Remediating Endangerment: Radio and the Animation of Memory in the Western Amazon

by

Georgia C. Ennis

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Anthropology)
in the University of Michigan
2019

Doctoral Committee:

     Professor Bruce Mannheim, Co-Chair
     Professor Barbra Meek, Co-Chair
     Professor Kelly Askew
     Professor Judith Irvine
     Professor Sarah Thomason
     Professor Michael Uzendoski, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Ecuador

Georgia C. Ennis

gennis@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0003-4199-5959

Dedication

For my mother and first teacher, Eilene Ennis. And for all the women—especially the women of AMUPAKIN—who have mentored me in her absence.

iii

whom I met in Quito and elsewhere whose perspectives have informed my analyses in this text, but whose voices do not emerge here.

My studies at the Andes and Amazon Field School in conjunction with the equivalent of four academic years of FLAS-supported study of Southern Peruvian Quechua, allowed me to begin fieldwork conversant in multiple Quechuan languages. Over the course of my fieldwork, I became increasingly skilled at communicating in Upper Napo Quichua, as well as more adept at recognizing the micro-variations in lexicon, pronunciation, and morphology that often concern my interlocutors. Many of the transcriptions and translations discussed in this text have been carried out by speakers of Napo Quichua. I have also completed a number of transcriptions myself, some of which my interlocutors in Napo have reviewed; a number have also benefited from the input of Adela Carlos-Rios, instructor of Southern Peruvian Quechua at the University of Michigan. All errors, however, are my own. This account, like life, is a work in progress; I can

Table of Contents

List of Tables

.

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Abstract

In the face of settler colonial expansion, contemporary environmental change, and contradictory revitalization practices, language activists in Napo, Ecuador are increasingly turning to broadcast media to revalorize regional linguistic and cultural forms. Quichua speakers in the Upper Napo region of the Ecuadorian Amazon confront two sources of linguistic domination—from the expected colonial language, Spanish, and, unexpectedly, from a new standard language, Unified Kichwa. Many people in Napo find the well-intentioned use of the standard in bilingual education, national politics, and institutional media to be a serious imposition on and threat to their daily linguistic practices in that Unified Kichwa minimizes regional variations in phonology, morphology, lexicon, and verbal artistry.

To understand the role of community media in regional reclamation and revitalization efforts, this study follows radio media across multiple spaces of production and reception—radio stations, cultural revitalization organizations, and rural households. On the Upper Napo Quichua radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path,' radio hosts and community participants take advantage of the aural and oral possibilities of radio media to reclaim and revalorize regional linguistic and cultural practices. These programs remediate—that is, recontextualize from one medium of transmission into another—and reanimate—bring to life—the interactional time-space of the *wayusa upina*, 'the drinking of guayusa,' for both live and listening audiences. On these programs, the interactional time-space of the 'the lifeways of the elders' is transposed (or "remediated") into live productions and onto the airwaves by radio producers and community participants, allowing the past to be reconstituted in the present. These programs are grounded in

the socialization practices of elder Upper Napo Quichua speakers, who express dismay about the ways many people are 'forgetting' the voices and knowledge of the past. On these programs, however, knowledge of the past comes to life (or is "reanimated") in the present, with the hope of informing future modes of relationality and interaction. As they draw together radio producers, community participants, and various receptive audiences, these radio programs become sites of collective remembering and revalorization in order to reawaken linguistic and cultural practices among a mediated community of practice, in which processes of production and reception extend far beyond any singular moment of broadcast. The development of a robust Upper Napo Quichua mediascape creates emergent vitalities for Quichua and provides an alternative medium for revitalization beyond print media and standard language literacy. At the same time, radio media allow regional and standardized codes to find space together in a multivocal public sphere and reconfigure the regimes of value in which language and culture are transmitted.

Chapter 1
Introduction

In the Ecuadorian Amazon speakers of Upper Napo Quichua (Kichwa) have increasingly turned

to media, particularly radio media, for the reclamation and revitalization of linguistic and cultural

practices.[1] Yet, despite the enthusiasm with which new technologies of mediation have been

adopted in the Ecuadorian Amazon and around the globe in the service of cultural sovereignty

and linguistic reclamation, there are still few studies that trace how and why such media are

actually produced, transmitted, received, and, possibly, recirculated. Thus, how—if at all—

community media can contribute to language revitalization remains a pressing question.

The interlinked processes of production and reception of community radio in the province

of Napo Ecuador, however, provide an on-the-ground ethnographic confirmation of something

long proposed by community activists and external advocates alike—community media are an

effective and affective means to revitalize and revalorize significant linguistic and cultural

practices. In Napo, the production and reception of community media have emerged as a

powerful means to support the survivance—that is, inseparable processes of resistance and

survival—of linguistic and cultural practices in the context of ongoing settler colonial

---

[1] Orthographic choices are fraught when it comes to the Quechuan languages spoken in Ecuador (see Limerick 2017). I use *Quichua*, as it remains the accepted English spelling for a language now known in Ecuador as *Kichwa* following the standardized orthography of Kichwa Unificado, or standardized 'Unified Kichwa.' However, out of respect for the political gains of Indigenous activists involved in language planning, I use the spelling with the grapheme *k* when discussing Kichwa Unificado in particular, as well as in reference to texts whose authors have adopted that spelling. Although orthographically 'messy,' this is a methodological experiment to engage the complex ideological assemblages and textual practices in which Quichua as a written language is enmeshed. Such assemblages and their points of overlap and friction will animate much of the discussion of following chapters.

