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**Those Stories Exist
Ethnographic and Poetic Elements to a Quichua Conversational
Narrative**

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Report

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Dedication

Notekichiwal nihmaktili nonantsin. Nochipa noyolpan, Nochipa noteopan.

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Nikintlasohkamatilia notepalewikanwah, notlayanwanwah. Tlazaohkamati miak.

Abstract

Those Stories Exist Ethnographic and Poetic Elements to a Quichua Conversational Narrative

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In this work, I look at a Quichua conversational narrative concerning a local waterfall and the “beautiful life” inside it. After providing ethnographic and linguistic background the story, I apply three ethnopoetic modes of representing oral poetry, followed by a reflection, then a conclusion. Analytically, I show that the narrative is much more than thingified, monochrome words describing a feature of the natural environment or serving as evidence of indigenous beliefs. Rather, by “us[ing] all there is to use” (Hymes 2003:36) in the text to foreground and discuss the rhetorical and poetic devices found in this narrative, I present this narrative as one that centers on “sumak kawsay,” or “beautiful life,” which brings into dialogue local moral concerns of indigenous peoples in rural Otavalo, and national political efforts at modernization which appear under the banner of “buen vivir.” Close ethnopoetic analysis of narratives in

context is essential to identify the present moral and political concerns as well as hear and represent the various voices embedded in seemingly mundane narratives.

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INTRODUCTION

This work connects a Quichua story told by Guillermo Santillan (GS henceforth) about a waterfall in the rural village of Fakta Llakta, Otavalo in Ecuador to broader topics concerning storytelling, ethnography, textual production, and urbanization. Advocates for cultural poetics or ethnopoetics understand that representing Indigenous oral discursive practices via the written word is a social process. I focus on two major moments of this process, the moment in which this particular storytelling performance took place—wherein I interviewed GS during my undergraduate fieldwork in the Summer of 2014—and the moment of translation, transcription, presentation, and analysis. With respect to the latter moment, I apply three ethnopoetic modes of representing oral poetry to foreground and discuss the rhetorical and poetic devices employed by GS in a Quichua “conversational narrative” (see section 1.2). It is my attempt to “use all there is to use” to foreground the “oral life” of this text that is any number of things, but never just thingified, monochrome words (Hymes 2003:36).¹

This work is divided into four sections. Section one is dedicated to the social process of former “moment” above. It includes linguistic and cultural background information concerning who the *Runa* or Quichua people are in this area (1.1) and the scholarly record to which this piece contributes (1.2). By contextualizing the conversational narrative in its respective storytelling literature, sociopolitical atmosphere, and ethnographic setting I present my discussion of the Quichua concept of *sumak*

¹ This saying is attributable to Dell Hymes quoting Kenneth Burke on translating Native American texts (2003:36).

kawsay, or beautiful life, and its contrasts to *buen vivir* (1.3). Whereas the latter is Ecuadorian government’s use of this concept (viz., welfare services; development strategies), the former is a concept central to rural Andean life in villages centered on reciprocity, kinship, dual-harmony in all things that is the heart of GS’s story. I argue through my ethnographically grounded reading of this story that it is an implicit push-back from Quichua communities against *buen vivir* and advocacy for living the *sumak kawsay* residing in the waterfall.

Section two is in four parts. I present the interlineal gloss of the interaction in 2.1 with a note on translation that will serve the succeeding ethnopoetic formats. 2.2 presents Dennis Tedlock’s “pause” and “breath” style format. This style helps represent what GS *sounded* like in this narrative event—foregrounding prosodic features in speech like pitch, loudness, and tempo (e.g., 1983: Introduction, 20). In 2.3 Dell Hymes’s “measured verse” format foregrounds the themes, parallelisms, and metaphorical language GS employs (e.g., 1977, 1994, 1998). In 2.3 I present and discuss the text in Robert Moore’s “narration across multiple speech-event modalities” to foreground the participant framework, frame changes, and voices embedded in the text (Moore 2013:23; Jakobson [1957] 1984: 44-46). These three styles work in tandem to represent GS’s culturally poetic “voice” and on his own terms and what he has to say about *sumak kawsay* (Blommaert 2009:271-272; Hymes 1981:384). I discuss some relative weaknesses or ambiguities and dilemmas in each format. However, I also show how some strengths or features—in their form and function—are foregrounded in their respective modes of textual representation.

Section three uses findings in section two to present my ethnographic reflection on how I was “checked” in my own interpretive assumptions by GS, and how ethnopoetics guided me to realize this happened. This event is analogous to Moore’s interaction with coyote story narrator, Lucinda Smith (2013:28; c.f., “cross-cultural interlocutors” in Dobrin 2012). Paul Kroskrity identified this narrative technique as “‘carrying it hither’...which can be paraphrased as situating the narrative for the present audience or, in more colloquial terms, ‘bringing it home’” (1985:149). I summarize the work in section four and discuss some pertinent implications of abiding by ethnopoetic tenets and cautions in attempting to recover or represent “the literary form in which the native words had their being” (Hymes 1981:384). I conclude by discussing the importance of this type of research that serves to benefit both theorists and Indigenous heritage members themselves—the work of listening and representing Indigenous voices in times of the language and cultural shifts across Indian Country (Moore 2013:15; Kroskrity 2103:147).

SECTION 1 LINGUISTIC & CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Runashimi or Quichua (as recognized in Ecuador and Colombia; it is known as Quechua elsewhere) is primarily spoken across the international Andean region and in some parts of the Amazon in South America. Imbabura Quichua (IQ) is a Quechua II variety spoken by approximately thirty- to forty-thousand people in the northern highlands of Ecuador, which includes a large amount of indigenous language speakers of Otavalo/Otavalan/Otavaleño Quichua (Cole 1982:3; Jake 1985; Bouchard 2002: 38; Gomez-Rendon 2007). According to Bouchard (2013:38), Otavalo, as an urban town in the Imbabura province and its numerous rural communities, collectively make up approximately forty thousand inhabitants, half of whom are Runa (indigenous) and the other half are mishu or mestizos. Gullermo Santillan, the storyteller I focus on in this work, speaks a rural dialect of Otavaleño Quichua.

During the Summer of 2014, I immersed myself in the villages of Agato, Quinchuqui, Arias Uko Peguche as well as their town center, Otavalo. In these villages, I found many Quichua speakers who were fluent in Ecuadorean Spanish, which confirms Cole's generalization (1982:3) that IQ speakers tend to be bilingual. It should also be noted that several elderly Quichua near-monolinguals reside in rural areas across the province while younger Quichua generations are learning English for its economic associations (Guillermo Santillan is a good example).

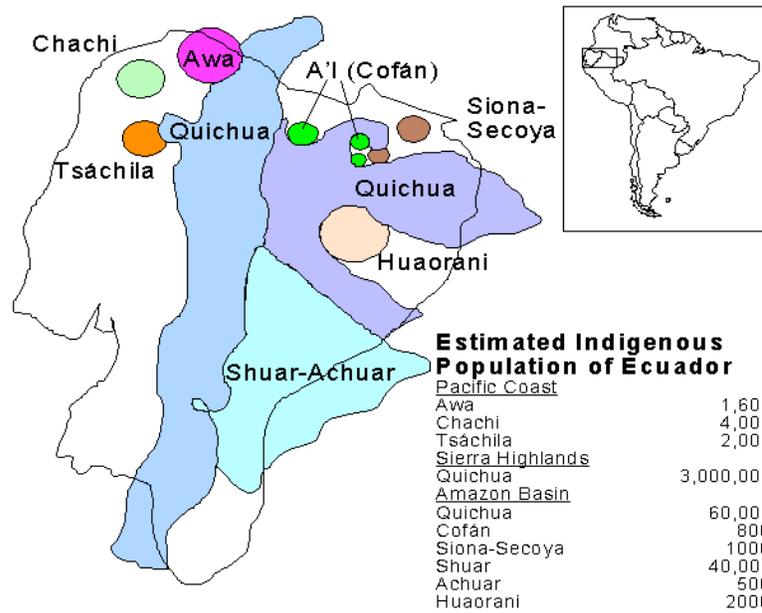


Illustration 1, Map of Indigenous populations in Ecuador. Andean Quichua in aqua blue, whereas, Amazonian Quichua zones are marked purple. (Image taken from <http://conae.nativeweb.org/map.html> 2014).



Illustration 2, An approximate distribution of the Quechuan varieties in South America. Gold represents Quechua I, and blue represents Quechua II. July 2016, Author Huhsunqu/Guillermo Romero. Credit to commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Huhsunqu

IQ has some salient grammatical distinctions relative to its Southern counterparts. Kerke and Muysken (2014:136-137) maintain that: i) Quechuan languages of Ecuador and Colombia have lost much of the complex head-marking morphology retained in Southern Quechua languages, in turn making them dependent-marking languages; ii) Some verbal suffixes that mark the subject are retained at the level of first-person objects; iii) The widespread possessive suffixes in most of Southern Quechuan languages have been lost from nouns, and are now marked on the possessor by genitive suffix *-pa(k)*.

Syntactically, Cole's (1982) work with speakers of the Rinconada, Mariano Acosta, Otavalo and San Roque as well as Cleary-Kemp's (2013) grammatical work in Otavalo describe these dialects as exhibiting constituent order that "is relatively free in main clauses, but SOV predominates, and is more strictly required in subordinate clauses" (Cleary-Kemp 2013:2).

