA purposive'            |
| pusha-   | 'to take (people)'        |
| -rka-    | 'PK past'                 |
| -ni      | '1p'                      |

mayurdumu nanta.wa.rka.0.mi lichi.ta kapi.chun.

'the boss did send me to milk the cows.'

|           |                         |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| mayurdumu | 'boss (<Sp. mayordomo)' |
| manta-    | 'to send/order'         |
| -wa-      | '1p object'             |
| -rka-     | 'PK past'               |
| -0-       | '3p non-future'         |
| -ni       | 'witness validational'  |
| lichi-    | 'milk (<Sp. leche)'     |
| -ta       | 'accusative'            |
| kapi-     | 'to milk'               |
| -chun     | 'DA purposive'          |

**-nkapak**. Same Actor (SA) Purposive. When the suffix /-nkapak/ is attached to a verb root or stem it indicates that the subjects of the subordinated and principal verbs are identical. It further indicates that the action of the principal verb is done so that the action of the subordinated verb may be done with the same subject as beneficiary (7). For example:

niku.nkapak trabaja.ni.

'I work in order to eat.'

|          |                           |
|----------|---------------------------|
| niku-    | 'to eat/food'             |
| -nkapak  | 'SA purposive'            |
| trabaja- | 'to work (<Sp. trabajar)' |
| -ni      | '1p non-future'           |

saru.chi.nkapak muna.wa.rka.0

'3p wanted me to be stepped on (by the horse).'

|         |                           |
|---------|---------------------------|
| saru-   | 'to step on (with horse)' |
| -chi-   | 'causative'               |
| -nkapak | 'SA purposive'            |
| mana-   | 'to want'                 |
| -wa-    | '1p object'               |
| -rka-   | 'PK past'                 |
| -o      | '3p non-future'           |

wacha.ta rura.ju.n tarpu.nkapak.

'3p is making holes in order to plant.'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| wacha-  | 'planting hole'      |
| -ta     | 'accusative'         |
| rura-   | 'to make/to do'      |
| -ju-    | 'progressive action' |
| -n      | '3p non-future'      |
| tarpu-  | 'to plant'           |
| -nkapak | 'SA purposive'       |

As illustrated in the preceding table, the subordinators and the past temporals constitute the first order class of suffixes occurring after the verbal root or stem. These past temporals are briefly described below.

Past Temporals

As stated earlier, the temporals cannot end a Quichua verbal construction; they are followed by non-future person inflections. Both temporals refer to action that was done in the past, and in many instances are reminiscent of data source in the Jaqi languages (Hardman, 1978a). For example:

kalpa.rka.nki

'you ran (and I saw you do it)'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| kalpa- | 'to run'        |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'       |
| -nki   | '2p non-future' |

kalpa.shka.nki

'you ran (but I didn't see you do it)'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| kalpa- | 'to run'        |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -nki   | '2p non-future' |

The data source postulate of the Jaqi languages is very powerful. Due to sustained contact of the various languages present in the Andes, it is quite probable that cross-linguistic borrowing of the main divisions of this postulate be an areal feature of Andean linguistics. Although some investigations have been done (LaPrade, 1981), this linguistic feature is in need of further study.

-rka-. The personal knowledge (PK) past /-rka-/ cannot close a verbal construction and must be followed by a non-future person inflection. For example:

chaya.mu.rka.nki

'you arrived here'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| chaya- | 'to arrive'   |
| -mu-   | 'cislocative' |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'     |
| -nki   | '2p'          |

uhu.naju.rka.0

'they coughed'

|        |                |
|--------|----------------|
| uhu-   | 'to cough'     |
| -naju- | 'distributive' |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'      |
| -0     | '3p'           |

-shka-. The suffix /-shka-/ has the same privilege of occurrence as does the suffix /-rka-/, but indicates non-personal knowledge (NPK). For example:

parla.shka.nki

'you talked (but I didn't see it)'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| parla- | 'to talk/speak' |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -nki   | '2p'            |

awa.naju.shka.0

|             |                |
|-------------|----------------|
| 'they wove' |                |
| awa-        | 'to weave'     |
| -naju-      | 'distributive' |
| -shka-      | 'NPK past'     |
| -o          | '3p'           |

Although these suffixes together indicate whether the speaker saw or did not see the action, the entire concept of personal knowledge appears to be a borrowing from the Jaqi languages (Hardman, 1978a). Furthermore, this concept is an areal feature of Andean languages, including Spanish. For example:

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| vinieron                          |  |
| 'they came (and I saw it)'        |  |
| han venido                        |  |
| 'they came (but I didn't see it)' |  |

### Person Inflection

The person inflectional suffixes, all of which may end the Quichua verbal construction, are members of the second order class. They are the imperative suffix(es) and person suffixes indicating future or non-future time.

**-y.** Imperative. Unlike other Andean languages, the imperative system of Ecuadorian Quichua is limited to second person. The addition of the suffix /-y/ to a verb root or



stem indicates a command to carry out the action of the verb. In the Imbabura dialect such a command form is also used to indicate the abruptness/straightness of one's speech. Such speech styles are used with extreme intimates, to correct a child's behavior, or with unnecessary unknown non-relatives. For example:

shamu.y.

'come here.'

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'    |
| -y     | 'imperative' |

taksha.y

'go wash clothes'

|         |                   |
|---------|-------------------|
| taksha- | 'to wash clothes' |
| -y      | 'imperative'      |

The entire imperative system is very interesting in the Imbabura dialect. As stated above (and in Chapter 3) there are two basic imperative sets, one for 'straight' speech and one for 'curved' speech. An imperative for curved speech is indicated by the use of the suffix /-nki/ '2p non-future.' For example:

shamu.nki.

'come here'

|        |           |
|--------|-----------|
| shamu- | 'to come' |
|--------|-----------|

-nki                    '(curved) imperative'

taksha.nki.

'go wash clothes'

taksha-                'to wash clothes'

-nki                    '(curved) imperative'

Although the above 'curved' commands are glossed identical to the preceding 'straight' imperatives, the curved forms are more polite. Each of these two major divisions may be further softened as commands by the addition of the polite /-pa-/ and/or the limitative /-lla/. The entire imperative paradigm is given below.

ri.y

'go'

ri.pa.y

'please go'

ri.y.lla

'just go'

ri.pa.y.lla

'please just go'

ri.nki.

'please go'

ri.pa.nki.

'oh please go'

ri.nki.lla

'just please go'

ri.pa.nki.lla.

'oh please just go'

The remaining suffixes of the second order class indicate the person and exhibit the distinction between future and non-future time.

-ni. First Person (1p) Non-Future. The addition of the suffix /-ni/ to a verb root or stem indicates a first person actor in non-future time. For example:

tapu.ni.

'I ask.'

tapu-

'to ask'

-ni

'1p non-future'

kumu.ri.ni

'I squat.'

kumu-

'to squat'

-ri-

'reflexive'

-ni                    '1p non-future'

The first person non-future /-ni/ has a morphologically-conditioned allomorph of /-y-/ when followed by the conditional /-man/. For example:

tapu.y.man  
'I would ask.'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| tapu- | 'to ask'        |
| -y-   | '1p non-future' |
| -man  | 'conditional'   |

kumu.ri.y.man.  
'I would squat.'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| kumu- | 'to squat'      |
| -ri-  | 'reflexive'     |
| -y-   | '1p non-future' |
| -man  | 'conditional'   |

Similar systems of allomorphic distribution occur in other languages and dialects of the Quechua family (see Cerron-Palomino, 1976; Parker, 1976; Cusihuaman, 1976).

-nki. Second Person (2p). The second person suffix /-nki/, as illustrated above, may be used to indicate a 'curved' imperative form. The suffix is further used to indicate both future and non-future person. Time

interpretation comes from the context of the utterance or may remain ambiguous. For example:

kani.nki.

'you (will) bite'

kani-            'to bite'

-nki            '2p'

mansa.nki.

'you (will) fix up the house.'

mansa-            'to fix the house/'

be domesticate'

-nki            '2p'

When the suffix /-nki/ occurs postposed to a verb root or stem it indicates a second person actor. For example:

lansa.nki.

'you vomit.'

lansa-            'to vomit (<Sp. lanzar)'

-nki            '2p non-future'

llaklla.nki.

'you lie.'

llaklla-            'to lie'

-nki            '2p non-future'

-n. Third Person (3p) Non-Future. The addition of the suffix /-n/ to a verb root or stem indicates a third person actor in non-future time. For example:

michi.n.

'they herd.'

michi- 'to herd/give pasture'

-n '3p non-future'

mashti.n

'they squeeze'

mashti- 'to squeeze'

-n '3p non-future'

The third person non-future inflection also has a morphologically conditioned zero allomorph when the suffix occurs with the past temporals. For example:

mashti.rka.0

'they did squeeze (and I saw it).'

mashti- 'to squeeze'

-rka- 'PK past'

-0 '3p non-future'

mashti.shka.0

'they did squeeze (but I did not see it).'

mashti- 'to squeeze'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -0     | '3p non-future' |

-nchik. Fourth Person (4p) Non-Future. When the suffix /-nchik/ is added to a verbal root or stem, it indicates a fourth person actor in non-future time. This fourth person may be glossed as 'we' as established by translation tradition, or it may be glossed as 'both of me' according to the body duality postulate. The utterance context may clarify the interpretation (8). For example:

chapa.nchik.

'we stare.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| chapa- | 'to stare'      |
| -nchik | '4p non-future' |

riksi.nchik.

'we know (them).'

|        |                    |
|--------|--------------------|
| riksi- | 'to know (people)' |
| -nchik | '4p non-future'    |

The following suffixes are specifically for the paradigm of future person inflection.

-sha. First Person (1p) Future. The addition of the suffix /-sha/ to a verbal root or stem indicates a first person actor at some future time. For example:

n̄awpa.sha

'I will guide.'

|         |                     |
|---------|---------------------|
| n̄awpa- | to guide/go before' |
| -sha    | '1p future'         |

picha.sha.

'I will sweep.'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| picha- | 'to sweep'  |
| -sha   | '1p future' |

-nka. Third Person (3p) Future. When the suffix /-nka/ is postposed to a verbal root or stem, it indicates a third person actor at some future time. For example:

pillu.nka.

'they will wrap.'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| pillu- | 'to wrap'   |
| -nka   | '3p future' |

p'akta.nka.

'they will finish.'

|         |             |
|---------|-------------|
| p'akta- | 'to finish' |
| -nka    | '3p future' |



-shun. Fourth Person (4p) Future. When the suffix /-shun/ is added to a verbal root or stem, it indicates a fourth person actor at some future time. For example:

kiwa.shun.

'we will weed.'

|       |             |
|-------|-------------|
| kiwa- | 'to weed'   |
| -shun | '4p future' |

kipi.shun.

'we will make a bundle.'

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| kipi- | 'to make a bundle' |
| -shun | '4p future'        |

This suffix may also be used to indicate an indirect command for two people. For example:

kirpa.shun

'let's close it off.'

|        |                |
|--------|----------------|
| kirpa- | 'to close off' |
| -shun  | '4p future'    |

kishpi.shun.

'let's free (them)'

|         |             |
|---------|-------------|
| kishpi- | 'to free'   |
| -shun   | '4p future' |

The 4p future /-shun/ also occurs with the verbal aggregate (see below).

### Conditional

This suffix constitutes the first member of the third order class occurring after the verb root or stem.

-man. Conditional. The conditional suffix may occur with the non-future person suffixes to indicate an unrealized action, but an action that would occur if some condition were met. As stated earlier, this suffix occurs with the /-y-/ allomorph of the first person non-future.

For example:

usha.shpa.ka, ri.y.man.

'if I were able, I would go.'

|        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| usha-  | 'to be able'             |
| -shpa- | 'obviative subordinator' |
| -ka    | 'topic/focus'            |
| ri-    | 'to go'                  |
| -y-    | '1p non-future'          |
| -man   | 'conditional'            |

A complete four person basic conditional paradigm is given below.

ri.y.man.

'I would go.'

ri.nki.man.  
'you would go.'

ri.n.man  
'3p would go'

ri.nchik.man  
'we would go'

### Verbal Aggregate

The verbal aggregate /-chik/ constitutes the second member of the third order class occurring after a Quichua verb root or stem.

-chik. Verbal Aggregate. The addition of the suffix /-chik/ to a verbal construction containing the second person /-nki/ or the fourth person future /-shun/ indicates more than one person is involved in the action. For example:

shamu.nki.chik.  
'you all come.'

|        |                     |
|--------|---------------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'           |
| -nki-  | '2p'                |
| -chik  | 'verbal aggregate.' |

tarpu.nki.chik  
'you all (will) plant.'

|        |                    |
|--------|--------------------|
| tarpu- | 'to plant'         |
| -nki-  | '2p'               |
| -chik  | 'verbal aggregate' |

When the suffix is added to the fourth person future /-shun/, it indicates more than one person is involved in the indirect command. For example:

ri.shun.chik.  
'let's all go.'

|        |                    |
|--------|--------------------|
| ri-    | 'to go'            |
| -shun- | '4p future'        |
| -chik  | 'verbal aggregate' |

bayla.shun.chik.  
'let's all dance.'

|        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| bayla- | 'to dance (<Sp. bailar)' |
| -shun- | '4p future'              |
| -chik  | 'verbal aggregate'       |

### Verbal Qualifiers

A verbal qualifier is any verbal suffix which may modify the action of a verbal root or stem with a specific characteristic, that is, they may build vocabulary and form verbal stems and themes. The verbal qualifiers include all those optionally occurring verbal suffixes of Ecuadorian

Quichua which must be followed by one or more of the verbal inflectional suffixes, except for those thematics which derive nouns from verbal or ambivalent roots or stem. The exocentric derivational thematics are a subclass of verbal qualifiers. There are two classes of derivationals: those which result in endocentric constructions (which must be followed by verbal inflection) and those which yield exocentric constructions.

All verbal qualifiers which must be followed by further verbal inflection share the following characteristics.

1. Verbal qualifiers occur after the verbal or ambivalent root and before the past temporals, subordinators, and person inflections.
2. The exocentric derivationals follow all other qualifiers.

The verbal qualifiers are also divided into those which are limited to one occurrence and those which may occur more than once per verbal construction. Verbal qualifiers which occur more than once are those which form verbal themes. Table 13 illustrates the verbal qualifying suffixes by type.

TABLE 13  
Verbal Qualifiers

| THEMATIC | QUALIFIERS | NOMINALIZERS |
|----------|------------|--------------|
| -ri-     | -pa-       | -na          |
| -ju-     | -mu-       | -nka         |
| -chi-    | -wa-       | -y           |
| -naju-   | -riya-     | -shka        |
|          | -gri-      | -k           |
|          | -naya-     | -nkichu      |
|          | -ijacha-   |              |
|          | -paya-     |              |

### Thematics

The thematic verbal suffixes of Ecuadorian Quichua are those which create endocentric verbal constructions from verbal roots or stems. These thematic suffixes may occur more than once in a verbal construction. They precede the optional politive /-pa-/.

-ri-. Reflexive. The addition of the suffix /-ri-/ indicates primarily a reflexive aspect of the verb. Translation tradition has established that the suffix /-ri-/ be interpreted in various ways. Nonetheless, according to the structure of Quichua most of these variously interpreted constructions are basically reflexive. For example:

ñawi urma.ri.rka.0

'they got embarrassed.'

ñawi

'eye/face'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| urma- | 'to fall'       |
| -ri-  | 'reflexive'     |
| -rka- | 'PK past'       |
| -0    | '3p non-future' |

shina yacha.ri.n.

'thus it is known.'

|        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| shina  | 'like this/in this fashion' |
| yacha- | 'to know'                   |
| -ri-   | 'reflexive'                 |
| -n     | '3p non-future'             |

Examples of two occurrences of this suffix in a verbal construction are given below.

asi.ri.ri.n

'they laughed over and over.'

|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| asi- | 'to smile'      |
| -ri- | 'reflexive'     |
| -ri- | 'reflexive'     |
| -n   | '3p non-future' |

pinka.ri.ri.ju.n.

'3p is blushing.'

|        |                  |
|--------|------------------|
| pinka- | 'to shame/shame' |
| -ri-   | 'reflexive'      |
| -ri-   | 'reflexive'      |

|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| -ju- | 'progressive'   |
| -n   | '3p non-future' |

-ju-. Progressive Action. The addition of the suffix /-ju-/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that the action of the verb is progressively done. For example:

yayku.ju.nki.

'(you) (are/will) enter(ing).'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| yayku- | 'to enter'    |
| -ju-   | 'progressive' |
| -nki   | '2p'          |

The following are examples of two occurrences of this suffix in a single verbal construction. For example:

yacha.ju.ju.n

'they are learning.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| yacha- | 'to know'       |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'   |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'   |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

bayla.ju.ju.n.

'they are dancing a lot.'

|        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| bayla- | 'to dance (<Sp. bailar)' |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'            |



|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| -ju- | 'progressive'   |
| -n   | '3p non-future' |

-chi-. Causative. The addition of the suffix /-chi-/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that someone causes the action of the verb to take place. For example:

yayku.chi.ni.

'I make someone enter.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| yayku- | 'to enter'      |
| -chi-  | 'causative'     |
| -ni    | '1p non-future' |

yaku.naya.chi.shka.ni.

'I made someone (interior uncontrollable self) feel like drinking water.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| yaku-  | 'water'         |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'  |
| -chi-  | 'causative'     |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -ni    | '1p non-future' |

Like the other thematics, the causative /-chi-/ may also occur more than once per verbal construction. For example:

michi.chi.ju.chi.nki.

'(you) (are/will) make(ing) someone else give  
pasture.'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| nichi- | 'to pasture'  |
| -chi-  | 'causative'   |
| -ju-   | 'progressive' |
| -chi-  | 'causative'   |
| -nki   | '21p'         |

wañu.chi.ri.naya.ju.chi.shpa.

'making someone else want to kill themselves.'

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| wañu-  | 'to die/not live well' |
| -chi-  | 'causative'            |
| -ri-   | 'reflexive'            |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'         |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'          |
| -chi-  | 'causative'            |
| -shpa  | 'SA subordinator'      |

-naju-. Distributive. The addition of the suffix  
/-naju-/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that the action  
of the verb is distributed among several actors. For  
example:

shanu.naju.n.

'they are coming.'

|        |           |
|--------|-----------|
| shanu- | 'to come' |
|--------|-----------|

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

wasi picha.naju.n.

'they are house-warming.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| wasi   | 'dwelling'      |
| picha- | 'to sweep'      |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

Examples of two occurrences of the suffix /-naju-/ per verbal construction are given below.

maka.naju.naju.n.

'they are all fighting.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| maka-  | 'to strike/hit' |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

awa.naju.naju.shka.0

'they had all weaved (in individual groups).'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| awa-   | 'to weave'      |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -0     | '3p non-future' |

The suffix /-naju-/ may occur before or after the incipient /-gri-/. For example:

awa.naju.gri.n.

'they go to be (individual) weavers.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| awa-   | 'to weave'      |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -gri-  | 'incipient'     |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

awa.gri.naju.n

'they go (individually) to be weavers.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| awa-   | 'to weave'      |
| -gri-  | 'incipient'     |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

### Qualifiers

-pa-. Politive. The suffix /-pa-/ functions to soften a statement and imply politeness. It is the only overt marking in the language of the politeness concept (see Chapter 3). This suffix occurs optionally before the inflectional suffixes and after the verb root or stem and any optionally intervening verbal qualifiers. For example:

yayku.mu.pa.nki.

'(you) (are/will) come in, please.'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| yayku- | 'to enter'    |
| -mu-   | 'cislocative' |
| -pa-   | 'politive'    |
| -nki   | '2p'          |

tuku.chi.gri.ju.pa.nki.

'(you) (are/will) go(ing) and finish.'

|       |               |
|-------|---------------|
| tuku- | 'to end'      |
| -chi- | 'causative'   |
| -gri- | 'incipient'   |
| -ju-  | 'progressive' |
| -pa-  | 'politive'    |
| -nki  | '2p'          |

-mu-. Cislocative. The addition of the suffix /-mu-/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that the action of the verb is done in the direction of the speaker. For example:

apa.mu.shun.

'we will bring.'

|       |               |
|-------|---------------|
| apa-  | 'to take'     |
| -mu-  | 'cislocative' |
| -shun | '4p future'   |

chapsi.mu.pa.y.

'bring it to me shaking it out'

|         |                    |
|---------|--------------------|
| chapsi- | 'to shake/agitate' |
| -mu-    | 'cislocative'      |
| -pa-    | 'politive'         |
| -y      | 'imperative'       |

giku.mu.naju.n.

'they are swinging (it) over their heads towards me.'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| giku-  | 'to swing over head' |
| -mu-   | 'cislocative'        |
| -naju- | 'distributive'       |
| -n     | '3p non-future'      |

-wa-. First/Fourth Person (1/4p) Objective. The suffix /-wa-/ indicates that either the first or the fourth person is the object of the action of the verb root or stem. For example:

kara.chi.wa.gri.pa.n.

'they are going to make someone give me something to eat.'

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| kara- | 'to give (sustenance)' |
| -chi- | 'causative'            |
| -wa-  | '1/4p objective'       |
| -gri- | 'incipient'            |
| -pa-  | 'politive'             |
| -n    | '3p non-future'        |

kazara.chi.wa.y.lla.

'just marry us.'

|         |                         |
|---------|-------------------------|
| kazara- | 'to marry (<Sp. casar)' |
| -chi-   | 'causative'             |
| -wa-    | '1/4p objective'        |
| -y-     | 'imperative'            |
| -lla    | 'limitative'            |

na ali ka.chi.wa.rka.0.

'it wasn't good for me.'

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| na    | 'negative'       |
| ali   | 'good'           |
| ka-   | 'to be'          |
| -chi- | 'causative'      |
| -wa-  | '1/4p objective' |
| -rka- | 'PK past'        |
| -0    | '3p non-future'  |

The first/fourth person objective /-wa-/ is the only remaining member of the person objective paradigm which occurs in the more conservative languages and dialects of the Quechua family (Parker, 1976) (Examples of the person objective paradigm are given in Appendix under Verbal Specifiers). Grammatical person as object is done by marking the person pronouns with the accusative /-ta/ and placing the form in front of the verbal construction. For example:

pay.ta rima.ni.

'I talk sternly to them.'

ñukanchik.ta kara.y.

'give us food.'

kikin.ta muna.ni.

'I want you.'

Although the suffix /-wa-/ remains of the objective paradigm, it is possible to express first/fourth person object with constructions such as those illustrated above. Even though it is possible to elicit a regularized paradigm using the personal pronouns plus the accusative /-ta/, the suffix /-wa-/ is still the preferred form.

-riya-. Habitual. The addition of the verbal qualifying suffix /-riya-/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that the action of the verb is habitually or customarily done. This suffix has a low frequency of occurrence. The suffix is primarily used in compound verbal constructions to indicate habitual or customary action in the past; it frequently occurs in the telling of life histories. For example

gana.na ka.riya.nchik.

'we used to be earners.'

gana-

'to earn/win (<Sp. ganar)'



|        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| -na    | 'indefinite future nom.' |
| ka-    | 'to be'                  |
| -riya- | 'habitual'               |
| -nchik | '4p non-future'          |

kati.riya.k kaballu.'

'a horse that customarily follows (one) around.'

|         |                        |
|---------|------------------------|
| kati-   | 'to follow'            |
| -riya-  | 'habitual'             |
| -k      | 'agentive'             |
| kaballu | 'horse (<Sp. caballo)' |

puklla.y.ta yuya.riya.na ka.riya.n.

'they used to be remembers of the game.'

|         |                          |
|---------|--------------------------|
| puklla- | 'to play'                |
| -y-     | 'potentive'              |
| -ta     | 'accusative'             |
| yuya-   | 'to remember'            |
| -riya-  | 'habitual'               |
| -na     | 'indefinite future nom.' |
| ka-     | 'to be'                  |
| -riya-  | 'habitual'               |
| -n      | '3p non-future'          |

-gri- Incipient Action. The addition of the verbal qualifier /-gri-/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that the action of the verb is incipient (9). For example:

chumpi.li.gri.ni.

'I'm going to put on my belt.'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| chumpi- | 'belt'               |
| -li-    | 'body incorporative' |
| -gri-   | 'incipient'          |
| -ni     | '1p non-future'      |

amsa.ya.gri.hu.n.

'it's beginning to get dark.'

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| amsa- | 'dark'           |
| -ya-  | 'transformative' |
| -gri- | 'incipient'      |
| -ju-  | 'progressive'    |
| -n    | '3p non-future'  |

-naya-. Desiderative. The suffix /-naya-/ may be added to any verbal or ambivalent root or stem, but must be followed only by the third person non-future /-n/ or the exocentric derivationals. For example:

miku.naya.n.

'I feel like eating.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| miku-  | 'to eat/food'   |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

atalpa.naya.n.

'I feel like eating chicken/"chickening".'

|         |                 |
|---------|-----------------|
| atalpa- | 'chicken'       |
| -naya-  | 'desiderative'  |
| -n      | '3p non-future' |

In order for a verbal construction with the suffix /-naya-/ to be inflected with the other person inflections, the causative /-chi-/ must intervene between the desiderative and the person inflection. Constructions of this type indicate that the outside controllable self is in charge of the action (see Chapter 3). For example:

miku.naya.chi.ni.

'I (make myself) feel like eating.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| miku-  | 'to eat'        |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'  |
| -chi-  | 'causative'     |
| -ni    | '1p non-future' |

puñu.naya.chi.ni.

'I (make myself) feel like sleeping.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| puñu-  | 'to sleep'      |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'  |
| -chi-  | 'causative'     |
| -ni    | '1p non-future' |

puklla.naya.y.ta.

'the desire to play games.'

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| puklla- | 'to play'      |
| -naya-  | 'desiderative' |
| -y-     | 'potentive'    |
| -ta     | 'accusative'   |

The use of the desiderative /-naya-/ plus the non-future third person inflection /-n/ to indicate that the interior uncontrollable self is the actor or of /-naya-/ plus the causative /-chi-/ plus person inflections to indicate that the exterior controllable self is the actor seems to be limited to experiential verbs.

-ijacha-. Qualifier. This suffix has a very low frequency in the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua and occurs with two verb roots in the corpus. The suffix /-ijacha-/ is used to indicate that the action of the verb is done without direction or aim. For example:

puri.ijacha.ni

'I go around hither and yon.'

|          |                 |
|----------|-----------------|
| puri-    | 'to walk/go'    |
| -ijacha- | 'qualifier'     |
| -ni      | '1p non-future' |

muyun.ijacha.na

'circling around and around.'

|          |                          |
|----------|--------------------------|
| nuyu-    | 'to circle/seed'         |
| -ijacha- | 'qualifier'              |
| -na      | 'indefinite future nom.' |

-paya-. Intensive. The suffix /-paya-/ like the qualifier /-ijacha-/ has a very low frequency of occurrence in the non-central dialects. It only occurs with three roots in the corpus. The addition of the suffix /-paya-/ indicates that the action of the verb is done intensively. For example:

saru.paya.wa.rka.0

'(the horse) stepped all over me.'

|        |                  |
|--------|------------------|
| saru-  | 'to step on'     |
| -paya- | 'intensive'      |
| -wa-   | '1/4p objective' |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'        |
| -0     | '3p non-future'  |

awa.shka.ta riku.paya.n.

'they are looking over the weaving.'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| awa-   | 'to weave'        |
| -shka- | 'completive nom.' |
| -ta    | 'accusative'      |
| riku-  | 'to see'          |
| -paya- | 'intensive'       |
| -n     | '3p non-future'   |

kikin.ta yacha.paya.naju.n.

'they are acting like you.'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| kikin- | '2p'            |
| -ta    | 'accusative'    |
| yacha- | 'to know'       |
| -paya- | 'intensive'     |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

### Nominalizers

The addition of a nominalizing suffix to a verbal root or stem derives a nominal stem from a verbal or ambivalent root. With the exception of the infrequent perjorative /-nkichu/, the nominalizing suffixes form nouns which carry temporal information. After the addition of these nominalizing derivationals, the construction functions as a substantive and may stand alone, or be followed by substantive suffixes.

-nkichu. Pejorative. The suffix /-nkichu/ has a very low frequency of occurrence in the non-central dialects. It occurs with only one verbal root in the corpus. The addition of this suffix indicates that the action is carried out to the disgust of others. For example:

puri.nkichu

'gad-about'

|         |               |
|---------|---------------|
| puri-   | 'to walk/go'  |
| -nkichu | 'perjorative' |

-k. Agentive. The addition of the suffix /-k/ to a verbal root or stem indicates that a performer of the action, i.e., one who carries out the action. For example:

awa.ju.k

'a weaver'

|      |               |
|------|---------------|
| awa- | 'to weave'    |
| -ju- | 'progressive' |
| -k   | 'agentive'    |

kawsa.ju.k.kuna

'those who live.'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| kawsa- | 'to live'     |
| -ju-   | 'progressive' |
| -k-    | 'agentive'    |
| -kuna  | 'aggregate'   |

The perjorative /-nkichu/ and the agentive /-k/ are the only nominalized constructions which may not be verbalized.

-na. Indefinite Future. The addition of the nominalizing suffix /-na/ indicates an item or happening which takes place sometime in the future. For example:

shuwa.na.kaman

'until the stealing'

|        |                     |
|--------|---------------------|
| shuwa- | 'to rob/steal'      |
| -na-   | 'indefinite future' |
| -kaman | 'allative'          |

rima.wa.na.kuna

'those who may scold me'

|       |                     |
|-------|---------------------|
| rima- | 'to talk sternly'   |
| -wa-  | '1/4p objective'    |
| -na-  | 'indefinite future' |
| -kuna | 'aggregate'         |

-nka. Definite Future. The addition of the suffix /-nka/ to a verbal root or stem derives a substantive that will definitely occur in the future. It is used to refer to items which everyone knows will exist. For example:

shuwa.nka.kaman

'until their definite stealing'

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| shuwa- | 'to rob/steal'         |
| -nka-  | 'definite future nom.' |
| -kaman | 'allative'             |

kusi.ju.wa.nka.kuna

'those who are definitely going to love me.'

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| kusi- | 'care/love'      |
| -ju-  | 'progressive'    |
| -wa-  | '1/4p objective' |



|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| -nka- | 'definite future nom.' |
| -kuna | 'aggregate'            |

The contrast between these two nominalizing verbal derivationals is illustrated below.

wañu.na.kaman

'until their dying (but they do not look like they will soon do so)'

wañu.nka.kaman

'until their definite dying (as it may be any moment)'

-y. Potentive. The addition of the suffix /-y/ to a verbal root or stem indicates an item which may potentially exist. For example:

mayjan misha.y chaya.shun

'which one of us will arrive the winner.'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| mayjan | 'which'     |
| misha- | 'to win'    |
| -y     | 'potentive' |
| chaya- | 'to arrive' |
| -shun  | '4p future' |

minka.y.manta

'about the minga'

|        |                                       |
|--------|---------------------------------------|
| minka- | 'to work in a group/<br>a work party' |
| -y-    | 'potentive'                           |
| -manta | 'ablative'                            |

-shka. Completive. The addition of the suffix /-shka/ to a verbal or ambivalent root or stem indicates an item which is already done. For example:

shamu.shka.manta  
'about those who came'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'         |
| -shka- | 'completive nom.' |
| -manta | 'ablative'        |

muna.shka.pak  
'for the wanted one'

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| muna-  | 'to want'         |
| -shka- | 'completive nom.' |
| -pak   | 'genitive'        |

The contrasts between the frequently occurring nominalizers are illustrated below.

kikin.pak awa.shka.manta  
'about your already done weavings'

kikin.pak awa.y.kuna.manta

'about your weavings you might do.'

kikin.pak awa.na.manta

'about your weavings you will sometime do'

kikin.pak awa.nka.manta

'about your weavings you will definitely do  
{because you have an order for them already}'

kikin.pak awa.k.manta

'about your weaver'

#### Derivational Processes

As illustrated under substantive and verbal suffixation, there are nine suffixes which yield exocentric constructions. There are three substantive suffixes including the evolver /-ya-/, the body incorporative /-li-/, and the infrequent verbalizer /-la-/. After a noun has been verbalized by the occurrence of one of these suffixes, the construction may be further nominalized. The six verbal suffixes which derive nouns from verbs include the infrequent perjorative /-nkichu/, the agentive /-k/, the indefinite future /-na/, the definite future /-nka/, the potentive /-y/, and the completive /-shka/. Examples of such dual derivation are given below.

rui.ya.ju.shka

'something that is in a state of having turned  
into stone'

|       |               |
|-------|---------------|
| rumi- | 'stone'       |
| -ya-  | 'evolver'     |
| -ju-  | 'progressive' |
| -shka | 'completive'  |

amsa.ya.shka.manta

'about it's being in a state of having gotten  
dark'

|        |                |
|--------|----------------|
| amsa-  | 'dark/obscure' |
| -ya-   | 'evolver'      |
| -shka- | 'completive'   |
| -manta | 'ablative'     |

chumpi.li.y.manta

'about their possible being in a state of putting  
on their belts'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| chumpi- | 'belt'               |
| -li-    | 'body incorporative' |
| -y-     | 'potentive'          |
| -manta  | 'ablative'           |

chanka.la.shka.pak

'for their being in a state of having stepped  
over'

|         |                   |
|---------|-------------------|
| chanka- | 'thigh/upper leg' |
|---------|-------------------|

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| -la-   | 'verbalizer' |
| -shak- | 'completive' |
| -pak   | 'genitive'   |

Once a verbal or ambivalent root or a verbalized substantive is followed by a nominalizing verbal suffix, the resulting construction cannot be further verbalized. The processes of derivation are quite different from the Jaqi languages, where as many as seven derivationals may be suffixed to a root.