domination and environmental change.[2] On various radio programs broadcast in the pre-dawn

hours, radio listeners encounter significant poetic practices and forms of verbal artistry, cultural

practices, and face-to-face communicative relationships transposed into broadcast media. Rather

than decontextualized or isolated moments of production, however, these radio programs are

deeply embedded in the daily lives of their listeners and their various producers, providing a

focal activity within the broader Upper Napo Quichua mediascape, the diverse strands of which

are woven together to establish and sustain a mediated community of shared practices.[3]

Many of these programs focus on the stories Upper Napo Quichua people tell themselves

about themselves—stories about who they once were, who they are now, and who they might

become. Like many scholars of Indigenous Latin America, I was captivated early in my studies

by the stories my interlocutors told, as well as the various ways the narrative voices of

Indigenous peoples have been transmitted—at times amplified, very often distorted (Simpson

2007; Spivak 1988)—in accounts by ethnographers, linguists, historians, missionaries, and other

travelers in the Amazon.[4] Linguistic anthropologists have had an enduring interest with the ways

that people tell stories and how those stories come to have meaning in different contexts (e.g.

Ochs and Capps 2001; Hymes 1981; Briggs 1988; Basso 1996). The case of Upper Napo

Quichua community radio demonstrates the ways that new technologies of mediation may

---

[2] Gerald Vizenor developed a concept of *survivance*, theories of which, he says, "are elusive and imprecise," but which is, in part, "an active sense of presence over historical absence" (2009, 1).

[3] Eckert and McConnel-Ginnet (1992) introduced the concept of the "community of practice" into sociolinguistics research, defining it as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short, practices—emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages." (1992, 464). A significant advantage to this approach for the present study it its emphasis on the ways participants acquire competence in the sociolinguistic practices associated within their various communities of practice (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999, 175). In this case, the interlinked processes of radio production and reception becomes the mutual endeavor around which shared practices emerge.

[4] In this text, I capitalize the term "Indigenous" to recognize the sovereignty of a diverse group of peoples with a shared experience under foreign settler colonialism (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 597; Coulthard 2014, 181).

transpose and transform both the poetic structures and modalities—discursive and nondiscursive, linguistic and otherwise material—of narrative practice onto the air. The production and reception of Upper Napo Quichua community radio, in turn, emerges as a powerful means to support linguistic and cultural reclamation and vitality in and around the towns of Archidona and Tena in the Ecuadorian Amazon.

1.1 Locating Quichua speakers in the Upper Ecuadorian Amazon

To understand the significance of Upper Napo Quichua radio media as sites of revalorization and renewal, I begin with the historical ruptures created by settler colonial activity in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Davis (2017) notes a central tendency in linguistics research to downplay or erase the colonial histories and policies that create situations of language shift. Yet, as Meek reminds us, "while language endangerment is first and foremost about the often violent replacement of one linguistic code by another, it is also about the rupturing and replacement of sociocultural practices and everyday interactions, resulting in the disintegration of the speech community or social networks that sustained the code" (2010, 3). I here remain attentive to the role of colonial, assimilationist policies in rupturing sociocultural practices and everyday interactions that have sustained Quichua as a code of daily interaction. The following section introduces the ecology of language of the Tena-Archidona region, before turning to a brief overview of settler colonialism in the region.[5]

---

[5] In this account, I follow the *ecology of language* approach developed by Einar Haugen (1953) in his study of English and Norwegian in the United States. Haugen showed that language could not be understood apart from the total contexts in which it is used, and defined language ecology "as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (1972, 325). This approach was further productively developed by Hill and Hill (1986) in their study language shift, purism, and syncretism among speakers of Mexicano.