1.2 LITERATURE ON QUECHUA STORYTELLING

Literature on Quechua storytelling traditions is robust. An example pertinent to this discussion is Mannheim and Van Vleet's (1998) "dialogical" and reflexive approach to representing performative elements that govern Quechua oral narrative discourse.² I use the term "reflexive" to describe their theoretical shifting toward a *dialogical* model and away from their initial "folklorist" (ethnocentric) models of narrative as fixed, constructed monologues as "closely bounded..." texts artifacts that "exist in printed form, severed from settings, from other texts, and from speakers" (1998:340, 326, 327).³ Their dialogical model foregrounds the sociality and intertextuality of different narrative events (to which the ethnographer becomes a participant in interaction). They also focus on reported speech strategies and evidentiality marking by means of tense, evidential suffixes, and emphatics all embedded in the Chayanta, Bolivian as well as Quispichanchis and Urubamba, Peruvian Quechuan conversational narratives they analyze (1998: 327, 340).⁴

Isbell and Fernandez (1977) explore the cognitive development and socialization implications of Peruvian Quechuan riddle games ranging from rhythm based riddles to comparing metaphorical-proposition-based riddles, all involving semiotic scaffolding of sound, texture, form, motion and function to solve the "puzzle"(1977:20). In a different scope, de la Torre's (1999) work speaks at length about Quichua Otavaleña performative

² For other works on Quichua narratives see Alison Krögel (2010) and John McDowell (2005, 2010), *inter alia*.

³ Mannheim and Van Vleet (1998:326) are citing Silverstein and Urban (1996:3) on "text artifact."

⁴ They borrow the "conversational narrative" category from North American Indian stories discussed in Polanyi 1989 and Johnstone 1990.

traditions and philosophy from a gendered perspective as a *Runa Warmi* (Quichua Woman). Hornberger (1992) engaging in a similar project to mine, represents a widespread Peruvian Quechua story in an ethnopoetic, Hymesian “verse analysis” mode to compare and contrast grammatical and syntactic patterns between two versions of “The Condor and the Shepherdess,” noting rhetorical structuring and cultural values embedded in both versions. Howard (2012) and Floyd (2005, 2007) write extensively on Quechuan evidential marking, epistemic modality and reported speech strategies in Quechuan storytelling discourse.⁵

As I show in section 2, Quechua stories have life and tend to emerge in conversation when appropriately cued. Hence, I employ the “conversational narrative” category from Mannheim and Van Vleet (1998). This narrative event is, with its “metanarrative asides,” addressed to me, not a prefabricated or rehearsed ritualized speech act (Moore 2013: 28; see “winter bathing stories” discussed in Silverstein 1996) on the part of GS. Rather this interaction is a site of multiple types of discourses, wherein various voices and frames are embedded by cultural predilection for dialogue in storytelling (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998; Nuckolls 2010a:54).

There are other scholars who work with Quichua performative discourse. In addition to her contribution on Pastaza Runa (Amazonian Ecuador) stance and perspective shifting in performative storytelling, Janis Nuckolls (e.g., 1996, 2010a, 2010b) demonstrates the sound-symbolic forms of performative storytelling practices in Pastaza Quichua, wherein narrators tend to employ a plethora of ideophones for stylistic

⁵ Also known as, Howard-Malverde.

affects, to involve listeners (like a storyteller who “hooks” in the audience) into narrative event as well as give voices to the beings endowed with animacy in the Amazon. Not too far from the Pastaza region, Michael Uzendoski (2008) and Michael Uzendoski and Edith Felicia Calapucha-Tapuy (2012) centralize the body and other sensory modalities and salient devices in Amazonian Napo Quichua poetics. Storytellers like GS may (and in fact, do) “break out of performance” (viz., “performance” in Hymes 1981:86) and revert back to an interlocutor frame, stylistically.

Joining the Quechuan scholars above, I understand Native poetic discursive practices, namely, storytelling as pathways to understanding broader notions of beliefs, cultural practices and norms. In my exegetical approach to one conversational narrative I hope to echo scholars, like Paul Kroskrity, who maintain that Indigenous stories and storytellers should be taken seriously and understood on their own terms. By this logic, Native storytelling is a “site” where culture is reproduced (Kroskrity 2011:185). A thick, in-depth representation and analysis of GS’s story, foregrounds the “ancestral voices in the present and future” (Kroskrity 2012:*ibid*) in the waterfall story which are being muffled by the voices of the actual “*buen vivir*” being experienced by the rural Runa in and around Fatkta Llakta.

1.3 BUEN VIVIR IS NOT SUMAK KAWSAY

I return now to what is happening on the ground in the village of Fakta Llakta or “Waterfall Village.” Recently, government agencies have started to use the multilayered discourse of *sumak kawsay* as a rationale and driving force for national- and local-level language, education, and socio-economic policies, which directly affect rural Otavaleños, often using the Spanish language gloss “*buen vivir*.” *Buen vivir* emerged in Latin America as progressive approaches to development. In Ecuador and Otavalo particularly, *buen vivir* is referred to as a translation of the indigenous concept, *sumak kawsay*, (literally, “beautiful life”) which is described as inherent rights to resources such as health care, shelter, education, food, political and so on (Ecuadorian Constitution 2008; Gudynas 2011:442).



Fig. 1, Government sanctioned *Buen Vivir-Sumak Kawsay* handbook.
<http://www.secretariabuenvivir.gob.ec/buen-vivir-sumak-kawsay-por-que-para-que-como/#>.

Figure 1 above is a cover of a handbook created by the Secretary of Buen Vivir and is promoted in a government website of Ecuador. According to the website link to the book, it is “A book that captures the essence of Buen Vivir-Sumak Kawsay”(2017). The book cover reads, “Buen Vivir[,] Sumak Kawsay[,] For whom, For What, and How?” Both the quote promoting the book and its cover pair “*buen vivir*” and “*sumak Kawsay*” as one and the same, and in fact premises the book. In the book, Fander Falconí, the former leading developer of National Secretary of Planning commission (SENPLADES) is quoted in officially implementing *buen vivir* into the larger Plural-national political campaign in 2013. Falconí stated that, “Buen vivir is the way of life that allows happiness

and the permanence of the cultural and environmental diversity; it is harmony, equality, equity and solidarity. It is not the search for opulence"(2015:27).⁶ Ostensibly then, one may consider the pairing of *buen vivir* and *sumak kawsay* as one government-sanctioned driving force for “equity” and “diversity”, but as GS shows explicitly and implicitly this work, villagers generally criticize or reject outside efforts because of their incongruities to the local Quichua ways of being.

Recent key Ecuadorian language policies created under the slogan of *buen vivir* and nominally in support of indigenous peoples do not actually benefit the native communities in the ways they are claimed to do. For instance, *buen vivir* campaigns that attempt to unify numerous Kichwa dialectics via the Quichua *unificado* (official standardize Quichua) may be seen as successful from a distance and by particular populations. However, they are experienced as ‘limited’ to local rural indigenous populations and should be evaluated through the lens of language ideologies and the corresponding goals they inform.⁷

Apart from *buen vivir* official language policies, there are visible discrepancies between rural Otavaleños and outsiders concerning what “development” implies in relation to land and natural resources. In general, rural-living Runa feel a pressure to shift from agrarian modes of subsistence to a market-based economy. Many Runakuna told me in 2014 they see this economical shift as a shift in relating to the natural world in non-

⁶ This is my translation into English. The original quote is, “Buen vivir es la forma de vida que permite la felicidad y la permanencia de la diversidad cultural y ambiental; es armonía, igualdad, equidad y solidaridad. No es buscar la opulencia ni el crecimiento económico infinito”.

⁷ I employ Kroskrity’s definition for “language ideologies” as “beliefs and feelings” of a language. They are explicit or implicit cultural representations of the intersection of language and human beings in a social world (Kroskrity 2000; 2004:498).

Runa ways. In practice, *Buen vivir* notions of land development are seen as “*mishu*,” or “mixed-blood” ways. This site of ideological contestation—between what is *sumak kawsay* and *buen vivir*—is where I center GS’s story on water, the earth, and mountains in Fakta Llakta.

How does GS conceptualize water and *sumak kawsay* more broadly? GS answers this in at least two voices I document and bring forth in this work. One voice is his explicit interlocutor voice (the other is elaborated in section two) when he answers, in Spanish, a question I pose for him. The interview question was, “*Some academics say that the same concepts, the same philosophies can be shared and expressed in any language. What do you think about that?*” I will discuss why I formulated this (presumptuous) question later on but I first I present GS’s statement translated from Spanish into English concerning water:

...[W]hen we talk about water, the Western world immediately thinks of resource. But in Quichua, when talking about water, it has nothing to do with ‘resource’... but rather it is felt as a mother, as a grandmother, and should be respected. When I go to a creek, I always arrive with a prayer as a greeting. But the modern Westerner does not have that idea... I could just say “water” and not explain the feeling I have towards the water...it is very difficult. It would take me a long time to explain water is for us.⁸

When he says “*agua*,” there is no connection to the motherly qualities of “*yaku mama*” (Quichua), according to GS. Quichua is thus iconic of relatedness and Spanish, to GS, is iconic of distance or objectification. That is, GS is stating an element like water is not an object of human exploitation—integral to *buen vivir*—and the capacity to be a “resource” does not define the category of nature for him. Not only is relating to water as a “mother”

⁸ The full response from the interview is in the appendix.

more harmonious and respectful than exploitive associations of objectification for human consumption, it is in accordance to an Andean cosmovision. By Quichua cosmovision principles, many immaterial objects in the Western world are endowed with perspective and animacy (Nuckolls 2010a, 2010b), and all things material and spiritual in the Universe are ordered as dualistic and necessitate respect and reciprocity (i.e., offering prayers).⁹

I formulated this interview question before field-work in 2014, specifically after reading Bouchard's work on "self-reported beliefs" on the Quichua language (2013).¹⁰ Her article pertains to community members of the village Peguche immediately neighboring Fakta Llakta, therefore relevant to GS. Throughout her article, Bouchard reports an array of "*self-reported* beliefs" ranging from prescriptive dietary behavior (i.e., the avoidance of certain foods that impact language acquisition) to social and linguistic indexes of ethnic Quichua identity, namely that proficiency in speaking Quichua is not a chief criteria for being Runa (Bouchard 2013:55).¹¹ Bouchard used three primary methods of data collection: ethnographic participant-observation, structured interviews conducted with a questionnaire aimed to grade degree of language acquisition (Bouchard

⁹ Harmony, respect, dualism, and reciprocity are major themes discussed in Andean/Quichua cosmovision literature. These themes can be applied to everything from foods (i.e., hot and cold;), rocks (i.e., male vis-à-vis female rocks), rivers, mountains, personalities, sexuality, vocational traits, etc...(ibid). For larger discussions on epistemological and axiological logics prevalent in the Quichua-Andean Cosmovision see Cachiguango (2006), Cachiguango (2010), Vallejo (2015:80-84), and De la Torre (1999).