#### Compound Suffixation

Although the majority of Quichua grammatical words consist of three or less suffixes, it is possible that a given root occur with as many as seven following morphemes. For example:

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| rumi.lla               | 'just a stone/well-packed suitcase/hard swelling' |
| rumi.lla.lla           | 'somewhat rocky/hard'                             |
| rumi.lla.lla.gu        | 'just a little hard'                              |
| rumi.lla.lla.gu.lla    | 'while it is just a little hard, and no longer'   |
| rumi.lla.lla.gu.lla.pi |   |

'on the place where it is just a little hard'

rumi.lla.lla.gu.lla.pi.lla.tak

'right on the tip itself of the part that is just  
a little hard'

This same sequence of suffixation may occur on other roots  
with similar alterations in meaning. For example:

tuta.lla.lla.gu.lla.pi.lla.tak

'just between when it's late night and early dawn'

yura

'tree'

yura.kuna

'trees'

yura.kuna.pura

'among the trees'

yura.kuna.pura.lla.pi

'just among the trees'

yura.kuna.pura.lla.pi.lla.tak

'just among the trees themselves'

Examples of complex suffixation on verbal roots include  
the following.

parla.wa.naju.nki.chik.mi

'they do want to individually speak with me'

While it is possible to compound the suffixation in Ecuadorian Quichua, the resulting constructions function as a single grammatical word. The substantive and verbal constructions containing compound suffixation may then be followed by independent suffixes.

### Independent Suffixation

The independent suffixes of Ecuadorian Quichua are those which optionally occur after substantive and verbal morphological words. They may occur on substantive and ambivalent roots and substantive, ambivalent, and verbal constructions with compound suffixation.

There are fourteen independent suffixes in Ecuadorian Quichua and they may co-occur in several combinations. For the most part, the independent suffixes do not adhere to strict order classes. Some independent suffixes, such as those which terminate a morphological word to further suffixation, occur in specific order, but other suffixes may vary in their position of occurrence. Table 14 give the general order of occurrence of the independent suffixes. While it is possible to have compounding of independent suffixes, such constructions are not frequent. Generally, only two, or sometimes three independent suffixes are all that occur in conversational Quichua constructions.

TABLE 14

## General Order of Independent Suffixes

|        |        |        |       |      |  |      |
|--------|--------|--------|-------|------|--|------|
|        |        | -mari  |       |      |  | -mi  |
|        |        | -chari |       |      |  | -shi |
| -pacha |        | -yari  | -pash |      |  | -tak |
| -rak   | -karin | -na    |       | -lla |  | -chu |
|        |        |        |       |      |  | -ka  |

Independents Open to Further Suffixation

-pacha. Intensive Emphatic. The occurrence of the suffix /-pacha/ on a Quichua construction indicates that the construction is certain and definite. For example:

shina.pacha.mi

'it certainly is so'

shina- 'like so/in this manner'

-pacha- 'intensive emphatic'

-mi 'witness'

jari.pacha.mi

'you'd better believe it's a man'

jari- 'man'

-pacha- 'intensive emphatic'

-mi 'witness'

shamu.ju.n.pacha

'they are certainly coming'



|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'            |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'        |
| -n-    | '3p non-future'      |
| -pacha | 'intensive emphatic' |

tarpu.ju.nki.pacha

'you certainly will plant'

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| tarpu- | 'to plant'           |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'        |
| -nki-  | '2p'                 |
| -pacha | 'intensive emphatic' |

-rak- Continuative. The independent suffix /-rak/ indicates the continuity of a construction. For example:

kay.pi.rak

'still here'

|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| kay- | 'demonstrative' |
| -pi- | 'locative'      |
| -rak | 'continuative'  |

nuka jari.rak kay.pi ka.shpa

'my husband being here first'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| nuka  | '1p'            |
| jari- | 'man/husband'   |
| -rak  | 'continuative'  |
| kay-  | 'demonstrative' |

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| -pi   | 'locative'        |
| ka-   | 'to be'           |
| -shpa | 'SĀ subordinator' |

na.rak  
'not yet'

|      |                |
|------|----------------|
| na-  | 'negative'     |
| -rak | 'continuative' |

shina.rak.mi  
'it is this thing that we will first do'

|        |                           |
|--------|---------------------------|
| shina- | 'like so/in this fashion' |
| -rak-  | 'continuative'            |
| -mi    | 'witness'                 |

**-karin.** Reversive. The occurrence of the suffix /-karin/ on a Quichua construction indicates that something is different from what it was before. It frequently occurs on discourse elements like kunan.karin and is translated into Spanish as ahora vuelta 'now returned.' When describing the suffix, one informant said that tigrashpa uyachin 'it makes the hearing come back/coming back it is heard.' For example:

kuchi wawa.kuna.karin miku.ju.n.shi

'might you piglets be eating now (since they weren't before)'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| kuchi  | 'pig'           |
| wawa-  | 'baby'          |
| -kuna- | 'aggregate'     |
| -karin | 'reversive'     |
| siku-  | 'to eat'        |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'   |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |
| -shi   | 'reportative'   |

nuka.karin ri.pa.sha.lla.mi

'I really am interested in going (since I wasn't before)'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| nuka-  | '1p'        |
| -karin | 'reversive' |
| ri-    | 'to go'     |
| -pa-   | 'politive'  |
| -sha-  | '1p future' |
| -lla-  | 'limitive'  |
| -mi    | 'witness'   |

kunan.karin ali.pacha jatu.ni

'now I'm selling much better than before'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| kunan- | 'now'       |
| -karin | 'reversive' |
| ali-   | 'good'      |

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| -pacha | 'intensive emphatic' |
| jatu-  | 'to sell'            |
| -ni    | '1p non-future'      |

-mari. Emphatic Witness. The occurrence of the suffix /-mari/ or its variant /-ma/ in Ecuadorian Quichua indicates that the speaker actually did witness the phenomenon in question. For example:

awa.ju.n.mari  
'they really are weaving'

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| awa-  | 'to weave'         |
| -ju-  | 'progressive'      |
| -n-   | '3p non-future'    |
| -mari | 'emphatic witness' |

kay.pi.mari  
'it really is here'

|       |                    |
|-------|--------------------|
| kay-  | 'demonstrative'    |
| -pi-  | 'locative'         |
| -mari | 'emphatic witness' |

-chari. Dubitative. The occurrence of the independent suffix /-chari/ and its variant /-cha/ indicates doubt about the construction to which it is attached. For example:

ima.chá

'what might it be'

|      |              |
|------|--------------|
| isa- | 'what'       |
| -chá | 'dubitative' |

shamu.ju.n.pacha.chari

'might they truly be coming'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| shamu-  | 'to come'            |
| -ju-    | 'progressive'        |
| -n-     | '3p non-future'      |
| -pacha- | 'intensive emphatic' |
| -chari  | 'dubitative'         |

jari.rak.chá, maka.naju.n.rak.chá

'might they still be brave'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| jari-  | 'man/husband'   |
| -rak-  | 'continuative'  |
| -chá   | 'dubitative'    |
| maka-  | 'to strike/hit' |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n-    | '3p non-future' |
| -rak-  | 'continuative'  |
| -chá   | 'dubitative'    |

-yari. Confidential. The occurrence of the independent suffix /-yari/ or its variant /-yá/ indicates that the

particular phenomenon is to be perceived or carried out with assurance and confidence. For example:

ni.y.yari

'go ahead and say it'

|       |                |
|-------|----------------|
| ni-   | 'to say'       |
| -y-   | 'imperative'   |
| -yari | 'confidential' |

shamu.y.yari

'don't hesitate to come right on'

|        |                |
|--------|----------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'      |
| -y-    | 'imperative'   |
| -yari  | 'confidential' |

kalla.ri.shun.chik.pacha.chari.yá

'might we really be beginning the job?'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| kalla-  | 'to begin'           |
| -ri-    | 'reflexive'          |
| -shun-  | '4p future'          |
| -chik-  | 'verbal aggregate'   |
| -pacha- | 'intensive emphatic' |
| -chari- | 'dubitative'         |
| -yá     | 'confidential'       |

-ná. Surprisal. The occurrence of the independent suffix /-na/ on a Quichua construction indicates complete surprisal and incredulity. For example:

wagra.ná

'a cow (and what is it doing here?)'

wagra- 'cow'

-ná 'surprisal'

inku.ju.n.ná

'are you going to cry again (this is unbelievable)'

binku- 'to pucker'

-ju- 'progressive'

-n- '3p non-future'

-ná 'surprisal'

-pash. Additive. The occurrence of the suffix /-pash/ indicates that some thing or action takes place in addition to some other thing or action. The suffix is usually translated as 'too' or 'also.' For example:

pani.kuna.pash

'the sisters as well'

pani- 'sister (male term)'

-kuna- 'aggregate'

-pash 'additive'

nukanchik jari.kuna.rak.pash  
 'our husbands really did wing?'

|           |                |
|-----------|----------------|
| nukanchik | '4p'           |
| jari-     | 'man/husband'  |
| -kuna-    | 'aggregate'    |
| -rak-     | 'continuative' |
| -pash     | 'additive'     |

-lla. Limitative. The suffix /-lla/ is the most variable of the independent suffixes in terms of its distribution. Not only is it distributed as are the remaining independents, but it also occurs preceding certain substantive suffixes. For example:

chay.lla.pi  
 'just right there'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| chay- | 'demonstrative' |
| -lla- | 'limitative'    |
| -pi   | 'locative'      |

chay.pi.lla  
 'just there'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| chay- | 'demonstrative' |
| -pi-  | 'locative'      |
| -lla  | 'limitative'    |

risturan*ti*.pi niku.shpa.lla.mi shamusha



'I come only as far as eating in the restaurant'

|             |                                     |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| risturanti- | 'restaurante<br>(<SP. restaurante)' |
| -pi         | 'locative'                          |
| miku-       | 'to eat'                            |
| -shpa-      | 'SA subordinator'                   |
| -lla-       | 'limitative'                        |
| -ni         | 'witness'                           |
| shamu-      | 'to come'                           |
| -sha        | '1p future'                         |

The limitative suffix /-lla/ may also occur several times per construction. For example:

jari.lla.lla.lla ka.pa.ni

'I'm getting better, but not much better'

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| jari- | 'man'           |
| -lla- | 'limitative'    |
| -lla- | 'limitative'    |
| -lla  | 'limitative'    |
| ka-   | 'to be'         |
| -pa-  | 'politive'      |
| -ni   | '1p non-future' |

ali ka.k.lla.pi.lla.tak

'while they are still well (give them the medicine)'

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| ali   | 'good'       |
| ka-   | 'to be'      |
| -k-   | 'agentive'   |
| -lla- | 'limitative' |
| -pi-  | 'locative'   |

rumi.lla.lla.gu.lla.pi.lla.tak

'rocky land/on the very tip of a hard swollen place/the penis after intercourse but before completely flacid'

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| rumi- | 'stone'                  |
| -lla- | 'limitative'             |
| -lla- | 'limitative'             |
| -gu-  | 'diminutive'             |
| -lla- | 'limitative'             |
| -pi-  | 'locative'               |
| -lla- | 'limitative'             |
| -tak  | 'emphatic/interrogative' |

Although the independent suffix /-lla/ may occur several times per construction, it generally occurs in the following combinations (illustrated above) in compound suffixation. These combinations are -llalla, -llapi, and -llatak. These combinations are usually translated as 'somewhat,' 'very close to,' and 'the same/self,' respectively. For example:

rumi.llalla

'somewhat stony'

rumi.llapi

'very close to the stone'

rumi.llatak

'the stone itself'

Although such combinations may be easily separated at the morpheme boundaries, at the conversational and discourse levels these combinations function as a single morphological unit.

Another interesting feature of the limitative suffix /-lla/ is that it is another Quichua element which has influenced the Spanish of Ecuador. Frequently in the rural areas one hears no más attached to a large portion of Spanish constructions. For example:

sigá, no más

'follow on, nothing more'

y él no más

'and him and no one else'

Both of the above constructions occur in Quichua with the limitative suffix /-lla/ attached. For example:

kati.pa.y.lla

'please follow on, nothing more'

pay.lla

'3p, and no one else'

The adoption into Spanish of this Quichua element via loan translation is one of many examples of the substrate influence of Quichua on Ecuadorian Spanish. The aspect of limitation occurs in many indigenous languages in the Andean region as well as in many varieties of Andean Spanish. Due to sustained contact of the indigenous languages and Spanish, the aspect of limitation may be considered an areal feature of Andean linguistics.

#### Terminating Independents

The following five independent suffixes may all terminate a Quichua grammatical construction. In the corpus, there is no further suffixation after the occurrence of any of these five suffixes. Two of these suffixes indicate whether one was a witness to an event or not, two indicate questions, and one indicates the topic or focus of the conversation or discourse.

-mi-. Witness. The occurrence of the witness suffix /-mi/ primarily indicates that the speaker was or is a witness to a phenomenon or event. For example:

binku.naju.n.mi

'they are (individually) crying'

binku-

'to pucker'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n-    | '3p non-future' |
| -mi    | 'witness'       |

warmi.kuna.mi

'it is the women'

|        |             |
|--------|-------------|
| warmi- | 'woman'     |
| -kuna- | 'aggregate' |
| -mi    | 'witness'   |

kalla.ri.shun.chik.pacha.mi

'yes we will definitely begin the job'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| kalla-  | 'to begin'           |
| -ri-    | 'reflexive'          |
| -shun-  | '4p future'          |
| -chik-  | 'verbal aggregate'   |
| -pacha- | 'intensive emphatic' |
| -mi     | 'witness'            |

The witness suffix /-mi/ is also used to mark answers to questions which are indicated by the use of the interrogative suffixes /-tak/ and /-chu/ (see below). For example:

ima.tak kay.ka?

'what is this?'

chapa.na.mi.

'it is a field dwelling for guarding the crops.'

kikin.pak.chu?

'is it yours?'

ari, ūka.pak.mi

'yes it is mine'

In equational constructions using the verb root /ka-/ 'to be' as a copula, the witness suffix /-mi/ is usually attached to the element preceding the /ka-/. For example:

ruku.mi ka.ni

'I am old'

mitsa.mi ka.nki

'you are stingy'

When such constructions pertain to the third person, the verb /ka-/ is usually deleted from the construction. For example:

mitsa ruku.kuna.mi

'they are stingy old folks'

The irregularity of the copula paradigm in addition to pressure for the occurrence of a surface verb in Quichua constructions has resulted in class switching in the central dialects. The independent suffix /-mi/ has become a verb root /mi-/ in some of the central dialects. The example

provided below is the Salasaca (Tsl.) equivalent of ali.mi in the Imbabura (Imb.) dialect.

alli.lladi mi.shka  
'it'is fine/okey.'

-shi. Reportative. The addition of the independent suffix /-shi/ to a construction indicates that the information contained in the construction is second-hand, reported, or acquired through language. For example:

kan.pak tayta.shi  
'might that be your father (somebody said he was,  
but I'm seeking verification from you'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| kan-   | '2p'          |
| -pak   | 'genitive'    |
| tayta- | 'father'      |
| -shi   | 'reportative' |

miku.ju.n.pacha.shi  
'they are really eating (but I haven't seen it,  
only heard about it)'

|         |                      |
|---------|----------------------|
| miku-   | 'to eat'             |
| -ju-    | 'progressive'        |
| -n-     | '3p non-future'      |
| -pacha- | 'intensive emphatic' |
| -shi    | 'reportative'        |

-tak. Information Interrogative. The addition of the suffix /-tak/ to a Quichua construction indicates primarily that one desires further information regarding the item to which it is attached. For example:

ima.tak?

'what?'

ima-

'what'

-tak

'information interrogative'

pi.tak ra.rka.0?

'who made it?'

pi-

'who'

-tak

'information interrogative'

ra-

'to make/do'

-rka-

'PK past'

-0

'3p non-future'

The information interrogative may also be used to emphasize a particular element or construction. For example:

ñuka jari.rak.pash kan.pak jari.tak yali trabaja.n

'my husband works more than your husband'

ñuka

'1p'

jari-

'man/husband'

-rak-

'continuative'

-pash

'additive'



|          |   |
|----------|---|
| kan-     | '2p'                                    |
| -pak     | 'genitive'                              |
| jari-    | 'maa/husband'                           |
| -tak     | 'information interrogative<br>emphatic' |
| yali     | 'to surpass'                            |
| trabaja- | 'to work (<Sp. trabajar)'               |
| -n       | '3p non-future'                         |

The independent suffix /-tak/ also occurs in combination with certain other independents and the resulting construction functions as a single unit. These combinations include the /-lla+-tak/ 'same/self' discussed above and the combination /-tak+-chari+-yari/ 'it is hoped that/indeed without a doubt' illustrated below.

awa.ju.n.tak.chari.yari

'I certainly hope they are weaving'

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| awa-    | 'to weave'                               |
| -ju-    | 'progressive'                            |
| -n-     | '3p non-future'                          |
| -tak-   | 'interrogative information/<br>emphatic' |
| -chari- | 'dubitative'                             |
| -yari   | 'confidential'                           |

miku.nkapak shamu.ju.n.tak.chari.ya

'I certainly hope that they are coming to eat  
(because I'm putting out enough for them while I  
am cooking)'

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| miku-   | 'to eat'                                 |
| -nkapak | 'SA purposive'                           |
| -shamu- | 'to come'                                |
| -ju-    | 'progressive'                            |
| -n-     | '3p non-future'                          |
| -tak-   | 'information interrogative/<br>emphatic' |
| -chari- | 'dubitative'                             |
| -ya     | 'confidential'                           |

-chu. Yes/No Interrogative. The addition of the independent suffix /-chu/ to a Quichua construction indicates a question that is seeking affirmation or negation. For example:

chaspi.ju.n.chu

'are they shaking it out?'

|         |                             |
|---------|-----------------------------|
| chaspi- | 'to shake out/agitate'      |
| -ju-    | 'progressive'               |
| -n-     | '3p non-future'             |
| -chu    | 'affirmation interrogative' |

yacha.k.chu

'is that a wise person?'

|        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| yacha- | 'to know'                   |
| -k-    | 'agentive'                  |
| -chu   | 'affirmation interrogative' |

The independent suffix /-chu/ may also occur with a negative particle to form a tag question. For example:

chaya.ju.n, na.chu?  
 'they are arriving, aren't they?'

|        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| chaya- | 'to arrive'                 |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'               |
| -n-    | '3p non-future'             |
| na-    | 'negative'                  |
| -chu   | 'affirmation interrogative' |

The negative (na)na plus the independent suffix /-chu/ may occur as a discontinuous morpheme marking negative. For example:

na pay.chu awa.naju.n  
 'it's not them that's weaving'

pay na awa.naju.n.chu  
 'they are not weaving'

pay awa.naju.n, na.chu?  
 'they are weaving, aren't they?'

-ka. Topic/Focus. The independent suffix /-ka/ is one of the most frequently occurring suffixes in Ecuadorian Quichua. It carries a very heavy functional load and usually indicates the topic or focus of a conversation. For example:

kan.ká?

'and you?'

kan-

'2p'

-ká

'topic/focus'

maki.ta paska.shpa.ka mana chaya.nki.chu

'don't come here with your hands opened up (said to someone who is suspected of being a thief)'

maki-

'hand'

-ta

'accusative'

paska-

'to open'

-shpa-

'SA subordinator'

-ka

'topic/focus'

mana

'negative'

chaya-

'to arrive'

-nki-

'2p'

-chu

'negative'

In a very interesting discussion, Levinsohn (1976) indicates that the independent suffix /-ka/ plays an

extremely important role in Quichua conversation and discourse. Depending on the element to which it is attached, the suffix indicates whether the conversation is advancing to a new topic, regressing to to a previous topic, or introducing subtopic within the main topic. To fulfill this function the suffix /-ka/ is usually added to spatial or temporal elements. For example:

kunan.ka

'and now'

kunan-

'now'

-ka

'topic/focus'

chay.ka

'and then'

chay-

'demonstrative'

-ka

'topic/focus'

chay.pak jipa.ka

'and then after that'

chay-

'demonstrative'

-pak

'genitive'

jipa-

'after/behind'

-ka

'topic/focus'

chay.ka shina kara.shka.kpi.ka gulpi-gulpi.lla.tak  
yali.rka.0

'and then after it had been given in this fashion,  
every single thing itself passed by'

|              |                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| chay-        | 'demonstrative'             |
| -ka          | 'topic/focus'               |
| shina        | 'like this/in this fashion' |
| kara-        | 'to give (sustenance)'      |
| -shka-       | 'NPK past'                  |
| -kpi-        | 'DA subordinator'           |
| -ka          | 'topic/focus'               |
| gulpi-gulpi- | 'everything'                |
| -llatak      | 'same/self'                 |
| yali-        | 'to surpass'                |
| -rka-        | 'PK past'                   |
| -0           | '3p non-future'             |

As described in the above explanations, the independent suffixes may occur in various combinations or singly. Below a list is provided with a single occurrence of each independent suffix on the same substantive root.

runa.pacha

'it is certainly a person'

runa.rak

'the person first'

runa.karin

'the person different from before/as distinct from something else'

runa.mari

'it is definitely a person'

runa.chari

'it is possibly a person'

runa.yari

'it's a person and don't worry about it'

runa.ná

'a person (what are they doing here)?'

runa.pash

'a person as well'

runa.lla

'just a person'

runa.mi

'it is a person (as I have so seen with my own eyes).

runa.shi

'I've heard that it is a person'

runa.tak

'a person?'

runa.chu

'is it a person?'

runa.ka

'(and now let's talk about) a person'

### Summary

The morphology of the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua is not as extensive as that of other (more conservative) Quechua languages and dialects. The morphology of the entire Quechua family is, in turn, not as complex or extensive as that of the Jaqi family (compare morphophonemics, for example). Nonetheless, the occurrence of the individual suffixes and combinations of these suffixes on Quichua roots, themes, and stems allow for great complexity and subtle nuances in Quichua discourse.

The morphology of Ecuadorian Quichua is divided into roots and suffixes. The root class is subdivided into substantives, verbals, ambivalents, and particles. The suffix class includes substantives, verbals, and independents. The thematic and derivational substantive and verbal suffixes play an important role in creating themes, stems and lexicon. Most suffixes have a fixed privilege of occurrence but some vary considerably in their distribution.

All the morpheme classes discussed above function to create the morphological word. These 'words' are the components of the syntactic level and undergo syntactic



modifications and processes to create phrases, clauses, and utterances. Such modifications and processes are described in Chapter 6.

#### NOTES

1. It is possible that the original numerical systems were not ten-base systems. Such ten-base systems could be adopted features into the major Andean language families. Both Quichua and Jaji speakers regularly confuse 'seven' and 'eight,' in Quichua, Jaqaru, Aymara, and Spanish. (M.J. Hardman, Personal Communication.)
2. In this investigation, the use of the word 'border' indicates the political boundaries that exist between Ecuador and Peru in the Sierra highlands and the coastal lowlands. The word 'frontier' is used to indicate the contested political boundary which exists in the Oriente eastern lowlands.
3. Only one prefix-like element has been found in the corpus. The element occurs only in Oriente Quichua and is restricted to two kin terms. For example:
 

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| mama   | 'mother'        |
| lamama | 'mother-in-law' |
| yaya   | 'father'        |
| layaya | 'father-in-law' |
4. Translation tradition has established that the suffix /-kuna/ generally be glossed as 'plural.' However plurality in the Indo-European sense is not a feature of Ecuadorian Quichua.
5. It is quite possible that the different actor subordinator /-kpi/ is composed of the agentive /-k/ plus the locative /-pi/. In a diachronic description such separation may be possible and necessary, but synchronically the suffix /-kpi/ functions as a single unit.
6. The body duality system and concept was very opaque and elusive during initial field work. It only began to clarify after a year and a half.
7. As with the same subject subordinator /-kpi/ the suffix /-nkapak/ can be separated into the definite future nominalizer /-nka/ plus the genitive /-pak/.

but synchronically the suffix functions as a single unit in the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua.

8. As with other suffixes in Ecuadorian Quichua (see the preceding notes of this chapter), it is possible to analyze /-nchik/ as composed of /-n/ plus /-chik/ (see Cerron-Palomino, for a similar analysis of Wanka Quechua). However synchronically the suffix functions at the morphological level as a single unit.
9. It is very possible that the incipient suffix /-gri-/ is a form that is frozen synchronically. It is likely that the suffix is composed of the agentive /-k/ plus the verb root /ri-/ 'to go.' If the suffix is analyzed in this fashion, then the agentive /-k/ has the same relative frequency of occurrence as do the other nominalizing suffixes.

CHAPTER VI  
SALIENT SYNTACTIC FEATURES

Introduction

Aspects of Quichua grammar, relevant to the construction of well-formed sentences, are described below in a very brief syntactic sketch treating those aspects of Quichua which are basic to conversation and discourse.

Consider for example the following sentence.

Anki ninan.ta trabaja.shpa, chay.wanta kunan.kaman  
wasi.ta na.rak chari.n ñuka tayta.

|          |                             |
|----------|-----------------------------|
| Anki     | 'Even though (<Sp. aunque)' |
| ninan    | 'with vigor'                |
| -ta      | 'accusative'                |
| trabaja- | 'work (<Sp. trabajar)'      |
| -shpa    | 'SA subordinator'           |
| chay-    | 'then'                      |
| -wanta   | 'ablative'                  |
| kunan-   | 'now'                       |
| -kaman   | 'allative'                  |
| wasi-    | 'dwelling'                  |
| -ta      | 'accusative'                |
| na-      | 'negative'                  |
| -rak     | 'still'                     |

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| chari- | 'to have'    |
| -n     | '3p'         |
| ñuka   | '1p pronoun' |
| tayta  | 'father'     |

'Even though he works hard, from then until now my father still does not have a house.'

In a sentence such as this, some combinations of morphemes yield single lexical items, e.g., wasi.ta, which in turn combine to yield phrases, e.g., wasi.ta na.rak chari.n. Phrases are further combined to yield clauses, e.g., ninan.ta trabaja.shpa, which in combination yield sentences.

Elements functioning at the sentence level may be even longer than the example given above, but many times speech act reciprocity involves a verbal give and take of simple, even one word, sentences. Consider the following conversational out-take for example.

|   |               |                       |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| A | Apa.shka.nki? | 'Did you<br>take it?' |
| B | Ari.          | Yes.                  |
| A | May.man?      | Where?                |
| B | Chay.man.     | Over there.           |

Since both speaker (A) and hearer (B) share a knowledge of the language being used, it is not necessary for the

participants to repeat at the surface level those elements which are already established as part of the context.

Linguistic processes like ellipsis and pronominalization play important crucial roles in communication and are critical to discourse analysis. Because discourse analysis is beyond the scope of the present investigation, the following discussion describes only those syntactic aspects which speakers must know and share in order to have a basis for conversation.

The words resulting from the processes described in the morphology chapter are the primary components of Quichua syntax. Words are combined in various ways to produce phrases which in turn combine to produce clauses. At the sentence level, a well-formed construction may consist of a single word, phrase, or clause, or any combination of these elements. A word may be either substantive or verbal, a phrase is nominal or verbal, a clause is independent or dependent, and an sentence is transitive or intransitive. Sequences of well-formed sentences tied together by discourse elements beyond the scope of this investigation constitute Quichua discourse (see Levinsohn, 1976, for a discussion of discourse in Ingano).

### Phrases

There are two basic types of phrases in Ecuadorian Quichua, noun phrases and verb phrases.

Noun Phrases. A Quichua noun phrase may be composed of a single substantive root standing alone or a fully expanded form or construction. For example:

pi?

'who?'

chay ishkay jatun-jatun.lla.gu wasi.

'those two rather very large houses.'

|         |                 |
|---------|-----------------|
| chay    | 'demonstrative' |
| ishkay  | 'two'           |
| jatun-  | 'big'           |
| -jatun- | 'big'           |
| -lla-   | 'limitative'    |
| -gu     | 'diminutive'    |
| wasi    | 'dwelling'      |

The expansion of a noun phrase includes optional and obligatory elements. The obligatory components of a noun phrase always include either a single substantive root, an inflected nominal construction, or a nominalized verb. The obligatory component always occupies the rightmost position of the noun phrase. For example:

runi

'a stone/stones'

chakra.kuna.manta

'about the fields'

|         |             |
|---------|-------------|
| chakra- | 'field'     |
| -kuna-  | 'aggregate' |
| -manta  | 'ablative'  |

awa.shka.manta

'about the (completed) weavings'

|        |              |
|--------|--------------|
| awa-   | 'to weave'   |
| -shka- | 'completive' |
| -manta | 'ablative'   |

The optional elements of a Quichua noun phrase are demonstratives, numbers, and qualifiers or attributives, in that order. Table 15 provides a noun phrase expansion rule that is well-motivated by the corpus.

Below are some possible noun phrases generated by the above expansion rule with the above forms.

chakra

'a field/fields'

puka wasi

'a red house/houses'

TABLE 15

## Noun Phrase Expansion

| (Dem.)                | (Numb.)                            | (Qualifier)                        | Noun                               |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| kay,<br>chay,<br>etc. | shuk,<br>ishkay,<br>kimsa,<br>etc. | jatun,<br>puka,<br>mushuk,<br>etc. | wasi,<br>wakra,<br>chakra,<br>etc. |

kimsa mushuk wakra

'three new cows'

kay ishkay jatun wasi

'these two big houses'

chay shuk chakra

'that other field'

The noun phrase may also consist of two substantive roots or inflected forms in juxtaposition. The first form always qualifies or modifies the second. For example:

wakra wasi

'a barn/barns'

chay mushuk-mushuk

'the very new one'

wasi.manta runa

'the from-the-house people'



mushuk.lla-mushuk.lla

'kind of really new'

mushuk-mushuk.lla

'just really new'

kan.pak chakra.kuna

'your fields'

|         |                |
|---------|----------------|
| kan-    | '2p'           |
| -pak    | 'genitive'     |
| chakra- | 'field/fields' |
| -kuna   | 'aggregate'    |

Although the noun phrase may consist of a single substantive root or an expanded multi-constituent sequence, it is optional at the sentence level.

**Verb Phrases.** A Quichua verb phrase is composed of a minimally inflected verbal root, stem, or verbalized noun. For example:

awa.n

'they weave'

|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| awa- | 'to weave'      |
| -n   | '3p non-future' |

maka.naju.n

'they fight'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| maka-  | 'to strike/hit' |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -a     | '3p non-future' |

ruku.ya.shka.0

'they got old'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| ruku-  | 'old'           |
| -ya-   | 'evolver'       |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -0     | '3p non-future' |

Like the noun phrase, the verb phrase expansion includes both optional and obligatory elements. The minimally inflected verbal form obligatorily occurs at the underlying level, but may be deleted at the surface via ellipsis. Such deleted verb phrases can only be understood within the context of Quichua discourse. The obligatory verb phrase, whether minimally inflected or fully expanded, generally occupies the rightmost position at the clause and sentence level.

The optional elements of an expanded verb phrase include adverbial constructions and complements. Table 16 provides a verb phrase expansion rule.