1.1.1 Upper Napo Quichua in regional context

Ecuador is popularly divided into three regional zones: *costa*, Highland Andean *sierra*, and Lowland Amazonian *oriente*. The *oriente*, in turn, is made up of the provinces of Sucumbíos, Napo, Orellana, Pastaza, Morona-Santiago, and Zamora Chinchipe. This account takes place in the region today called Napo province, primarily in and around the small town of Archidona (population 5,478), close neighbor to the provincial capital of Tena (population 23,307) in Napo, Ecuador. Although often described in Western popular media and travel accounts as the 'heart of the Amazon,' Napo is in fact located in a region often defined as *montaña*, a mountainous, albeit lushly tropical zone that descends abruptly from the high Andean *páramo*. In a region riven by jagged glacial headwaters and crossed by innumerable small streams, the mountains to the west reach some 1,500 meters (approximately 4900 feet) before descending to some 300 meters (approximately 1000 feet) turning into more gentle hills and valleys, bisected by wide rivers that eventually flow into the Amazon (Oberem 1980, 26).
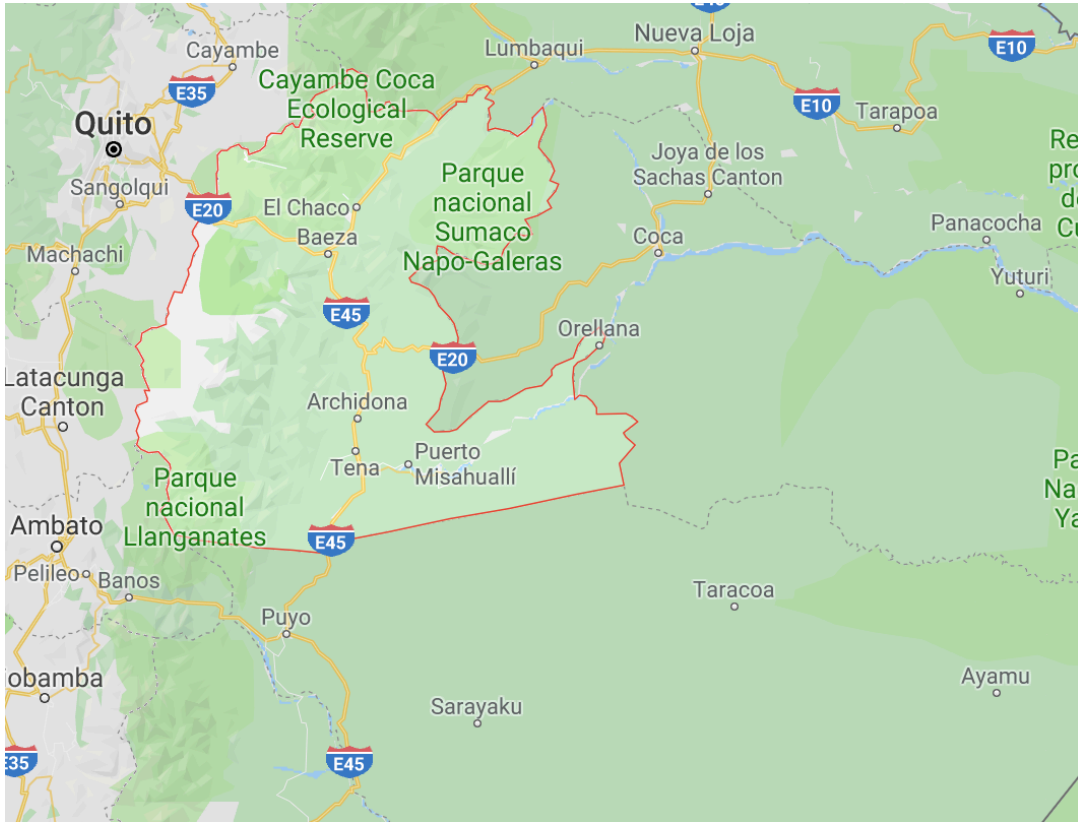
Figure 1.1 Map of Napo province in regional context (Google 2019)

As culturally Amazonian peoples who speak a language traditionally associated with the Andes, the Quichua-speaking peoples who inhabit this transitional zone between the Ecuadorian Andes and Amazon challenge many of the deep-seated distinctions drawn between the South American Lowlands and Highlands.[6] The origin of the Quechuan languages spoken in the Amazonian provinces of Napo, Orellana, Sucumbíos, and Pastaza has been the subject of ongoing debate. At a basic level, the existence of these languages confounds the story that most people know about Quechua, popularly thought of as the language of the Inka, and ideologically centered on the Andean highlands (Mannheim 1991). The varieties of Quichua spoken in the lowlands are closely related to highland varieties spoken in present-day Ecuador. However, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical differences are pervasive between the

---

[6] See, for example, Steward 1946; cf. Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988.

5

regions, and many in Napo perceive the Quichua spoken in the Highlands to be a separate

variety, which is nevertheless mutually intelligible, particularly after an adjustment period.

Dialectal divisions, nevertheless, may vary depending on the analyst.[7] What is significant for our

present purposes, however, is that speakers of Amazonian varieties of Quichua are frequently

ideologically erased in Ecuador, where Quichua is seen as *the* language of the Highlands, in

contrast to other Amazonian languages spoken in Napo such as Chicham (otherwise known as

Shuar or Jívaroan) and Wao Tededo (also sometimes called Waorani or Huarani).

1.1.2 Historical ecology of language

The most probable social and linguistic history of Napo challenges easy binaries between

Highlands and Lowlands. The presence of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Amazon can in part be

explained by contact with, and possible conquest by, the Inka empire prior to the arrival of the

Spanish (Oberem 1980, 50–54). Moreover, the Spanish conquest ruptured—at least partially—a

robust regional trade network that is thought to have spread throughout the Andes and Amazon

towards the coast (Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988; Hornborg 2005; Uzendoski

2004b). Prior interaction in this multilingual, interregional network may have facilitated the

emergence of Quichua as a lingua franca in the region (Oberem 1980, 314; Muysken 2011).

Consequently, the varieties of Quichua spoken in Ecuador belong to the larger Quechuan

language family, which is spoken by several million people, with a geographic range that

encompasses much of western South America, stretching from southern Colombia to northern

Argentina. Although generally referred to simply as Quechua, the language family is diverse,

with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility among different varieties (Muysken 2000; Emlen

---

[7] Montaluisa (2018, 224–224), for instance, has most recently proposed there are six dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua, with three main dialectal areas in the Ecuadorian Highlands: North, Central, and South, and three in the Lowlands: Northeast, Central, and South.

and Adelaar 2017; Heggarty and Beresford-Jones 2010). The language family as a whole is not immediately endangered, but smaller, regional varieties such as those spoken in Napo are threated both by a shift towards Spanish, as well as the well-meaning, but top-down imposition of a standardized variety known as Unified Kichwa in institutional settings (Grzech 2017; Uzendoski 2009; K. A. King 2001; Haboud and Limerick 2017). Regional Quechuan varieties like those spoken in Napo are very likely shaped by their long histories of interaction with speakers of other indigenous languages, contributing to a rich dialectal mosaic that remains poorly documented.