¹⁰ It was a question I asked all other nine interviewees.

¹¹ In, "*The Quichua System of Beliefs about Language Acquisition and Social Use: Cultural Resilience in Quichua-Spanish Contact*," Bouchard argues that Quichua beliefs on language acquisition entail three primary components: cognitive development, language socialization, and childcare—more precisely, hygiene and diet (2013:37).

2013: 41; citing Slobin 1967:50-55), and a “psychometric scale” aimed to measure the level of biculturalism and cultural integration of the interviewees (Bouchard 2013:ibid).¹²

I present GS statement above as a direct contradiction to one of Bouchard’s chief claims. She claims nearly all her informants believe “that ideas can be expressed equally well in any language” or that Peguche Runa believe Spanish is capable equally expressing anything in Quichua (2013:51).¹³ One could argue that GS does not fit Bouchard’s “urbanized fringe” of Peguche villagers marked by their “greater daily contact with mishu culture” (2013:44), but this distinction is erroneous because GS himself is a farmer, speaks English, and travels internationally for work selling cultural items like handmade flutes and traditional Quichua attire—often times to other First Nations in Saskatchewan. Rather, I argue that relying on scales and questionnaires demonstrates one’s own language ideologies in structuring research.

Bouchard seems to reify a methodological misconception that language ideologies are explicitly conscious. Briggs (1986:23) writes extensively on how dangerous surveys and questionnaires could be in respect to generating “reliable” data. There could be severable other things going on—not apparent to the interviewee and interviewer. Briggs cautions researchers to note that, for example “interviewees respond not simply to the

¹² Bouchard utilizes her Quichua adaptation of Slobin’s questionnaire on language acquisition as well as a Quichua adaptation of Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernández’ “psychometric scale measuring biculturalism and cultural integration”(Slobin 1967; Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernández 1980).

¹³ She also claims her informants believe, “[Indigenous] children will talk better by going to school”, which is contested by many of the Quichua people I spoke with and interviewed in 2013 (2013:51,48). I argue that Bouchard does not seem to be reflexive regarding her own biases in research methodologies. It is also unclear how the behavior patterns she did observe and examine, which are mostly food gathering/preparation activities and children at play, are related to her main focus on the cultural and ethnic unity of Quichua individuals.

wording of the question but to the interview situation as a whole,” but that also “each interview is a unique social interaction that involves a negotiation of social roles...between strangers” (1986:24). Applying these reflexive points in studying language and identity, in particular, it becomes clear that one needs more than explicit discourse to cover a whole group.

Providing evidence concerning Quichua feelings towards speaking and “expressing ideas” entails an analysis of implicit logic, that is, what does GS have to say about water and *sumak kawsay* in his ethnolinguistic and ethnopoetic (Hymes 1981: 384) voice? This voice gives him “capacity to make oneself understood in one’s own terms”, specifically through performing his narrative (Blommaert revisiting Hymes in 2009: 271-272). The implicit ideologies concerning Quichua life—absent in Bouchard’s analysis—emerge discursively on their own terms. Like Bouchard I present above my elicitation of GS’s explicit claims that, “[i]t would take [him] a long time to explain water is for us.” However, as many ethnographers and language scholars will contend, people tend to be poor observers of their own behavior. Interviews can illustrate apparent values, while observing language usage and behavior can expose what people *actually do* (c.f., "practical" and "discursive" ideologies, Kroskrity & Field 2009:5). I present a story that challenges her claim and as evidence that being and speaking Quichua in and around Fakta Llakta are tied to a *sumak kawsay* different from the actual emergent, dispreferred *buen vivir*.

SECTION 2 INTERLINEAR GLOSS AND THREE FORMATS

Concerning translation, I argue that my interpretations and exegetical attempts to analyze this text's "exuberances and deficiencies" reaffirm the social process of textual production in representing Indigenous storytelling voices and forms (Becker 1995:5 citing Ortega y Gasset 1959). I was helped in creating the interlinear gloss shown below by the collaboration of both Guillermo Santillan and his brother Rumi Santillan in Agato, Otavalo in 2014 who commented on how certain lexical items should be translated to match local understandings. My morpheme-by-morpheme transcription was created with the help of Santiago Gualapuro, an Otavaleño linguistic graduate student at the University of Texas at Austin. All errors in this transcription are mine.

The transcription I provide here is an excerpt from a larger video-recorded interview I conducted with GS in the village of Fakta Llakta in 2014. I utilize the standard interlineal gloss format. Abbreviations are explained in the appendix. Elements of this basic transcript are inserted into the subsequent representative formats for analysis (2.2-2.4). The font is in Times for spacing and aligning purposes. Quichi Patlan is abbreviated as (QP). Note that the textual formatting for this entire section is part of my analysis. The lines and gloss abbreviations are indented once. The names on the left are in bold for visual convenience.

2.1 INTERLINEAR GLOSS

QP:

- 1) Imapash yali-shka rimay-kuna-ta willa-chi-nkapak
Something pass-PART speech-PL-ACC Inform-CAUS-PURP

chari-pa-nki-chu?

have-DULc-2.PR.S-NEG.Q?

'Do you have something to old say for teaching (to share)'?

GS:

- 2) Ñuka-nchi ñawpa Kawsay-kuna-manta?
1-PL old life-PL-AB.Q?
'about our past lifeways'?

QP:

- 3) mhm (yes)

(GS henceforth):

- 4) Ari,ima-ta-ta tawka-tawka yachay-kuna rimay-kuna tiya-n.
Yes,what-ACC-AV many-many wisdom-PL speech-PL exist-3PR
'Yes, many wise teachings exist regarding that'.

- 5) Shinallata kunan kay fakcha-pi ka-shpa-lla-ta.
CONJ now DEM.PROX waterfall-LOC be-COR-LIM-ACC
'Also, now that we are here we are here at this waterfall'.

- 6) ñuka hatun tayta, ñuka tayta rima-n ka-riya-n
1.S. great father, 1.S. father, say-3PR be-DUR.PAST-3
'My grandfather, my father would say'.

- 7) "kay hatun fakcha-ka hatun tayta-mi ka-n ni-shpa",
DEM.PROX great waterfall-TOP great father-EV be-3PR say-3.COR,
"this waterfall is a great father, he said",

- 8) shinallata "Chayka chay-pi-ka shuk punku-mi tiya-n
CONJ DEM.DIST-TOP DEM.DIST-LOC-TOP one door-EV exist-3PR

ni-shpa" ni-n ka-rka.

say-3.COR say-3PR be-3PAST.

'Also, "there, a great door exists, he said", he had said'.

9) chay-ka ñuka tayta-ka mashka-shpa chay punku-ta
DEM.DIST-TOP 1.S father-TOP search-COR DEM.DIST door-ACC

shamu-shka-rka,
arrive-PART-3PAST,
'For that reason, my father came to search for the door'.

10) chay fakcha uku-man yayku-shpa shuk washa uku-man
DEM.DIST waterfall inside-ALL enter-COR one behind inside-ALL

yali-sh ka-rka.
pass-PART be-3PAST
'Inside, behind the waterfall, there was something ancient'.

11) chay washa uku-pi-ka "hatun sumac lakta-mi
DEM.DIST behind inside-LOC-TOP great beautiful village-EV

tiya-n ni-shpa" willa-chi-hu-rka.
exist-3PR say-3COR inform-CAUS-PRO-3PAST.
'There behind, inside he told me "a great beautiful city exist,he says"'

12) chay rimay-kuna tiya-n.
DEM.DIST speech-PL exist-3PR.
'those stories/myths/sayings exist'.

13) Shinallata kay punku-kuna-ka mana yanka-ta pashkarin-chu
CONJ DEM.PROX door-PL-TOP NEG free-ACC open-NEG
'Also this door does not open for free'.

14) yachay tayta-kuna shina pachamama-wan rimari-kpi,
wise man-PL alike mother-earth-COM speaking-SR

ayllu-yari-kpi, kay samay-kuna, apu-tayta-kuna-ka
family-AFF-SR DEM.PROX spirit-PL mountain-father-PL-TOP

punku-ta paska-n,
door-ACC open-3PR.
'when wise people who speak with mother-earth,(and) speak with family, these mountain-fathers spirits open the door'.