TABLE 16

## Verb Phrase Expansion

| (Comp.)                     | (Adv.)                       | Verb  |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| pay.ta,<br>sara.ta,<br>etc. | ninan,<br>ali.manta,<br>etc. | shamu.n,<br>kara.ju.n<br>maka.naju.naju.n<br>etc. |

According to the above expansion rule, the following verb phrases are yielded using the above forms. All examples are well-motivated by the corpus.

maka.naju.naju.n

'they are all fighting (individually in groups).'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| maka-  | 'to strike/hit' |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

ali.manta kara.ju.n

'they are slowly giving (it)'

|        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|
| ali-   | 'good/well'            |
| -manta | 'ablative'             |
| kara-  | 'to give (sustenance)' |
| -ju-   | 'progressive'          |
| -n     | '3p non-future'        |

pay.ta ali.manta shamu.n

'they are slowly coming to them'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| pay-   | '3p'            |
| -ta    | 'accusative'    |
| ali-   | 'good/well'     |
| -manta | 'ablative'      |
| shamu- | 'to come'       |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

sara.ta ninan kara.ju.n

'they are really giving corn.'

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| sara- | 'corn'                 |
| -ta   | 'accusative'           |
| ninan | 'intensive'            |
| kara- | 'to give (sustenance)' |
| -ju-  | 'progressive'          |
| -n    | '3p non-future'        |

The obligatory verbal form of a verb phrase may be simple, such as those illustrated above, or compound. Compound verbal forms usually include an auxiliary verb (see Chapter 5). For example:

kara.y.man ka.shka.ni

'I might have given it.'

|       |                        |
|-------|------------------------|
| kara- | 'to give (sustenance)' |
| -y-   | 'potentive'            |

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| -man   | 'conditional'   |
| ka-    | 'copula'        |
| -shka- | 'NPK past'      |
| -ni    | '1p non-future' |

shamu.n.man ka.rka.0

'they would have come'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'       |
| -n-    | '3p non-future' |
| -man   | 'conditional'   |
| ka-    | 'copula'        |
| -rka-  | 'PK past'       |
| -0     | '3p non-future' |

shamu.y ni.ni

'come I say'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| shamu- | 'to come'       |
| -y     | 'imperative'    |
| ni-    | 'to say'        |
| -ni    | '2p non-future' |

### Clauses

Clauses of Ecuadorian Quichua are either independent or dependent.

Independent Clauses. An independent clause consists of a minimally inflected verb form functioning as an obligatory verb phrase and optional noun phrases. The verb phrase may not consist of a form inflected with the subordinating suffixes. The independent clause may function as a well-formed sentence. For example:

waspu.naju.n

'they are floating'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| waspu- | 'to float'      |
| -naju- | 'distributive'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

miku.naya.n

'I feel like eating'

|        |                 |
|--------|-----------------|
| miku-  | 'to eat/food'   |
| -naya- | 'desiderative'  |
| -n     | '3p non-future' |

tigra.mu.sha

'I will return'

|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| tigra- | 'to return'   |
| -mu-   | 'cislocative' |
| -sha   | '1p future'   |

**Dependent Clauses.** A dependent clause in Ecuadorian Quichua consists of an optional noun phrase and a verb form inflected with the subordinating suffixes. Although dependent clauses may stand alone in conversation, they are ultimately underlyingly tied to an independent clause within the context of Quichua discourse through the sameness or difference of the actor of the dependent verb to that of the independent verb. For example:

miku.nkapak

'in order to eat'

miku- 'to eat/food'

-nkapak 'SA purposive'

waka.shpa

'crying'

waka- 'to cry'

-shpa 'SA subordinator'

nukanchik yanu.kpi.ka, miku.naya.n

'while we are cooking, they feel like eating.'

nukanchik '4p'

yanu- 'to cook'

-kpi- 'DA subordinator'

-ka 'topic/focus'

miku- 'to eat/food'

-naya- 'desiderative'

-n

'3p non-future'

### Sentence Constituents

Both sentences and clauses (see below for distinction) share the same constituent elements including a subject composed of a noun phrase, a predicate composed of a verb phrase, a complement composed of a noun phrase, and an adverbial also composed of a noun phrase. Of these elements only the predicate is obligatory in a Quichua sentence. For example:

|            |                     |
|------------|---------------------|
| tarpu.ju.n | 'is planting'       |
| wakta.ju.n | 'is snacking hands' |

Each of these four basic components have different syntactic functions and there is interplay among them. For example, subjects indicate the actor, predicates indicate the action, complements indicate that which is acted upon, and adverbials provide information regarding the place, time, manner, condition, or purpose of the action. Each of these components may be a single word or a nominal, verbal, or adverbial phrase. For example:

Warwi.ka pay.ta ninan.ta maka.rka.

'The lady hit them hard.'

warwi.ka --> subject

pay.ta --> object



ninan.ta --> manner

maka.rka --> predicate

Chay shuk jari kikin.pak tayta.ta ninan-ninan.ta  
kushi.ju.shpa riksi.n.

'That other man knows your father really really  
well.'

chay shuk jari --> subject

kikin.pak tayta.ta --> object

ninan-ninan.ta --> manner

kushi.ju.shpa --> subordinated verb

riksi.n --> predicate

As stated before, the only required element in both the  
above sentences is the predicate as manifested by the  
principal verb.


### Sentence/Clause Distinctions

Although both clauses and sentences share the same basic  
structure, they are distinguished as follows. In addition  
to marking the components of a clause by inflectional  
suffixes, sentences are further marked by specific  
intonation patterns and the use of independent suffixes  
which function as sentence suffixation.

### Intonation

Although intonation is generally considered a prosodic feature of the phonological component, it also functions syntactically to distinguish declarative, exclamative, interrogative and imperative sentences. Although some dialects of the Quechua family appear almost monotone (see Chapter 4), the non-central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua do exhibit great variation in their intonation patterns using four basic levels for grammatical purposes.

Declarative. Declarative sentences are indicated by falling from the second level on the penultimate syllable of the final word to the first level on the ultimate syllable. For example:



Asi.ri.ri.n.

'is laughing.'

Exclamative. Exclamative sentences are indicated by both rising and falling intonations. An intonation rising to the third level on the ultimate syllable of the final word usually indicates emotion, impressiveness, doubtfulness, or emphasis. For example:



Shamu.y.ya.  
Come on (in).



Kay.pi.ma.  
Still here.



Shamu.n.cha.  
'They might come.'



Chay.tak.  
'That one.'

As can be seen in the above examples, such sentence final rising intonation patterns are marked with an accent on the ultimate syllable.

A falling exclamative intonation pattern falls from the third level on the penultimate syllable to the first level on the ultimate syllable. For example:



Kalla.ri.pa.shun.chik.pacha.yari.  
'Let's begin.'

Interrogative. Interrogative sentences are indicated by two distinct intonation patterns: a regular one falling from the third level on the penultimate syllable to the second level on the ultimate syllable, and an emphatic one rising to the fourth level on the ultimate syllable. For example:

\

Ima shuti ka.nki?

'What is your name?'

/

Kan.ka?

'And you?'


In the Imbabura dialect the regular falling intonation pattern is being replaced by the rising interrogative intonation of Spanish with the concomitant loss of the interrogative sentence suffixes. There are many Quichua-Spanish bilinguals in this dialect area and the dialect is in constant contact with Spanish. The rising intonation pattern is used for yes/no questions in Spanish, but as borrowed into Quichua its function has been expanded to include information questions as well. For example:

)

Ima shuti ka.nki?

'What is your name?'

Imperative. Finally, imperative intonation patterns consist of falling from the high level on the penultimate syllable to the low level on the ultimate syllable. For example:



Ri.pa.y  
Go on.

### Sentence Suffixation

Sentences are further distinguished from clauses by the optional appearance of certain independent suffixes which function at the sentence level. These include the topicalizer -ka, the witness -mi, the reportative -shi, the additive -pash, the emotional -ya, the dubitative -cha, the emphatic -ma, and the negative -chu. For example:

Shina ka.shpa.ka

'...and being that way...'

shamu.n.mi.

'someone is coming, and I see their coming'

yayku.n.shi.

'they are going in, they say.'

chay.wan.pash

'and with this also'

sirtu.chu?

'it is true, right?'

### Sentence Types

In Ecuadorian Quichua there appear to be at least two types of sentences according to the clauses contained within. These include transitives and intransitives. In the morphology, ditransitives and the copula verbs were included as a separate subclass of verbs, but syntactically these verbs function as transitives.

### Transitive Sentences

Sentences are considered transitive if they contain clauses with transitive verbs, and optionally, direct or indirect complements with corresponding case suffixation, an adverbial marked according to its function (temporal, directional, conditional), and a subject unmarked for case. Verbs contained in transitive clauses tend to be transitive with a single direct complement marked by the accusative, ditransitive with direct and indirect complements marked by the accusative and the dative, respectively, and impersonals with 3p subjects and complements marked by the accusative. For example:

Sisa.ta muna.n.

'They want flowers.'

Pay.kuna.man awa.na.ta yacha.chi.y.

'Teach them to weave.'

N̄uka.ta miku.naya.n.

'It is making me feel like eating.'

### Intransitive Sentences

Sentences are considered intransitive if they contain clauses with intransitive verbs, adverbials marked with any case suffix according to its function, and unmarked subjects. The verbs of intransitive clauses include verbs of motion where the adverbial element is marked by the accusative with animate subjects and marked by the dative with inanimate subjects. Other predicates of intransitive clauses contain non-motion verbs such as yachari- 'to get used to,' kushiju- 'to be happy,' and mira- 'to grow.' In addition there are impersonal climatic verbs with 3p subjects such as tanya- 'to rain,' rupa- 'to burn/be hot,' and inti- 'to shine.' Finally, intransitive clauses may optionally contain the existential verbs ka- and tiya-. The first one is used with inanimate referents and the second is used with animate referents.

Copula

An sentence is considered equational if it contains a clause which contains the copula ka- 'to be.' For example:

wira-wira ka.nki.

'you are really fat.'

Sentence Complexity

According to the complexity of the elements, there are two basic sentence types, simple and complex.

Simple Sentences

An sentence is considered simple if the components of the sentence are basic one-word forms. For example:

waka.ju.n.

'is crying'

ninan.ta waka.n

'is crying a lot.'

wawa ninan.ta waka.n

'the baby is crying a lot.'



Complex Sentences

An sentence is considered complex if it is not of the types listed immediately above, and if it contains among other features, phrases and subordination. For example:

Chay shuk jatun-jatun.ka ninan-ninan.llatak firu  
ni.ni.ka.

'I'm here to tell you that that other really big  
one is the epitomy of ugliness.

chay shuk jatun-jatun.ka --> subject  
ninan-ninan.llatak firu --> manner  
ni.ni.ka --> predicate

wañu.chi.ri.naya.ju.chi.shpa siri.y.

'Why don't you just keep on laying there like you  
want to make someone else want to kill  
themselves.'

wañu.chi.ri- --> 'to kill oneself'  
-naya.ju.chi.shpa --> 'be causing to have the  
desire to'  
siri.y --> principal verb

rumi.llalla.gu.llapi.llatak chura.y.

'Put it on the little hard spot.'

rumi.llalla.gu.llapi.llatak --> NP  
chura.y --> predicate

miku.nkapak shamu.ju.n.tak.chari.ya.ri.

'I really hope she is coming to eat because I'm putting out enough for her while I'm cooking.'

miku.nkapak --> subordinate clause

shamu.ju.n.tak.chari.yari --> independent clause

kalla.ri.shun.chik.pacha.chari.ya.ri?

Is it really true that we'll begin the job?

kalla.ri.shun.chik- --> 'we will all begin'

-pacha.chari.yari --> 'is it really true that possibly'

nuka jari.rak.pash kan.pak jari.tak yali  
trabaja.n.

'My husband works more than your husband.'

nuka jari.rak.pash --> subject

kan.pak jari.tak --> object

yali trabaja.n --> predicate

### Other Syntactic Features

#### Reduplication

Almost any substantive may be reduplicated forming endocentric constructions for emphasis. These constructions are then open to further inflection. For example:

tukuy-tukuy runa

'every single person'

asha-asha.gu.nanta

'about the little-bidy bit'

### Innovative Syntactic Changes

Muysken (1977) discusses the changes in the verbal paradigms of the central dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. However, another provocative change is that of the relative order of the sentence constituents in the non-central dialects. The usual order of the sentence is subject-object-verb (SOV), but in the Imbabura dialect this is changing to subject-verb-object (SVO). Moreover, should the object immediately precede the verb, it may drop its (accusative) object marking. For example:

kuytsa wasi.ta riku.n

'The girl sees the house.'

kuytsa wasi riku.n.

'The girl sees the house,' or 'sees the girl-house.'

kuytsa riku.n wasi.ta.

The girl sees the house.'

Subordination

The process of subordination is determined by the parameters of same versus different actor cross-cut with purpose versus action sequence. For example:

miku.shpa shamu.rka.ni.

'I came eating.'

miku.kpi shamur.rka.ni.

'I came while someone else was eating.'

miku.chun trabaja.ni.

'I work so someone can eat.'

miku.nkapak trabaja.ni.

'I work so I can eat.'

In summary, at the syntactic level the Quichua sentence is composed of an optional noun phrase and an obligatory verb phrase at the underlying level. At the surface level within Quichua conversation and discourse, a word, a phrase, or a clause may function as a well-motivated sentence.

CHAPTER VII  
ASPECTS OF DIALECTOLOGY

Introduction

The dialectology of Ecuadorian Quichua may be viewed from a geographic or social perspective. The dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua are diverse, but cluster into two major groupings, central and non-central dialect areas (see Table 5 and Figure 3 in Chapter 1). When Quichua speakers from these two major dialect areas attempt to communicate across the major division boundaries, it is usually carried out in Spanish (or another indigenous language) rather than Quichua. In some cases, the central and the non-central dialects are mutually unintelligible across the major boundary divisions. For example, consider the following utterances, both glossed as 'it is well.'

ali.ni (Imb.)

[alíni]

allilladi mi.shka (Tsl.)

[ažizadi míška]

With such variation, bilingual Quichua speakers from these areas consider the other dialects of Quichua to be 'scrambled,' 'mixed,' or 'not for understanding.' Such

bilingual speakers will communicate in Spanish when possible.

The central dialects exhibit the most variation, indicative of an extended presence in Ecuador, and are ultimately derived from the now extinct Chinchay variety of coastal Peruvian Quechua (Torero, 1974). The non-central dialects are more closely related genetically and are ultimately derived from the variety of Quechua imported and imposed by the Incas during their northern expansion as a trade and conquest language (see Chapter 1). Thus, the long-existing central dialects are combined with a thin overlay of Inca Quechua which was spread from south to north through Ecuador and then from the Sierra to the Oriente. Further complicating the analysis and interpretation of Ecuadorian Quichua dialectology is the fact that entire populations such as the Saragureños and the Salasacas were Inca mitma moved into Ecuador from Quechua and/or Aymara speaking areas of southern Peru and Bolivia. A full description of the genetic relationships across dialects and dialect interface requires a great deal more investigation and study.

The description below provides salient information regarding geographic dialectology of Ecuadorian Quichua; it is followed by a discussion of the effects and implications of such geographic diversity on development programs such as bilingual education. A description of social dialectology

is beyond the scope of this investigation. However, in the following chapter treating bilingual education in Ecuador, certain aspects of social dialectology are included in the discussion of factors which influence the decision to participate or not in such programs. A complete description of geographic and social dialectology of Ecuadorian Quichua is in preparation.

In the discussion below certain aspects of phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical variation are described and accompanied by display maps. While not an exhaustive description, it does illustrate the amount of diversity found in the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua.

### Phonological Variation

Phonological variations in the non-central dialects are, for the most part, contemporary reflexes of earlier forms of the language. Thus sound changes are merely allophonic pronunciation differences, and the basic underlying phonemic structure has not been altered. For example, the voicing of occlusives after stops, the realization of the word-final velar /-k/, and consonantal weakening are manifested in various stages in Ecuador. Regarding voicing of stop consonants after nasals, consider the following examples.

[kamba] [kampa] /kampak/ 'yours'  
 [kanda] [kanta] /kanta/ 'to you'  
 [kaŋga] [kaŋka] /kanka/ 'and you?'

Figure 8 illustrates the areas where such voicing of occlusives is realized.

As well, Figure 9 illustrates the areas where no voicing of occlusives occurs.

On the other hand, other phonological processes resulting in dialect differentiation are much more complex. For example, the voicing of occlusives after nasals discussed above is the first of a series of voicing changes in which voicing occurs after increasing numbers of sound classes. Figure 10 illustrates areas where occlusives voice after vowels, but not after nasals.

In the dialects of Cotopaxi, occlusives tend to voice after vowels, nasals, and glides. Figure 11 illustrates the distribution of the voicing after these sound classes.

In the Salasaca dialect (Tsl.) of the Tungurahua province, the sound class of liquids may be added to the above. Figure 12 illustrates where voicing of the occlusives occurs after vowels, glides, nasals, and liquids.

Finally, this process of occlusive voicing may be further accompanied by phonetic reductions, such as /-kuna/ --> /-una/ or /-naya-/ --> /-nay-/, in the Oriente dialects of Tena (Tna.) and Pastaza (Ptz.). Figure 13 illustrates the areas where such phonetic reductions occur.

In addition to the voicing of occlusives in different environments, another phonological process, consonant weakening (weakening of the voiceless stops via



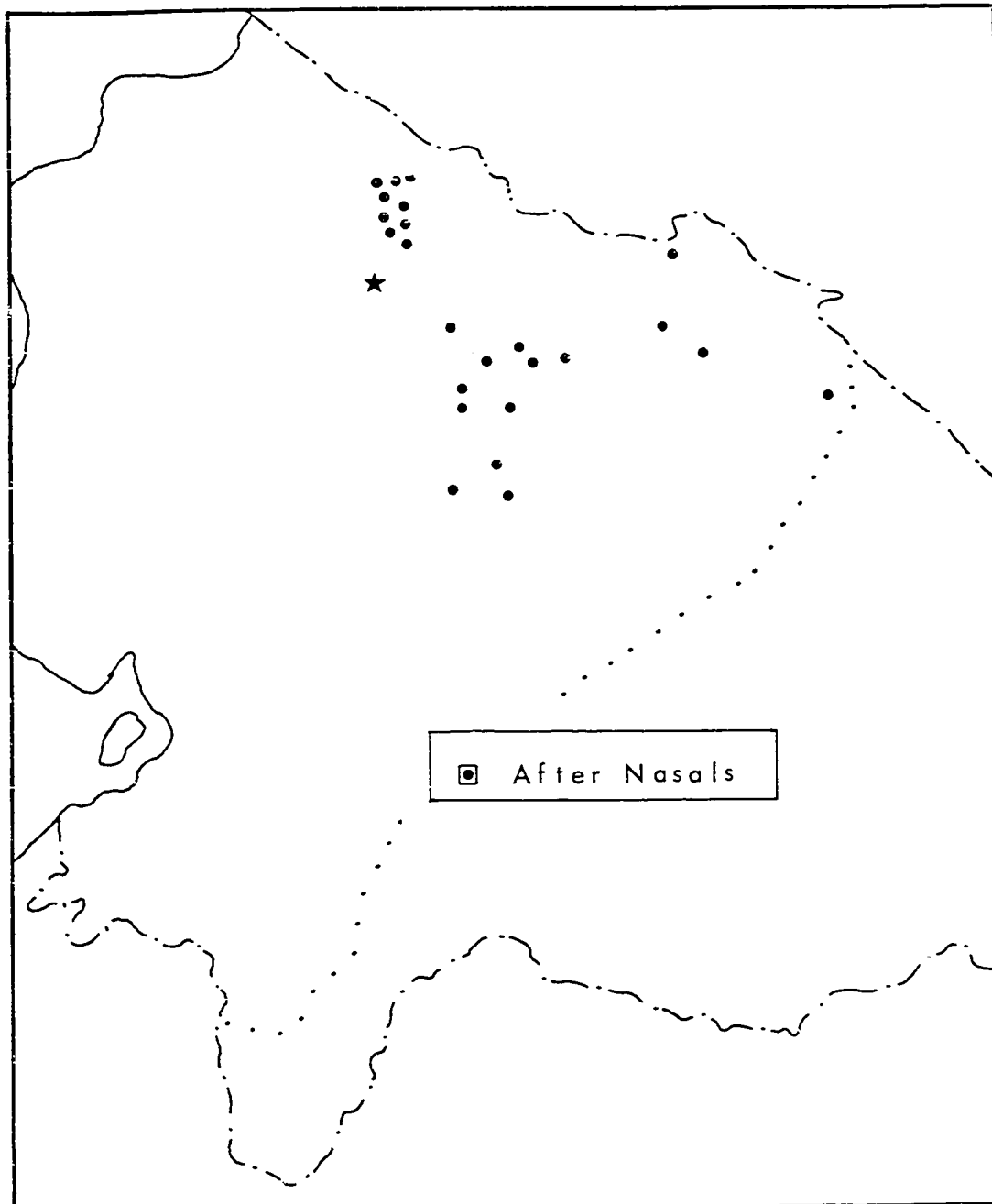


Figure 8: Voicing after Nasals

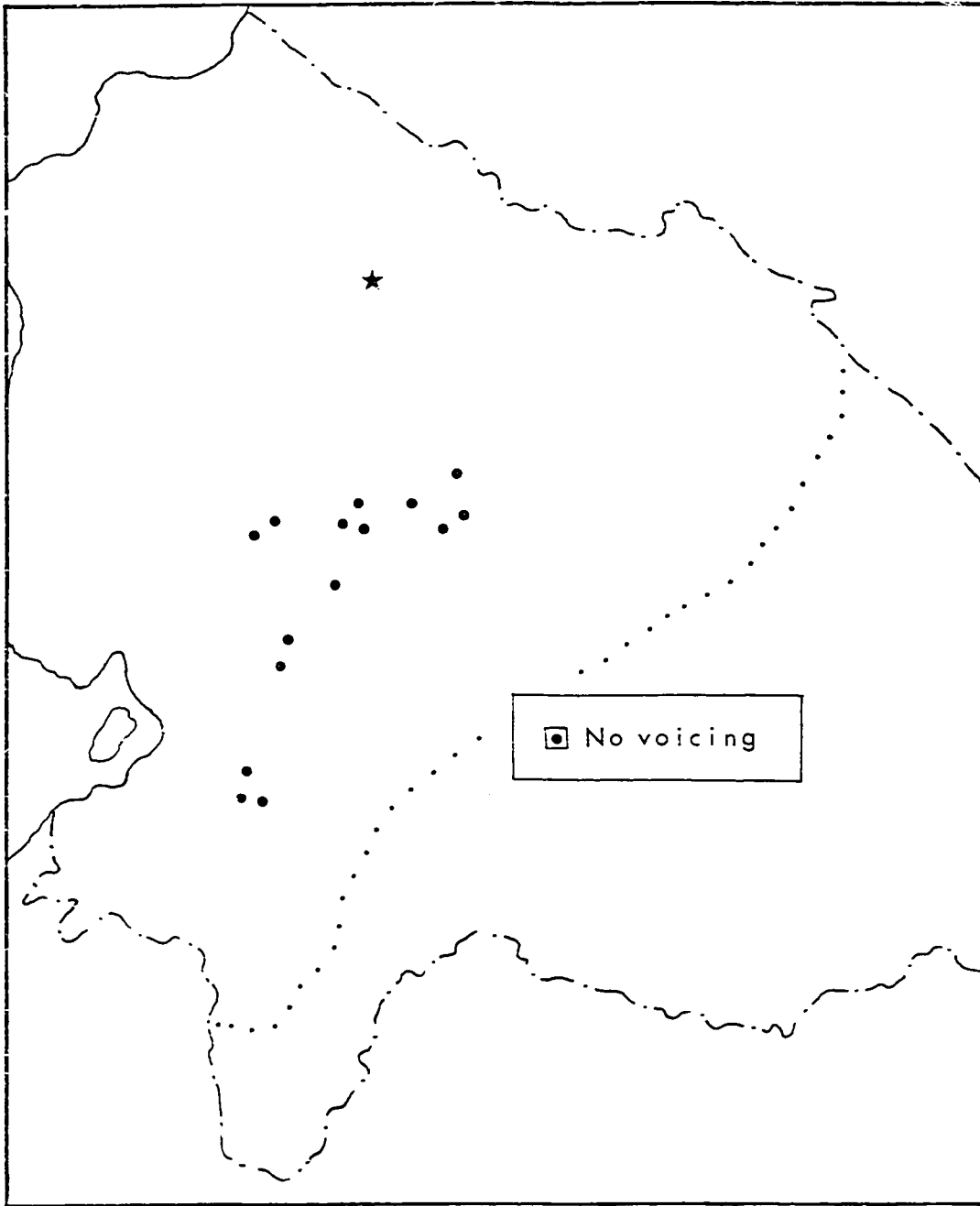


Figure 9: Areas of No Voicing

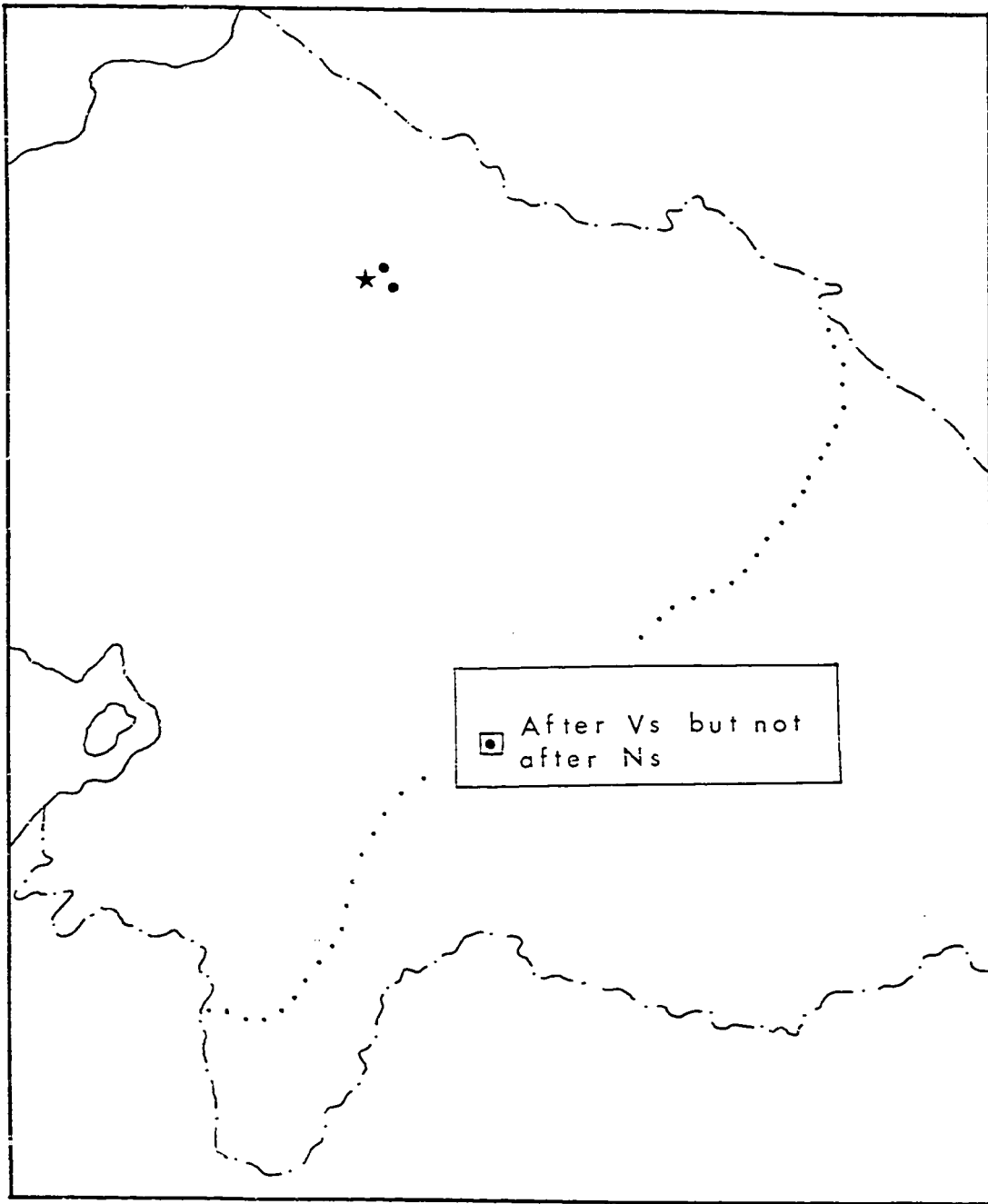


Figure 10: Occlusive Voicing after Vowels

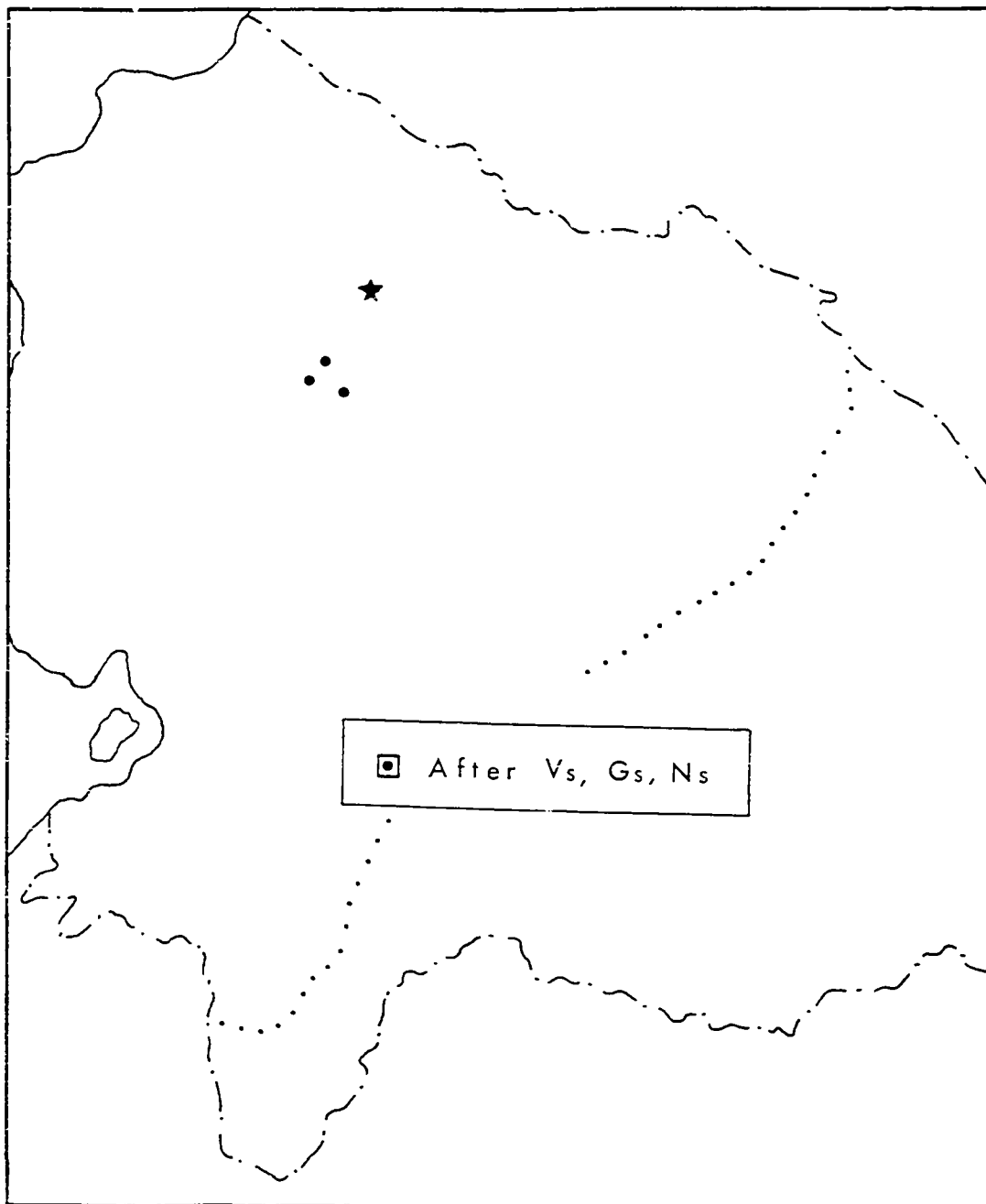


Figure 11: Occlusive Voicing after Vs, Gs, and Ns.