All evidence suggests that pre-Colombian inhabitants of Napo were not originally Quichua speakers. Drawing upon colonial sources, Oberem describes the area roughly corresponding to present-day Napo province along with parts of the contemporary provinces of Sucumbíos and Orellana as inhabited by a cultural group identified as the Quijos. Some scholars have suggested that the Quijos may have been associated with the Barbacoan Highland Chibcha cultural group (J. Steward and Metraux 1948; Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988). Oberem (1980, 314), however, remained somewhat more hesitant regarding this affiliation, which has been based on archeological, rather than linguistic, grounds. Based on the current evidence, the original language(s) of this area, thus, remain unclear. What can be ascertained from the colonial records, however, is that the Quijos comprised four major cultural areas, shaped by particular material and cultural practices. Oberem summarizes the regional situation in the following way:

> […] the northwest part was characterized by a series of particularities, which in the same
> or very similar form, were also to be found among the Indians of the Sierra. Based on
> what we know now, we cannot say if they were immigrants from the Highlands who had

adapted to the new environment, or if it were only an influence upon rainforest Indians, caused by the close relationships maintained with the Sierra. […] Among the other Quijos, typical cultural elements of other rainforest Indian groups prevailed so clearly that, without any doubt, we can include them among these.[8]

While it is unclear what language(s) the Quijos may have originally spoken, colonial-era documents do reveal that the Quijos' regional neighbors were speakers of Tukanoan, Tupian, Zaparoan, and Chicham (or Shuar-Candoan) languages (Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988; Oberem 1980; see also Adelaar and Muysken 2004). There is thus a very significant, long-running history of contact among speakers of different indigenous languages in present-day Napo. Such histories are conserved in regional lexicons, for instance for flora and fauna, which can differ greatly between Highland and Lowland varieties of Quichua, quite reasonably, given the very different environmental zones in which speakers of regional Quichua varieties live.

Colonial-era activity also has a significant role to play in the story of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Missionary "reductions" are often cited for their role in establishing Quichua in the Amazon. Intended to aid in the goal of missionization, *reducciones* brought together (that is, "reduced") the residents of various small populations and isolated settlements to form a larger settlement (Oberem 1980, 84). Moreover, missionaries were often responsible for training Indigenous interpreters, very likely aiding in the spread of Quichua. Oberem describes that in the Quijos region in the 1660s, "the Jesuit missionaries [brought] some young Indians of diverse tribes, especially from the southern part of Napo to Archidona, where Father Cueva opened a school for interpreters. There, the foreign Indians [were] converted to Christianity and [learned] Quechua in order to later serve as interpreters and helpers in the missionization of their

---

[8] Oberem 1980, 330

8

respective tribes" (Oberem 1980, 101).[9] Missions also likely provided a central point of contact among disparate groups who were "reduced" into them, such as a population of Zaparoan-speaking Oas who were resettled in the same period by Jesuit missionaries at Santa Rosa along the banks of the Napo.[10]

Upheaval caused by epidemics and forced labor dramatically altered local populations. The colonial administration regularly resettled indigenous groups to provide labor in regions whose populations had fled or succumbed to epidemics (Oberem 1980, 99; Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988). At the time of colonial contact, the regions comprising present-day Napo province were densely populated. Based on colonial documents, Oberem estimates that at the time of Spanish contact in 1559, there were some 26,000 inhabitants of the Quijos region, while in 1768 the indigenous population had fallen to a low point slightly below 2,000, before slowly beginning to recover (1980, 46). While some of this dramatic population loss can be credited to the epidemics which plagued the region throughout the colonial period, Quijos groups are also reported to have fled the encroaching colonial and missionary administration, seeking refuge first in the Andean Highlands in the early years of the Spanish conquest, while from the 1600s onwards they appear to have looked for safety in the dense forests to the east (Oberem 1980, 98, 43). Far from displaced migrants from the Highlands, speakers of Upper Napo Quichua are part of a complex historical, regional interactional sphere implicating multiple linguistic and cultural groups that stretches westwards towards the Andean Highlands and eastwards towards

---

[9] Spanish original: "Además, los misioneros jesuitas traen algunos jóvenes indios de diversas tribus, especialmente de la parte sur del Napo a Archidona, donde el Padre Cueva abrió una escuela de intérpretes. Ahí, los indios forasteros son convertidos al cristianismo y aprenden Quechua para más tarde servir de intérpretes y ayudantes en la misión de su respectiva tribu (173). Por el mismo motivo, los franciscanos llevan 200 indios de su Misión de Sucumbías "a los Quijos" (174). Lamentablemente, no se desprende de las fuentes, el lugar donde los franciscanos formaban sus intérpretes." (Oberem 1980, 101).

[10] In neighboring Pastaza province, moreover, the Canelos Quichua likely emerged from the confluence of Highland Quichua refugees and a small Zaparoan group around the Dominican mission at Canelos, which further attracted Quijos emigres and other Zaparoan people (Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988, 276).

the Amazonian Lowlands. As we will see, this history affects contemporary language

revitalization projects, as Lowlands varieties of Quichua were very likely shaped by speakers of

different Amazonian languages, whose descendants would survive the upheaval and turmoil of

the colonial period as contemporary Quichua speakers.

1.1.3 Contemporary ecology of language

      Napo's capital of Tena, as well as its close neighbor of Archidona, have grown

dramatically over the last 100 years. Tena, in particular, has expanded rapidly. The population of

Tena's urban center grew from 2,106 in 1974 to 23,307 in 2010, while the total population of the

canton doubled in the same period, growing from 29,712 to 60,880, according to national census

data.[11] Meanwhile some 11 kilometers (or 6.5 miles) away, Archidona also saw its population

grow dramatically. Officially becoming a canton in 1981, the new administrative unit of

Archidona had a population of 15,010 in the 1982 census, which grew to 24,969 by the 2010

census. Meanwhile, Archidona's urban center grew from 1,714 in 1982 to 5,478 in 2010.