15) "kay fakcha uku-pi-ka machanayayay sumak kawsay
DEM.PROX waterfall inside-LOC-TOP shockingly beautiful life

tiya-n ni-shpa-mi” ñuka tayta rima-n ka-rka
exist-3PR say-COR-EV 1.S. father say-3PR be-3PAST
‘“*Inside the waterfall exists a shockingly Beautiful life, he said*”, my father said’.

16) Kunan-pi-ka mana uyani-chu pipash chay uku-man
now-LOC-TOP NEG heard-NEG anyone DEM.DIST inside-ALL

yaykuk-ta, pipash chay uku-pi ka-shka-ta.
enter-ACC, anyone DEM.DIST inside-LOC be-3COMP-ACC
‘*Today, I don’t know anyone who has entered or been inside*’.

17) Imashpa? Ñukanchi-ka kay pachamama-manta apu-kuna-manta
why.Q? 1PL-TOP DEM.PROX mother-earth-AB mountain-PL-AB

samay-kuna-manta karuyari-shpa shamu-shka-nchik,
sprit-PL-AB distant-3COR come-COMP-1PL.PR
‘*why? We have come to a distance from mother earth, the mountains, and spirits*’.

18) chay-manta tawka punku-kuna ñuka-nchi-man
DEM.PROX-AB many door-PL 1-PL-ALL

widharina-hu-n.
close-PRO-3PR.
‘*for that reason many doors keep closing on us*’.

2.2 NARRATION AS TEDLOCKIAN ORAL POETRY

Next I present the conversational narrative in a Tedlockian format where lines are based on the breath and pause breaks (Tedlock 1983 Moore 2013:20). Elongated vowels are represented by repeated letters and rises in pitch are represented with CAPITALIZED letters. The co-occurring gestures (figures 2 and 3) seen in the video are marked in parentheses, as are changes in tempo and pitch. This format attempts to represent what GS sounded like. I have also included the discourse markers, “uhhs” and “mmms,” in this version. I argue they function as verbalized pauses that are crucial in keeping the flow of discourse and creating lines. They also seem to function stylistically as I will discuss. The approximated time for each pause that immediately precedes an utterance is represented at the start of each line in parentheses. The text is flushed left to emphasize the linearity of this format (Moore 2013:20). I have numbered the lines flushed right.

QP: Imapash yalishka rimaykunata willachinkapak [<i>something old to say for teaching</i>]	1
(0.05.8) charipankichu? [<i>Do you have (to share)</i>]?	2
GS: (0.01.4) Ñukanchik uhh...ñawpa Kawsaykunamanta? [<i>about our past lifeways</i>]?	3
QP: (0.01) mhm (yes)	4
GS (all henceforth):(0.1) Ari, imataaaa tawkatawka yachaykunaaa rimaykuna tiyan.	5

[Yes, many wise teachings exist regarding that.]

- (0.01.3) 6
Shinallata kunan kay(*signals to waterfall*)fakchapi kashpallata
[Also, now that we are here we are here at this waterfall.]
- (0.01.2) 7
ñuka hatun tayta, ñuka tayta riman kariyan “kay hatun (*signals to waterfall*) fakchaka...”
uhh...hatun taytami kan nishpa” shinallata “chayka chaypika SHUK PUNKUMI
(*opening hands gesture*) tiyan nishpa” nin karka.
[My grandfather, my father would say “this waterfall...”
uhh...“is a great father, he said” also ““there, a great door exists, he said” he had said].
- (0.01.3) 8
chayka ñuka taytaka mashkashpa
chay punkuta shamushkarka.
[for that reason, my father had searched for the door.]
- (0.01.1) 9
chay (*softly*) fakcha ukuman yaykushpa
[there inside waterfall]
- (0.01.2) 10
shuk washa ukuman yalish karka.
[behind, there was something ancient].
- (0.01.4) 11
chay (*softly*) washa ukupika ”hatun SUMAC llaktami tiyan nishpa”
[There behind, inside “a great beautiful village exist, he says”]
- (0.01) 12
willachihurka
[he told.]
- (0.01.3) 13
Chay rimaykuna tiyan.
[those stories/myths/sayings exist.]
- (0.01.1) 14
Shinallata mmm...kay punkukunaka mana yankata pashkarinchu
[Also this door does not open for free]

(0.01.2)	15
yachay taytakuna [wise people]	
(0.01.1)	16
shina pachamamawan rimarikpi, aylluyarikpi, [who speak with mother-earth,(and) speak with family,when]	
(0.01.3)	17
kay samaykuna, aputaytakunaka punkuta paskan. [mountain spirits open the door]	
(0.01.2)	18
“kay (signals to waterfall) fakcha ukupika machanayayay mmm,uhh...sumak kawsay tiyan nishpami” ñuka tayta riman karka. [“Inside the waterfall exists a shockingly mmm,uhh...beautiful life, he said” my father said.]	
(0.01.4)	19
Kunanpika mana uyanichu pipash chay ukuman yaykukta, pipash chay ukupi kashkata. [Today, I don’t know anyone who has entered or been inside.]	
(0.01.1)	20
uhh...imashpa? [why?]	
(0.01)	21
Ñukanchika kay pachamamamanta apukunamanta samaykunamanta karuyarishpa shamushkanchik [we, a distance from mother earth, the mountains, and spirits we have come to]	
(0.01)	22
chaymanta tawka (hands closing gesture) punkukuna ñukanchiman widharinahun. [for this reason many doors keep closing on us.]	

The story, at a first glance, is ‘about’ Guillermo’s father who used to speak of the waterfall from which Fakta llakta (Waterfall village) takes its name. This waterfall is a “hatun tayta” or “great father” who can lead a person to a “shockingly beautiful life.” This beautiful life should draw attention from villagers today, given the drastic changes

in village life otherwise referred to as the distancing from “pachamama” in the story that can be literally translated as “time/space-mother” but generally used as the analogous “mother earth” in English or *madre tierra* in Spanish. I use the compounded “mother-earth” in my gloss to convey these overlapping concepts. In an Andean cosmovision, pachamama is the mother of all things and her dual-counterpart deity is pachakamak, the father of all things, who is not mentioned in the story, although several “taytakuna,” or “fathers/male-elders” are mentioned, namely, GS’s father, the door, and the mountains.

In contrast to the Moorian format (2.4) that foregrounds performative framing, Tedlock’s format foregrounds performative features. Specifically, Tedlock’s graphic formatting highlights loudness, tempo, and silence in attempt to “make a *visible* record of sounds” (1983:5, emphasis in original). Most of the lines here are based off pauses. That several lines, for instance, lines 7, 8, 11, 18, and 21 have several verbs in them, represent a contrast to Hymesian lines in 2.3 who advocates for one verb or one main predicate per line (Moore 2013:21; e.g., Hymes 1996:166-167). Notice the enjambment that only occurs in this format at line 7, “My grandfather, my father would say “this waterfall...”uhh...”is a great father, he said” also ““there, a great door exists, he said” he had said.” Added to this, “uhh” and “mmm” are verbalized pauses, which act as stylistic devices to emphasize what immediately comes next. That is, the introduction of “a great father” is an important point in the story. Or, for example, both devices simultaneously occur on line 18, “machanayayay mmm,uhh...sumak kawsay,” “shockingly mmm, uhhh...beautiful life,” Contrastingly, the “uhh...” when GS first speaks (not in an

narrative discourse) allows respond without a pause, but also indexes his degree of certainty in comprehending my question, “Our uhh...old lifeways-about?” in English.

This format is most helpful making sense of the shifting between the proximate demonstrative “kay” and the distal demonstrative “chay” that occurs in this performance by the animator, GS. The demonstratives seem to co-occur with some indexical and iconic gestures seen in the video and that I have integrated into the format with parentheticals.¹⁴ For instance, on line 6 GS emphasizes by means of pitch and somatic gesturing that *this* (indexed to) waterfall is a “great father” and, “inside” indicated by line 7, “chaypika SHUK PUNKUmi (opening hands gesture representing it)” there is A DOOR.

¹⁴ Michael Uzendoski and Edith Calapucha-Tapuy's write at length about Quichua “somatic poetry” as a cultural discourse. They note Runa storytellers utilize words and gestures simultaneously to achieve communicative tasks in the following modes of expressiveness: 1) iconographic, 2) kinetographic or miming, 3) beat gestures, 4) contrastive pairs, 5) experiential gestures, and 6) “gestures of voice”, the “audible body movements which operate inside speech: gestures which constitute the voice itself” (Uzendoski & Calapucha-Tapuy 2012:4 citing Rottman 2008: 21-23)



Fig. 2, “shunk punku” on line 7 (0.34 in video).

I argue GS’s father is still the author despite the shifting from “kay” (line 7) to “chay” (lines 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11) or this/here to that/there in quoted speech, which clarifies an ambiguity of how many voices are present in section (2.4). The gesturing in this format suggests GS is taking a distancing epistemic stance away from “here” in line 7 to “there” or “chaypika SHUK PUNKUMI” still in line 7 as well as the immediate “theres” in 8, 9, 10 and 11. Initially, I hypothesized another author that would have required another speaking frame in 2.4, but it seems the shift in pointing is due to the fact that in the “this/here” line 7 we can see the waterfall, whereas “that/there” line 7 indexes a physically unseen door, in which—somewhere “behind” a supposed “a great beautiful city exist” but that Guillermo is unwilling to vouch for.