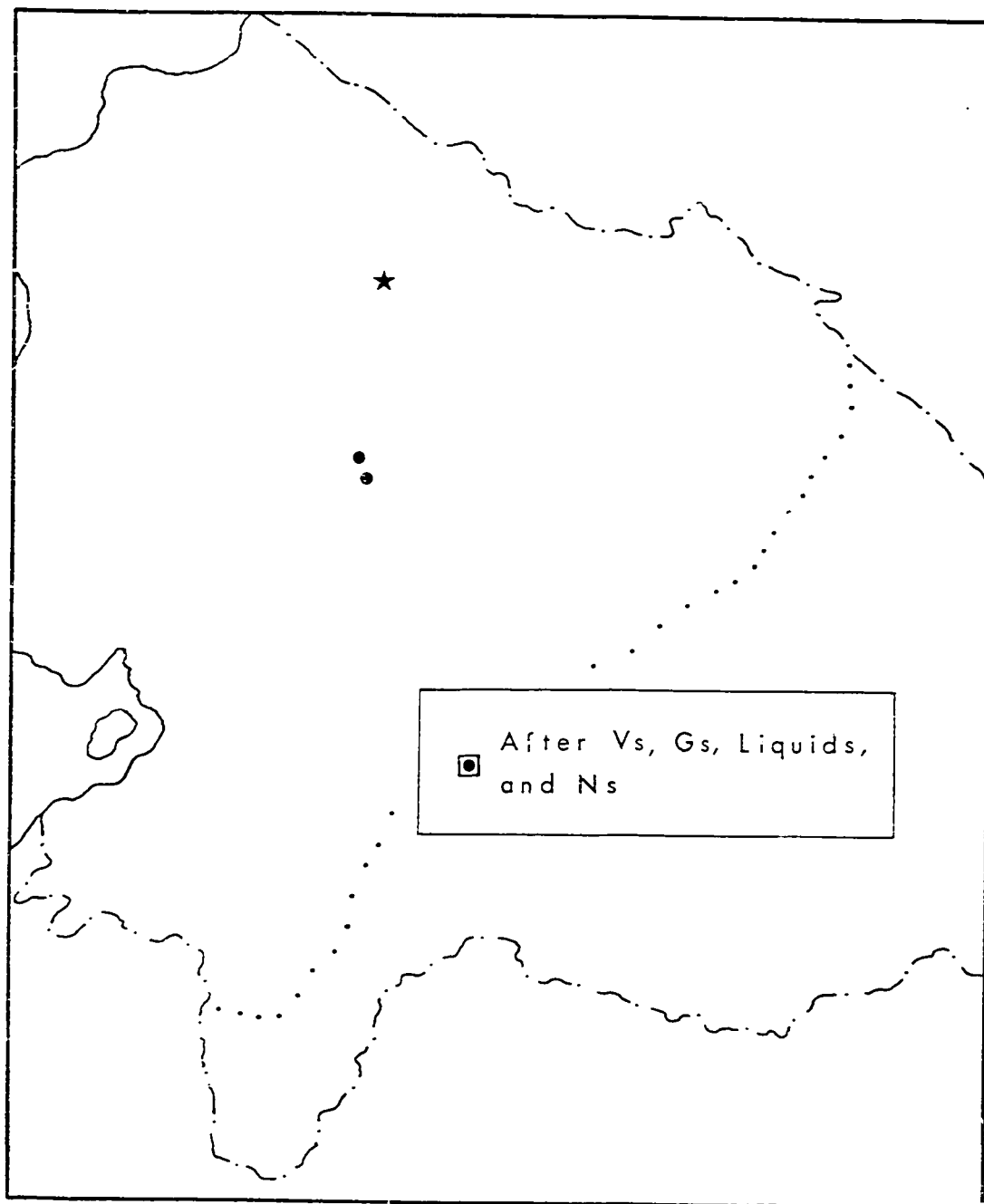


Figure 12: Voicing after Vs, Gs, Ms, and Liquids

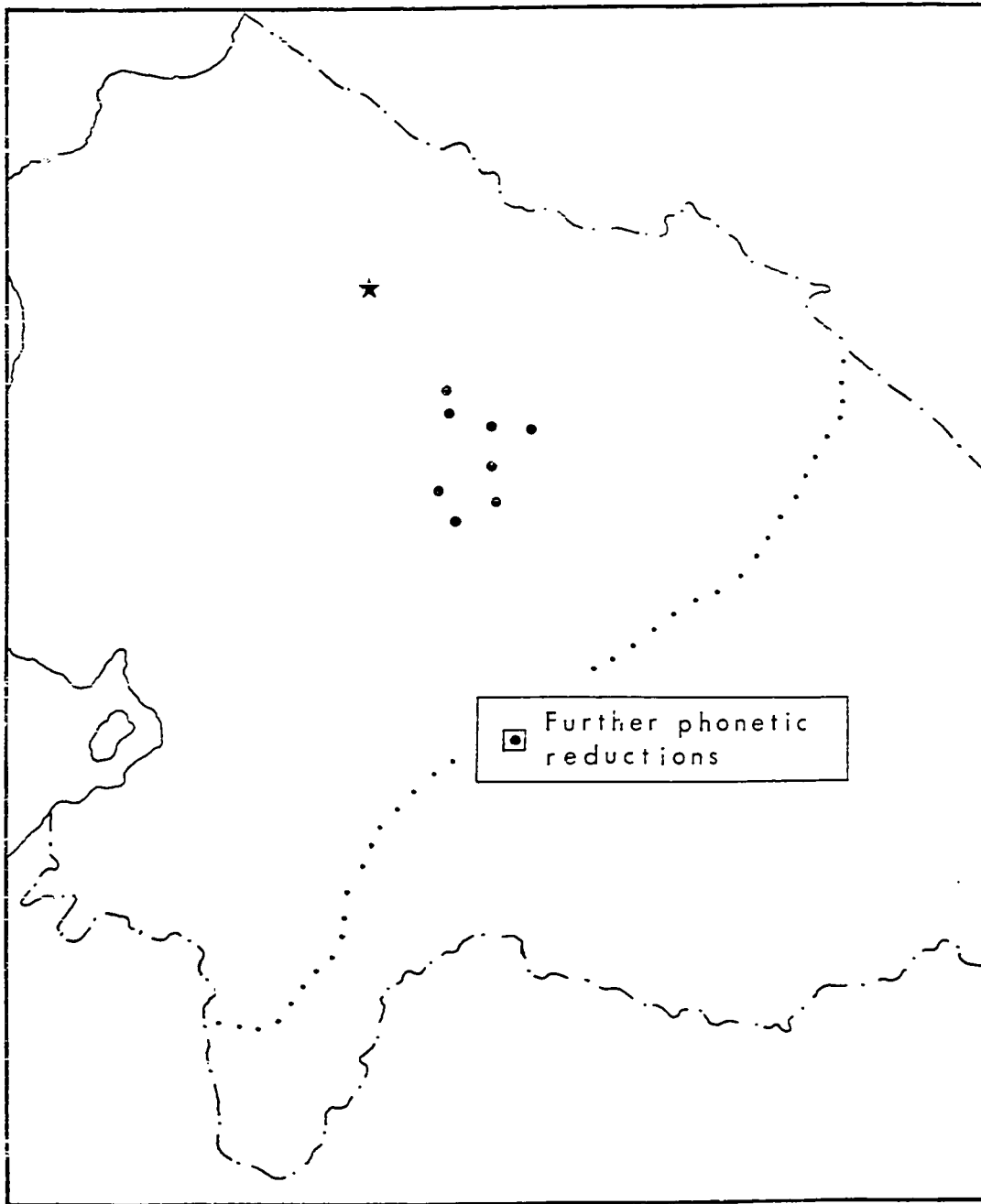


Figure 13: Phonetic Reductions

spirantization to the voiceless fricatives), is also evidenced in the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. Figure 14 illustrates the manifestations of the velar /k/ when this phoneme occurs in word-final position.

This process of weakening is not restricted to word-final position. It also occurs in word-initial position and accounts for the distribution of aspiration and spirantization of word-initial stops. Figure 15 illustrates the distributions of aspirated stops, plain stops, and stops that have further weakened via spirantization (see below for examples).

In addition to the processes pertaining to the stops of Ecuadorian Quichua, processes affecting the liquids also may be used to further distinguish dialects. The palatal lateral /ll/ may be realized as a lateral or as a palatal fricative. As well, the trilled vibrant /r/ may be realized as a vibrant or it may be assibilated. Figure 16 illustrates the distributions of the various realizations of the liquids (see the discussion of concurrent languages in Chapter 1 for examples).

Finally, the phonological processes of haplology and metathesis may be utilized to distinguish the dialects of the Oriente. As far as is known, these processes are restricted to this lowland region. Figure 17 illustrates the distribution of both haplology and metathesis. Both of these processes tend to affect the initial elements of the

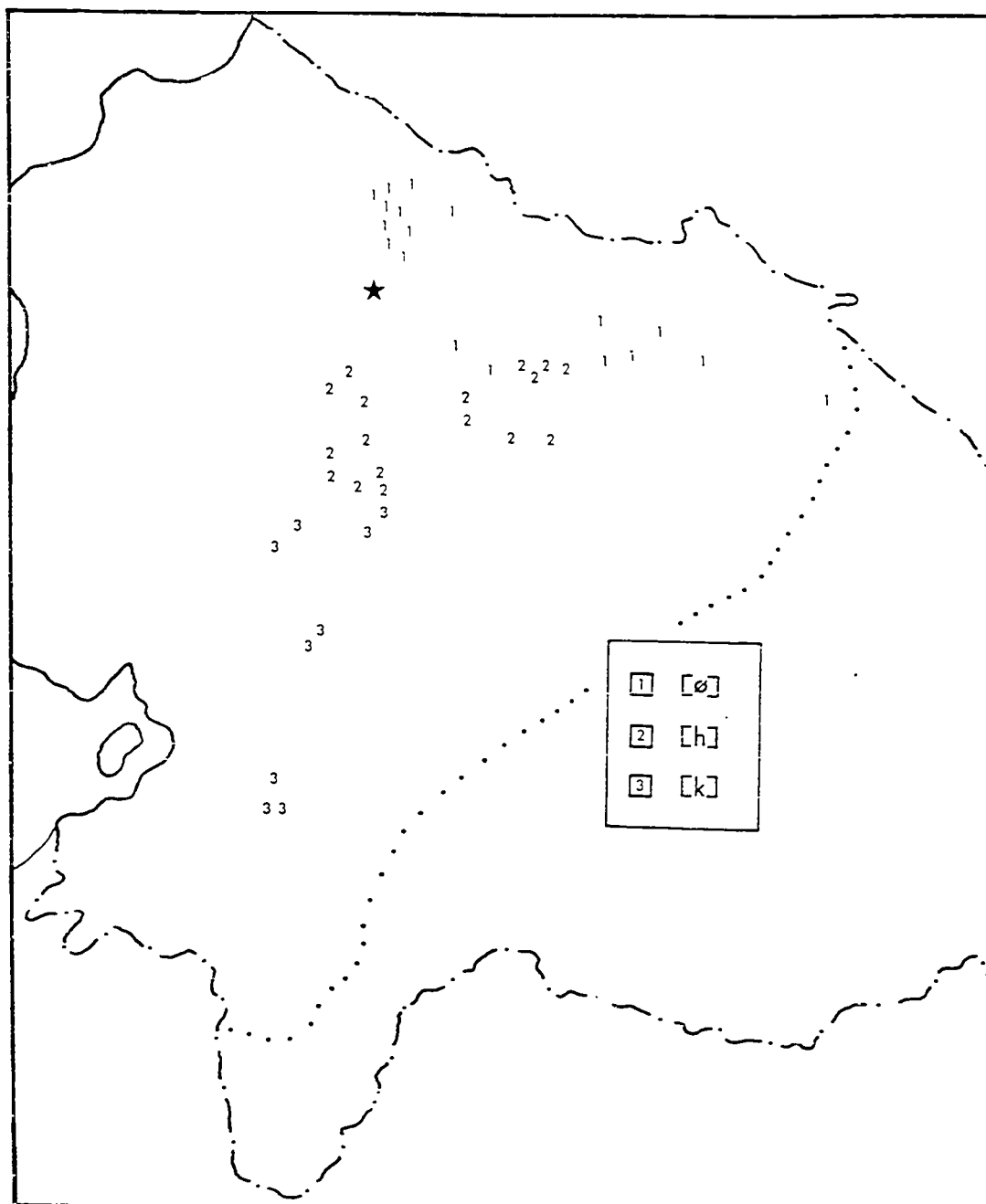


Figure 14: Realization of Word-Final /k/



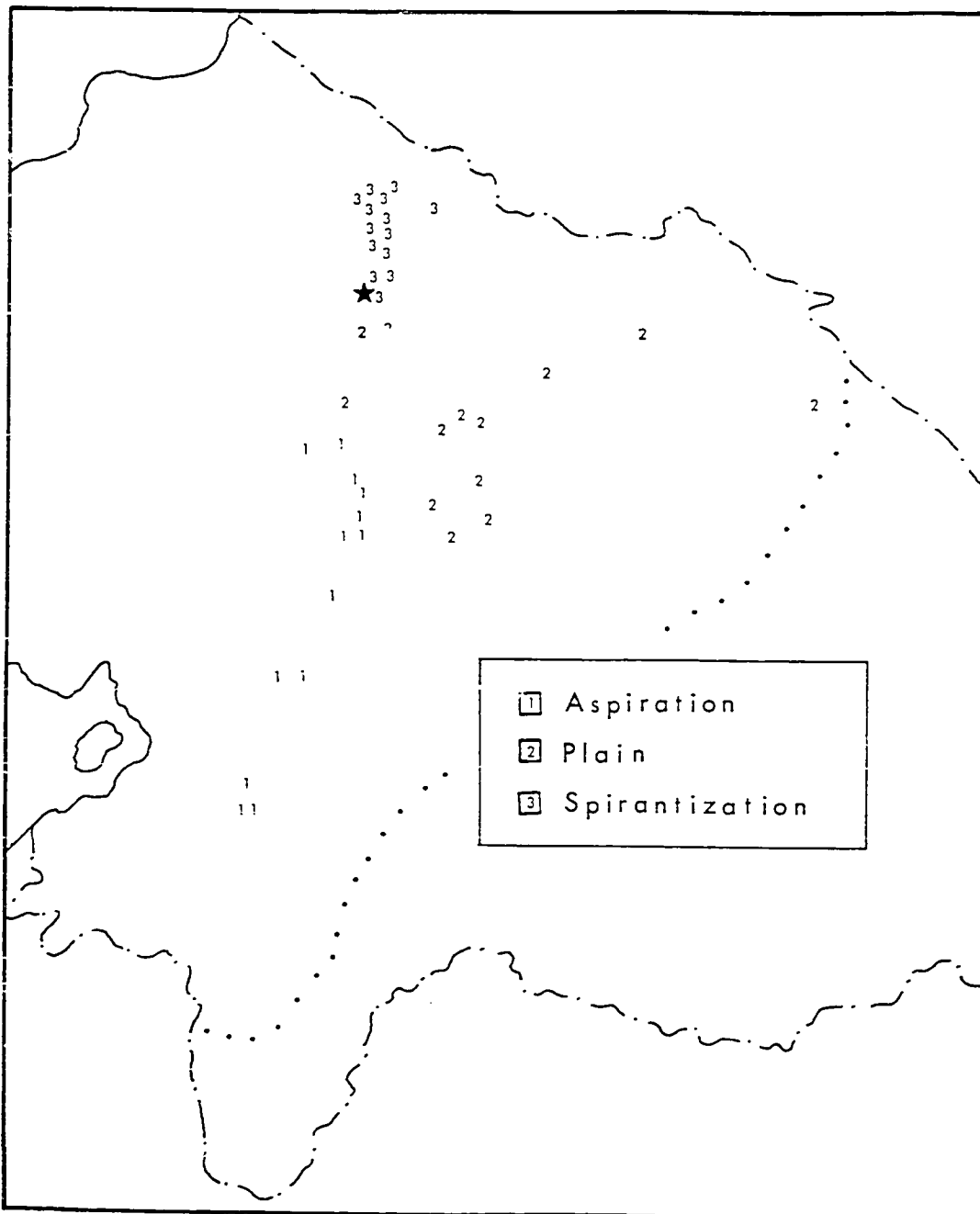


Figure 15: Aspiration and Spirantization

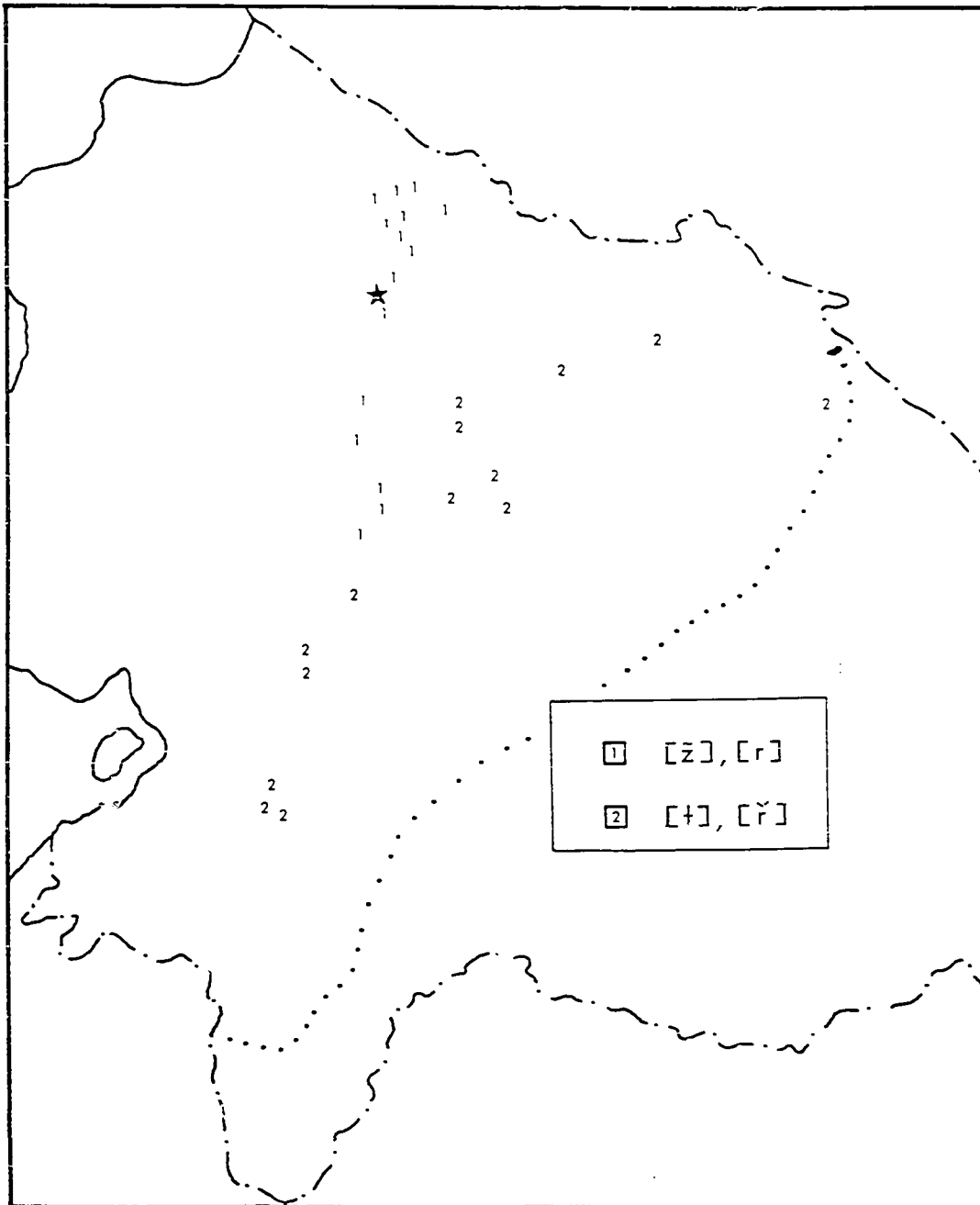


Figure 16: Realization of Liquids

Quichua form. For example, /ynra/ 'tree' in Napo (Npo.) and Tena (Tna.) becomes realized as /ruya/ in the Pastaza (Ptz.) dialect. As well, /nuynuna/ 'dissolve' is realized as /yununa/ and /urmana/ 'to fall' of the Pastaza (Ptz.) dialect is realized as /rumana/ in Tena (Tna.).

Regarding the overall phonological variation of the non-central dialects, the phonological systems become more innovative as one proceeds from south to north.

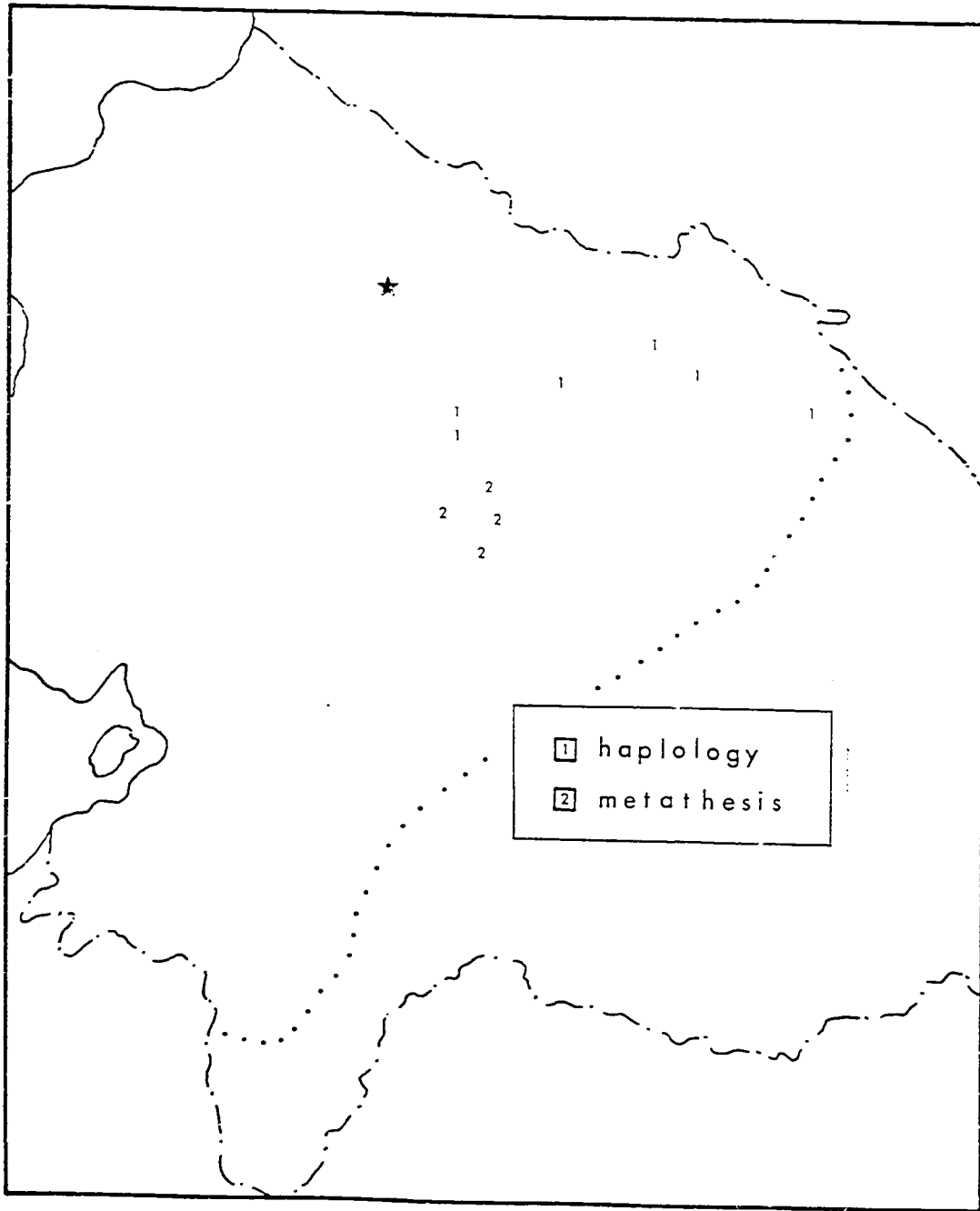


Figure 17: Haplology and Metathesis

### Morphological Variation

Although there are many changes in the morphological systems of the various dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua, only three are illustrated in the figures of this section.

The reciprocal or distributive suffix /-naku-/ is variously realized as follows: /-naku-/, /-naju-/, /-nau-/, or /-nu-/. Figure 18 illustrates the distributions of the reductions realized in this suffix.

In addition to reduction of the distributive suffix /-naku-/, the benefactive suffix /-pak/ also undergoes various changes in the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. It may be realized as /-pak/ in Loja (Ljz.), /-paj/ in Napo (Npo.), /-pa/ in Imbabura (Imb.), /-wa/ in Tena (Tna.), or as /-ba/ in Salasaca (Tsl.). Figure 19 illustrates the various realizations of the benefactive suffix.

A further differentiation of the personal knowledge past /-rka/ is used to distinguish the Sierra and Napo (Npo.) dialects from the remaining dialects of the Oriente. It is one of the greatest causes of unintelligibility among the Oriente dialects. It is alternately realized as /-rka/, /-ra/, or /-ka/. Figure 20 illustrates the distributions of the various manifestations of this suffix.

In addition to the above specific morphological changes, other changes are also realized. For example, independent suffixes may become post verbal VPs, such as *alimi*, 'it is good,' becoming *ali mishka*, 'it is good,' in some of the

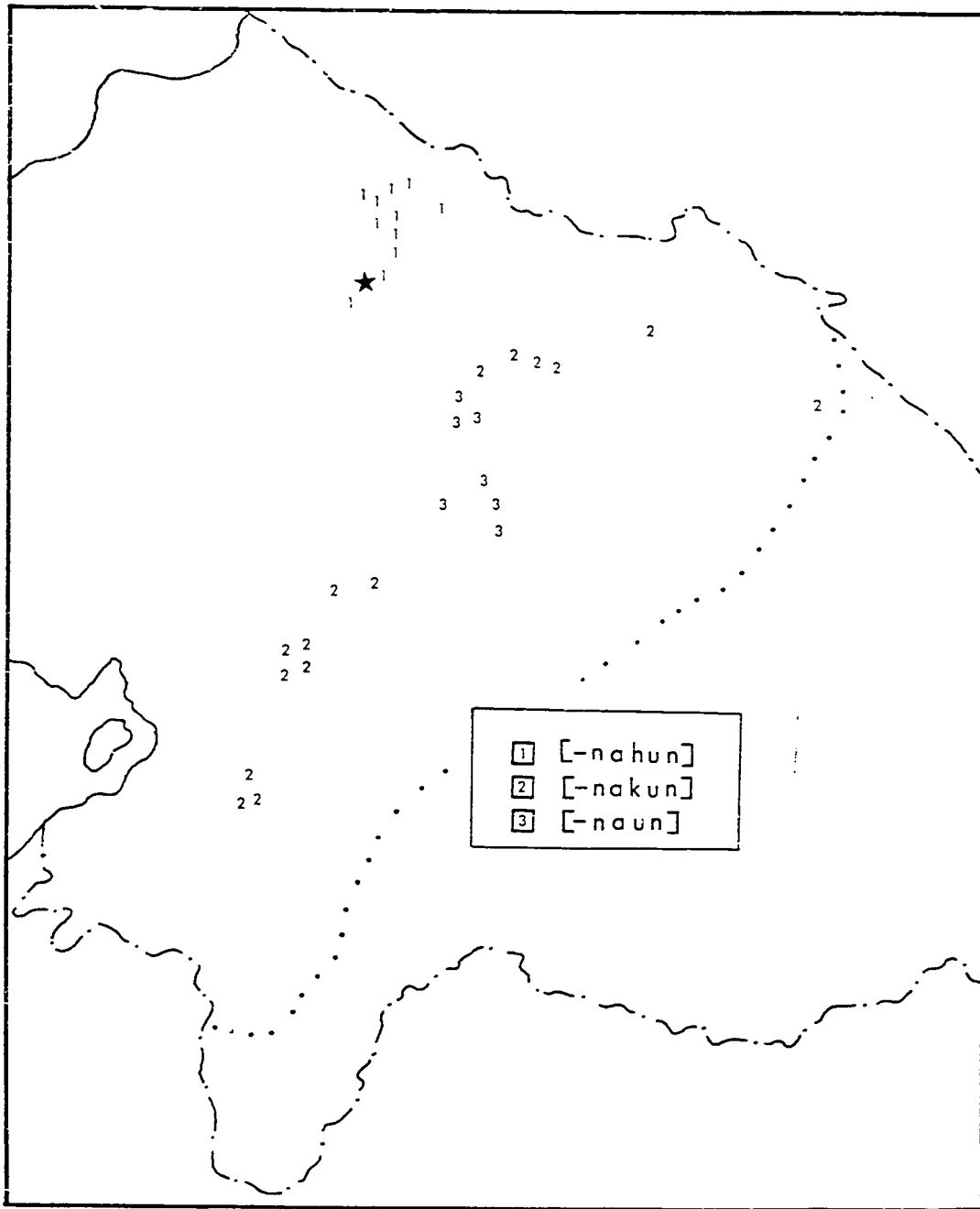


Figure 18: Reduction of the Distributive Suffix

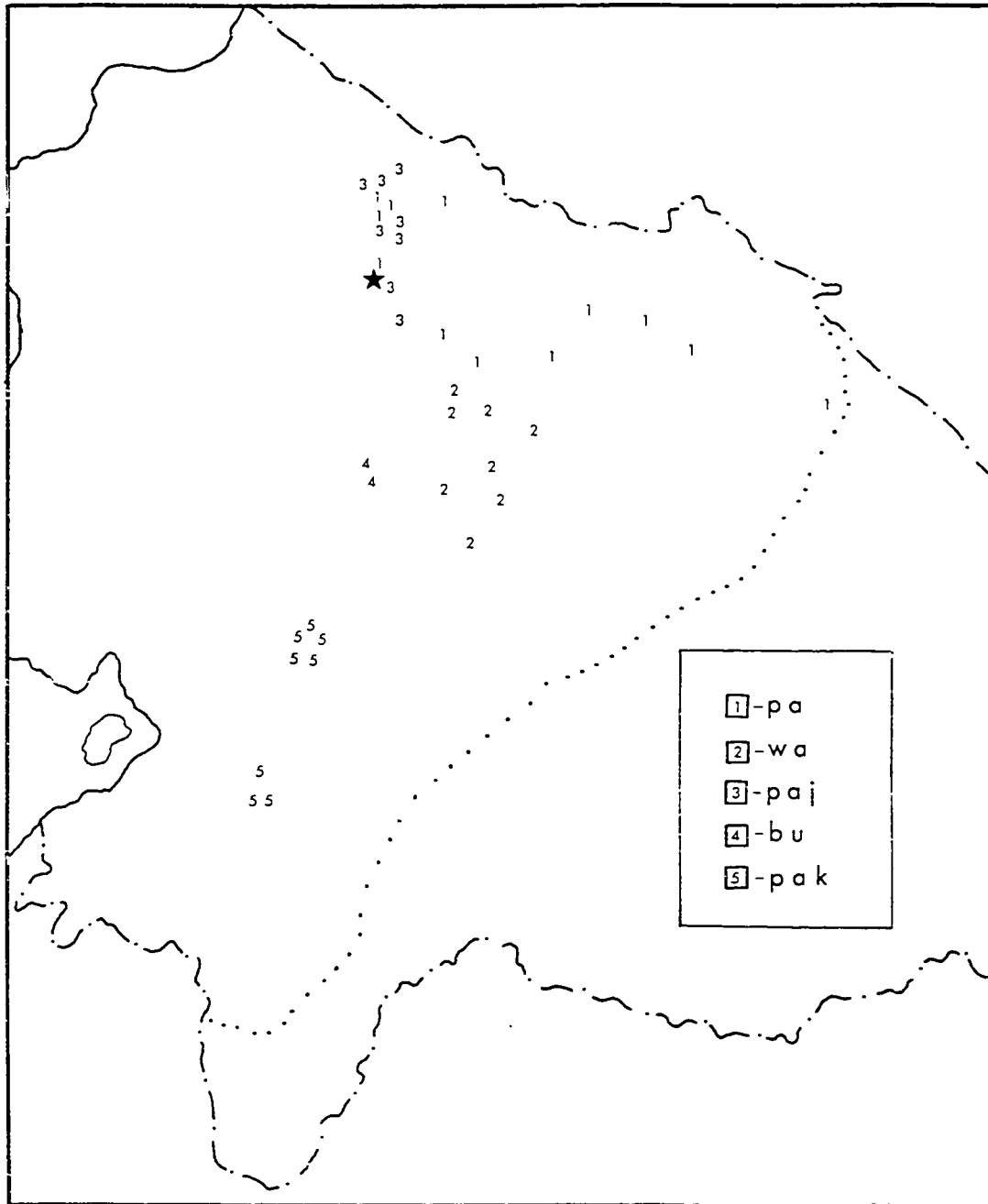


Figure 19: Realization of /-pak/

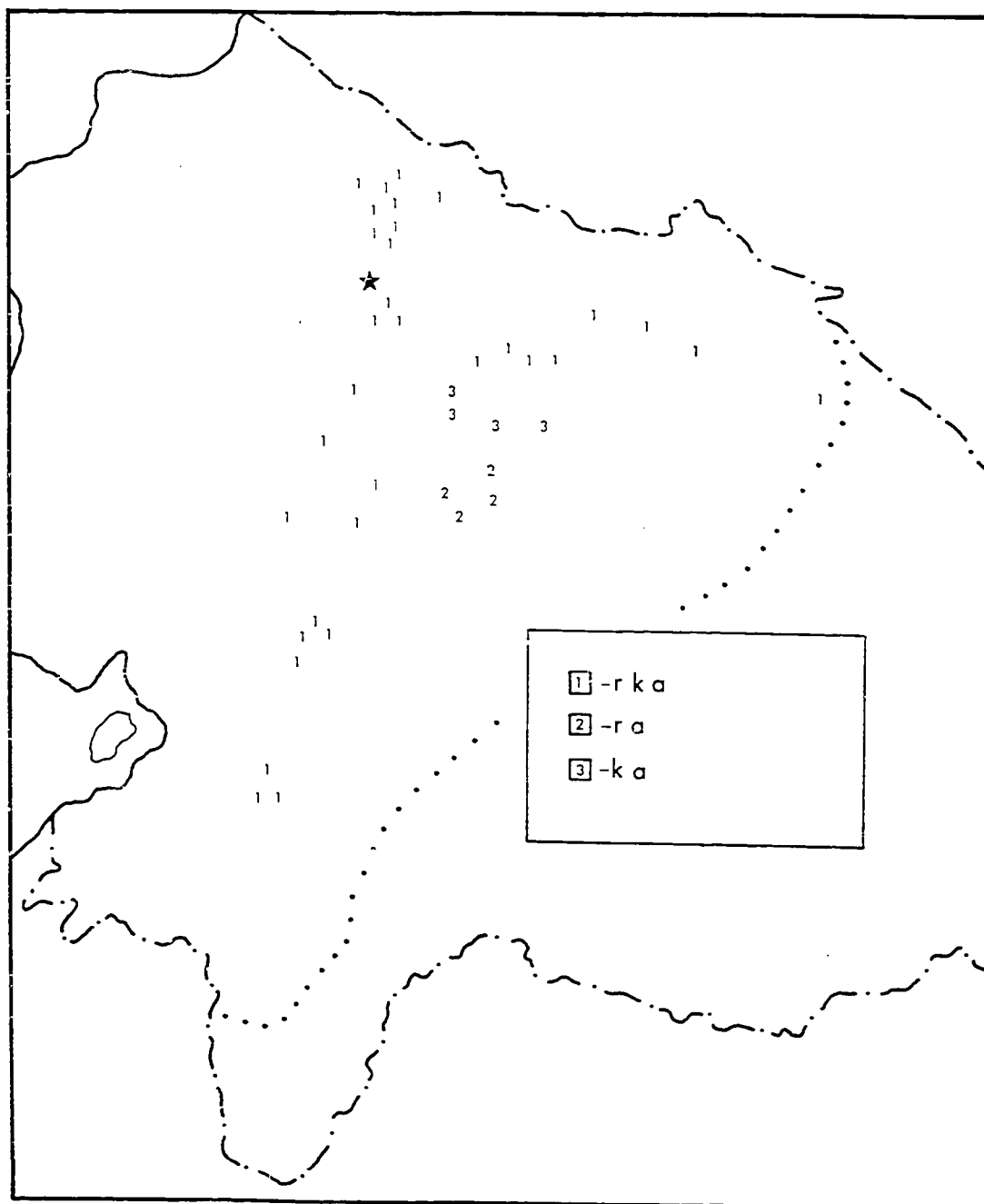


Figure 20: Realizations of /-rka/.



dialects. Independent suffixes may also be replaced by rising question intonations in the Imbabura (Imb.) dialect.