Migrants to the region have settled beside—and sometimes displaced—a well-established

population of Indigenous Amazonians—almost 59% of Napo's 103,697 total residents self-

identified as *indígena* in the 2010 census.[12] Archidona has an even larger proportion of

Indigenous residents, with 80% of the population self-identifying as Indigenous in the most

recent national census.[13]

---

[11] http://tena.gob.ec/index.php/tena/datos-estadisticos; http://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/documentos/web-inec/Bibliotecas/Fasciculos_Censales/Fasc_Cantonales/Napo/Fasciculo_Tena.pdf

[12] The 2010 Ecuadorian national censuses contained the demographic categories "Blanco" [white], "Mestizo" [mestizo]; "Indígena" [Indigenous]; Afroecuatoriano [Afro-Ecuadorian]; "Montubio" [a primarily coastal mestizo population]; and "otro" [other]. In 2010, the White population of Napo was 2.7%, the Mestizo 38.1%, the Indigenous 56.8%, the Afroecuadorian 1.6%, Montubio 0.6%, and Other 0.2% (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos, n.d.).

[13] http://indestadistica.sni.gob.ec – Accessed Dec. 7, 2018

Napo's Indigenous population is largely composed of active and passive speakers of Upper Napo Quichua, as well as Quichua speakers from neighboring Amazonian provinces, and more recent Quichua migrants from the highlands. Speakers of other Amazonian languages, primarily Wao Tededo and Chicham, also live in the Archidona-Tena area, some of whom have married into Quichua families (see also Uzendoski and Whitten 2014). A large population of Waorani live in the southeast of the canton of Tena, on the border with Orellana and Pastaza provinces, which are also home to large Amazonian Quichua populations. The Pastaza region includes speakers whose families might once have spoken Zaparoan or Chicham languages, but who have more recently shifted to Quichua, as well as contemporary speakers of Chicham. Lowland Ecuadorian Quichua continues to spread eastward, slowly replacing smaller languages, particularly as Amazonian Quichua peoples have journeyed in search of less settled regions.

It is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of Quichua in Napo, especially as the notion of "speaker" can encompass so many different degrees of competency and affiliation with a language (Meek 2017; Davis 2018; Dorian 1977). Uzendoski and Whitten, for instance, estimate that there are some 150,000 Amazonian Kichwa spread across the provinces of Napo, Pastaza, Sucumbíos, and Orellana (2014, 1). More particularly in Napo province, the Summer Institute of Linguistic's *Ethnologue* (Simons and Fennig 2018) reports approximately 14,000 speakers, while UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) reports 40,000 speakers. Although a large population of speakers remains, ongoing patterns of shift to Spanish and linguistic revitalization through the use of standardized variety known as Unified Kichwa in bilingual education programs create a complex situation in which Upper Napo Quichua is seen as increasingly threatened (Grzech, Schwarz, and Ennis 2019).

In Napo, few people describe themselves or their language as "Quichua," instead preferring the ethnonym *runa* 'human being/person.' One of the primary valences of this is 'human being,' understood to include Napo Quichua and culturally and linguistically-related groups Inter-Indigenous relationships also include a contrastive category of *auka* 'outsiders' which comprise neighboring Indigenous groups, such as Wao Tededo and Chicham speakers. Differentiation between *runa* and *auka* is often said to relate to key social practices tied to colonialism, including the *runa*'s acceptance of Christianity, wearing clothes, and eating salt.[14] Bilingualism and multilingualism in Indigenous languages is very common in some regions of the Ecuadorian Amazon, but remains poorly described. However, my primary interlocutors in Napo generally did not claim familiarity or knowledge of any variety of *auka shimi*.[15]

Contemporary speakers of Upper Napo Quichua engage in a diversity of lifestyle and subsistence practices, as today many people work as civil servants, educators, and in other urban professions. Until recently, however, the Upper Napo Quichua were known for engaging in forest-based subsistence, focused on the growth of key crops in their *chagra* [Qu. 'garden']. Today, many households are organized around individual husband-wife pairs with their children, and sometimes an elder or other family member. In the past, however, Upper Napo Quichua people lived in multi-generational patrilocal residences, a pattern likely dating to pre-Colombian times. These were generally large, palm-thatched buildings, where members of an extended family (*ayllu*)—generally an elder couple, their single adult children, their sons and wives and their children—all lived together (Oberem 1980, 219). Hunting, gathering, and swidden agriculture occurred on a family's traditional lands, with boundaries marked by both streams,

---

[14] Muratorio (1991, 43) recounts an origin story, in which the *runa* and *auka* became different groups after the *runa* accepted baptism and began to eat salt, while the *auka* refused salt and fled into the forest.
[15] While my work was primarily in the Quichua-dominant regions of Archidona and Tena, greater bilingualism between Wao Tededo and Runa Shimi is to be found in other parts of Napo and further east. Similarly, Quichua and Chicham bilingualism is quite common in various regions of Pastaza.