Also present in line 7 (twice) as well as lines 11 and 18 is the evidential marker – mi that only occurs in quoted speech. This seems to function the way Nuckolls (2010a:53-54) presents it in quoted speech in performative discourse to mark dramatic

significance on the part of the narrator that he/she wishes to convey, in addition to the –mi’s directly witness overtone (see also Cleary-Kemp 2013:3). She couples the epistemic logic or the metalanguage function for this enclitic with its performative usage. Source of information as well as interactional settings, cultural conventions, the goals of speakers (i.e., illocutionary force in storytelling), and grammatical structure work together to foreground the speaker’s “epistemological stance” in reported discourse (Nuckolls 2010a:54; Mushin 2001:82). By this logic, I argue that the times “–mi” occurs in quoted speech, GS does not have direct experience of what the events his father witnessed, but rather he employs the enclitic to mark a dramatic significance of, for example, his father saying “this waterfall” is a “hatun tayta.”



Fig. 3, GS gesturing towards the waterfall behind him saying, “kay,” “this,” (.29 in video).

2.3 NARRATION IN HYMES' "MEASURED VERSE"

Applying Dell Hymes' "verse analysis" or "measured verse" approach centered on discourse particles, here I format the transcription in terms of lines, verses, stanzas and scenes (Hymes 1994: 333-335). The conventions are: Poetic lines grouped in stanzas to show the appositional features and as well changes in theme and action. Lines typically consist of one verb per line. This style foregrounds parallelisms in the speech event. Here, lower-case italic numerals indicate scenes (i, ii) next to the Act one and Act two; capital Roman letters indicate stanzas (A, B, C .. .); **Bold** numerals indicate verses on the left. Line numbers are flush right. Lines with an indentation of ten spaces indicate a continuation of the same line (namely, line 29). Quoted speech parts are indicated by quotation marks (Moore 2013:21; Hymes 1977, 1994, 1998). I add borders merely for visual convenience.

[Intro: The prompt and setting]

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| (A) (1) QP: | Imapash yalishka rimaykunata willachinkapak charipankichu? | 1 |
| GS: | Ñukanchik ñawpa Kawsaykunamanta? | 2 |
| QP: | mhm. | 3 |
| (2) GS: ¹⁵ | Ari, imatata tawkatawka yachaykunaaa rimaykuna tiyan. | 4 |

Act One [scene i: The tale of this waterfall]

- | | | |
|---------|---|----|
| (B) (3) | Shinallata kunan kay fakchapi kashpallata | 5 |
| | ñuka hatun tayta, ñuka tayta riman kariyan | 6 |
| | “kay hatun fakchaka hatun taytami kan nishpa” | 7 |
| (C) (4) | Shinallata | 8 |
| | “chayka chaypika shuk punkumi tiyan nishpa” | 9 |
| | nin karka. | 10 |

¹⁵ GS all henceforth

(5)	Chayka ñuka taytaka mashkashpa	11
	Chay punkuta shamushkarka.	12
	Chay fakcha ukuman yaykushpa	13
	shuk washa ukuman yalish karka.	14
	Chay washa ukupika	15
	“hatun sumac llaktami tiyan nishpa”	16
	willachihurka.	17
(D)(6)	Chay rimaykuna tiyan.	18

Act One [ii. The doors are closing]

(E)(7)	Shinallata kay punkukunaka mana yankata pashkarinchu.	19
	yachay taytakuna shina pachamamawan rimarikpi,	20
	aylluyarikpi,	21
	kay samaykuna, aputaytakunaka punkuta paskan.	22
(8)	“Kay fakcha ukupika machanayayay sumak kawsay tiyan nishpami”	23
	ñuka tayta riman karka.	24

Act Two [i. Today]

(F) (9)	Kunanpika mana uyanichu	25
	pipash chay ukuman yaykukta,	26
	pipash chay ukupi kashkata.	27
(10)	imashpa?	28
	Ñukanchika kay pachamamamanta apukunamanta	
	samaykunamanta karuyarishpa	29
	shamushkanchik	30
(11)	Chaymanta tawka punkukuna ñukanchiman widharinahun.	31

[Intro: The prompt and setting]

(A) (1) QP:	Do you have something old to say for teaching?	1
GS:	About our past lifeways?	2
QP:	mhm.	3
(2) GS: ¹⁶	Yes, many wise teachings exist regarding that.	4

Act One [i. The tale of this waterfall]

(B)(3)	Also, now that we are here we are here at this waterfall.	5
--------	---	---

¹⁶ GS all henceforth.

	My grandfather, my father would say	6
	“this waterfall is a great father, he said”	7
(C)(4)	Also,	8
	“there, a great door exists, he said”	9
	he had said.	10
(5)	Therefore, my father came	11
	There, to search for the door.	12
	There, entered inside the waterfall,	13
	was something ancient.	14
	There behind, inside	15
	“A great beautiful village exist, he says””	16
	he told (me).	17
(D)(6)	Those stories exist.	18

Act One [ii. The doors are closing]

(E)(7)	Also this door does not open for free.	19
	When wise people who speak with mother-earth,	20
	speak with family,	21
	these mountain-fathers spirits open the door.	22
(8)	“Inside the waterfall exists a shockingly beautiful life, he said”	23
	my father said.	24

Act Two [i. Today]

(F)(9)	Today I do not know	25
	anyone who has entered,	26
	anyone who has been inside.	27
(10)	Why?	28
	we distance ourselves from mother-earth, mountains, & spirits,	29
	we have come.	30
(11)	For this reason many doors keep closing on us	31

Immediately, this mode of representing oral discourse projects a sense of ‘neatness’ relative to the two prior, in that all lines are arranged and “without leftovers” (Hymes 1977: 440). Following the introduction, observe how the text can be divided into Acts One and Two with the latter marked by a temporal shift. Collectively, they convey a sense of going into the “past” (Act One, scenes i and ii), brought into the context of

“today” at line 25, with implications for the “future”—the last line shifting the whole text into progressive tense (line 31). What I want to focus on are the parallelisms and metaphorical features that work in tandem to uphold the rhetorical architecture of this narrative conversation.

Webster elucidates that one may identify parallelism by means of “repetition with variation of sounds (phonological parallelism), lexical items,” or “grammatical structures” (Webster 2015:11). According to Webster, rhyming is perhaps the most recognizable form of “phonological parallelism” but others include “alliteration, and meter” (2015:12). Webster draws his understanding of parallelism as a key feature to Jakobson’s “poetic function of language” and the principle of “equivalence” as Jakobson argued that language shifts from denotation serving to a more poetic one when it “focuses on the message for its own sake” (1960: 356). Parallelism, then, can be understood as recurring units (e.g., by means of alliteration) and/or equivalent structures and ideas (e.g., lexical; grammatical) for purposes outside of a strictly denotational one.

Observe on line 4, verse 2 the “Tawka Tawka” reduplication occurs. “Tawka tawka” literally, “many, many”, is an iconic feature of repetition that denotes the superlative of “tawka.”¹⁷ In other words, iconic notions of size and quantity are being

¹⁷ For poignant examples on Quichua sound symbolism see Nuckolls (e.g., 2010a). Sound symbolism provides linguistic devices for speakers to endow perspective, animacy, and communicative possibilities to a plethora of agents in the Amazonian landscape. One would be hard-pressed to ignore the imaginative work and expressive ways a storyteller may use, in tandem or independently, Quechua ideophones, intonational exuberances, and gestural signs not so much to refer directly but rather to symbolically represent or simulate sensations or perceptions causing a shared perceptual experience in storytelling (Nuckolls 2010a:31).

aggregated via reduplication of the whole lexical item (Sherzer 2002:15).¹⁸ Rhythmic parallelism occurs on lines 19 and 20 by means of the *-kpi* conditional suffix “*pachamamawan rimarikpi, aylluyarikpi*” “speak with mother-earth, speak with family.” Whereas the introduction, “The prompt and setting”, consists of 2 verses (question and answer), Act One, scene i “The tale of this waterfall,” has 4 verses. Here, there is a grammatical parallelism in that the first two verses are three lines long, start with the initial discourse marker “*shinallata*” which I have translated as the conjunction “also”—they are paired with GS’s quote discourse. Notice that the first two verses of Act Two, scene i also has three lines.

A rhythmic parallelism occurs with the *-kuna* pluralizer suffix in line 22, “*kay samaykuna, aputaytakunaka punkuta paskan,*” “These mountain-fathers spirits open the door.” In this line, a semantic coupling seems to occur when with the pairing of the lexical items of “*samaykuna*” and “*aputaytakunaka,*” that is, between “spirits” and “mountain-fathers” to convey “mountain spirits.” In Quichua morphology, compounding is right-headed and endocentric, thereby in a semantic couplet of nouns like in “*samaykuna*” and “*aputaytakunaka*” the “unmarked term always appears first” and the marked term appears in the second position (Mannheim 1987:282). Notice the root mountain-fathers takes the topicalizer suffix *-ka*. This is similar to what Barrett defines as a “diphrastric kenning”, a pair of semantically-related words that combine to convey a broader meaning beyond either of the combined elements in isolation (Barrett 2015:13).

¹⁸ Sherzer (2002:14) explains that iconicity in language is pervasive and that “[p]robably the most commonly considered cases of iconicity in language are sound symbolism/onomatopoeia and reduplication, sometimes found in combination.”

For instance, there is an analogy between “*Tayta-Mama*,” “Elder/Ancestor” in Quichua to “*qatat qanan*,” “our fathers, our mothers” to convey “Our Ancestors” in K’iche’ (2015:13).