### Syntactic Variation

There are many types of syntactic differentiation between the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua, but are beyond the scope of this study. Muysken (1977) and Cole et al (1978) provide interesting analyses of syntactic variation within the framework of transformational grammar. Most notable among syntactic variation is the distinction between kikin and kan in the Imbabura dialect. Both are used as second person references, but have taken on further distinctions of curved and straight speech respectively (see Chapter 3).

Also occurring in this dialect, verbal object suffixes are in the process of becoming preverbal NPs. For example:

kuwarka '3p gave it to me'

In many areas of this dialect the above utterance occurs as follows.

ñukaman kurka '3p gave it to me.'

### Lexical Variation

Variations and differences at the lexical level of Ecuadorian Quichua are countless. In many cases, such differentiation is due to influences of super and substrate languages. In addition, it may be due to the reduction of the semantic field of a given lexical item in any dialect. Notwithstanding, one lexical item does functions as a shibboleth among the various dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. This word, 'chicken', occurs as follows.

atalpa (Imb.)  
 atila (Pch.)  
 atal (Tsl.)  
 atillpa (Nch.)  
 wallpas (Azy.)  
 walpa (Lja.)  
 atalla (Ptz.)  
 atallba (Tna.)  
 atallpa (Npo.)

Obviously, such dialect variation as illustrated above presents many problems in country-wide communication in Quichua. It is for this (and other sociolinguistic) reasons that the non-central dialects seem to be mutually intelligible to a certain extent, but when members of this dialect region travel to the central dialect areas, communication is usually in Spanish. The next section

discusses how such dialect variation poses problems for the national educational system.

### Dialectology and Some Educational Implications

In his 1974 classification of languages in the Quechua family, Torero stated that Quechua in Ecuador and Colombia was composed of '...numerous varieties which had not yet been sufficiently delimited.' Ecuador's quest for bilingual education requires a knowledge of the descriptions of these dialects, their distributions, and relationships as one of the prerequisites for policy decisions; such descriptions are basic to the planning of any bilingual program. Fortunately, since Torero's statement, many investigations of the language as spoken in northwestern South America have begun to clarify the varieties of Chinchay Quechua and describe the relationships among them. A synthesis of these works with the corpus provides an overview of the diversity of the language in Ecuador, and draws some implications of such diversity for bilingual bicultural education programs.

### Background

The Quechua family varieties spoken in Ecuador today are indeed numerous. Within the country, Quichua consists of at least 15 dialects (see Chapter 1 for an ecology of these dialects). Although each dialect may be further classified into subdialects (for example, Cotacachi, Iluman, Agato,

Huaycu Pungu, etc. in Imbabura, and Ona Capac, Gunudel, Las Lagunas, etc. in Loja), all such subdivisions are within a single dialect and thus are linguistically mutually intelligible. Across dialect boundaries however, mutual intelligibility ranges from almost total comprehension to the understanding of a few isolated words and phrases. When considered vis-a-vis the stated goals of the national system of education, this means that a single set of pedagogical materials is not possible. Contrastive analyses of various dialects with (the many dialects of) Spanish in Ecuador indicate that specific, as well as general linguistic difficulties must be considered in bilingual programs to facilitate acquisition of proficiency in the second language. In addition to this internal linguistic variation, external social phenomena such as religion, economy, and ethnic identity play important roles in determining the degree of 'intelligibility' between dialects. While comparative correspondences of two varieties may indicate a close genetic relationship, overriding sociolinguistic factors often are not conducive to the expected mutual intelligibility. For example, successful Otavalo merchants often show disdain for Chibuleos by covering their noses and commenting on Chibuleo (lack of) cleanliness or by dismissing that dialect as 'ugly and not for understanding.' On the other hand, feeling they are the 'true Quichua speakers,' the Saragurenos consider

the Otavaleños as 'not real Indians who speak a very lazy Quichua.' The success of proposed bilingual bicultural education will depend in part on sensitivity to and awareness of linguistic and ethnographic differences.

### Data Base

The following data exhibit the divergence which may occur in even a small corpus. Included are two utterances from each of six dialects. Imbabura, Salasaca, and Loja are here representative of northern, central, and southern Sierra dialects respectively, while Napo, Tena, and Pastaza are representative of the Oriente dialects. The examples in the first set are glossed 'you came to cut the grass,' while those of the second set are glossed 'feeling well, I ran to their house.'

'You came to cut the grass.'

- |     |           |               |                |       |
|-----|-----------|---------------|----------------|-------|
| 1a. | Jiwa      | kuchu.nka.paj | shamu.rka.nki. | (Imb) |
| b.  | K'iwa.da  | p'iti.nga.bu  | shamu.rka.ngi. | (Tsl) |
| c.  | K'iwa.ta  | kuchu.nka.paj | shamu.rka.nki. | (Lja) |
| d.  | Kiwa .ta  | piti .nga.pa  | shamu.rka.ngi. | (Npo) |
| e.  | Kiwa .ra  | piti .nga.j   | shamu. ka.ngi. | (Tna) |
| f.  | Kiwa .ta  | piti .nga.wa  | shamu. ra.ngi. | (Ptz) |
| g.  | grass.acc | cut.nom.purp  | come.past.2p.  |       |

'Peeling well, I ran to his house.'

- 2a. Ali kausa.shpa, pai.paj wasi.man kalpa .rka.ni. {Imb}
- b. Allf kausa.sha , pai.bu wasi.mu kurri .rka.ni. {Tsl}
- c. Ali kausa.shpa, pai.pa wasi.m kallpa.rka.ni. {Lja}
- d. Alli kausa.sa , pai.pa wasi.ma kallpa.rka.ni. {Ypo}
- e. Ali kausa.sha , pai.wa wasi.ma kallpa. ka.ni. {Tna}
- f. Alli kausa.sha , pai.wa wasi.ma kalpa . ra.ni. {Ptz}
- g. good live.SA ger, 3p.poss house.dat run.past.1p.

#### Analysis of Correspondences

Synchronic dialect analyses are often described in terms of the correspondences between units; from a diachronic perspective these correspondences are viewed as reflexes of earlier proto-forms, implying a conservative/innovative continuum of language change. In many cases, the amount of innovation can become so great that correspondences between genetically-related items become opaque, and thereby result in a decrease of mutual intelligibility. While diachronic analyses become progressively more important as the need for standardized varieties arises, synchronic analyses provide urgently-needed descriptions which illustrate the heterogeneous nature of Ecuadorian Quichua. The above data indicate that although closely related at one level, the dialects may be so divergent at another level as to be almost unintelligible.

At the phonological level, the processes of aspiration, spirantization, phonemization of voiced stops, delateralization and depalatalization of the palatal lateral, and substantive suffix vowel change serve to distinguish the dialects as follows. The Oriente dialects are characterized by the absence of aspiration in word initial stops, kiwa 'grass,' and piti- 'cut.' Spirantization distinguishes the northern Sierra dialect from the remaining, as in jiwa 'grass,' and fiti- 'cut/break threads.' Regarding the phonemization of voiced stops, the various dialect areas appear to be in different stages of this process. In many cases, the restructuring of the phonological system allowing for voicing contrast in stops is highly affected by super- and substrate influences. The most innovative dialect regarding this process is central Sierra Salasaca with initial voiced stops in the substantive suffixes -da 'accusative,' and -bu 'possessive/purposive.' Depalatalization of the palatal lateral occurs in different environments in different areas; in Imbabura, Loja, and Tena before front vowels, as in ali 'good,' and in Imbabura and Pastaza before consonants, as in kalpa- 'run.' Delateralization (surface realization of the underlying palatal lateral as a voiced palatal fricative) has a geographic distribution almost identical to that of žeísmo in Ecuadorian Spanish. Although written as /li/ in both languages, it is produced as [ʒ] almost uniformly throughout

the northern and central Sierra as in Salasaca allí -- [aži] (and Spanish calle -- [kaže]) (1). Finally, vowel change in substantive case marking suffixes again distinguishes Salasaca from the remaining dialects. These above mentioned processes are given in Table 17, where phonological innovation in a dialect is marked; the unmarked positions indicate a more conservative dialect regarding the process under consideration.

|                                  | Imb  | Tsl | Lja | Npo | Tna | Ptz |
|----------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Aspiration                       | +(2) | +   | +   |     |     |     |
| Spiratization                    | +    |     |     |     |     |     |
| Phonemization<br>of Voiced Stops |      | +   |     | +   | +   | +   |
| Delateralization                 | +    | +   |     |     |     |     |
| Depalatalization                 | +    | +   | +   |     | +   | +   |
| Vowel Change                     |      | +   |     |     |     |     |

At the morphological level, there are only 17 morphemes from each dialect present in the above corpus; again, the correspondences between these morphemes may be viewed in terms of their innovation. Although many morphemes do exhibit innovation, the similarity in positions of occurrence cause the transparency of the correspondence usually to be evident to most speakers. This is the case



with the possessive morpheme -paj, -bu, -pa, -wa, the purposive mutually obligatory morpheme combination -nkapaj, -ngabu, -ngapa, -ngaj, -ngawa, the dative marker -man, -mu, -m, -ma, and the accusative marker -ta, -da, -ra.

Nonetheless, a given morpheme of one area may be understood by speakers from another area as an entirely different morpheme, and not as its genetically-related correspondent, thereby resulting in misunderstanding across dialect boundaries. For example, the majority of the dialects have retained -rka- as a verbal suffix indicating past personal knowledge, as in shamu.rka.nki 'you came.' In the Pastaza dialect, however, this past temporal is realized as -ra-, as in shamu.ra.ngi 'you came,' and in the Tena area the suffix is realized as /-ka-/, as in shamu.ka.ngi 'you came.' These same verbal constructions occur in other dialects but are semantically distinct, e.g., in the Napo dialect, shamu.ra.ngi is understood as 'you habitually come' and shamu.ka.ngi as 'you are one who comes.' Likewise, the construction piti.nga.wa 'in order to cut' of Pastaza is understood as 'with an instrument for cutting' in Napo, and as 'a little cutting tool' in Tena. As well, the form kausa.sha 'living, feeling' of the Salasaca, Tena, and Pastaza dialects is understood as 'I will live' in the remaining dialects; the Napo form kausa.sa 'living' is generally unintelligible for speakers from other dialect areas, but after sustained contact eventually becomes

transparent due to identical privileges of occurrence. These morphological considerations are summarized in Table 18, where the marked positions indicate the presence of a particular innovative correspondent; unmarked positions indicate use of the more conservative form to the left of the arrow.

|       |         | Iab | Tsl | Lja | Npo | Tna | Ptz |
|-------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| -ta   | -> -da  |     | +   |     |     |     |     |
|       | -ra     |     |     |     |     | +   |     |
| -pak  | -> -bu  |     | +   |     |     |     |     |
|       | -wa     |     |     |     |     | +   | +   |
| -rka  | -> -ka  |     |     |     |     | +   |     |
|       | -ra     |     |     |     |     |     | +   |
| -shpa | -> -sha |     | +   |     |     | +   | +   |
|       | -sa     |     |     |     | +   |     |     |
| -nan  | -> -na  |     |     |     | +   | +   | +   |
|       | -nu     |     | +   |     |     |     |     |
|       | -m      |     |     | +   |     |     |     |

At the syntactic level, the Imbabura dialect differs from the rest in data set 1 in that the deletion of the accusative complement inflection is now an optional transformation in this dialect when the object immediately precedes a transitive verb. While other syntactic processes

distinguish the various dialects, such as copula contraction and object movement, the above data do not markedly differ in these particular constructions.

In two instances there are lexical differences and only one of these is due to internal semantic change. Imbabura and Loja are again distinctive in their use of kuchu- 'to cut.' The form piti- does have synchronic morphological correspondences in these dialects as fiti- in Imbabura, and p'iti- in Loja (via spirantization and aspiration previously discussed), but they have been semantically restricted to the textile domain to mean 'cut long thin thread-like objects,' while kuchu- has become the more generic term. The remaining lexical difference in the above data occurs in the Salasaca dialect where kurri- 'to run,' is used rather than the more traditional Quichua word of other areas; this illustrates external superstrate borrowing incorporated into Quichua by vowel raising (and vibrant assibilation (3)). Although not evident in the above data, all dialects have borrowed lexical items either from Spanish or retained items from prior (substrate) indigenous languages. The type of borrowing (and subsequent restructuring) again serve to establish dialect boundaries from an entirely different perspective (4).

### Summary

The analysis of the two utterances given in the data sets above has shown dialect differences at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels of Ecuadorian Quichua. Because these differences are slight in some areas, it has led many to conclude that Quichua within Ecuador is a single homogeneous language; clearly this is not the case. While there are close genetic relationships at some levels, external sociolinguistic variables often affect the degree of mutual intelligibility to the extent that these internal relationships are no longer apparent. For example, even though the Loja and Imbabura dialects are genetically closely related, the speakers of these varieties often prefer to communicate in Spanish when possible, each feeling that the other dialect is not 'true' Quichua and that it has borrowed heavily from Spanish.

The ultimate realization of bilingual education programs in Ecuador is faced with difficult problems; while politicians and educators favor simplifying the dialects, the creation of an artificial, all-inclusive, homogeneous standard probably will not be accepted by Quichua speakers. For example, while looking at a dictionary of Sierra dialects, Oriente Indians recognized some words but said they had different meanings in the jungle. They said the dictionary was 'not useful here.' Using primers prepared for Otavalo, a Saragureno stated about three times per page 'this is not how we say it here.'

Although Quichua is moribund in some areas, in others it is growing and becoming a source of renewed ethnic identity and pride. Consequently bilingual bicultural programs in any area must first be responsive to and accepted by the speakers of that area before any attempt at standardization is made. Whether Ecuador bases its bilingual education policies on a 'standardized ideal' or on the empirical evidence of linguistic and ethnic variation remains to be seen.

#### Notes

1. Exceptions include word-initial /ll/ being realized as [c] in the Spanish of Guallabamba, /llevelos/ --> [cebelos].
2. Aspiration has a very low frequency in this dialect, e.g., t'iyu 'non-relative,' t'ankana 'push,' etc.
3. Vibrant assibillation parallels zeismo in that it occurs with almost identical geographic distribution in both Quichua and Spanish in Ecuador.
4. While listening to tapes from other dialect areas, almost all informants remarked that the other speakers used a Quichua '...very mixed with Spanish,' or '...turned upside down with Spanish.'

## CHAPTER VIII BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND ECUADOR

### Introduction

The bulk of this chapter draws from the preceding chapters to identify, classify, and offer suggestions for some of the problems which are encountered in the implementation of development programs that are culturally and linguistically adequate. It is also shown that only one program, or one set of pedagogical materials will not suffice for the culturally pluralistic society existing in Ecuador today.

### Indigenous Participation in Formal Education

The Ecuadorian educational system consists of primarias, primary schools containing the first six grades, and colegios, secondary schools containing a six year curriculum. The primary schools are public, but the vast majority of secondary schools are private. In addition, located throughout the country, there are universities and technical schools generally operated and financed by either the government or religious institutions. At only the primary level is education free and some supplies are provided. The curriculae in almost all cases are supervised

and controlled by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Public Education. The Ministry is also responsible for the coordination and administration of teacher-training institutions and programs, called escuelas normales.

Most schools are located in or near urban areas in white or mestizo communities. Since Indians were historically denied entrance to the cities, they were thus completely cut off from the educational system. This did not noticeably change until the passage of the Law of Agrarian Reform and Colonization on June 15, 1964, which was promulgated by the ruling military junta with pressure from the United States. In essence, this law was intended to nationalize and divide remaining church lands and public estates, forever ban debt peonage and non-wage compensation, grant peons immediate title to the lands they worked, and place a ceiling on contiguous land holdings by a single individual or family. (Interestingly, since the passage of this law, only 38 families in the Imbabura Province have benefited, a fact proudly announced on billboards along the Panamerican Highway.) At the present time, the majority of schools are still located in the larger, mestizo and white-dominated towns and cities, far away from the isolated rural Indian communities. This fact in large part explains the varying literacy figures for the different socioeconomic and ethnic groups in Ecuador (See Chapter 1 for a discussion of literacy.).

For the most part, until the establishment of bilingual education programs, all instruction in the schools was completely in Spanish. Almost all teachers were non-Indian, and all pedagogical materials were written in Spanish. Indian children who did attend school were generally prohibited from speaking their indigenous languages on the school grounds.

The proportion of Indian Children who begin school is much lower than that of their non-Indian counterparts. This reflects the relative inaccessibility of schools, the cost of education, and the economic value of children as workers to Indian families on their farms and in textile production. Indian children also have much higher withdrawal and retention rates than do non-Indians. As a result, Indian children only average a total of six to nine months of formal primary education, but this number is gradually increasing since many indigenous youth now attend colleges and universities in Ecuador and abroad. The number of Indian children who finish primary and secondary school is tiny when the total population is considered. Those who finish secondary school and who are fortunate (and wealthy) enough to pursue any form of higher education are still a very small minority. With the exception of "token" Indians from other ethnic groups, the vast majority of those Indians who are able to attain higher education are those who have achieved economic success through production and sale of textiles for the tourist markets (i.e., the Otavaleños).



Many Indian communities that have access to education are already bilingual in Spanish and Quichua, such as Saraguro and Otavalo.

In spite of the inadequacies of the educational system to effectively deal with their particular needs, many indigenous groups of Ecuador desperately want access to any educational opportunity. They recognize the necessity of being able to read and write in Spanish in order to achieve any economic and social advancement in Ecuador. Many Indian groups are not concerned with learning in Quichua unless that will enable them to learn Spanish (or other languages) more quickly. For most groups, Quichua is in no danger of being lost; it is still the language of the home and community. Some of the Indians who are losing Quichua are not at all interested in retaining the ability to speak it. These people are undergoing a process of mestization, moving up from the Indian socio-economic and ethnic stratum into the mestizo stratum. (In most cases, Indians are defined by the clothes they wear and the language they speak.)

A small minority of Indians, the Otavaleños, are concerned about maintaining their ethnic identity as Indians and their ability to speak Quichua. This group wants not just education, but bilingual education. The following section of this chapter discusses in much more detail the effect that the social and economic position of Indians within Ecuador has had on reception of bilingual education by the indigenous target groups.

### Official Attitudes Towards Bilingual Education

The official attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages in education in Latin America has been described as a series of pendulum-like movements by Shirley Brice Heath in her book Telling Tongues (1972). This book specifically examines the positions taken in Mexico since the Spanish Conquest, but the pendulum swings she describes also apply to the history of language policy in most of Latin America. Ecuador as well as Mexico was subject to the laws and dictates of the Spanish crown, which were the ultimate source of this vacillation.

Laws and policy in Ecuador have swung back and forth between acknowledging the existence of indigenous languages and advocating their use in education at one pole, and denying the indigenous languages human status and insisting on the use of Spanish in the schools, on the other. The first educational programs directed specifically at Indians in Ecuador were solely for the purpose of christianizing and castellanization. These efforts were directed by the Jesuit order. The Jesuits became aware of the existence of the variety of indigenous languages within Ecuador and the desirability of using them in their missionizing efforts. The Jesuits selected Quichua as the major language in Ecuador used for instruction. (Many of the sources available today on earlier forms of the language were the 'pedagogical materials' utilized in these first attempts at

education.) These missionaries actually spread Quichua farther in Ecuador than the Incas did prior to the Spanish Conquest. Many of the Quichua dialects spoken in the Oriente can be traced to these early missionary efforts.

### Present Policy

The current policy towards bilingual education in Ecuador is once again favorable. This position has been held by the Ministry of Education since the early 1970s. (See the Final Document of the Primer Seminario Nacional de Educacion Bilingue del Ecuador for official Ministry statements.) It reflects the work of individuals and organizations within and without Ecuador to influence educational policy. Development agencies of the United States, Holland, and France, among others, supported programs in bilingual education as part of their development efforts in the third world.

The major motivation behind bilingual education programs in Ecuador has been the education of the indigenous peoples who comprise the bulk of the country's population. The primary goal is to make Ecuador literate and to incorporate those marginal groups into the mainstream of Ecuadorian life. It is hoped that education will assist the integration of these indigenous peoples into the national political, social, and economic systems. The education provided for Indian children in the bilingual program is

identical to the program of instruction in the regular schools. In bilingual schools, this is usually achieved through the transitional mode of instruction, i.e., decreasing use of the native language while increasing use of the second language as the principal language of instruction. Since there is very little material present in the regular schools about the indigenous peoples and cultures of Ecuador, this information is not typically included in the bilingual programs. (There are striking parallels to the United States educational system in which Indians and Blacks usually face the same situation.)

Members of the Ecuadorian elite share certain widespread attitudes towards the indigenous cultures and languages present in their country. (In many Latin American countries with a large indigenous population there is a stigma and deprecation of the various groups. In other Latin countries, Indians are by and large ignored; many non-Indians cannot distinguish any identifying characteristics of any ethnic group. On the other hand, in some cases there is preferential treatment of Indians. For example, in Ecuador people say the following.

Si hay muchos indígenas, y también hay los otavaleños.

'Yes there are many Indians, and there are also the Otavaleños.'

For the most part however, there is a social stigma attached to being a member of any Indian group. Indigenous languages are not always considered truly human speech; they are often referred to as aboriginal or primitive 'dialects' (1). The ability to speak Quichua is a mark of Indian status, and thus stigmatized. All this is reflected in the school language curriculae. Spanish and one, sometimes two, other languages are required courses. Other languages are generally English or French. Quichua, some form of which is spoken by the majority of Ecuador's population, is not taught except in bilingual education programs. Then, it is only taught to Quichua speakers to facilitate their transition to Spanish.

The situation in Ecuador contrasts in many ways with that of Peru (where archaeological sites are not used for aerial bombing targets); there are members of mestizo and white socioeconomic ethnic strata who are proud of their ability to speak Quechua. A common misperception of Quichua held by non-Indian, non-Quichua speaking Ecuadorians is that the language is completely homogeneous throughout the country. It is assumed, therefore, that all groups of Quichua speakers are equally able to understand each other's dialects. The actual range of inter-dialect intelligibility from nearly total to negligible has not been adequately understood, and the resulting communication problems between indigenous groups have not been fully appreciated by

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non-Quichua speakers. This perception of the Quichua language reflects the widespread ignorance found among mestizo and white sectors of Ecuadorian society about the extent of ethnic diversity within the indigenous segment of the population. This failure to perceive the wide variation in Quichua dialects has had an affect upon the Ecuadorian approach to bilingual education.

For example, Haidar (1979) recently proposed a "standard dialect" of Quichua to be used in bilingual education programs. This "standard dialect" is not spoken by any actual indigenous group. The forms used are derived from the author's analysis of the nature of Quichua. (She also comments on the falta de datos empiricos 'lack of empirical data.'). For example, in an attempt to standardize, ayana was selected to be used as 'death;' in the dialect studied the form is glossed as 'death,' but in the remainder of the dialects where wañuna is used, the form ayana is glossed as 'to hex, or bewitch. Since these variations can be compounded ad infinitum, it becomes obvious that a single dialect for country-wide use is simply not feasible.

To sum up the present policy and attitude toward bilingual education by the Ecuadorian government, it should be said that there are a great many dedicated people whose intentions are excellent. Unfortunately, financial dependence on foreign development agencies for program funding in combination with certain long standing social

attitudes on the part of both program designers and program recipients has created many problems in the actual implementation of bilingual education projects in Ecuador. The following section focuses on the history of these projects.

### Bilingual Education in Ecuador

Bilingual education programs first began in Ecuador in the Oriente, not in the Sierra. The first programs were organized and operated by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the 1950s. The Summer Institute of Linguistics signed a convenio 'agreement' with the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education that they would provide education for the Indians of the Oriente. These groups included speakers of Quichua and other indigenous languages (See the section on concurrent languages for a description of these.). Prior to the SIL programs, these lowland groups did not have access to practically any type of formal education in their own area.

The SIL combined religious proselytization with literacy education. This led to difficulties with the Ecuadorian government, and the SIL was expelled from the country in 1981. It is unknown at this time whether the education programs begun by the SIL will continue. These were the only bilingual education programs that included instruction aimed at non-Quichua speaking groups.

The first bilingual education project in the Sierra began in 1972. This first program was a pilot project, a feasibility study done to determine whether bilingual education could reduce the high withdrawal and retention rates of Indian children. This project was called the "El Cercado Bilingual Education Pilot Project (Proyecto Piloto de Educacion Bilingue: El Cercado)."

The El Cercado Project was conceived, designed, and implemented by members of the Instituto Interandino de Desarrollo (IID). The El Cercado Project was funded by United States Information Services, the Peace Corps, and the Ecuadorian government. The Project had the official sanction of the Ministry of Education through the provincial and cantonal levels.

The El Cercado Project was based on the transitional model of bilingual education. The curriculum was designed to meet the requirements of the Ministry of Education; and covered the same material as covered in the regular school system. In this way, at the end of three years of bilingual instruction, the student would be able to enter any regular school at the fourth grade level. (It seemed as though linguistic variation might be tolerable, but cultural pluralism would not; explaining NASA's moon voyages was not exactly ideal curriculum content in isolated places that had not yet received electrification.) The specific aim of this project was to facilitate the transition from Quichua to



Spanish. The first year of the program was almost entirely in Quichua except oral Spanish. The second year instruction was equally divided between Quichua and Spanish as languages of instruction. All subjects were taught first in Quichua and then repeated in Spanish. The third year nearly all instruction was in Spanish, with some readers in Quichua available for the students.

Since there were no pedagogical materials in Quichua available in 1972, members of the IID developed all the materials that were used in the project (See Carpenter, 1974 for a more detailed description of these materials.). In the space of one year, the IID members produced grammars, primers, math and science texts, and Spanish as a Second Language books, as well as the appropriate teachers' guides. All pedagogical materials were prepared in the Imbabura subdialect spoken in El Cercado.

The original plan for the bilingual education project included programs in a bilingual (Quichua-Spanish) community as well as in a monolingual (Quichua) community. Religious and political opposition prevented the inception of the program in the bilingual community. The monolingual community selected was El Cercado, an extremely isolated rural community located on the side of the Cotacachi volcano.

First, a school had to be built in El Cercado: and this was accomplished through various community-wide mingas 'work

parties.' The teacher hired for the project was a Quichua-Spanish bilingual Indian who had completed teacher training in the normal schools (She is currently working toward her Ph.D. degree from the University of Illinois.). The school encountered a few difficulties opening on schedule, and instruction at El Cercado actually began four months later than the regular rural school schedule. However, the children attending the school were able to learn the same amount of material in five months that children attending the regular schools learned in nine months. The withdrawal rates experienced by Indian children at El Cercado were less than half the rates experienced by children in the regular schools. Also, retention rates were significantly reduced.

The success of the El Cercado Bilingual Education Pilot Project was favorably noted by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education. The Ministry later decided to adopt the El Cercado format, including all the pedagogical materials, as the official model for bilingual education in Ecuador, and attempted to replicate the project in other regions of the Sierra (At the time, bilingual education in the Oriente was controlled by the SIL.). Unfortunately, since the materials had been prepared specifically for Otavalo, they did not prove adequate for instruction in other dialect areas. As a result, the other bilingual projects were not as successful as the original El Cercado project. The present study was

carried out in order to gather basic data on Quichua in Ecuador and on the extent of dialect variation. This information, it was hoped, could then be used in the preparation of appropriate pedagogical materials for all the different dialect areas.

Another problem encountered in the implementation of bilingual education programs has been the lack of trained bilingual Indian teachers; there are many Indians who have finished normal schools but are not allowed to advance too quickly through the educational system. White and mestizo teachers are often not willing to relocate and reside in the isolated Indian communities. For example, when a white teacher replaced the Indian teacher at El Cercado, he held classes infrequently and irregularly (averaging about once a month). Since he commuted from outside the community, he felt justified since the journey to El Cercado was difficult. Members of the local community lost interest in the school and stopped sending their children. In many similar instances, programs which were started in the early 1970s have since been disbanded. The only successful programs are those which were taken over by the local community and which employ Indian teachers.