rivers, and custom (Oberem 1980, 219, 257). Many families today supplement their diets with trade goods like rice, but staple crops still include *lumu* ['manioc'], *chunda* ['peach palm'], and *palanda* ['plantain']. Wild fruits are also gathered and enjoyed when in season. Men once hunted larger animals with blowguns and poisoned darts, as well as with rifles, while a wide variety of traps and nets were used to capture smaller mammals, birds, and fish. However, few large game animals are to be found in the densely populated regions around Archidona and Tena, and hunters are lucky to encounter large rodents like the *siku* 'agouti' or *lumucha* 'paca'. In the past, families awoke before dawn, often by 3 a.m., to prepare to hunt or work in the forest. While they drank infusions of invigorating *Ilex guayusa*, they would converse, discuss their dreams—which were a source of knowledge about the future—recount narratives, make music, and prepare for their days. However, the introduction of wage labor and formal schooling in the region, alongside material changes in the rainforest, have reshaped these early morning routines, generally called *wayusa upina,* 'the drinking of wayusa tea.' Many of these practices, however, live on in elders' narratives, as well as in some contemporary households, particularly in rural areas, where residents proudly claim they still "remember" and live the lifeways of their elders. Increasingly, too, they live on in broadcast media.

To be a *Napu runa*, or an *Archi runa*, then, is to engage in a range of cultural practices closely associated with the Quichua from the Napo river area or from Archidona, respectively. These regional designations are also linked to local varieties of *runa shimi* 'human language' (Grzech, Schwarz, and Ennis 2019; Muratorio 1991). On a daily basis, speakers make very fine distinctions between their different varieties, with some phonological, morphological, and lexical features varying between neighboring communities, as well as between Archidona and Tena. Yet, many of these variations are still poorly described, so that features often taken for granted as

diagnostic of different dialects can actually vary quite widely, in ways that are not well documented or analyzed.[16] Further comparative analysis of variations in regional lexicon, phonology, and syntax will help to clarify regional linguistic histories and variations. Such information can help to refine revitalization practices within a complex linguistic ecology, in which sustaining regional variation has emerged as an important goal for many speakers.

The importance of territorial identification for speakers is reflected to some degree in classifications offered by linguists and ethnographers. Orr (1976) under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguists introduced one of the most influential classification systems for the Quechuan languages spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon. This system divides the languages into three main areas: Loreto/Napo, Tena (in the areas around Tena, Arajuno, and Ahuano), and Bobonaza/Pastaza, primarily based on morphological, phonological, and lexical variations. The following table highlights some of the significant differences in morphology and phonology that distinguish the three main dialect regions within the lowlands, along with a more general sketch of Highland Quichua (C. Orr 1978; C. Orr and Wrisley 1981; Carpenter 1982; Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2010a):

	Upper Napo Quichua (Tena-Archidona)	Pastaza Quichua	Lower Napo Quichua	Highlands (Imbabura)	Unified Kichwa
Past TAM	-ka-	-ra-	-rka-	-rka-	-rka-
Locative	-i	-ibi	-pi	-pi	-pi
Continuative	-u-	-u-	-hu-	-ku-	-ku-

---

[16] For instance, according to Orr's widely referenced description, in the highlands the locative morpheme is *-pi*; in Pastaza/Bobonaza and Tena Quichua it is contracted to *-i*; and in Loreto/Napo it is *-pi*. However, I have encountered a great deal of variability in the locative among speakers; speakers from the Pastaza region frequently use *-i, -bi,* and the form *-ibi*, while speakers from Archidona vary between the expected *-i* and *–bi/-pi,* with a few also incorporating *-ibi*. Numerous linguists (e.g. Karolina Grzech, Anne Schwarz, Janis Nuckolls) have documentation projects in progress in Napo, which will help to clarify the particularities of different regional varieties.

Same-subject reference	-sha	-sha	-sa	-shpa	-shpa
Purposive	-ngax/-ngawa	-ngawa	-ngapa	-nkapax	-nkapak
Plural	-una / -guna	-guna	-kuna	-kuna	-kuna