The re-occurring feature that stands out more than any other in this Hymesian format is the repetition of distal demonstrative “chay” as an initial discourse particle almost in every line in verse 5. Note the slight change in gloss for “chay” in English to highlight this point:

(5)	Chayka ñuka taytaka mashkashpa	11
	Chay punkuta shamushkarka.	12
	Chay fakcha ukuman yaykushpa	13
	shuk washa ukuman yalish karka.	14
	Chay washa ukupika	15
	“hatun sumac llaktami tiyan nishpa”	16
	willachihurka.	17

Note the grammatical parallelisms between lines 11 and 12 “Therefore, my father came” “There, to search for the door”.¹⁹ Then, the paired 13 and 14 compared to 15 and 16 “There, entered inside the waterfall, was something ancient” “There behind, inside “A great beautiful village exists, he says””. This verse (5) above, and the pairs of 11,12, 13-14 and 15-17 as they are all initiated with the repetition of the discourse marker “chay” that connects every line to each other as one verse. The pairing of verbs of “entering” and being inside are again paralleled grammatically on three-lined verse 9:

(9)	Kunanpika mana uyanichu	24
	pipash chay ukuman yaykukta,	25
	pipash chay ukupi kashkata.	26
(9)	Today I do not know	24

¹⁹At the morpheme-by-morpheme level, this is demonstrative.distal-topicalizer

anyone who has entered, 25
anyone who has been inside. 26

This format also facilitates the recognition of metaphor, viz., the leitmotifs of “fathers” and “doors” and the central concept of *sumak kawsay*. Just as GS metaphorically refers to water as a “mother” (“*yaku mama*” in Quichua) in his statement in section 1.3, from this story we can contextualize GS’s recognition of his father, the waterfall, and mountains as, “*taytakuna*,” or “fathers/male-elders.” This contextualization speaks to Paul Friedrich’s (1986) who problematization of the centrality of metaphor in Western poetics. Instead he argued that, “[e]ven in its narrow meaning the role of metaphor varies enormously between poems, poets, poetic traditions, and cultures”(30). Not only Friedrich, but Sherzer (1990, 2002), and Webster (2015: 17-18) also defend the need for contextualizing the salience of metaphor within particular linguistic-cultural tradition. I have come to understand metaphorical meanings of *sumak kawsay* different from those of *buen vivir*.

In the story, GS uses the evocative adjective, “*machanayayay*,” or “shockingly” to describe *sumak kawsay* when GS says, “Inside the waterfall exists a shockingly beautiful life.” Why is it so “shocking,” and to whom? Given the broader sociopolitical atmosphere to which rural Quichua Otavaleños are subject (section 1.1-1.3), one could suggest GS is alluding to idea that many villagers, like himself have never seen the “beautiful village” and “beautiful life” in behind the waterfall’s door in Fakta Llakta. GS is a father, traditionalist, and community healer, “*yachak*,” “a wise person,” who travels across the nation and internationally performing public and private ceremonies. This role places

high stakes on maintain tradition. Therefore, I argue that GS uptakes the mysteriousness and importance of Fakta Llakta's waterfall told to him by his father to align himself as one who "can speak with mother-earth, speak with family," so to discover one day the said doors to be closing in the village.

The performance of this conversational narrative, then, simultaneously becomes a critique of the failing recognizability of Quichua places by both Runa and non-Runa. A place like Fakta llakta is laden with fathers, doors, stories and teachings, although not the kinds that the government recognizes under the discourse of *buen vivir*. Evident in Bouchard's (2013) claim (1.3), GS's statement (1.3), and GS's story, there is a liminality concerning land and heritage attitudes in Fakta Llakta that is an analogous to the liminal state GS embodies as both a traditionalist and someone who has never seen this important waterfall door. This story presents the various voices in the liminal space rural Runa villagers occupy during the increasing presence of *buen vivir* and the "closing of doors."

2.4 NARRATION ACROSS MULTIPLE SPEECH-EVENT MODALITIES

The third ethnopoetic format I employ here can be referred to as “narration across multiple speech-event modalities” adopted from Robert Moore’s work with Kiksht (Wasco-Wishram Chinookan) speakers (e.g., Moore 1993, 2013). He attributes the format to Roman Jakobson’s “speech-event format” ([1957] 1984). Here are Moore’s own words to guide the reader through this format that is arranged:

...in columnar fashion, with each vertical column representing speech in distinct or at least distinguishable discourse modality or event-frame. Such an arrangement facilitates recognition of this narrator’s pervasive switching among styles, perspectives, and voices, and allows one to observe...alternation among speech-event modalities (1993:219).

Again, this Moorian mode makes use of Jakobson’s distinction between speech event (E^s) and narrative event (E^n) and embeds a third event-frame reserved strictly for directly quoted speech ($E^s/E^n/E^{ns}$) (Jakobson [1957] 1984:44-46). Note that the leftmost column Interlocutory (E^s) is degree zero and represents the conversation between interlocutors (GS and QP). At degree zero, interjections and audience responses may be shown and the narrator may occasionally return to this degree for “asides” and “exegetical” or personal assertions “provided by the narrator and presumably directed to [the] interlocutor as addressee in the event” (Moore 1993:219).

At degree one, the second leftmost column, Narrative (E^s/E^n), represents narrative discourse characterized by its third person conjugations and past tense markers. This includes GS’s descriptions of his father’s movements, actions, and behaviors and primary usage of *verba dicendi* (verbs of speaking) to frame his father’s (the protagonist’s) directly quoted utterances at degree two (Moore 2013:22). Line breaks are mainly

syntactically based, given Quichua's relatively strict SOV word-order mentioned in section one as well as based on major pauses in speech. This mode also pairs Quichua above to English glosses in brackets below. I add borders merely for visual convenience.

Interlocutory (E^s)

Narrative (E^s/Eⁿ)

Quotational (E^s/Eⁿ/E^{ns})

Three frames: Conversation, Narrative, Quotational Speech.

QP:

Imapash yalishka willachinkapak rimaykunata? 1

[*Do you have something old to say for teaching (to share)?*]

GS:

Ñukanchi ñawpa Kawsaykunamanta? 2

[*about our past lifeways?*]

QP:

mhm 3

GS (all GS henceforth):

Ari, imatata tawkatawka yachaykuna rimaykuna tiyan 4

[*Yes, many wise teachings exist regarding that.*]

Shinallata kunan kay fakchapi kashpallata. 5

[*Also, now that we are here we are here at this waterfall.*]

ñuka hatun tayta, ñuka tayta riman kariyan 6

[<i>My grandfather, my father would say</i>]	
“kay hatun fakchaka hatun taytami kan nishpa.”	7
[<i>“this waterfall is a great father, he said.”</i>]	
shinallata	8
[<i>Also</i>]	
“Chayka chaypika shuk punkumi tiyan nishpa”	9
[<i>“there, a great door exists, he said.”</i>]	
nin karka	10
[<i>He had said.</i>]	
chayka ñuka taytaka mashkashpa chay punkuta shamushkarka,	11
[<i>For that reason, my father came to search for the door.</i>]	
chay fakcha ukuman yaykushpa shuk washa ukuman yalish karka.	12
[<i>Inside behind the waterfall, there was something ancient.</i>]	
chay washa ukupika...	13
[<i>There behind, inside...</i>]	
”hatun sumac llaktami tiyan nishpa”	14
[<i>“a great beautiful village exist, he said”</i>]	
willachihurka	15
[<i>he told.</i>]	
Chay rimaykuna tiyan.	16
[<i>those stories exist.</i>]	
Shinallata kay punkukunaka mana yankata pashkarinchu	17

<i>[Also this door does not open for free.]</i>	
yachay taytakuna shina pachamamawan rimarikpi, aylluyarikpi, kay samaykuna, aputaytakunaka punkuta paskan.	18
<i>[when wise people who speak with mother-earth,(and) speak with family, these mountain-fathers spirits open the door.]</i>	
“kay fakcha ukupika machanayayay sumak kawsay tiyan nishpami”	19
<i>[“Inside the waterfall exists a shockingly Beautiful life, he said”]</i>	
ñuka tayta riman karka	20
<i>[my father said.]</i>	
Kunanpika mana uyanichu pipash chay ukuman yaykukta, pipash chay ukupi kashkata.	21
<i>[Today, I don’t know anyone who has entered or been inside.]</i>	
Imashpa?	22
why?	
Ñukanchika kay pachamamamanta apukunamanta samaykunamanta samaykunamanta karuyarishpa shamushkanchik.	23
<i>[we have come to a distance from mother earth, the mountains, and spirits.]</i>	
Chaymanta tawka punkukuna ñukanchiman widharinahun.	24
<i>[For this reason many doors keep closing on us.]</i>	

From this format, I foreground some nuances in the story via Goffman’s “participant framework” coupled with Mannheim and Van Vleet’s “dialogisms,” in order to highlight the multiple frames and voices this mode brings life to (Goffman 1981;

Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998). I use Goffman's "participant framework" to assign roles in this conversational narrative's varying perspectives and embedded voices (Dyal 2011: 457; Goffman 1981:3,137). According to Goffman, interlocutors are positioned differently in talk, and these positions can be understood as "footings," which are established relative to another or a "participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or projected self" (Goffman 1981:128 as described by Dyal 2011: 456;). Added to this, each footing attaches a different responsibility to varying roles to maintain the interaction (Dyal 2011: 456; Goffman 1981:128). By this logic, we can assign the following participant roles, the animator, the principal, the figure, and the addressee, accordingly. The "animator", which Goffman metaphorically refers to as "the talking machine, a body engaged in acoustic activity" or "the sounding box" (Goffman 1981:144, 226; Dyal 2011: 457) is the individual who physically articulates the utterance and whereas QP is the animator at lines 1 and 3, GS is animator of almost the entire text (Goffman 1981:144, 226).