A third difficulty in the creation of bilingual education programs in Ecuador is financial. As a developing nation, Ecuador depends on foreign assistance, especially development aid, to establish many of its social programs.

The Ecuadorian government officially supports bilingual education, having established the Office of Bilingual Education and passed a law pertaining to the instruction of linguistic minorities. Unfortunately the law is not registered and is therefore unenforceable. The majority of all actual bilingual education programs for the indigenous population have been sponsored and funded by international organizations such as the Peace Corps and the Inter-American Foundation. The future of bilingual education programs in Ecuador thus depends not only on official governmental sanction within the country but also upon continued interest of the Ecuadorian government and foreign development agencies.

#### Bilingual Education and Social Stratification

One of the general goals of bilingual education programs is to aid and benefit a linguistic minority within a larger society. The educational bureaucracy feels that the "obvious" merits of bilingual education will help convince the target population of the program's value, and consequently increase the desire of the linguistic minority to broaden its participation in formal education. However, these basic goals are usually defined and incorporated at an administrative level far above and beyond the participation of local community leaders. As a result, the myth of minority homogeneity is perpetuated and inadvertently

included in the bilingual program's design and realization. The interplay of factors surrounding the Ecuadorian National Plan of Bilingual Education is used here to illustrate some of the problems encountered by administratively initiated projects.

Following the recommendations of the Primer Seminario Nacional de Educacion Bilingue held in Quito in 1973, Ecuador has initiated a national policy of bilingual education to address the '...urgent necessity of sociocultural and economic integration...' of the country's linguistic minorities (Primer Seminario..., 1975). Although Spanish is the official language, Ecuador is a linguistically diverse nation. The majority of the population of seven million speak at least one of the ten indigenous languages; Quichua is the most widely spoken. Almost a decade after the Primer Seminario, to the bewilderment of educators and government policy makers it has been found that not all programs are well-received or successful, even though the merits of bilingual education in the Ecuadorian case have been demonstrated (Stark and Dilworth, 1975). Even within a single ethnic group that is favorably disposed towards bilingual education, not all members feel it to be a viable alternative to the existing system of fiscal education with instruction in Spanish. When educators and policy makers become aware of the disparate desires of a given ethnic group regarding

bilingual education, the following questions often arise: what are the factors that help determine the choice to participate in bilingual programs, and are such factors cultural, linguistic, or some combination, i.e., sociolinguistic. By examining linguistic and cultural data from the Otavalo Indians, a description is provided of some of these defining characteristics, their interaction, and their affect on the acceptance or rejection of proposed bilingual education programs.

### Cultural Considerations

The Otavaleños are an indigenous group of about 40,000 people residing in the higher valleys of the Imbabura Province. While the majority of the Otavaleños are still subsistence agriculturalists, approximately twenty percent are quite intensively engaged in a primarily tourist-oriented production weaving economy. Because of this latter group's wide geographic distribution in Ecuador and abroad and their involvement with the tourist industry, the Otavaleños are becoming increasingly better known.

An element contributing to this growing visibility is the Otavalo Saturday morning market, one of Ecuador's major tourist attractions, as well as one of the most famous artisan markets in South America. For the local residents the Saturday market itself is generally the focal point of the week and much of the town's activities are oriented to it.

Several factors have contributed to the prominence of the market as a major tourist attraction and source of income. Unlike the Andean region farther south where weavings are generally for personal use, substantial quantities of the textiles produced by the Otavaleños are primarily for selling in the tourist market. Such production weaving has long been a part of the Otavalo society (Casagrande, 1977; Salomon, 1973).

As Otavalo and the market's fame increased (with its subsequent economic benefits), the market, the town, and inter-ethnic relations among the region's inhabitants have also changed. A physical change in the market was instigated by the Dutch government in the early 1970's with the construction of cement kiosks where the Otavaleños can sell their work, theoretically making the products more appealing to the foreign tourists than if the weavings are displayed on the ground. The market's duration has also changed; in the early 1970's the market was usually terminated between 9:00 and 10:00 a.m. whereas the present-day market continues until the early afternoon. As one Indian explained '...we've learned that you gringos don't like to get up early, so the market is longer now.'

Changes in the town can be illustrated by the shifting Indian/blanco proportions within the urban population. In the 1940's Otavalo was referred to as '...the world of the white man; the Indians enter it with distrust and leave it

gladly for the peace and oldness of the mountains...'  
(Collier and Buitron, 1949). There were very few Indians in residence in the town itself. Within the past four decades, however, increasing numbers of Indians have taken up residence in Otavalo, thereby becoming 'city-Indians.' Today, there are approximately 3,000 Indians among the 12,000 inhabitants of Otavalo. Many of the Indians remaining in the countryside do not approve of this behavior and refer to the city dwellers by saying that they have '...forgotten their origin in the land,' '...are lazy...,' and '...are soft like little leaves.' Although the rural Indians disapprove of living in the city, many share the desire for material possessions, and say that '...there is a treasure that shines only for those in the city.'

Most Indians own or rent homes and stores, especially in the north end of town near the tourist market. This Indian migration has brought new types of business to the urban area; there are at least 75 stores selling artesanía, most of them Indian-owned and operated, a far cry from the one white-owned shop that existed in 1966.

As an example of the intricacies of inter-ethnic relations, the interdependency of various social groups can be illustrated by the appearance of wool sweaters in the market. An early Peace Corps project introduced knitting to the non-Indian women of a more northern community. Many of these women buy much of their wool from the Otavaleños, knit



the sweaters, then sell them back to the Otavaleños who in turn sell them to the tourists and buyers. When asked why the women do not sell the sweaters themselves, one woman explained thusly, 'we make them and the Indians sell them; people like to buy from the Indians, not from us.' All involved seem to be quite happy with this arrangement: many of the women now have new homes and the Otavaleños have another highly saleable item in their textile inventory.

As well, since being recognized as Otavaleño is seen as a possible economic advantage, some Indians who normally wear non-Indian clothing during the week always appear at the Saturday market in full Indian costume; even some white people will wear Indian costume on Saturday in an effort to attract more business.

The growth of the weaving industry and the market has considerably increased the economic independence and visibility of those Otavaleños most closely associated with it. Obviously, the farther one goes from the market into the countryside, the more economic benefits decline. Along with other factors such as residence, religion, amount of education, and socialization of the youngest child, this increased economic viability has caused the emergence of a new social class that is very wealthy and that sometimes has considerable influence among the other Otavaleños. The following examples will help clarify the degree of wealth manifested. Whenever possible and necessary, the Otavaleños

will often purchase land, but beyond this they seem to be very taken by the products of the more technologically-advanced societies. Many of the wealthy merchants in the Saturday market are in possession of a pocket calculator; one man I know now has a pocket translator to facilitate interaction with English-speaking clientele. Within the Indian home, it is not unusual to see refrigerators, blenders, stoves, color TVs, and expensive stereo sound systems in addition to the electric looms producing yards of textiles daily; these are turned off on Saturdays so the tourists will not suspect machine production. Since the cost of these imported electronic items is at least double the price in the country of origin, their acquisition involves a substantial outlay of capital.

While investigations by Stark (1982b), Villavicencio (1973), Burgos (1977), and others have addressed the phenomena of social stratification and inter-ethnic relations within the broader context of Ecuadorian society, other investigations such as those by Chavez (1979) have shown that in addition to occupying certain social positions as a group within the larger society, the Otavaleños are further experiencing in-group class distinctions. In addition to economic differences, some of the more salient social characteristics of this class are as follows. 1) Residence. As stated earlier, most of the members of this new social class reside within the town of Otavalo (or in

expatriate communities). Furthermore, most of these people are from the nearby communities of Peguche, Quinchuqui, Tuman, and Agato. 2) Religion. Many, although not all, of the urban Indians have converted from Catholicism and are now either evangélicos or adventistas. 3) Costume. The Otavaleños have a costume that distinguishes them from the remaining Indian groups. Until about 40 years ago, slight variations in the costume indicated the area or community of residence. Variations in the hat styles, blouse, belt design, anaku 'skirt' embroidery, and the fachalina 'head wrap' in different combinations helped to clearly identify the village of residence. Today, most of these locale identifiers have disappeared due to the increasing specialization in the costume's manufacture. Although it is still possible within limits to determine residence from certain costume elements like the walka 'neck beads,' the more recent economy and subsequent introduction of new fabrics have caused former distinctions based on residence to now be distinctions based on wealth and status. For example, among the women, wearing an anaku, fachalina, or rebozo 'carrying cloth' of velvet, velour, or fake fur is more indicative of the woman's social class rather than residence. Among the men, social position and wealth are often indicated by tailor-made pants, digital watches, sunglasses, racing jackets instead of ponchos, not wearing a hat, and occasionally among the youth, Nike running shoes.

### Linguistic Considerations

Since social change is usually followed by language change, one expects to find linguistic variation reflecting the social stratification illustrated by the above cultural data. As Labov (1966) indicated in his trail-blazing work, any social distinction based on non-linguistic criteria may also be indicated by linguistic variation as well. Indeed, many recent innovations in language use and attitudes among the Otavaleños further support these claims.

Although not always the case, a majority of the Otavaleños currently speak Quichua. The Otavaleños were the last group to be brought under the yoke of Inca domination during Huayna Capac's northern campaign. After a fierce 17 year resistance, the Otavaleños finally yielded to the Incas and were ruled by them a very short time before the arrival of the Spanish in 1534. As was customary, the Incas attempted to impose their language, religion, and other customs, but apparently without much success; in a 1582 description, Sancho Paz Ponce de Leon stated that '...only a few men spoke the general language [Quechua], while the remainder spoke a local language [Cara].' Although the use of Cara probably continued until well after the Conquest, almost nothing remains today but toponyms. The replacement of Cara by Quichua is so complete that most of the present-day Otavaleños are monolingual Quichua speakers. Nonetheless, the closer one gets to the town of Otavalo, the higher the incidence of bilingualism with Spanish.

The various ethnic groups in Ecuador have distinct ways of referring to the language such as runa shimi 'Indian language,' ingá shimi 'Inca language,' ingá parlu 'Inca speech,' etc., but the Otavaleños are unique in referring to their language as yanka shimi. In the early 1970's everyone I asked said this meant 'a worthless language.' During my last field trip, the majority of the rural inhabitants still defined the term this way, but many of the urban inhabitants said the term meant 'independent' or 'segregated language.' This lexical change reflects a growing appreciation by the Indians of the salience of the language to their ethnic identity.

For a parallel grammatical change regarding the distinction between curved and straight speech, see Chapter 6.

While many variations of Otavalo Quichua are indicative of the urban-rural distinctions in social dialectology (3), others illustrate stylistic, age, sex, and/or social network distinctions as well. For example, older women use the more conservative ñuñukuy 'to put in the blouse' instead of the innovative jinchuliy, 'to put in the blouse.' The latter is more widespread among the younger women in addition to being the more prevalent form among the urban women.

As an example of an age indicator regardless of sex, consider the Quichua forms meaning 'to dance.' Baylana, from Spanish bailar, is by far the more general term. The urban

young, after the appearance of 'Saturday Night Fever,' have created trabultiyana, via Spanish travoltear from English (John) Travolta.

As an indicator of religious affiliation regardless of age and sex, the non-Catholics, many of them urban, have relexified the more conservative tushuna from Peruvian Quechua meaning 'to dance.'

When referring to wakra 'cow' people involved in cattle rustling generally use the term ankara 'large gourd bottom.' The similarity of the large gourd bottom with the cow's head including the horns is illustrative of this group's euphemistic reference to items by their shape, thereby maintaining privacy in their public conversations.

Although the above examples are not an exhaustive description of the variation in Otavalo social dialectology, it is indicative of some of the major distinctions.

### Sociolinguistic Considerations

In addition to the cultural and linguistic elements presented as indicative of the ongoing social stratification process, an extremely important sociolinguistic consideration is the evaluation of the differences between the attitudes toward and perceptions of Spanish, Quichua, and bilingual education by the rural poor and the urban wealthy. Once these differences are perceived, the acceptability of introduced bilingual programs can be

enhanced by corresponding differences in program presentation and composition addressing the needs of specific groups.

Among the wealthy, some of the younger generation are in the process of losing their Quichua. Many adolescents understand Quichua but prefer to speak Spanish claiming that the former language causes their '...tongues to get twisted...;' many pre-adolescents are presently Spanish-speaking monolinguals. This does not mean that Quichua is moribund among the Indians; the vast majority of the Otavaleños still have Quichua as their native language. Among the urban inhabitants, the parents do not want their children to lose the ability to speak Quichua as it is now becoming an important element in their ethnic identity. While they feel that Spanish is more useful in their business affairs, Quichua is still the language of their rural home, jokes, ceremonies, and medicine. For many of these people, bilingual education is seen as a way to prevent the loss of the indigenous language.

On the other hand, the often monolingual rural poor see the acquisition of Spanish as necessary for economic advancement, social mobility, and the acquisition of material wealth. They usually perceive bilingual education as an attempt to keep them predominantly Quichua speakers and to deny them the access to the wealth and status of their urban counterparts. Their feeling is that their

children already know Quichua so therefore they must go to school in Spanish in order to force them to learn that language. 'This is usually what happened in the fiscal schools; almost nothing is written in Quichua, so why on earth would anyone want to learn to read and write that language? Anything to be read is in Spanish and anything worth writing about will also be in that language.' Many proponents of bilingual education will argue that reading and writing skills in Quichua will enable the Indian population to prepare important documents such as deeds and wills in their native language; unfortunately, this is not presently considered socially acceptable by the Indians nor legally acceptable by the Ecuadorian government. In short, the majority of the rural Quichua-speaking population of the Otavalo region perceive bilingual education as yet another mechanism of repression designed to perpetuate their poverty and servitude. Somewhere between bilingual education's inception in the centralized administrative offices of the capital and its presentation to the local community the explanation of its goals and principles seem to have been forgotten. As one Indian explained, '...why would I want to become part of the mainstream of Ecuadorian life; we have our own culture...and if we can learn Spanish, you can see that we often do better than many of the non-Indians who live here.'



Summary

In the above discussion, cultural, linguistic, and sociolinguistic evidence was presented as illustrative of emerging indicators and markers in the current social stratification process among the Otavaleños. Culturally, membership in a given social class can be determined by residence (rural/urban), costume (composition/materials), religious affiliation (Catholic/non-Catholic), employment (agriculture/weaving), economic status (wealthy/poor), and other factors in varying combinations. Linguistically, social class memberships can be determined by the use of certain lexical items and grammatical forms. Sociolinguistically, class membership can be defined by attitudes towards and perceptions of Spanish and Quichua.

It is clear that social stratification among the Otavaleños is occurring and that membership within a given class is often a determining factor in the acceptance or rejection of national policies such as bilingual education. Instead of the existence of a presumed homogeneous indigenous population, there are different groups and within them class distinctions based on cultural, linguistic, and sociolinguistic considerations. As illustrated by the Otavalo case, acceptance of and participation in bilingual education is not determined by purely linguistic factors, but rather economic ones. The urban wealthy desire bilingual education not because their children will retain

the indigenous language, but because by speaking it they are (in part) recognized as Indian; such recognition is crucial to further economic success. The rural poor, on the other hand, are predominantly monolingual Quichua speakers who want to learn Spanish to increase the possibility of economic advancement; bilingual education is often rejected by them because the study of Quichua is not seen as economically beneficial.

While educators and policy makers may claim that economic considerations should not be the factors which determine acceptance or rejection of bilingual education, the empirical evidence from Otavalo indicates that economic status is in fact one of the major decisive elements.

Ultimately, for bilingual education to be successful anywhere, the various desires, needs, and cultural, linguistic, and sociolinguistic differences of the target population must be ascertained before program planning can begin. Administrative instigators of bilingual programs must incorporate the concerns of the target population in their design. Unless such efforts are made early in the planning phase, bilingual education may be misunderstood by the target group, viewed by them as yet another means of repression, and, as we have seen so often in the past, doomed to failure from its inception.

The preceding discussion of bilingual education programs in Ecuador illustrates the necessity for careful linguistic

and social analysis prior to the design and implementation of any project. The connection between an understanding of the structure and variation of the target group's language and the preparation of appropriate pedagogical materials is easily demonstrated. An awareness of the target group's needs and desires for education should also be an obvious requirement of project conception and planning.

#### Notes

1. This usage of the word 'dialect' is common throughout Ecuador and much of the Andes to imply depreciation of indigenous languages.

## CHAPTER IX CONCLUSIONS

This study has been concerned with providing an overview, description, and discussion of possible applications of Ecuadorian Quichua.

In the overview, a brief ecological statement was provided for Ecuadorian Quichua addressing demography, genetic classification, history, sociolinguistic concerns (such as concurrent languages), and glottopolitical considerations. Demographically, Quichua is still the native language of much of Ecuador's indigenous population, and, although moribund in some areas, it is quite vigorous and growing in others. Genetically classified as QIIB, the language and its Ecuadorian varieties is a member of the Quechua language family. Historically, its spread into Ecuador appears to have occurred on at least two different occasions, once as the Chinchay standard trade language approximately 1,000 years ago, and again as the Chinchay Inca conquest language approximately 500 years ago. At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the language was distributed along the coast and in parts of the Sierra. Presently, the language is no longer utilized on the coast, but still remains in the Sierra (over a larger area) and has spread eastward into the upper Amazon basin. Sociolinguistically,

a discussion of the concurrent languages sharing the same environment with Quichua has demonstrated their influence on Quichua and vice versa, as well as the nature of Ecuador's linguistic plurality. Glottopolitically, the language occupies a low status in relation to Ecuador's superordinate language, Spanish, but is still perceived by the government as a trade language to be used in communication with other indigenous groups who are not Quichua speakers. Officially, the language is still very much deprecated and often referred to as a primitive dialect or a corrupted derivation of Spanish. Fortunately, increasing awareness of the language as a vital and integral part of ethnic identity is becoming a factor which (hopefully) will soon change the official governmental perceptions of Quichua. Many in powerful government positions are now realizing that the denial of Quichua's existence will not cause it to disappear.

Also provided in the overview is a review of the literature pertaining to Ecuadorian and Peruvian Quechua, and a brief ethnographic sketch of those who currently speak the language in Ecuador.

In the descriptive section, an analysis was presented of the phonological and morphological systems and of the dialect variation within Ecuador. Although Quichua does not have the extensive morphophonemics of other Andean languages such as Aymara and Jagaru, it is nevertheless an extremely

complicated language. The composite phonology, plus a description of the morphology and the combinations and distributions of the constituent members illustrate and clarify the nature of Quichua as spoken in Ecuador. The analysis of Quichua dialectology illustrates the variation and the extremely difficult task of defining and delimiting dialect areas, and the problems this suggests for the national educational system. The dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua may be distinguished along at least two parameters, central versus non-central, or Sierra versus Oriente dialects.

In the third perspective, applications, it was illustrated how Quichua affects the acceptance or rejection of development programs such as bilingual education and health care delivery systems. A call was made for representatives of national and international development agencies to be more aware of the significance of linguistic postulates, and their relation to the realization and interpretation of social behaviors. The implications of such awareness for development are far-reaching.

In the course of the field investigation and subsequent analysis many other questions emerged pertaining to the nature of Quichua in Ecuador. Some of these questions are included below as points of departure for future research.

1. A continued examination of sociolinguistic factors affecting bilingual education and the desires of other non-Quichua speaking indigenous groups.

2. Further examination of linguistic postulates, worldview, and the culture of Quichua speakers.
3. A refining of the classification of Ecuadorian Quichua.
4. The impact of worldview on development programs such as health, agriculture, and community development.
5. An examination of other bilingual programs and their results in Ecuador with other indigenous groups.

In addition to the above suggestions for further research, the following policy recommendations are made.

1. Work more closely with communities in designing and establishing bilingual education programs.
2. The use of more Indian teachers, and the production of pedagogical materials for different dialect areas.
3. Improvement of all educational services for the Indians, as they would welcome them. Encouragement of community efforts in establishing and maintaining these programs.
4. Greater understanding of ethnic diversity and Indian worldview by policy makers.
5. The results of research such as the present investigation should be circulated among representatives of development agencies, and these people should be provided with language and culture training relevant to the area in which they work.

6. Registration of the Bilingual Education Law of Ecuador.
7. The necessity of developing programs that target groups will accept and support.
8. An appreciation of the richness of human cultural diversity may lead to solutions to some of our own linguistic and cultural problems in the United States.
9. Realization by social science investigators of the interplay of language and culture to create a world view.

This last point is especially useful to both linguists and anthropologists. Patterns tend to emerge from the data that are better interpreted with a foundation in both areas. It is a good tool for the anthropologist and a way for the linguist to discover the full context of the grammar of a given language. It shows how people use their language; how they feel about it reveals much about the way they view the world and their place in the world. It is especially valuable in investigating peoples who are not in control of their destiny and whose positions are not well understood and are often misrepresented.

Finally, the description and analysis of Quichua presented in this study is by no means definitive. It is offered merely as one attempt to better understand the language and its speakers. By enumerating and describing



the structure and variations existing in Ecuador, it is hoped that this particular view of the world will not become extinct. An awareness and acceptance of Quichua and its speakers will go far towards increasing rather than diminishing the possibilities of life.

**Appendix A**  
**PERUVIAN PHONOLOGIES**

Torero's (1974) reconstruction of Proto-Quechua, proposed alphabets for Quechua I, and Quechua II are given in sections A.1, A.2, and A.3, respectively. The remaining sections provide the phonologies of the IEP grammars reviewed in Chapter 2.

**Proto-Quechua**

(Torero, 1974)

**Consonants**

|   |   |    |    |   |   |
|---|---|----|----|---|---|
| p | t |    |    | k | q |
|   |   | ch | cr |   |   |
|   | s | sh |    |   | h |
| m | n | n  |    |   |   |
|   | r |    |    |   |   |
|   |   | ll |    |   |   |
| w |   | y  |    |   |   |

**Vowels**

|       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|
| i, i: |       | u, u: |
|       | a, a: |       |

Ancash-Yaru Alphabet (QI)

(Torero, 1974)

Consonants

|   |    |      |    |   |
|---|----|------|----|---|
| p | t  |      | k  | q |
|   | c' | c"   |    |   |
|   |    | c'   | c" |   |
|   | c' | (ch) | c" |   |
|   | s  | sh   |    | h |
| m | n  | n    |    |   |
|   | r  |      |    |   |
|   | l  | ll   |    |   |
| w |    | y    |    |   |

Vowels

|       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|
| i, i: |       | u, u: |
|       | a, a: |       |

Ayacacho-Cuzco Alphabet (QII)

(Torero, 1974)

Consonants

|                |                |                |                |                |   |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|
| p              | t              | c              | k              | q              |   |
| p'             | t'             | c'             | k'             | q'             |   |
| p <sup>u</sup> | t <sup>u</sup> | c <sup>u</sup> | k <sup>u</sup> | q <sup>u</sup> |   |
|                | s              |                |                | q              | h |
| m              | n              | n              |                |                |   |
|                | r              |                |                |                |   |
|                | l              | ll             |                |                |   |
| w              |                | y              |                |                |   |

Vowels

|   |  |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|--|---|
| i |  |   |  | u |
|   |  | a |  |   |

Junin-Huanca (QI)

(Cerron-Palomino, 1976)

Consonants

|     |     |      |     |   |
|-----|-----|------|-----|---|
| p   | t   |      | k   | q |
| (b) | (d) |      | (g) |   |
|     |     | ch   | cr  |   |
| f   | s   | sh   |     | j |
| m   | n   | n    |     |   |
|     | l   | ll   |     |   |
|     | r   | (rr) |     |   |
| w   |     | y    |     |   |

Vowels

|       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|
| i, i: |       | u, u: |
|       | a, a: |       |

Ancash-Huailas (QI)

(Parker, 1976)

Consonants

|     |     |      |     |   |
|-----|-----|------|-----|---|
| p   | t   |      | k   | q |
| (b) | (d) |      | (g) |   |
|     | ts  | ch   | cr  |   |
| (f) | s   | sh   | j   |   |
| m   | n   | n    |     |   |
|     | r   | (rr) |     |   |
|     | l   | ll   |     |   |
| w   |     | y    |     |   |

Vowels

|         |       |         |
|---------|-------|---------|
| i, i:   |       | u, u:   |
| (e, e:) |       | (o, o:) |
|         | a, a: |         |

Cuzco-Collao (QII)

(Cusihuaman, 1976)

Consonants

|                |                |                 |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| p              | t              | ch              | k              | q              |
| p <sup>h</sup> | t <sup>h</sup> | ch <sup>h</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> | q <sup>h</sup> |
| p'             | t'             | ch'             | k'             | q'             |
|                | s              | sh              |                | j              |
| m              | n              | n               |                |                |
|                | l              | ll              |                |                |
|                | r              |                 |                |                |
| w              |                | y               |                |                |

Vowels

|   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i |   |   |   | u |
|   | e |   | o |   |
|   |   | a |   |   |

Cajamarca-Canaris (QII)

(Quesada, 1976)

Consonants

|     |     |        |     |   |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|---|
| p   | t   |        | k   | q |
| (b) | (d) |        | (g) |   |
|     |     | ch     | cr  |   |
|     |     | jh(11) |     |   |

|     |   |    |    |     |
|-----|---|----|----|-----|
| (f) | s | sh | sr | (x) |
| m   | n | n  |    |     |
|     | r |    | rr |     |
|     | ɹ |    |    |     |
| w   |   | y  |    |     |

Vowels

|   |   |  |   |
|---|---|--|---|
| i |   |  | u |
|   | a |  |   |



San Martin (QII)

(Coombs, Coombs, and Weber, 1976)

Consonants

|     |     |    |     |
|-----|-----|----|-----|
| p   | t   |    | k   |
| (b) | (t) |    | (g) |
| (f) | s   | sh | j   |
|     |     | ch |     |
|     |     | li |     |
| ɾ   | n   | n  |     |
|     | r   | rr |     |
|     | (l) |    |     |
| w   |     | y  |     |

Vowels

|     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
| i   |   | u   |
| (e) |   | (o) |
|     | a |     |

Ayacucho-Chanca (QII)

(Soto Ruiz, 1976)

Consonants

|     |     |      |     |   |   |
|-----|-----|------|-----|---|---|
| p   | t   | ch   | k   | q |   |
| (b) | (d) |      | (g) |   |   |
| (f) | s   |      |     |   | j |
| m   | n   | n    |     |   |   |
|     | l   | ll   |     |   |   |
|     | r   | (rr) |     |   |   |
| w   |     | y    |     |   |   |

Vowels

|   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| i |   |   |   | u |
|   | e |   | o |   |
|   |   | a |   |   |

## Appendix B

### SAMPLE TEXTS

This appendix consists of texts collected in the lowland and highland regions of Ecuador. The Oriente texts are from Loreto (Npo.) and the Sierra texts are from Agato (Imb.)

The Oriente texts are followed by Spanish and English translations. Since no Spanish translations were provided for the Sierra texts, they are followed by English translations only.

#### Oriente Texts

##### Aukakunamanta

Chay, chasnaka chayta kuyntasha, awkakuna, shu sawnsi runa ruku kuynta karka chay ñuka nigrik chay ruku kuyntapi uya karkani. Chay shu tujllasa trampa rurasa riska nin. Kaypi shu, chaypi shu, chaypi shu, chaypi shu, rurasa riska. Karan puncha shigrawa puriska nin mana ushaska nin. Mana wanuska nin aychakuna. Chay mana ushasaka yaykuska nin anu. Rikunki rimaska nin pichika punchapi riku shamuwanki niska nin warmita. Kaya riku shamusaka ama surkuwankichi niska nin. Pichika punchapi shamusa manturuta llapisa ishtawanki nik kaska nin. Chay pichika punchapi rikuripika, ña chi kurumantapachaka ashka kuruyasa juntaraskami. Chaytaka

manturuta apasa risaka ishtaj riska nin, paaaj, chay kurupi  
 pukalla kuru tuku kaska nin. ishta riska nin, "paaaj," chay  
 kurupi pukalla kuru tuku kaska nin. Chaymanta chay  
 kurumantalla shu pichika punchapi riku shamuwanki, niskataka  
 kuti shu pichika punchapi rikugriska nin. Kuti shu pichika  
 punchapi rikugripika ña, mashti, shina bujiya manku shinalla  
 nyarisa juntaraska nin. Auka manku ninchi. Chasna tupu,  
 awka tukuska nin. Ña lansayu lansata llakllasa tupu, awka  
 tukuska nin. Ña lansayu lansata llakllasa juntaranakuska  
 nin. Chaymanta awka tukuskami nisa, kuyntaka kak karka,  
 sawnsi lurinsurku wanu, chayta kuyntata uyak karkani.

### De los Aucas

Ahora quiero contar la historia de los jívaros, lo que a  
 mí me contó una persona de San José. Había una persona que  
 realizó trabajo de trampas para cazar animales. Después de  
 haber hecho las trampas iba a ver cada día pensando que  
 puede caer algún animal en la trampa, sucede que no cayó  
 ningún animal en la trampa, cansado de ver que no caía los  
 animales, del iras que tenía, él se metió en la trampa, para  
 ésto ya había anunciado a su esposa que él moría en el  
 ultimo trampa y que no saque el cuerpo. También había dicho  
 que mezcle el achiote con agua y que vaya a echar la mezcla  
 en el cuerpo que ya estaba pudriéndose. Tal como había  
 dicho la esposa cogió la mezcla de achiote y fue a echar.

En los gusanos que salió del cuerpo pudriendo/podrido. Todos los gusanos quedaron colorados. Después de otros cinco días fue a ver y vió a algunos aves que hacían bulla (bujía mango). Al ver esto regresó a la casa. Al día siguiente fue a ver de nuevo y de estos gusanos habían convertido en jívaro que ya estaban realizando los trabajos de lanzas. Decían que de los gusanos salieron los jívaros. Ésta me contó una persona de San José que se llamaba Lorenzó.

#### About the Lucas

Now I'd like to tell you the story of the Jivaros, a story that a person from San Jose told me. Once there was a person who made animal traps for a living. After having made and laid the traps, he would go check them out each day thinking that some animal might have fallen into one of the traps. As it turns out, not a single animal fell into the traps. Tired of seeing that not one animal had fallen into the trap, and because of his extreme anger, he himself got into one of the traps; he had already told his wife that he was going to do this, that he was going to die in the trap, and to not take his body out. He had also told her to mix some achiote with water and to go throw the mixture on the already rotting body. Just as he had said, his wife took the mixture of achiote and went to throw it on the worms

that were already coming out of the rotting body. When she threw the mixture, all the worms turned red. After a few more days, she went again and saw that there were a lot of birds making a lot of noise. Seeing this, she went back home. On the following day she went to look again and all those worms had turned into Jivaros, and were already making spears. They say that the Jivaros come from worms; that's what an old man from San Jose told me.