Table 1.1 Major morphological variations in Ecuadorian Quichua dialects

The following map, meanwhile, shows the geographic division between Highland and Lowland Quichua populations, as well as eight significant dialect areas, five in the *sierra* and three in the *oriente*, shown as the green areas which spread along some of the major river systems into the Peruvian Amazon. Upper Napo Quichua corresponds to the darkest green color in the western center of the lowland region, Lower Napo Quichua above and to the northeast in mint green, and Pastaza to the southeast in mustard green.
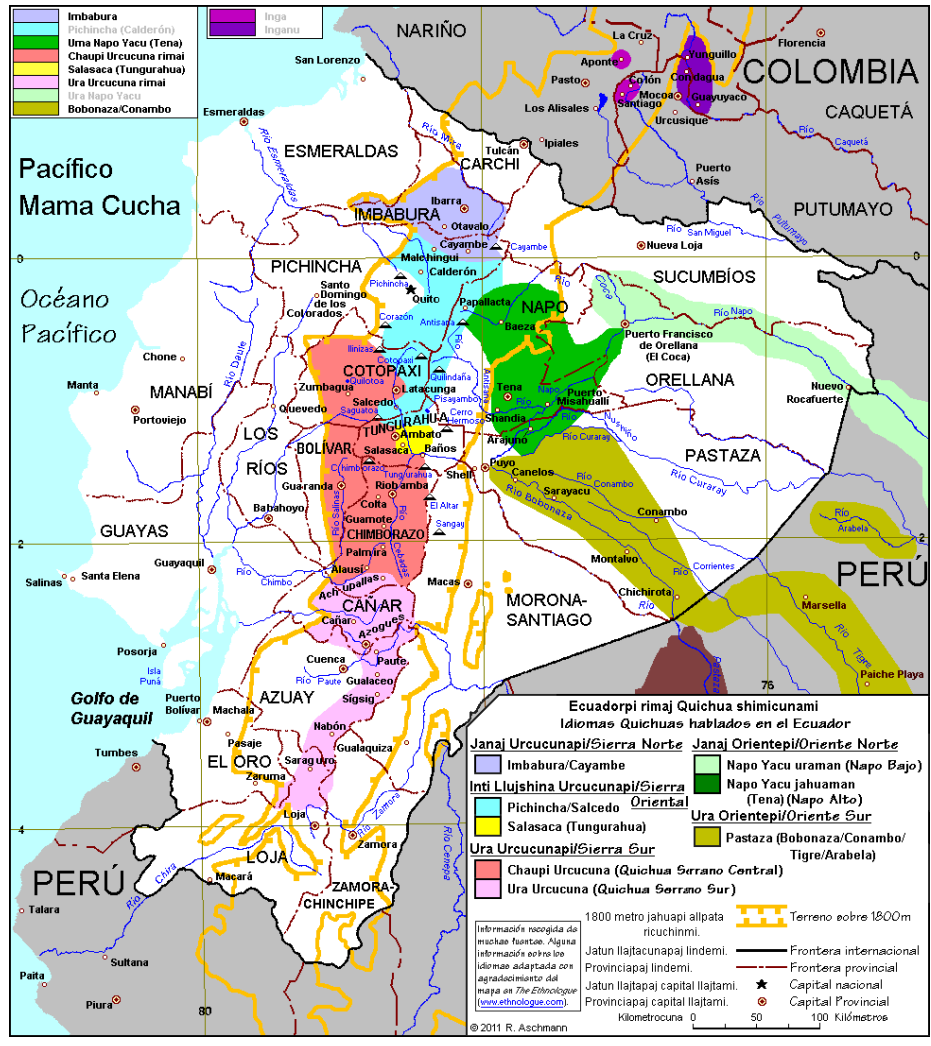
Figure 1.2 Map showing distribution of major regional dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua (Aschmann 2011)

Ethnographers have also offered various names for Quichua-speaking groups in the Amazon, including the Canelos Quichua—speakers of Bobanaza Quichua according to Orr and Wrisley, centered around the mission of Canelos—and the Quijos Quichua—speakers of Orr and Wrisley's Tena Quichua (Oberem 1980; Whitten 1976). Others have used the ethnonym *runa*, writing for instance of the Napo Runa (Uzendoski 2005; Macdonald 1999), a classification closer

16

to how many people talk about themselves on a daily basis.[17] Due to the complexity and interrelationship of the regional and linguistic landscape, I use the term "Upper Napo Quichua" to discuss both the language and the cultural group implicated by the linked designation of *Napu runa, Napu shimi* used by the majority of my interlocutors (see also Erazo 2013; Nuckolls and Swanson n.d.). This term references a number of further regional varieties spoken in and around Tena and Archidona and through the upper watershed of the Napo river.

While one line of social and ethnic differentiation is to be found between *runa* and *auka*, as well as between regional *runa* populations, another, very significant cleavage is found between *runa* and *mishu* 'white-mestizo' populations in Napo. Indeed, these categories for Indigenous peoples contrast with a wide variety of terms for more recent white-mestizo arrivals, which include *awallata* [from *awallakta* 'highlander']; *irakcha* ['lord'];[18] *blancu* [Sp. 'white']; *tsala* [Qu. 'pale'] and *mishu* [Qu. 'mestizo']. Although Ecuador also takes part in the larger Latin American discourse of *mestizaje*—cultural and racial admixture between white and indigenous populations—as Weismantel suggests "in actual practice within specific social contexts, there is no intermediate or 'mixed' racial category: race operates as a vicious binary that discriminates superiors from inferiors" (2001, xxxi).[19] Thus, while many of these terms might translate in English to "mestizo," I translate them as *white* or *white-mestizo* when they refer to people who "maintain a 'white' lifestyle" (Oberem 1980, 28), in contrast to a *runa* lifestyle. Significant cleavages in lifestyle frequently run upon fault lines of language, subsistence, alimentation, and bodily habitus. The "vicious binary" between white and *runa* in Napo has in part been

---

[17] While the "Quijos Quichua" are often discussed in reference to contemporary populations of Quichua-speakers in Napo, few people there identify with this designation. In recent years, however, a group of families in the mountains near Archidona have recuperated their Quijos identity as the Nación Originaria Quijos (NAOQUI).

[18] My interlocutors explained that this is a contraction of "ira akcha" 'greasy hair,' for the shininess of whites' hair. However, due to common phonological processes in Napo, I suspect it may be a local remnant of the term *huiracocha*, 'lord' used to refer in the colonial period to Spaniards (Oberem 1980, 33).