The author is someone or some party whose sentiments, encoded in words, are "being expressed," also described as the "the agent who scripts the lines" (Goffman 1981: 144, 226). The "principal," is someone or some party whose "position is established by the words," that is, the individual or party whose position (i.e., ideological) is represented by the author's words (Goffman 1981:144; see also Dyal 2011: 457). The animator, the principal, and the author can be one and the same, for example if the President reads a speech which he wrote himself. When GS quotes his father on lines 7, 9, 14, and 19, he shifts from carrying three roles to two, in that he is no longer the author, rather he is the

animator and representing his father (the principal). Arguably, GS shares this principal role with his father in these frames by assuming GS ascribes to the propositions made by his father, but that is an exuberant reading.

Dynal explains Goffman's (1981) division between different types of "audience" or "listeners" that are inscribed in discourse as recipients (2011: 457). He identifies an "addressee" or the "addressed recipient" as the one "to whom the speaker addresses his visual attention and to whom, incidentally, he expects to turn over his speaking role" *in contrast to* the co-present "ratified overhearers" who are not addressed (Dynal 2011: 457; Goffman 1981:132-134). By this logic, QP is provided a turn-in-talk and reciprocates in the first four lines as the "addressee" and remains so throughout the entire text.²⁰

The fourth role I list is the "figure" that could be understood as the images or qualities of character that are being evoked in in speaking (Goffman 1981:147). The figures in the text are: i) GS's father; ii) A personified, "great father", waterfall on line 7; iii) An unseen door behind the waterfall on line 9; iv) "Something ancient" (line 12) and "a beautiful village" (line 14) beyond the door as well as the "shockingly beautiful life" that exists behind the waterfall (line 19); v) And the various spirits mentioned in the story. These four participant roles highlight the sociality of the conversational narrative, as opposed to thinking of this story as a depersonalized, decontextualized monologue on part of GS, this story embeds several relationships and forms of dialogue.

I argue that Mannheim and Van Vleet's (1998) "dialogisms" are relatively more visually pervasive in this format than Tedlock's (2.2) and Hymes' (2.3) because its

²⁰ Technically, QP shifts from being the animator, principal to addressee.

textual layout allows the reader to keep track of the shifts in perspective in the story. The first four lines at the conversational level consist of turns that denote Question/prompt (1), Clarification (2), Agreement (3), and Direct Answer (4), respectively. The direct answer being “Yes, many wise teachings exist regarding that” on line 4—appropriately represented at degree zero (conversational level). Several of Mannheim and Van Vleet’s “dialogisms” begin to surface by the end of just these four lines! The first obvious one is “conversational dialogue” by virtue of the prototypical interview elicitation. That line 4 is clearly indicating that this story is embedded in a network of other stories—reasserted on line 16 with “those stories exists”—upholds Mannheim and Van Vleet’s second “intertextual dialogue” (1998:327). This Moorian format reserves GS’s father’s words in embedded frame (“Quotational Speech”) and establishes Mannheim and Van Vleet’s “embedded discourse” via citation (1998:*ibid*). Goffman’s participant roles reveal the implicit dialogue between the storyteller and the addressee, viz., Mannheim and Van Vleet’s fourth dialogue (1998:328).

I want to expand upon my analysis of quoted speech or the voice of GS’s father (at degree two). I argue there is not a second source, or authoritative other being quoted that would put narrative “at a reportative or hearsay level of experiential validity” (Floyd 2005:9 citing Salomon 1982:141) or the “voice of tradition” (see “narrative enclitics” in Webster 1999:13-16; 2011:349). Instead I argue that GS is specifically quoting his father. Floyd (2005, 2007), for instance, shows how the grammaticalized third-person say verb “*ni-n*” (He/she says/they say) may function as a hearsay evidential marker in Quichua

narrative and reported speech (Floyd 2007:16-17).²¹ Floyd provides detailed comparative data on storytelling structures of Quichua, Brazilian Nheengatú and southern Quechua that demonstrate that the “He/she says/they say” “*nin*” evidential marker is common in many dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua, and is even an areal feature in reporting strategies among tribes in both highland and lowland zones (2007). He claims the “*nin*” evidential is not common in other Quechuan languages (Floyd 2005:10).

The fact that this *nin* evidential marker is stylistically employed in Quichua storytelling to distance the animator from the author is an example of Sherzer’s “poeticization of grammar” which he defines as the use of “an element or feature of grammar either losing its grammatical function as it takes on a poetic function or adding a poetic function to its already existing referential and grammatical function” (Sherzer 1990: 18). However, the reportative *nin* tends to follow verbs that the *-shka* participle suffix also noted as the “narrative suffix”. Verbs usually take the *-shka* suffix in narrative genres, but also genres relating to gossip (Floyd 2005:10; Mannheim & Van Vleet 1998:338; Gutierrez 1976:170), probably because *-shka* is argued to exhibit a non-eye-witnessed evidential overtone, and *-rka* is said to be a relatively unmarked conversational past tense form (c.f., “*-shka*” & “*-rka*” in Cleary-Kemp 2013 & Sylak-Glassman 2013). In respect to this story, most of this text is spoken in the *-n* present tense and *-rka* unmarked preterite. So, the first time *nin* occurs at line 10 with “*ka-rka*,” or “to be,” in

²¹ He also refers to “*nin*” as an evidential suffix due to its tendency to occur as sentence-final position and the shift in stress it exhibits. He writes, “[e]ven though Quichua has a strict penultimate stress rule, some storytellers stress the final syllable of the participle suffix *-shca*, evidence that the following *nin* is being treated as an affix rather than a separate word (2005:10).

preterite tense, *nin* appears in its productive, grammatical form and not the “they say” form.²² That is, *ka-rka* is acting as the main verb to the subordinate clauses that start at line 6.

The *-shpa* suffix in “*nishpa*” (line 7) indicates that the same subject is doing the talking, GS’s father. Clarifying the ambiguity of who is being quoted is necessary because the productive speech verb, “*ni-n*” (in 3rd person singular/plural) and the reportive “*nin*” are homophonous (Floyd 2007:16). Note still, if this *ka-rka* verb was not in line 10, the whole quote would be in the present tense and *nin* would fill the role of the main verb to the subordinate clauses. The fact that *nin* is preceded with preceded with the two *-shpa* suffixes indicates that the father is in fact still speaking. My argument for the father as the author of the embedded discourse is strengthened by the main speaking verb “*willachihurka*” (he told) at the end of lines 14 and 15 “a great beautiful village exist, he said” he told”. *Willachihurka* is not *willachinahurka* in the text. Both are compound verbs with causative suffix *-chi*, but the latter takes the *-na* nominalizer here functioning as a plural marker *-na*. If you take the preceding verb with *-shpa* (coreference) in line 19 adjacent to the singular third person *willa-chi-hu-rka*, the pair provide evidence for my claim that his father being quoted.

This format (2.4) has its visual strengths but also has ambiguities. For instance, one ambiguity is deciding to which event frame line 15,” *Chay rimay-kuna tiya-n*”,

²² Mannheim and Van Vleet (1998) cite Antonio Cusihuaman Gutierrez description of “narrative past” as “marking any action . . . that has taken place either without the direct participation of the speaker, or while the speaker was not fully conscious” which implies an evidential overtone (338; Gutierrez 1976:170). Specifically, Southern Quechua speakers across dialects distinguish two past tense suffixes (among others): the unmarked preterite or imperfect past “*-rqa (-ra)*,” which is “*-rka*” in Quichua, as well as the narrative past “*-sqa*,” which is “*-shka*” in Quichua (338).

“These stories exist” should be applied, conversational or narrative? The same ambiguity occurs when GS says, “Shinallata kunan kay fakchapi kashpallata,” which I translated into English as “Also, now that we are here we are here at this waterfall” at line 5. Or, what to do with the rhetorical question “Imashpa,” “Why,” at line 22? Do these two moments revert back to degree zero or are they part of the narrative frame? Moore also concedes to these interactional contextualized ambiguities in his work when he maintains “[i]n situations like these, the boundary between performer and ‘audience’—so central to folklore study (Bauman 1977)—turns out to be permeable and up for negotiation...” (2013:28-29).

SECTION 3 REFLECTION

Representing Indigenous stories via the written word is a social process. Revisiting the moment in which this particular storytelling performance took place, I offer a reflexive anecdote that underscores the layers of dialogue (elaborated in 2.4) but also my ideological disposition as an undergraduate ethnographer in 2014, now apparent to me. That is, I *intended* only to prompt a story from GS. So, why did I include the verbal-adjective “yalishka” “past” (as in time) at the beginning of the interaction that I gloss as “Do you have something *old to say* for teaching (to share)? The Runa across the Andes maintain few metalinguistic terms for storytelling genres relative to Western literary traditions, and in fact, I found that people in villages tended to utilize the loan word *kuintu* (from Spanish cuento) to convey “story” in general (Floyd 2007:6-7; Mannheim and Vleet 1998:327). I took a “purist” approach in attempting to translate the question, “do you have a story you would like to share?” solely in Quichua but with intention on prompting a “legend” or “myth” as opposed to gossip or the like.