### Shu Warmi Ishkay Wawata Chariy

Chay yachankichikni ñuka parikunatas tapupipas mana kuyntavakuna kak karka pari. Yachankichimi sirtuchu rimakuna karka, kallariy timpupi, kallariy uraspishi, shu warmi wawata charik kaska nin. Ishkayta shu warmi wawa, shu kari wawa, chariska wawakuna, inasna wawakuna charik kak karka nin. Shu, mama, trabajakapa kanchama rupachikuska killa mama kaska nin. Killa mana trabajasa llanka ninata japichisa purik kak kaska nin. I chimanta wawakunata piñak kak kaska nin. I piñapi wawakuna yuyarisa, shu chukita apamuska nin. I shu ashankapi churasa siluaa sakinakuska nin, nina kushnipi churasa nina kushniwa rinakuska nin jawama chukishti "krin... krin... krin" rimaska nin. Chaypi mana shamuska nin chawpimanta chawsichipi illak uraykunakuska. Uraykuska, mama kunkarina kakama sakinakuska, mana kunkaripi i kutin mama ripi kuti chi ninata japichikuna kuti chukita ashankanti apakuna, illak,

siluma rinakuska nin. Jawama sirtuchu kan, i runakuna  
 chasna kuyntanun mana..., killkawa iskuylawa winakuna  
 rukukuna, ñupa urasmanta chay kuyntay nisa chasna kuyntaka,  
 kuyntakuna karka. Jawama riska nin siluma riska nin chay  
 wawa, silupi yaykuska ishkaynti, ishkaynti yaykupi mama  
 washa katiska nin wilu punkumanta, katipika, chay wawakuna  
 pinaska nin, ima ranka shamunki mama kan mana shamuna  
 karkanki yapa killa, riy, tigray, nisa rianakuska nin.  
 Shina rimapika wawakuna, chi mamaka paktagripi shu  
 imatachari ninakun istrilla muyuta llankariska nin puyu  
 patama sikasa chay llankapi..., chay llankapi istrilla muyu  
 llukshipi mana apina ushapi, wawakuna pinanakuska nin.  
 Tigray ima ranka shamunki kay muntuma, nisa, shu pachama riy  
 nisa. Piñasa kay shu, imachari nin puyu pakichu imachari  
 nin. Kaypi ishtanuska, kaypi ishtapi ishkayna, chuchu  
 partirij tukuska nin. Piñasa tigrachinakuska nin. Kay  
 muntuma kan, killa karkanki mana imachu tukunki, pantumi  
 tukusa kawsanki rima kaska nin. Kay muntupi shamisa pantu  
 tuku kaska nin. Chayta kuyntawakuna karka chay..., chay  
 wawakuna tukuskami nin shuti, ña tukuy yachanunchu blankuma  
 parikuna imachari yachankichichari imachari. Runakuna shina  
 rukukuna chasna kuyntanata kuyntakuna karka. Chay wawa  
 tukuska nin jawama sikasa, shu istrilla muyu shina tuku  
 kaska nin. Kay pakarina manachu jatu muyurku shamun. Chay  
 warmi wawamanta chay tuku kaska nin. Manachu chisipi jatu  
 muyu llukshin, kari wawamanta chay tuku kaska nin.

Turimanta chay tukuk kaska nin turimanta chasna chaykunata rukukuna kuyntakunaka karka. Chayta ñuka uyaskani, mana mashti, mana, kastillanu yachak awila ruku paypa awlukuna shina kuyntasa kawsakuna kaska nisa kuyntawaka karka chay ruku, sapanlla, kasna charisa chaykunata kuyntasa winachiwak karka. Chaykunata uyasa, yuyarinsa kawsani.

### Una Mujer con Dos Criaturas

En aquél tiempo, una mujer tenía dos criaturas, un varón y una hembra. No sé como eran estos niños. La mama era muy ociosa, muy vaga, y andaba prendiendo fuego sin ninguna necesidad. Esta mujer le hablaba mucho a sus criaturas. Al ver que hablaba mucho, los niños se decidieron abandonar de su madre, de la siguiente manera: cogieron un periquito y le pusieron dentro de una canastita y comenzaron a elevarse con la fuerza del humo, que salía del fuego. Ya cuando estaban arriba el periquito que llevaban a ellos les dijo "krin, krin, krin," y en aquel instante se dio cuenta su madre, y les desbarató el fuego. Y cuando les desbarató el fuego como no hizo mas humo, tuvieron que bajarse, quedaron en la tierra hasta cuando se descuide su mama. Cuando se descuidó, prendieron el fuego y se fueron con el humo que brotaba, se fueron al cielo. No sé si será cierto, así me contaban la gente analfabeta, que no se han ido a la escuela, los antiguos. Los viejos me transmitieron este



cuento diciendo que es cuento desde mucho antes. Los chicos se fueron al cielo, y cuando se dio cuenta la mama ya no estaban en la tierra, sino estuvieron ya en el cielo. Al darse cuenta la mama se fue siguiendo detrás de los chicos, y cuando llegó la madre en el cielo, las criaturas de ella no quisieron ni ver y comenzaron hablando a su madre diciéndole que para qué vienes, tú eras muy vaga en el mundo; no era de venir al cielo. En este instante la mama curiosa de ver las estrellas, fue a tocar con el dedo, y las estrellas salieron y no le dejó coger. Entonces comenzaron hablándole, regrésate de aquí, para qué has venido a este mundo, regrésate a la tierra. Cuando la mama no quiso regresar al mundo los niños cogieron la piedra y le tiraron en el seno de su madre y se partió el seno en dos. Y le hablaron diciendo en el mundo que que eras muy vaga y cuando llegas al mundo te convertirás en un animal cuyo nombre es pandu. Esta mujer, cuando regresó al mundo, fue convertida al dicho animal. De los niños que fueron al cielo, la hermana se hizo el lucero que sale a la madrugada, y su hermano se convirtió en un lucero que sale al anochecer junta a la luna. Ésto me contaban, me contó un viejo de cierta edad porque yo fui criada con él cuando era niña, todo esto me acuerdo hasta ahora.

### A Lady with Two Children

A long time ago, there was a lady that had two children, a little boy and a little girl. Now, I don't know what the children were like, but the mother was very lazy and sloppy, and went around starting fires without any reason at all. This lady scolded her kids a lot. When the kids realized that she was always scolding them, they decided to abandon their mother in the following way. They took a little paraquet and put it inside a little basket that started to rise up with the smoke from one of the fires that their mother had lit. When they were way high up in the sky, the little paraquet that was taking them up started saying "krin, krin, krin, krin," and in that very instant their mother realized what they were doing and blew out the fire. Of course, since she blew it out there was no more smoke, and they had to come back down to the earth, at least until their mother wasn't paying attention again. When she forgot about them, they once again lit the fire and went up to the heavens with the smoke. Now I don't know if this is true or not, but this is what was told to me by the old folks. They told me it was a story from a very long time ago. At any rate, the children had gone to the sky. Then their mother realized that they were no longer on the earth but rather in the sky. When she realized this she had to follow her kids to the sky, and when she got there, her children didn't want to even look at her. They started talking to her asking her

why she had come, that she was really lazy on earth, that she had no right to come to the heavens. At this time, the curious mother realized that she was surrounded by stars and when she went to touch one of them, it exploded in order to not be touched by her. Once again, the kids started telling her to go away from there, to go on back to the earth. When the mother balked at going back, the children picked up a stone and threw it at their mother's chest causing her one breast to split in two. All the while they were telling her that she was a very lazy person on earth, and that when she got back, she would turn into a pandu. This is exactly what happened to her when she got back to the earth. The children stayed in the sky and the little sister became the bright star that comes out at dawn, while the little brother became the bright star that comes out at dusk with the moon. The real old man who raised me told me this, and I remember it like this unto this day.

### Sierra Texts

#### Chachimbiruman

Ñukanchik lunista rirkanchik Chachimbiruman, 45 jintikuaa karkanchik rirkanchik. Chay... kichiji ñankunata chaypi shina armankapak rirkanchik chaypi milagru nishka yaku tiyarka. Chaypi armarkanchik... armashpa shina... m... purirkanchik shina chaykunapi pasiyashpa... m... na shamurkanchik chishi las sinkuta las uchutami

chayamurkanchik... Chaypi minsajita churarkanchik Urkuji radiyupi... Tukuyila aligriyta rurashpa chayllami kapan.

### Going to Chachimbiro

On Monday we went to Chachimbiro, 45 people went. There on the narrow roads we washed ourselves like this because there it is said a miracle happened in the water. There we washed. Having washed ourselves like this we walked around there having a good time. We came back in the afternoon, between 5 and 8 we arrived. There we put a message on the Urcoqui Radio. All of us were just being happy, that's it.

### Minkaymanta

Ñuka trabajankapak rirkani kayna minkayman. Minkaypi trabajarkanã nankunata ayllashpa, chaypi tukuyta rurashpa, shina jiwakunata limpiyashpa, ñankunata alichishpa karu ali purichun nikpi. Chaymanta trabajarkanchik tukuylla tawka tawka jintikuna karkanchik chaymanta. Tukuyta imakunatapash tukuy tukuy trabajarkanchik tukuyshna ñankunata alichishpa, waykukunata ayllashpa, ruakunata shitashpa, patakunata vultiyachishpa. Chaymanta chishi lasinkuta alsarirkanchik.

Imashna Utavalukunapi kawsan tukuy runa jintikuna Utavalupipash kawsan. Chay runa jintikuna tukuylla

kawsanajun, piru llaktakunamanta shamushka kawsan kay runa  
jintikuna Utavalupi. Chay runa jintikuna  
llaktamantallatakmi, na Utavalukunachu.

Wasipi kuchita charini, chay kuchita kuydashpa  
kawsanchik, kanchikpash mamawan ishkaylla. Kuchita tukuytak  
kuchikunaman karashpa, kuchikunata kuydashpa shuwankamanta  
kuydashpa wasikunata ishkaylla kaymanta chay kuydanchik.

### About the Minga

Yesterday I went to the minga in order to work. In the  
minga I worked making roads, doing everything there; thusly  
cleaning the grass fixing up the roads, so the cars can run  
well. There a lot of people worked. All of us worked  
fixing the road, smoothing out the holes, throwing out the  
rocks, knocking over the walls. We worked up until five.

Like the mishus all these Indians are living there in  
Otavalo too, but all of them in Otavalo come from the earth  
itself to live; they are people of the earth, not of  
Otavalo.

At home I have pigs. We live caring for these pigs.  
With my mother we are only two. We live caring for the  
pigs, giving them food to eat and protecting them from  
robbers, for there is sure to be thievery; because there are  
only two of us, we care for the house.

## Appendix C

### TEXT BY MORPHEME

This appendix contains the second of the Sierra texts, "Minkaymanta," divided by morphemes. Each phrase of the text is followed by a list of the individual morphemes.

1. Nuka trabaja.nkapak ri.rka.ni kayna minka.y.man.

|          |              |
|----------|--------------|
| nuka     | 1p pronoun   |
| trabaja- | 'work'       |
| -nkapak  | SA purposive |
| ri-      | 'go'         |
| -rka-    | past (PK)    |
| -ni      | 1p           |
| kayna    | 'yesterday'  |
| minka-   | 'work party' |
| -y-      | definite     |
| -man     | potential    |

Yesterday I went to a minga in order to work.

2. Minka.y.pi trabaja.rka.ni nan.kuna.ta aylla.shpa,  
chay.pi tukuy.ta rura.shpa, shina jiwa.kuna.ta limpiya.shpa,  
nan.kuna.ta ali.chi.shpa karru ali puri.chun ni.kpi.

|          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| minka-   | 'work party'           |
| -y-      | definite               |
| -pi      | locative               |
| trabaja- | 'work'                 |
| -rka-    | past (PK)              |
| -ni      | 1p                     |
| nan-     | 'road'                 |
| -kuna-   | aggregate              |
| -ta      | accusative             |
| aylla-   | 'dig'                  |
| -shpa    | SA subordination       |
| chay-    | demonstrative          |
| -pi      | locative               |
| tukuy-   | 'all'                  |
| -ta      | accusative             |
| rura-    | 'do/make'              |
| -shpa    | SA subordination       |
| shina    | 'in this fashion'      |
| jiwa-    | 'grass'                |
| -kuna-   | aggregate              |
| -ta      | accusative             |
| limpiya- | 'clean (<Sp. limpiar)' |
| -shpa    | SA subordination       |

|        |                  |
|--------|------------------|
| n̄an-  | 'road'           |
| -kuna- | aggregate        |
| -ta    | accusative       |
| ali-   | 'good'           |
| -chi-  | causative        |
| -shpa  | SA subordination |
| karru  | 'bus'            |
| ali    | 'good'           |
| puri-  | 'go/walk'        |
| -chun  | DA purposive     |
| ni-    | 'say'            |
| -kpi   | DA subordination |

I worked at the minga digging out the roads, doing everything like cleaning the grass so the buses can go well along the roads they say.

3. Chay.manta trabaja.rka.nchik tukuy.lia tawka tawka jinti.kuna ka.rka.nchik chay.manta.

|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| chay-    | demonstrative |
| -manta   | ablative      |
| trabaja- | 'work'        |
| -rka-    | past (PK)     |
| -nchik   | 4p            |



|        |                       |
|--------|-----------------------|
| tukuy- | 'all'                 |
| -lla   | limitative            |
| tawka  | 'a few'               |
| tawka  | 'a few'               |
| jinti- | 'people (<Sp. gente)' |
| -kuna  | aggregate             |
| ka-    | 'be'                  |
| -rka-  | past (PK)             |
| -nchik | 4p                    |
| chay-  | demonstrative         |
| -manta | ablative              |

We all worked, there were a lot of people working there.

4. Tukuy.ta ima.kuna.ta.pash tukuy tukuy trabaja.rka.nchik  
 tukuy.shna nan.kuna.ta ali.chi.shpa, wayku.kuna.ta  
 aylla.shpa, rumi.kuna.ta shita.shpa, pata.kuna.ta  
 vultiya.chi.shpa.

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| Tukuy- | 'all'      |
| -ta    | accusative |
| ima-   | 'what'     |
| -kuna- | aggregate  |
| -ta-   | accusative |
| -pash  | 'also'     |
| tukuy  | 'all'      |

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| tukuy    | 'all'            |
| trabaja- | 'work'           |
| -ka-     | past (PK)        |
| -achik   | 4p               |
| tukuy-   | 'all'            |
| -shna    | comparative      |
| ñan-     | 'road'           |
| -kuna-   | aggregate        |
| -ta      | accusative       |
| ali-     | 'good'           |
| -chi-    | causative        |
| -shpa    | SA subordination |
| wayku-   | 'hole'           |
| -kuna-   | aggregate        |
| -ta      | accusative       |
| aylla-   | 'dig'            |
| -shpa    | SA subordination |
| rumi-    | stone            |
| -kuna-   | aggregate        |
| -ta      | accusative       |
| shita-   | 'throw away'     |
| -shpa    | SA subordination |
| pata-    | 'wall'           |

|          |                            |
|----------|----------------------------|
| -kuna-   | aggregate                  |
| -ta      | accusative                 |
| vultiya- | 'fall over (<Sp. voltear)' |
| -chi-    | causative                  |
| -shpa    | SA subordination           |

We worked at whatever needed to be done, like making the roads better, kigging out the holes, throwing out the rocks, knocking down the ledges.

5. Chay.manta chishi lasinku.ta alsa.ri.rka.nchik.

|          |                              |
|----------|------------------------------|
| Chay-    | demonstrative                |
| -manta   | ablative                     |
| chishi   | 'afternoonish'               |
| lasinku- | 'five (<Sp. las cinco)'      |
| -ta      | accusative                   |
| alsa-    | 'able to reach (<Sp. alzar)' |
| -ri-     | reflexive                    |
| -rka-    | past (PK)                    |
| -nchik   | 4p                           |

We made it by about five.

6. Ima.shna Utavalu.kuna.pi kawsa.n tukuy runa jinti.kuna Utavalu.pi.pash kawsa.n.

|      |        |
|------|--------|
| Ima- | 'what' |
|------|--------|

|          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| -shna    | comparative |
| Utavalu- | 'Otavalo'   |
| -kuna-   | aggregate   |
| -pi      | locative    |
| kawsa-   | 'live'      |
| -n       | 3p          |
| tukuy    | 'all'       |
| runa     | 'Indian'    |
| jinti-   | 'people'    |
| -kuna    | aggregate   |
| Utavalu- | 'Otavalo'   |
| -pi-     | locative    |
| -pash    | 'also'      |
| kawsa-   | 'live'      |
| -n       | 3p          |

Just like those that live in Otavalo, Indian people are living in Otavalo as well.

7. Chay runa jinti.kuna tukuy.lla kawsa.naju.n, piru llakta.kuna.manta shamushka kawsa.n kay runa jinti.kuna Utavalu.pi chay runa jinti.kuna llakta.manta.lia.tak.mi, na Utavalu.kuna.chu.

Chay demonstrative

|          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| runa     | 'Indian'          |
| jinti-   | 'people'          |
| -kuna    | aggregate         |
| tukuy-   | 'all'             |
| -lla     | limitative        |
| kawsa-   | 'live'            |
| -naju-   | distributive      |
| -n       | 3p                |
| piru     | 'but (<Sp. pero)' |
| llakta-  | 'land'            |
| -kuna-   | aggregate         |
| -wanta   | ablative          |
| shamu-   | 'come'            |
| -shka    | completive        |
| kawsa-   | 'live'            |
| -n       | 3p                |
| kay      | demonstrative     |
| runa     | 'Indian'          |
| jinti-   | 'people'          |
| -kuna    | aggregate         |
| Utavalu- | 'Otavalo'         |
| -pi      | locative          |

|          |               |
|----------|---------------|
| chay     | demonstrative |
| runa     | 'Indian'      |
| jinti-   | 'people'      |
| -kuna    | aggregate     |
| llakta-  | 'land'        |
| -anta-   | ablative      |
| -lla-    | limitative    |
| -tak-    | emphatic      |
| -mi      | emphatic      |
| na       | negative      |
| Utavalu- | 'Otavalo'     |
| -kuna-   | aggregate     |
| -chu     | negative      |

All those Indian people live there, but they live because they have come from the land; those Otavalo Indians are from the land itself, not from Otavalo.

8. Wasipi kuchi.ta chari.ni, chay kuchi.ta kuyda.shpa  
kawsa.nchik, ka.nchik.pash mama.wan ishay.lla.

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| Wasi-  | 'dwelling' |
| -pi    | locative   |
| kuchi- | 'pit'      |
| -ta    | accusative |

|         |                          |
|---------|--------------------------|
| chari-  | 'have'                   |
| -ni     | 1p                       |
| chay    | demonstrative            |
| kuchi-  | 'pig'                    |
| -ta     | accusative               |
| kuyda-  | 'care for {<Sp. cuidar}' |
| -shpa   | SA subordination         |
| kawsa-  | 'live'                   |
| -nchik  | 4p                       |
| ka-     | 'be'                     |
| -nchik- | 4p                       |
| -pash   | 'also'                   |
| mama    | 'mother'                 |
| -wan    | conjunctive              |
| ishkay- | 'two'                    |
| -lla    | limitative               |

I have pigs at home, we live caring for them, since with my mother there are only two of us.

9. Kuchi.ta tukuy.ta kuchi.kuna-man kara.shpa,  
 kuchi.kuna.ta kuyda.shpa shuwa.nka.manta kuyda.shpa  
 wasi.kuna.ta ishkay.lla kay.manta chay kuyda.nchik.

Kuchi- 'pig'

|         |                        |
|---------|------------------------|
| -ta     | accusative             |
| tukuy-  | 'all'                  |
| -ta     | accusative             |
| kuchi-  | 'pig'                  |
| -kuna-  | aggregate              |
| -man    | dative                 |
| kara-   | 'give sustenance/feed' |
| -shpa   | SA subordination       |
| kuchi-  | 'pig'                  |
| -kuna-  | aggregate              |
| -ta     | accusative             |
| kuyda-  | 'care for'             |
| -shpa   | SA subordination       |
| shuwa-  | 'steal/rob'            |
| -nka-   | definite future        |
| -manta  | ablative               |
| kuyda-  | 'care for'             |
| -shpa   | SA subordination       |
| wasi-   | 'dwelling'             |
| -kuna-  | aggregate              |
| -ta     | accusative             |
| ishkay- | 'two'                  |
| -lla    | limitative             |



|        |               |
|--------|---------------|
| kay-   | demonstrative |
| -manta | ablative      |
| chay   | demonstrative |
| kuyda- | 'care for'    |
| -nchik | 4p            |

Giving every kind of food to the pigs, protecting them from certain robbery, the two of us in the house care for them in this way.

## Appendix D

### SAMPLE INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

The following are sample pedagogical materials designed to give the novice to Quichua studies an overall view of the nature and the structure of this language. It is assumed that the learner--a Peace Corps volunteer, for example--has no prior knowledge of the language (or the country); therefore, general introductory information is provided in the first section.

These materials are designed to accompany classroom instruction and discussion.

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#### Introduction

Although Spanish is the official language of Ecuador, a substantial portion of the non-urban population speak varieties of Quichua, the predominant Indian language. Consequently, field work in many of the rural regions of Ecuador is facilitated tremendously by a knowledge of Quichua. During the initial field stay, it is often extremely convenient to work through contact languages with bi- and trilinguals, usually young males. However, if a

broader understanding of the Quichua people and their language, culture, and world view is desired, then this is developed through interaction with a more representative sample of the population, many of whom are monolingual Quichua speakers. As one becomes aware of and begins to respond to the Quichua language and its subtle intricacies, with patience and perseverance one is likely to hear the native speakers say nukanchikshna parlanjupanki 'you're talking like us.'

Unlike the relation of Spanish to English, that of Quichua to English may seem a bit unusual at first. Basically, this phenomena stems from an organization of the environment into totally different concepts and categories than those perceived and used by English (or Spanish) speakers; this is often why it is so difficult to translate simple Quichua words into English and vice-versa. For example, Quichua juyana can be translated as 'place the head over a pot of a specific boiling plant, then place towel over head and inhale the vapors,' while English revolution in Quichua becomes 'jinti na ali tiyashpaka, paykuna jatarinajunmari.'

Like any other language, Quichua has its own 'types of words' and 'rules of grammar.' The examples contained in the following data sets are designed to give the student practice in field methodologies and analytical procedures as well as introduce the student to the more general rules of

Quichua linguistic structure. Two types of data are present for analysis. The phonemic orthography utilized in the written examples is representative of the Imbabura dialect of Ecuadorian Quichua (1). The use of pictorial data is included to illustrate that the 'meaning' of a given item must often be gleaned or ascertained by observing the context of the item's usage rather than contact language translations. A 'rule of thumb' to use throughout learning to speak any language is not to push for a translation (What does it mean?), but rather to try and find out what is necessary to use the item correctly (How/When is it used?).

#### A Basic Concept

Try to think of a well-formed English sentence that does not contain a reference to singular or plural. After a few tries, one can see that this is practically impossible to do. This is because the concept of one or many, singular or plural, is fundamental to English (and Spanish). As speakers of English we indicate this concept on both nouns and verbs. For example:

|                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 'house'           | 'houses'    |
| 'flower'          | 'flowers'   |
| '(s)he, it comes' | 'they come' |
| '(s)he, it goes'  | 'they go'   |

Nonetheless, regardless of how vital or necessary we perceive this distinction to be, it does not exist in

Quichua. While there are ways of indicating more than one of any item, such information is usually considered unnecessary to Quichua speakers. For example:

|        |                           |
|--------|---------------------------|
| wasi   | 'house/houses'            |
| sisa   | 'flower/flowers'          |
| shamun | '(s)he, it, they come(s)' |
| rin    | '(s)he, it, they go(es)'  |

If one is compelled to indicate an abundance of a particular item, the suffix /-kuna/ 'aggregate' may immediately follow the root or a type of quantifying noun may be placed in front of, and thereby modify, the noun or noun phrase. For example:

|                 |                      |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| ashtaka wasi    | 'many houses'        |
| kimsa sisa      | 'three flowers'      |
| chay kimsa rumi | 'those three stones' |
| paykuna shamun  | 'they come'          |

Remember, the expression of singular and plural is of little relevance for the Quichua speaker. Even what will initially seem like the plural 'we' is not (structurally) plural in Quichua.

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Whenever we think of the third person singular in English, we generally think of 'he, she, (or it).' Even in Spanish there are 'el, ella, (or ello).' This is a basic category, i.e., a linguistic postulate (2), of English and

Spanish called gender distinction. In Spanish this distinction applies to almost all nouns. For example:

|         |                     |
|---------|---------------------|
| la casa | 'the house (fem.)'  |
| el rio  | 'the river (masc.)' |

In English and Spanish, there is a further division of the animate category into masculine and feminine, while the inanimate category is only marked for number (it, these).

In Quichua, however, no gender distinction in the animate/inanimate category. A single third person pronoun covers our English division of the animate category:

|     |          |
|-----|----------|
| pay | 'he/she' |
|-----|----------|

Demonstrative pronouns cover the inanimate aspect of Quichua:

|      |             |
|------|-------------|
| chay | 'it, there' |
| kay  | 'it, here'  |

Thus, in Quichua a subject that is neither the speaker nor the hearer may be marked for the animate/inanimate distinction. For example:

|                 |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| pay urmarishka  | '(s)he fell' |
| chay urmarishka | 'it fell'    |

Not only is this Quichua distinction transparently evident in the pronouns, it also opaquely determines the possibility of certain suffixes occurring with the nouns. For example, the suffix /-llalla/ 'qualitative limitative' may only occur with inanimate items. example:

|            |                        |
|------------|------------------------|
| sisallalia | 'somewhat flower-like' |
| rumillalla | 'somewhat stony'       |

In summary, this data set presents a fundamental bed-rock semantic concept which is underlying any well-formed Quichua construction. Describe this linguistic postulate. Compare and contrast the postulate with English. Discuss possible difficulties which may arise in working with languages that have linguistic postulates vastly differing from your own.

### Substantive roots and suffixes

Identify and describe the morphemes in the following examples.

|                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. jari              | man                   |
| 2. warmi             | woman                 |
| 3. jaripak           | for the man/the man's |
| 4. jarigu            | little man            |
| 5. mama              | mother                |
| 6. mamita            | dear old little mom   |
| 7. tayta             | father                |
| 8. taytiku           | dear old little dad   |
| 9. ñukapak           | mine                  |
| 10. kanpak           | yours                 |
| 11. paypak           | his/hers              |
| 12. ñukanchikpak (3) | ours                  |
| 13. runa             | Indian                |
| 14. runakuna         | more than one India   |
| 15. runakunapura     | among the Indians     |

16. wawkipura among the brothers  
(male term)
17. wawkikunapura among the brothers  
of different families
18. runakunawan with the Indians
19. paniku little sister  
(male term)
20. panikuw hey, little sister
21. panikukunalla just the little  
sisters
22. ñañagukunamanlla just to the little  
sisters (female term)
23. ñañagukunamantalla just from the  
little sisters
24. turigukunamantallapash just from the  
little brothers  
as well  
(female term)
25. chay jari that man
26. chay shuk warai that other woman
27. kay shuk jatun warai this other big woman
28. uchilla warmipak wasi the somewhat little  
(of stature) woman's  
house
29. uchigulla just the very  
little one
30. wawkipak wasiman to the brother's



|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | house  |
| 31. turipak wasimanta                         | from the brother's<br>house                                    |
| 32. wasikaman                                 | up to the house  |
| 33. jatun turipak<br>jatun wasimantapash      | from the big (of<br>stature) brother's<br>big house as<br>well |
| 34. chay shuk jatun jatunlla<br>wasimantapash | from that other very<br>big house as well                      |
| 35. wayku                                     | hole   |
| 36. runikuna waykukunanti                     | rocks and holes  |
| 37. wasiyuk                                   | a new house-owner  |
| 38. wasi duñu                                 | a house-owner/<br>landlord                                     |
| 39. ruku wasikunapi                           | in the old houses  |
| 40. ruku rukulla warri                        | just the very<br>old lady                                      |
| 41. chay ruku                                 | that old person  |
| 42. mamarku                                   | the old bag/bat  |
| 43. wamilla                                   | just the woman   |
| 44. wasipi                                    | in the house   |
| 45. chaypi                                    | there  |
| 46. chaynipi                                  | just right there   |
| 47. chayrayku                                 | because of that  |

|                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 48. warmillatak      | the woman herself           |
| 49. wasikunapillatak | in the houses<br>themselves |
| 50. chaypak jipa     | and then after that         |

1. List the nominal roots and glosses. What can be said about their behavior?
2. List and describe the nominal suffixes.
3. What can be said about the relative order of these suffixes?
4. What can be said about the expansion of the noun phrase?
5. What other morphological processes are evident in the data?

Basic verbal constructions

|                  |                                    |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 51. shamuna      | to come/a coming                   |
| 52. mikuna       | to eat/food                        |
| 53. mikusha      | I will eat                         |
| 54. mikunki      | you will eat                       |
| 55. mikunka      | (s)he will eat                     |
| 56. mikushun     | we will eat                        |
| 57. shamuni (a)  | I come                             |
| 58. shamurkani   | I came (and know how)              |
| 59. shamushkani  | I came (but wasn't<br>aware of it) |
| 60. shamunki (4) | you come                           |

|                    |                                    |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 61. shamun (4)     | (s)he comes                        |
| 62. shamunchik (4) | we come                            |
| 63. mikurka        | (s)he ate (and<br>I saw it)        |
| 64. mikushka       | (s)he ate (but<br>I didn't see it) |
| 65. mikurkanki     | you ate                            |

Based on the above data set, answer the following questions.

1. List the roots and glosses.
2. List and describe the verbal suffixes.
3. What is the basic temporal division? Compare and contrast with that of English.
4. Prepare a chart illustrating verbal expansion regarding the temporal and person markings.

#### Derivationalals

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| 66. mikujun     | (s)he is eating                         |
| 67. jariyajuni  | I'm getting better<br>(from an illness) |
| 68. rumiyajun   | it's turning into a<br>stone            |
| 69. kunka       | neck/mountain pass                      |
| 70. kunkalijuni | I'm putting it around<br>my neck.       |
| 71. walka       | necklace                                |
| 72. walkalijun  | she's putting on her                    |

|                         |                                     |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|                         | necklaces                           |
| 73. chanka              | upper leg                           |
| 74. chankalajun         | (s)he lopes along                   |
| 75. wañujun             | (s)he's not living<br>well          |
| 76. paypak wanunakaman  | until his/her death<br>(whenever)   |
| 77. paypak wanunkakaman | until his/her<br>immediate death    |
| 78. mikuk               | one who eats                        |
| 79. mikukkunamanta      | about those who eat                 |
| 80. mikujuk             | one who is eating                   |
| 81. shamushkakuna       | comings/those who<br>came           |
| 82. awashka             | a weaving                           |
| 83. kayna awashkapi     | in yesterday's<br>weaving           |
| 84. kaya awaypak        | for tomorrow's<br>weaving           |
| 85. chay mikuymanta     | about that eating<br>that's to come |
| 86. rumiyajushkamanta   | since its having<br>turned to stone |
| 87. fachalinakuna       | several head wraps                  |

Based on the above data set, answer the following questions.

1. List and describe the morphemes.
2. What types of derivationals are there?
3. List the derivationals with their possible meanings.
4. Is there homophony with any already determined suffixes? If so, what? How is the ambiguity avoided?

#### Imperatives

|                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 88. yaykuna       | to go in/entrance    |
| 89. yaykuy        | go in                |
| 90. yaykuylla     | just go in           |
| 91. yaykupaylla   | please just go in    |
| 92. yaykunki      | go in please         |
| 93. yaykunkilla   | just go in please    |
| 94. yaykupankilla | oh please just go in |

The above examples illustrate an imperative paradigm which indicates two basic styles of speech: 'straight' versus 'curved.' Straight speech is seen as rude, short, and impolite; curved speech is considered as very polite and 'nice and good for the ears.' Even in some dialects the second person is divided into kan 'you (straight)' and kikin 'you (curved)' (5).

The motivations for the use of any one imperative form is determined by the social roles and relationships held by the participants. Basically, the 'straight' forms are used with unrelated people, when requiring an action to take place immediately, or in anger. The 'curved' forms are generally reserved for supplication, indication of the willingness to engage in conversation, and conversation between affinal and close sanguineal kin. Although the above are general guidelines for usage, they are by no means indicative of all the possible specific determining factors of any given speech event.

Based on the above data, answer the following.

1. List the morphemes and possible glosses.
2. The above suffixes represent both verbal and independent suffixes. Which is the likely independent suffix? Why?

#### Verbal Specifiers

List and describe the morphemes.

|                     |                          |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 95. villana         | to tell, advise/advice   |
| 96. villani         | I tell                   |
| 97. villajuni       | I am telling             |
| 98. villarkani      | I told                   |
| 99. villajurkani    | I was telling            |
| 100. villagrini (6) | I am going to tell       |
| 101. villajugrini   | I am going to be telling |
| 102. villariyani    | I often/usually tell     |

|                         |                                  |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 103. villariyajuni      | I am often/usually<br>telling    |
| 104. villanayan         | it makes me feel<br>like telling |
| 105. mikunayan          | it makes me feel<br>like eating  |
| 106. villaway           | tell me                          |
| 107. villawapankilla    | please, just tell it<br>to me    |
| 108. karaway            | give it to me                    |
| 109. payta karay        | give it to him/her               |
| 110. n̄ukanchikta karay | give it to us                    |
| 111. n̄ukata karay      | give it to me                    |
| 112. niway              | say it to me                     |
| 113. yachana            | to know/knowledge                |
| 114. yachan             | (s)he knows                      |
| 115. yachachini         | I make someone else<br>know      |
| 116. yachachijuni       | I am making someone<br>else know |
| 117. yachajun           | (s)he learns                     |
| 118. yachajujun         | (s)he is learning                |
| 119. yachajuchini       | I make someone else<br>learn     |
| 120. makana             | to strike/something struck       |

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| 121. (pay) makan           | 122. (pay) makan                          |
| 123. (paykuna) makan       | 124. (pay(kuna)) makanajun                |
| 125. (pay(kuna)) makanajun | 126. (paykuna)<br>makanajunajun           |
| 127. awanajugrin           | they are going to<br>weave (collectively) |
| 128. awagrinajun           | they are going to<br>weave (individually) |
| 129. yachachiwān           | (s)he teaches me                          |
| 130. yachachinajugrin      | they are going to<br>teach (collectively) |
| 131. asin                  | (s)he laughs                              |
| 132. asirin                | (s)he smiles                              |
| 133. asiririn              | (s)he smiles and smiles                   |
| 134. asiriwan              | (s)he smiles to me                        |
| 135. nūkanchikta asirin    | (s)he smiles to us                        |
| 136. kalpani               | I run                                     |



136. ĩukanchik mikujukpi,  
paŕ chayarka.

137. pay mikushpa  
chayajun.

139. pay kalpakukpi,  
mikuni.

140. mikushpa  
kalpani.  
kalpashpa mikuni.

ĩuka mikujukpi, kalpan.

141. kan mikuchun trabajani.

I work so you  
can eat.

142. mikunkapak trabajani.

I work so I can eat.

142. yaykumujun

(s)he is coming in

144. apajun

145. apamujun

146. gikupay

swing it over your  
head.

147. gikumupay

swing it over  
your head  
and fling it here.

In the above data, several features of the verbal system are illustrated. Answer the following questions.

1. Identify and describe the aspectual suffixes. Discuss their privileges of occurrence and resultant meanings. Include the following items:

148. mikujgrisha I will be going to be eating.

149. mikugrirkani I was going to eat.

150. mikuchishkarkani I had made someone else eat.

2. Discuss object marking. Include the following item:

151. kanta villachan let him/her tell you

There are two possible ways to say 'give it to me,' as in items 108 and 111. Which item indicates paradigmatic regularization? The irregular objective paradigm is the more frequent in daily conversation; while usually varying with the irregular paradigm the regular one is restricted to a few dialect areas. A more conservative paradigm is given from Peruvian Ancash-Huailas Quechua (7.)

|               |                           |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| wiyag         | I hear you                |
| wiyamanki     | you hear me               |
| wiyaman       | (s)he hears me            |
| wayamantsik   | (s)he hears us            |
| wayashunki    | (s)he hears you           |
| wiyayag       | I/we hear you (all)       |
| wiyayaaman    | (s)he/they hear us/me     |
| wiyayaamanki  | you (all)hear us/me       |
| wiyayaashunki | (s)he/they hear you (all) |

With this information, what implications can be drawn about the direction and types of change in the objective paradigm?

3. What are the stem formatives? Should these be analyzed as single suffix reduplication or suffix homophony? Why?

4. Discuss subordination. Identify and describe the relevant morphemes. (For this section, consider /-nkapak/ as a single suffix.) Items 137 through 140 have been described as simultaneous versus consecutive action. Compare these with 141, 142, and the following items:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 152. chayankapak kalpajun                   | (s)he is running in<br>order to get there      |
| 152. trabajankapak shamushun                | We will come in<br>order to work               |
| 154. paykuna shitachichun<br>llukshijunchik | We are leaving<br>so they can<br>throw it away |
| 155. pay ali purichun,<br>baylajushun       | we will dance so he<br>can walk well           |
| 156. machankapak ufyapaniki                 | you drink in order<br>to get drunk             |

With this information, does the 'simultaneous/consecutive' analysis seem adequate for the overall subordination processes? If so, why? If not, why?

5. How is time indicated in subordinate clauses?

6. Consider the following items:

- |                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 157. chaypi chayasha | I'll arrive there. |
| 158. chayamusha      | I'll arrive here.  |

What can be said about directionals? Is there any similarity with the objective paradigm? Discuss.

### Some Independents

Identify and describe the following morphemes.

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 159. wasilla            | just the house   |
| 160. yaykujunlla        | (s)he's just going in  |
| 161. rumipash           | the rock as well   |
| 162. shamujunpash       | (s)he's coming as well   |
| 163. ñukallatak         | I myself   |
| 164. wasillatak         | the house itself   |
| 165. maymantak rinki?   | Where are you going?   |
| 166. chaymanmi rini.    | I'm going there.   |
| 167. kanpak taytachu?   | Is that your father?   |
| 168. ari, nuka taytami. | Yes, it's my father.   |
| 169. kanpak mamashi?    | Might that be your mother?<br>(they say it is, but<br>I'm asking anyway) |
| 171. ari, nukapakmi.    | Yes, she's mine.   |
| 172. kanpak wasicha?    | Might that be your house?  |
| 173. ñuka wasichari.    | It certainly is my house.  |
| 174. kaypirak?          | Still here?  |
| 175. narak              | not yet  |
| 176. ñuka kusarak       | my husband first   |

177. imacharipash? What might it be as well?
178. shamujunpachamari? Is it true that (s)he really is coming?
179. mikujunpachashi. Somebody said that it's true that they really are eating.
180. rukuyajunpachacha? Is it really true that (s)he might be getting old?
181. awajuntakchariyari Let's hope they might be weaving.
182. mikunkapak I certainly hope that she shamujuntakchariyari might be coming to eat (because I'm cooking enough for her as well.
183. shamuyari Come right on.
184. niyari You ought to say it.
185. riypachayari Go right on, really.
186. kallarishunchik- Is it true that we pachachariyari? really might be beginning (to work)?
187. ña ñukanchik kulkita How that we've got charinchik, the money, let's kallaripashunchik- get started. pachayari.
188. ñukanchik Our husbands won?

jarikunarakpash?

189. jarirakcha,

Might they still be

makana junrakcha?

brave?

1. Describe the independent suffixes.
2. What can be said about the relative order of independent suffixes?
3. Combining the analyses of the nominal, verbal, and independent suffix classes, describe the possible expansion of the Quichua word. Which elements are obligatory? Optional?
4. Describe the possible expansion of the Quichua phrase.

#### Complex suffixation

Consider the following items:

190. wañuchirinayajuchishpa siriy.

Just keep on laying there like you want to make someone else want to kill themselves.

191. ruwillallagullapillatak.

a.) Just right there in the little stony field itself. b. Right on the tip of the boil. c. 'Ribald idiom'

1. Analyze the Quichua meanings of the above examples.



199. Being questioned about violent behavior during a party, an individual remarked before several witnesses of his behavior 'it wasn't me, it was my other me.'

200. In response to 'how are you?' one may say either 'we are fine' or 'I am sick.'

201. Mikunata karashpa kawsajupani.

I live giving (them) food.

202. Pay shaukpi, karu vichaynan risha.

If (s)he comes, I'll go far away.

203. Puñunayakpika, puñuyari.

If you're sleepy, then go to sleep.

204. Yarjanayakpika, mikuyari.

If you're hungry, then eat.

205. Ufyanayakpika, ufyapay.

If you want to drink, drink.

206. Shuk jampita karawarka puñunayachun.

(S)he gave me medicine so I can sleep.

207. Shuk jampita karawarka, puñunayashpa, puñunayakpi.

(S)he gave me medicine so I can sleep.

208. Mikunayan.

I feel like eating.

209. Mikunayachini.

I feel like eating.

210. Nukataka puñunayan.

I'm sleepy.

211. Nukaka puñunayachini.

I'm sleepy.



1. How does the category of duality affect Quichua world-view? What implications does this have for development programs?

2. Examples 201 and 202 are consistent with the analysis of subordination already presented in the sixth section. However, examples 203-205 differ markedly. How do these examples affect the previous analysis?

3. Example pairs 206-7, 208-9, and 210-11 have identical glosses. Based on the Quichua constructions, how do the forms differ in content and meaning?

4. State in your own words the postulate illustrated by the above examples.

#### Aspects of Dialectology

Ecuadorian Quichua is quite diverse both geographically and socially. (See the map on page blank which indicates the geographic distribution of Quichua dialects.) The following data provide a few examples of the variation possible in Quichua dialectology. Items 212 through 218 are all glossed as 'I begin to eat.' The abbreviations stand for the geographic areas.

212. mikunata kallarini. (Lja)
213. mikuyta kallarini. (Imb)
214. mikunkapak kallarini. (Ptz)
215. mikuy kallarini. (Wpo)
216. mikuy kallarini. (Ctp)
217. mikunkapak kallarini. (Tsl)
218. mikuyta kallarini. (Chm)
219. baylana to dance (general)
220. tushana to dance (primarily  
non-Catholics)
221. travultiyana to dance (primarily  
urban adolescents)
222. jinchulina put in blouse  
(primarily young  
women)
223. nuñukuy put in blouse  
(primarily older  
women)
224. yachachina to teach (general)
225. istudiyachina to teach  
(educated speakers)
226. shina kashpaka, oke. Since that's the  
way it is,  
okay. (international  
business people, some  
market vendors)

1. What geographic dialect differentiation exists?
2. What types of social dialects are there?
3. How might such dialect variation affect national education policies? National language policies?

#### Notes

1. Ecuadorian Quichua, classified as QIIB according to Torero (1974), is divided into central and non-central varieties. Within the non-central division, the Imbabura dialect is representative of those varieties spread during and after the Inca Conquest (beginning in the 1450's).
2. See Hardman, 1978, for a more detailed explanation of linguistic postulates.
3. Since these data sets are restricted, consider nukanchik as a single lexical item. It is from nuka 'lp' and -nchik 'our' giving the form a literal meaning of 'our ls.'
4. Although these person suffixes may be diachronically further divided, synchronically they should be considered a single morpheme.
5. The correspondences in other dialects are kiki kikin 'own,' as in kikin ushushi 'one's own daughter,' from Loreto in the Napo (Npo) dialect area.
6. Synchronically, this suffix functions as a verbal aspect. From a diachronic perspective this frozen form represents the fusion of -k 'agentive' and ni- 'to go.' Consequently, in more conservative dialect areas, item 100 might be glossed as 'I go to be a teller.'
7. Ecuadorian Quichua is a member of the Quechua language family. Phonemic orthography is used.
8. The exception in the Otavalo cosmology is 'father sun, father moon, mother cloud' as opposed to the Inca 'father sun/mother moon' concept.

## Appendix E

### ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The following are abbreviations, acronyms, symbols and terms used throughout the text.

#### Abbreviations

|     |                        |
|-----|------------------------|
| Azy | Azua y                 |
| Blv | Bolivar                |
| Cñr | Cañar                  |
| Ctp | Cotopaxi               |
| EcQ | Ecuadorian Quichua     |
| Imb | Imbabura               |
| Lja | Loja                   |
| Nch | North Chimborazo       |
| NPK | non-personal knowledge |
| Npo | Napo                   |
| PeQ | Peruvian Quechua       |
| Pch | Pichincha              |
| PK  | personal knowledge     |
| Ptz | Pastaza                |
| Sch | South Chimborazo       |
| Tch | Chibuleo               |
| Tna | Tena                   |

Tpl       Platillos  
Tsl       Salasaca

Symbols

c'       aspiration  
//       phonemic transcription;  
          individual morphemes  
[ ]       phonetic transcription  
". "     morpheme boundary within  
          words  
#        word boundary  
V        non-penultimate stress

## Appendix F

### ADDENDUM TO THE NATIONAL PLAN OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

Below is the complete text of the Addendum referred to in Chapter 8, followed by an English translation.

Addendum al Plan Nacional de Educación Especial: Programas Especiales Necesarios Para la Educación Bicultural, Bilingüe de Minorías Ecuatorianas.

Definimos a niños excepcionales como "aquellos que necesitan educación especial y servicios relacionados para desarrollar su completo potencial humano" y Educación Especial fue definida como "la instrucción ideada que responde a las necesidades especiales del niño excepcional."

En este sentido, los niños de las minorías culturales son niños excepcionales porque su diferencia cultural y lingüística de la cultura y lenguaje de las escuelas públicas, con frecuencia impide que desarrollen todo su potencial y que tengan éxito académico. Solo podemos estimar el número de niños de la comunidad indígena que abandonan la escuela o fracasan en ella - el número es muy alto si se considera el pequenísimo número de estudiantes indígenas en las Universidades Ecuatorianas y otros centros de Educación Superior.

Es claro que los niños cultural y lingüísticamente diferentes necesitan algún tipo de ayuda especial o un programa para tener éxito en sus estudios y que el planeamiento de programas escolares debe tomar en cuenta esta situación lingüística especial.

El breve análisis que sigue a continuación sobre la realidad multi-cultural Ecuatoriana, con referencia específica a la lengua, podría ser usado como un primer paso para comprender la complejidad de los aspectos implicados en esta situación.

#### Situación Lingüística Ecuatoriana y Algunas Implicaciones Para la Educación Bilingüe.

A pesar de que el Español es la lengua oficial; queda el hecho indiscutible de que el Ecuador es un país multicultural y multilingüístico. Las implicaciones de este pluralismo lingüístico para el sistema nacional de educación, son factores que deben ser considerados con el fin de crear un plan educacional efectivo que facilite la integración de (todos los marginados) individuos en el campo de acción de la vida ecuatoriana.

Un plan educativo de esta naturaleza estaría consciente de estas varias diferencias que existen en el Ecuador y respondería por ellas en lugar de hacerlas a un lado como "pequeñas (molestosas) costumbres de gente primitiva y

atrasada". Como una analogía, en lugar de adherirse a la teoría de una 'fusión' de unidad nacional, sería mucho más acertado y factible seguir la teoría del concepto de una "ensalada", donde cada ingrediente retiene su textura y sabor individual pero que combinados producen un sabor distintivo, mucho más grande que la suma de sus partes.

Suscribiéndose a la teoría de relativismo cultural, esto significa el aceptar a los varios grupos étnicos como ventajas en lugar de riesgos; como parte de la riqueza ecuatoriana. Esto implica una aceptación del hecho de que ninguna cultura es mejor o peor que otra, y consecuentemente ninguna lengua es mejor o peor; todas son iguales. Cual, entonces, es la situación lingüística actual en el Ecuador y como puede ser enfocada en el Plan Nacional de Educación?

En el momento actual en el Ecuador, además del Español hay trece otras lenguas distintas conocidas. Estas lenguas son Quichua, Shuara, Achuara, Cofán, Cayapa, Colorado, Záparo, Auca, Secoya, Siona, Tetete y Chawpi Shimi (Media Lengua). Como evidencia del perfil lingüístico de cualquier nación que cambia constantemente, esta última lengua, el Chawpi Shimi, es relativamente nueva; tiene aproximadamente 80 años y consiste básicamente de palabras en Español y gramática Quichua. Se la incluye aquí como una lengua separada ya que los niños de estas áreas lo usan como lenguaje nativo y deben aprender Español o Quichua como una segunda lengua.



Por medio de relaciones genéticas, algunas de estas lenguas son miembros de la misma familia, como el Español y el Portugués son miembros de la familia Romántica. Las familias de lenguas del Ecuador incluyen Quechua (1), Jivaro, Chibcha, y Tucano, entre otras. La mayor lengua no-occidental del Ecuador es el Quichua; las cifras estimadas del número de personas que lo hablan varia entre 1.5 millones a 4.5 millones. Tomando la cifra más baja, una parte considerable de la población Ecuatoriana tiene al Quichua como su idioma nativo. A pesar de que muchos se hacen bilingües (y con frecuencia trilingües, en el Oriente),-para una gran parte de la población, Quichua es su única lengua. En vista a que el Quichua es el grupo más grande, será el ejemplo en el resto de este documento; de todas maneras, los conceptos y principios discutidos podrán ser aplicados a cualquiera de las lenguas previamente mencionadas.

Cualquier lengua, en cualquier parte, que tenga una gran distribución geográfica, tendrá variaciones dialécticas; si la perspectiva tiempo-espacio es grande, con frecuencia muchos dialectos se convierten en lenguas separadas. Esto es precisamente lo que ha ocurrido con la familia de la lengua Quichua ya que actualmente, en el Peru, existen 5 lenguas Quechuas mutuamente ininteligibles. A pesar de que aún hay que hacer mucho trabajo en el Quichua que se habla en el Ecuador (2), por medio de investigaciones que

actualmente se realizan, parece que existen algunas distinciones dialécticas que están en el margen de tener un status de lenguas separadas. ej.: el nivel de mútua comprensión es tan bajo que prácticamente no existe.

Dentro del Ecuador, la mayor separación dialéctica existe entre el Quichua del Oriente y el Quichua de la Sierra; dentro de este último grupo, parece que existe una gran diferencia entre la Sierra central y la Sierra Norteña/sureña (3). En breve, el Quichua en el Ecuador no es homogéneo, existen variaciones substanciales en los niveles fonológicos, morfológicos, gramaticales y semánticos de la lengua.

Frente a esta variación lingüística, una situación que constantemente se presenta es la de la estandarización. En vista a la situación actual de la investigación y a la situación lingüística, una estandarización efectiva en el Ecuador es imposible, por cuanto, la extensión de la variación no ha sido suficientemente delimitada o definida. Más aún, se sabe que un niño aprende mejor y más rápido en su dialecto/lengua nativo (4). Una vez que se hayan dominado las habilidades de lectura, escritura, etc., en la lengua nativa, entonces estas habilidades pueden ser fácilmente transferidas a una segunda lengua. Si la educación ofrecida no es aplicable o conveniente para la población pensada, el programa está destinado a fracasar desde su comienzo.

Teniendo en mente lo arriba mencionado, se ofrecen las siguientes recomendaciones para aliviar las dificultades de los niños que no hablan el Español y que ingresan al sistema educativo Ecuatoriano:

1. La concepción e implementación de un programa bilingüe-bicultural adecuado, para ser integrado dentro del actual sistema educativo Ecuatoriano.
2. El diseño del programa bilingüe debe surgir de los esfuerzos combinados de educadores, lingüistas, antropólogos y líderes de la comunidad.
3. La población indígena debe ser incluida en todas estas fases, el en planeamiento de la política educativa y en la toma de decisiones.
4. No se debe forzar programas educativos en grupos que no los desean.
5. Evitar estrictamente el etnocentrismo.
6. Los programas bilingües deben ser de transición por naturaleza en otras palabras, progresando del Quichua como la principal lengua de instrucción al Español como la lengua principal.
7. Es uso de personas de lengua nativa adecuadamente entrenadas.
8. Desarrollo de habilidades de lectura y escritura.
9. Refuerzo de habilidades de la lengua vernácula.
10. Instrucción en ambas lenguas.

11. Una extensa cooperación de investigación de la estructura de las varias lenguas y un análisis de contraste de estas con las estructuras del Español etc., y,
12. La aceptación y oficialización de la lenguas vernáculas.

Para resumir, el Ecuador se halla en la misma posición que muchas otras naciones multiculturales. En lugar de seguir los mismos senderos y sufrir las mismas derrotas, el Ecuador debería aprender de los errores de otros, aplicar este conocimiento a su propia situación y asumir una posición de liderazgo valiente y responsable en la educación de la población de la nación que no es de habla hispánica.

### Notas

1. Con frecuencia hay gran confusión en la forma de deletrear la lengua; la distinción generalmente aceptada usada en este documento es que Quechua se refiere a la familia de la lengua (y algunos de sus miembros) mientras que Quichua se usa para referirse a los miembros de la familia de la lengua hablada en Argentina, Ecuador y Colombia.
2. La clasificación científica del Quichua Ecuatoriano es el subgrupo Chinchay - QIIB3 Chinchay septentrional.
3. Esta distinción de Sierra se debe, aparentemente, a que el Quichua de la Sierra central fue iniciado en el Ecuador antes de la llegada de los Incas, en base a análisis glotocronológicos, lexicostatístico y diacrónico. Esta puede ser la razón por la cual el Inca sorprendió tanto de que podía comprender a la gente del Ecuador a su llegada a este territorio.
4. En el Ecuador esto se demostró en el Proyecto Piloto de Educación Bilingüe "El Cercado". Las cifras de deserción y retención se redujeron en más de un 50% cuando la instrucción fue en la lengua nativa.

Addendum to the National Plan for Special Education:  
Necessary Special Programs for the Bilingual Bicultural  
Education of Ecuadorian Minorities.

We define special children as "those who need special education and related services in order to develop their complete human potential" and Special Education is defined as "the ideal instruction that responds to the special needs of the exceptional child."

In this sense, the children of cultural minorities are exceptional children because their cultural and linguistic difference from the language and culture of the public schools, frequently inhibits their full potential development and their academic success. We can only estimate the number of children from indigenous communities that withdraw from school or fail in it--the number is very high if one considers the very small number of indigenous children in Ecuadorian Universities and other centers of advanced education.

It is clear that linguistically and culturally different children some type of special help or program in order to be successful in their studies, and that the planning of scholastic programs should take into account this special linguistic situation.

The following brief analysis of the Ecuadorian multi-cultural reality, with specific reference to language,

could be used as a first step towards understanding the complexity of the aspects implied by this (linguistic) situation.

#### Ecuadorian Linguistic Situation and Some Implications for Bilingual Education.

In spite of the fact that Spanish is the official language, it remains that Ecuador is a multicultural and multilinguistic country. The implications of this linguistic plurality for the national system of education are factors which should be considered with the aim of creating an effective educational plan which facilitates the integration of (all the marginal) individuals into the mainstream of Ecuadorian life.

An educational plan of this type would be conscious of the various differences that exist in Ecuador and would respond to them instead of putting them aside as "small, bothersome customs of primitive and backward people." As an analogy, instead of adhering to the "melting pot" theory of national unity, it would be much more positive and reasonable to subscribe to the "salad bowl" theory, in which each ingredient retains its individual texture and flavor but when combined produce a distinctive flavor, greater than the sum of its parts.

Subscribing to the theory of cultural relativism, this means accepting the various ethnic groups as advantages rather than risks; as part of the Ecuadorian wealth. This implies accepting the fact that no culture is better or worse than another and consequently no language is better or worse than another; all are equal. What, then, is the current linguistic situation in Ecuador and how might this be focused on in the National Education Plan?

At the present time in Ecuador, in addition to Spanish there are 13 known distinct languages. These languages are Quichua, Shuara, Achuara, Cofan, Cayapa, Colorado, Zaparo, Awca, Secoya, Siona, Tetete and Chawpi Shimi (Media Lengua). As evidence of a nation's constantly changing linguistic profile, this last language, Chawpi Shimi, is relatively new; it is approximately 80 years old and basically consists of Spanish words and Quichua grammar. It is included here as a separate language since children of these areas use it as a native language and must learn Spanish or Quichua as a second language.

Through genetic relationships, some of these languages are members of the same family, as Spanish and Portuguese are members of the Romance family. Language families in Ecuador include Quechua, Jivaro, Chibcha, and Tucano, among others. The largest non-western language in Ecuador is Quichua; estimates of the number of speakers vary between 1.5 million and 4.5 million. Taking even the lowest figure,



a considerable portion of Ecuador's population has Quichua as its native language. Even though there are many bilinguals (and frequently trilinguals, in the Oriente), Quichua is the only language for a large portion of the population. In view of the fact that Quichua represents the largest group, it is used as an example in the rest of this document; nonetheless, the concepts and principles discussed to any of the above mentioned languages.

Any language anywhere that has a large geographic distribution will probably have dialect variations; if the spatial-temporal perspective is great, frequently many dialects become separate languages. This is precisely what has happened with the family of the Quichua language, since presently in Peru there exists 5 separate mutually unintelligible languages. In spite of the fact that much work remains to be done on the Quichua of Ecuador (2), preliminary results of investigations currently in progress indicate that some dialects are on the verge of attaining separate language status, in other words, the level of mutual understanding is so low that it practically does not exist.

Within Ecuador, a major dialect division exists between Oriente Quichua and Sierra Quichua; within this last group a division appears to exist between the central and the non-central dialects (3). Briefly, Quichua in Ecuador is not homogenous; significant variations exist at the

phonological, morphological, grammatical, and semantic levels of the language.

Facing this linguistic variation, standardization of the language is constantly suggested. In view of the actual linguistic situation, an effective standardization in Ecuador is impossible since the extent of the variation has not yet been sufficiently determined or defined. Moreover, it is known that a child learns better and faster in the native dialect or language (4). Once they have learned the skills of reading, writing, etc. in the native language, then these skills can be easily transferred to a second language. If the education offered is not applicable or convenient for the target population the program is destined to failure from its conception.

With the above in mind, the following recommendations are offered to help alleviate the difficulties that non-Spanish speaking children have when they enter the Ecuadorian educational system:

1. The conception and implementation of an adequate bilingual bicultural program, to be integrated in the current Ecuadorian educational system.
2. The design of the bilingual program should come from the combined efforts of educators, linguists, anthropologists, and community leaders.
3. The indigenous population should be included in all phases, educational policy planning, and decision-making.

4. Programs should not be forced on groups that do not desire them.
5. Strict avoidance of ethnocentrism.
6. Bilingual programs should be of the transitional nature, i.e., progressing from Quichua as the principal language of instruction to Spanish as the principle language.
7. Adequately trained native Quichua speakers should be employed as teachers.
8. Development of reading and writing skills.
9. Reinforcement of vernacular language skills.
10. Instruction in both languages.
11. Cooperation in extensive investigations of the structures of various languages and a contrastive analysis of these with the structure of Spanish, and
12. Acceptance and officialization of the vernacular languages.

In summary, Ecuador finds itself in the same position as many other multicultural nations. Instead of following the same paths and suffering the same defeats, Ecuador should learn from the errors of others and assume a responsible and courageous leadership position in the education of its non-Spanish speaking population.

Notes

1. Frequently, there is a great deal of confusion regarding the spelling of the language; the distinction generally accepted and used in this document is that Quechua refers to the language family (and some of its members), while Quichua refers to members of the family spoken in Ecuador, Colombia, and Argentina.
2. The scientific classification of Ecuadorian Quichua is the subgroup Chinchay - QIIB3.
3. This Sierra division is apparently due to the fact that central Quichua was brought into Ecuador before the arrival of the Incas, based on glottochronological analysis. This could be the reason why the Inca was so surprised when he could understand the people upon his arrival to this territory.
4. In Ecuador, this was demonstrated by the "El Cercado Bilingual Education Pilot Project." The withdrawal and retention rates were reduced by more than half when the instruction was in the native language.

Appendix G  
ELICITATION LIST

The following elicitation list was used to obtain much of the dialectology information provided in Chapter 8. It was designed to illustrate maximum variation across dialects of specific phonemes; in earlier investigations it was determined that these phonemes exhibit the greatest variation in Ecuadorian Quichua. With this list it is possible to obtain information on the realization of initial occlusives, palatal lateral, etc., as well as information on the morphology and lexicon.

1. todo 'all'
2. lengua 'tongue'
3. buscar 'to look for'
4. muchacho 'young boy'
5. hacer 'to make/to do'
6. desde la casa 'from the house'
7. mujeres 'women'
8. huevos 'eggs'
9. en la casa 'in the house'
10. de mi tío 'of my uncle'
11. Si no llueve, voy a venir 'If it doesn't rain, I'll come.'

12. Déme trayendo la gallina 'Bring me the chicken.'
13. Voy a salir de aquí. 'I'm going to leave here.'
14. Así me dijo él. 'He told me in this way.'
15. Es mi escoba también. 'It's my broom too.'
16. ayer 'yesterday'
17. dinero/plata 'money'
18. perro 'dog'
19. tierra 'earth'
20. bueno 'good/well'
21. dos 'two'
22. ahora 'now'
23. nosotros 'we'
24. blanco de color 'white'
25. ocho 'eight'
26. sangre 'blood'
27. cabuya 'century plant'
28. manteca 'lard'
29. barriga/estomago 'gut/stomach'
30. avisar 'advise'
31. botar 'throw out'
32. duro 'hard'
33. tengo hambre. 'I'm hungry.'
34. carrizo 'ash'
35. arena 'sand'
36. ella corrió rapido. 'She ran quickly.'

37. Estamos hablando el quichua. 'We're speaking Quichua.'
38. Vamos a hacer la parba. 'Let's make a parba.'

## Appendix B

### TEXTS OF THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Below are the Quichua and Spanish texts of the President's inaugural speech as they appeared in El Comercio. The orthography of Quichua used in the newspaper is preserved.

Kunan punchaka, mana lankalla naupa uata shina pushaita japinchik. Kunanka, tukui runakuna pushaita japinchikmi. Uakin millai runakunamanta pushaita japishpa, t kui makioura imatapish rurashpa kausakrinchikmi.

Kunanka, pikunaman rimani? Mishukunamanilla? Iachakkunamanilla? Mana... Nokaka, tukui kai llaktani kausak runakunamanmi rimani. Inti llukshina llaktapi kausak runakunaman: shuara, uaukrani, skiwia, siuna, kuphanman, tukui urkupi kausak runakunaman; inti chinkana llaktapi kausak runakunaman: puka, kaiapaman; tukui kastillakunaman; tukui uaranka uaranka runakuna, nukanchik Mama llaktapi kausakukkjunaman: iurak runakunaman, iana runakunaman, karu llaktamanta shamushka runakunamanpish.



Tukuipura ianapanakushpa, naupakman rishunchik.  
 Mana shiniuanlla ianka uairaman rimashpa, imatapish  
 nishkata, iuiashkata ruraiuan paktashunchik,  
 uakchakunapak llakikunata allichinkakaman.

Esta mañana, no en vano como el año pasado  
 trabajamos ahora todos los hombres juntos llevaremos  
 adelante. Todos los hombres de nuestro país viviremos  
 haciendo, obrando, laborando.

Ahora, me pregunto, a quiénes hablaré?, a quiénes  
 irá dirigida mi palabra? Sólo a los letrados, sólo a  
 los que saben?. NO. Yo hablo para todos los hombres que  
 viven en este país. Hablo a los hombres que viven en  
 la región donde nace el sol (oriente): Shuaras,  
 Jackrani, Sikuaia, Siuna. Hablo a los hombres que  
 habitan en las mas remotas comarcas de nuestra patria.  
 Hablo a los hombres que viven en la región donde se  
 pone el sole (occidente): Puku, Kaiapaman. Hablo a los  
 miles y miles de hombres para vivir unidos en nuestra  
 madre tierra, con los hombres blancos, con los hombres  
 negros, con todos, incluso con los hombres que vienen  
 de lejanos paises.

Todos deberemos cooperarnos, ayudarnos, para ir  
 adelante, para que nuestra labor no sea vana y para  
 librar de la miseria y de la tristeza a los humildes.

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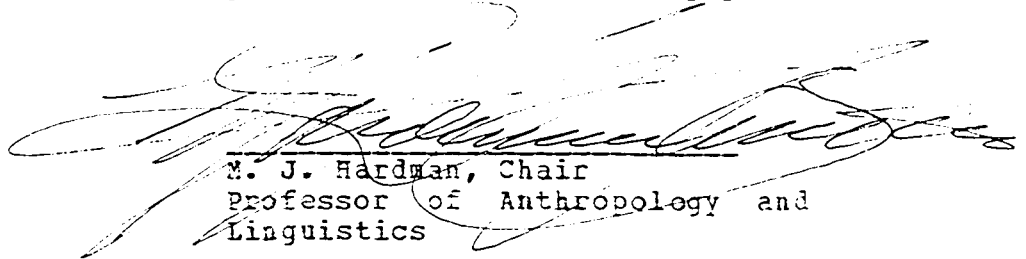


### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lawrence K. Carpenter was born on March 28, 1948, in Radford, Virginia. During his youth exposure to the Cherokee language first kindled Mr. Carpenter's interest in foreign languages. Mr. Carpenter attended Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, for the B.A. degree, Radford University in Radford, Virginia, for the M.S. degree, and University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida, for the Ph.D. degree.

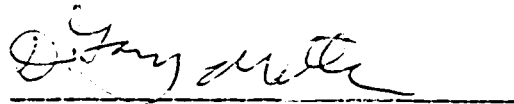
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



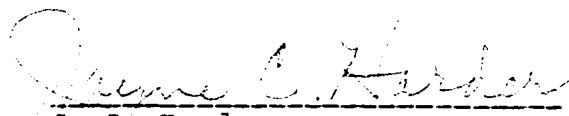
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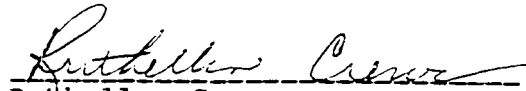
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August 1982



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