Inadvertently, I formulated a phrase that situated the story at a distance from the here—and-now, hence his immediate response to clarify “our old past lifeways?” What is remarkable is that GS “checks” me, despite my initial ignorance of what he was doing.²³ After the narrative is told (in past tense) GS shifts to the present by asserting, “those stories exist.” To answer back to the prompt, they exist “for purposes of teaching/advising” (by the verb “willachi-nkapak”) the Runa because “...many doors

²³ This anecdote reminds me of the encounters I have had with people asking me about, “The Native American culture”, in effect homogenizing Indigenous people. Or, when people refer to Native Americans in the past tense, regardless of their awareness to the problematic assumptions.

keep closing...” (present progressive tense). Moore (2013) experienced an analogous ethnographic encounter with the two versions of Kiksht coyote cycles narrated by his collaborator, Mrs. Smith. He writes:

Mrs. Smith’s July 1984 version of the cycle was narrated much more densely—and rapidly—in Kiksht than the 1983 version we have been sampling so far. It is also narrated in the Kiksht ‘remote past’ tense...normatively appropriate tense for myth narration. The 1983 telling, by contrast, was narrated in the ‘future-conditional’...hence my translations: not ‘they went’, but ‘they’d go’; not ‘he jumped’, but ‘he’d jump’, etc. The future-conditional is the appropriate tense to use when telling about a myth, summarizing the plot, as opposed to telling it; it’s a way of telling someone what would be happening in a story, were one to tell it (2013:27-28).

By shifting into the future-conditional, Mrs. Smith addressed Moore directly without breaking from the narration. Similarly, GS never explicitly stated, “those stories EXIST, and don’t you forget it.” However, by “giving me what I wanted” or answering my question at line 1, he did employ a technique Mrs. Smith exploited as well, identified by Paul Kroskrity as (1985:149) “carrying it hither” by referring to time in a way that situated the narrative for the present audience. The ambiguity of whether or not GS is deliberate in using this technique adds to the poeticity of the encounter. GS’s conversational narrative highlights that those many, many stories exist for purposes of aligning people towards the “beautiful life” found in the Fakta Llakta’s waterfall.

The simple question of “What is GS saying about the ‘shockingly beautiful life’?” is the heart of this project, and I hoped to present both his explicit (1.3) and implicit voice (2.2-2.4) on the subject. Concerning the former, all the ethnopoetic formats in section two have their strengths and their analytical ambiguities, but connecting them are methodological choices also made by Paul Kroskrity (1985, 1993) Joel Sherzer (1985,

1990), and Anthony Woodbury (1985, 1987) in attempt to “attend to the whole of expressive resources of a narrator” (Webster and Kroskrity 2015: 2).

However, some ambiguities still linger. For instance, concerning footing and positionality, it is not clear what GS thought of me. Perhaps he saw me as an urban Quichua person/government person and this was his chance to make a political claim about or criticism of how rural losing local understandings of the land. Was he treating this as a pedagogical moment to tutor me, a young urban an Indigenous person or as an ethnographer who could share his implicit criticisms of *buen vivir* to a broader audience?

By connecting his *explicit* Quichua language values in the interview excerpt in 1.3 and my points raised in sections 2.2-2.24, one readily sees significant differences in GS’s alignment towards being and speaking Quichua than to Bouchard’s (2013) major claim that rural Otaveleño villagers do not express a uniqueness in their language as well as Ecuador’s paring of *sumak kawsay* and *buen vivir* as one and the same (1.3). Unlike Bouchard, I attempt to be reflexive in my methodological biases and interpretive assumptions, which is essential to sociality of ethno poetic textual production. For instance, I admit to my initial frustrations that my microphone did not block out ‘background noise’, especially of the running water of the stream from the waterfall in my view that is resounding and pervasive in the video/audio (see figures 2 and 3).

Revisiting this transcription, I recognize that sound and sight of the running water were the incubators of the story. This is evident when GS said, “Also, now that we are here at this waterfall” On line 5 which centered the narrative to the here-and-now. Feld (1984,1994) led me to interpret the “salience” or meaningful co-present water and

mountain-fathers in this interaction (Choski and Meek 2016). By this logic, this work is a type of “ethnography of place”, informed by ethnopoetic analysis that foregrounds “how people actually live in, perceive, and invest with meaning the places they call home” in Fakta llakta (Basso and Feld 1996).

SECTION 4 CONCLUSION

In this work, I apply three common ethnopoetic modes of representing oral poetry to foreground and discuss the rhetorical and poetic devices employed by Guillermo Santillan in a Quichua conversational narrative. I exposed the “oral life” of this transcription of the ethnographic encounter between GS and I by ethnopoetic textual production (Hymes 2003: 36). Ethnopoetics, as an enterprise, is founded on the interpretive paradigm that Indigenous oral discourse is poetic and highly structured, and this particular text is any number of things but never just words on a manuscript. Every poetic utterance has a pattern to it and these patterns can be foregrounded by different ethnopoetic modes of interpretation. Hymes famously wrote on the heuristic endeavor of approaching Native oral poetry, “[i]n my experience, a lack of patterning shows a lack in interpretation” (1998: 478).

Recently, *buen vivir* as a set governmental rationale has formulated Ecuadorian pan-Indian policies. Namely, the standardization and implementation of the Quichua language into bilingual education and urban development plans for rural areas. This creates ambivalences for Runa concerning language and identity in and around Otavalo.²⁴ Whereas Bouchard’s (2013) article concerning “system of beliefs” on language acquisition and socialization postulates Runa villagers do not express a uniqueness to their heritage language, GS contradicts this claim explicitly and discursively.

²⁴ These disharmonies are readily understandable given the long-standing national systemic racism towards and projects targeting African-descended and indigenous peoples in Ecuador (c.f., “racist attitudes” Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998).

I represented the dialogisms to this interaction by means of a dialogical structure analogous to Mannheim and Van Vleet's (1998) work with Southern Quechua and Goffman's (1981) participation framework. I highlighted performative and rhetorical employment of devices such as phonological and rhythmic parallelism, tense shifting, and embedded discourse strategies. Tedlock's (1977, 1983) format (2.2) centralizes pause groupings (e.g., pitch, loudness, tempo, silence) in GS' oral performance. Hymes' verse/stanza-based approach in 2.3 facilitates the recognition of semantic couplets and similar parallelisms being used by GS. Moore's ethnopoetic format in 2.4 foregrounds GS's pervasive switching among perspectives and voices at the three speech-event modalities (1993:219).

I outlined primary structures in this one Quichua narrative while placing text in conversation with other works on Quechua/Quichua storytelling. I defended that the *sumak kawsay* that emerges in this short story tied to reciprocity, local wisdom, kinship, and "yaku mama," ("water" in Quichua) are in contradistinction to what Ecuador has translated as *buen vivir* and GS's associations with the "closing of doors" in rural Otavalo. Because this is an exegesis of one recording, my data is inherently limited and concludes with more questions than answers (see 3.1). Still, I present this work as a response to Robert Moore's (2013:15) sanguine advocacy for applying ethnopoetics to working in shifting linguistic environments.

Imbabura Quichua speakers, just like all other forms of Quechua, are undergoing serious pressures for language shift or abandonment. Added to this, there is a rural and urban distinction in speaking Quichua that is often asserted by rural Runakuna against

those living in urban centers for economical and institutional factors. In the future, I hope to see how this rural Quichua narrative fits within other Quichua verbal traditions more generally, but also how the genres might vary with respect to the stylistic devices they highlight. Producing this text while attempting to listen and represent the various voices of GS's story is a foundational practice to ethno-poetics that requires patience, imagination, skill, and more patience.

Appendix

Abbreviations used:	FOC	focus	
1	first person	FUT	future
2	second person	LIM	limitative
3	third person	LOC	locative
AB	ablative	GS	Guillermo Santillan
AV	adverbial	NEG	negation
ACC	accusative	PAST	past
ALL	allative	PART	participle
AFF	affirmative	PRO	progressive
CAUS	causative	PROX	proximal
COR	coreference	PURP	purposive marker (in order to)
CONJ	conjunction	PR	present
COM	comitative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	POSS	possesive
DIST	distal	Q	question
DEM	demonstrative	QP	Quichi Patlan
DULC	dulcitive	S	singular
DUR	durative	SR	switch Reference
EV	evidential	TOP	topicalizer

1) Notes on Translation help from Santiago at UT Austin, Rumi Santillan in Ecuador.

Quichi Patlan and Guillermo Santillan 2014 Fakta Ilakta:

QP: Algunos lingüistas o algunos académicos de la lengua dicen que los mismos conceptos, las mismas filosofías se pueden compartir y expresar en cualquier idioma. ¿Qué opina sobre eso?

Yo no estaría muy de acuerdo con eso. Si hablamos del agua en el concepto europeo, se lo entiende como un recurso que se usa para lavar y utiliza como algo material de uso común. Yo no estoy muy de acuerdo con que se pueda expresar el sentimiento o la cosmovisión andina en otro idioma. Decía por ejemplo que cuando hablamos del agua, el mundo occidental enseguida piensa en recurso. En cambio en kichwa cuando se habla del agua no tiene nada que ver con el recurso, sino se la siente como madre, como abuela y enseguida nace el respeto. Cuando voy a una vertiente siempre llevo con una oración como un saludo. Pero el europeo, el occidente moderno no tiene esa idea, entonces sería muy difícil entendernos. Claro, yo podría esforzarme por tratar de explicarlo, pero solamente diría “agua” y no podría explicar el sentimiento que yo tengo hacia el agua, es muy difícil. Me demoraría mucho explicando que es agua para

nosotros. Entonces sí, para mí es muy difícil de que otro idioma pueda entender el sentido que tenemos, y esa conexión de raíz que tenemos con el lenguaje.

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