[19] Huarcaya (2018, 416), moreover, defines *mestizaje* as "assimilation into mainstream culture."

maintained by a sharp division between Spanish and Quichua. In Napo today, despite Quichua's

constitutional co-official status with Spanish, the number of white-mestizo Spanish speakers who

have learned Quichua is still negligible. Food, likewise, has separated *mishu* from *runa*, such that

drinking *aswa*—a manioc mash traditionally fermented by chewing a small portion and returning

it to the mass, which is mixed with water and drunk throughout the day—also serves as a

significant line of social differentiation. Besides Quichua-speaking *runa* from other regions,

members of other, *auka* Indigenous groups, and white-mestizos, Upper Napo Quichua speakers

regularly interact with people they call *rancia* and *gringu*, (phenotypically-white) foreigners,

who might arrive as tourists, students, volunteers, investors, researchers, Evangelical and

Mormon missionaries, or otherwise as travelers.[20]

Upper Napo Quichua is still widely utilized in daily life, but children and young people in

the area face increasing pressure from Spanish, which is the dominant language of public life and

institutional interactions. Moreover, daily patterns of use suggest that intergenerational

transmission of Quichua has been increasingly ruptured. Elder residents of rural communities,

particularly women who have had less access to formal education, may still be monolingual in

Quichua, but the majority of people in Napo now have some degree of bilingualism with

Spanish. Further, Spanish is most often used by children and young adults in their daily

interactions. Although many children maintain passive forms of bilingualism with Quichua, they

often respond to their parents and grandparents in Spanish. Based upon my observations, the

status of Upper Napo Quichua qualifies as between *instable* and *definitively endangered* within

Krauss's classification (Krauss 2007, 4; see also Grenoble and Whaley 2006, 6) of language

---

[20] According to Oberem, *francias* was a common term for European and North American foreigners (1980, 33). This word has been increasingly Quichuaized in Napo, so that today it is pronounced *rancia*. While categories like *mishu* are less about phenotypic markers of race, categories like *rancia*, as well as Sp. *negro/a* or Qu. *yana* 'black', or Sp. *chino/a* 'Chinese' are frequently used to make racialized categorizations based on phenotype.

shift.[21] Although patterns vary between communities and families, Upper Napo Quichua is generally used among adults and some young people, but much less frequently by children. Nevertheless, many young adults in the area continue to recuperate their use of spoken Quichua, suggesting possibilities for a more hopeful future for the use of Quichua.

In contemporary Napo, however, another significant vector of linguistic domination is found between regional varieties of Quichua and a standardized variety known as Kichwa Unificado, or Unified Kichwa. Although I will discuss this variety in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3, for now, it is important to note that the ecology of language of Upper Napo Quichua now also includes standardized Unified Kichwa, a prestige form taught as a second-language in well-intentioned, state-run bilingual education programs. It is also the oral and written code used in much institutional media. Grounded in the norms of Highland Quichua varieties, and regimented towards Spanish-institutional settings, Unified Kichwa often erases the linguistic particularities of Lowland Quichua, which has been shaped by intimate interaction with the territory, flora, and fauna of the rainforest, and by a deep history of contact with speakers of other Amazonian languages. Much of the current debate surrounding linguistic unification emerges from the complexity of regional language patterns and the intense connection many people feel to their local varieties, which many regional speakers worry are being overtaken by "another" Quichua—a standardized variety they link to the Highlands.

Disagreements over the linguistic codes used for language revitalization are taking place in the context of ongoing shift of Quichua towards Spanish, which has been wrought by the contemporary arrival of major roads, oil and mineral extraction, missionization, formal schooling, and new highland settlers following land reform. All of these changes have

---

[21] Krauss prefers *instable* as a technical term to the more common *unstable* in order to "avoid the connotation of 'mentally unstable'" (Krauss 2007, 5)

profoundly reshaped life for many residents in Napo over the last fifty, leading away from forest-based, migratory agriculture and hunting on traditional lands towards increasingly urban settlements, wage labor, and formal education.

1.1.4 Settler colonialism, then and now

Like other Indigenous peoples in settler colonial contexts, speakers of Upper Napo Quichua living in the Ecuadorian Amazon today are the survivors of colonial violence and exploitation, as well as more recent national policies aimed at assimilation and the erasure of their lifeways.[22] The historical ecology of language described above, indeed, points to some of this history of violence and exploitation.[23] Indigenous peoples of the region resisted in various ways, including active resistance, as well as fleeing further into the forest. An early uprising led by Amazonian shamans, including the now widely known "anticolonial hero" Jumandi in 1578 (Oberem 1980, 85–89), provides a narrative center for contemporary projects to resist settler colonial domination (Uzendoski 2005). Nevertheless, for much of post-conquest history, Napo remained geographically inaccessible and therefore relatively peripheral to the colonial state, at least in comparison with ongoing contemporary settler activity in the region.

More recent history has seen Napo become anything but peripheral to the Ecuadorian state. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, populations in the Upper Amazon were again disrupted by the forced relocation of an unknown number of people eastward, where they were sold to collect rubber during the infamous Amazonian rubber boom (Oberem 1980, 116–17; Erazo 2013,

---

[22] See Oberem 1980; Renard-Casevitz, Saignes, and Taylor 1988; Muratorio 1991; Macdonald 1999

[23] During the colonial conquest, for instance, Amazonian peoples were brought together to work on Spanish *encomiendas*, 'entrustments' of Indigenous populations given to Spaniards in exchange for their missionization (Oberem 1980, 72–73). Tribute and labor were also extracted in missionary *reducciones* 'reductions' (Oberem 1980, 84–85). As colonial projects, both *encomiendas* and *reducciones* were focused on extracting labor and tribute, particularly in the form of gold, cotton, and pitak—a fiber processed from *Agave americana*—from indigenous peoples, while also converting them to Christianity (Oberem 1980, 81, 84–85).

34–35). While colonial systems of economic and social control such as the *encomienda* and *reducción* had come to an end at the turn of the twentieth century, white land owners, officials, and missionaries still found ways to extract labor and resources from the local Indigenous populations. Oberem indicates that from the 1920s through the time of his research in the 1950s, Upper Napo Quichua families were subject to a system of debt-peonage under a "patron" of a landed *hacienda* estate. Under this system, the patron "control[ed] a number of families, to whom he [gave] goods at credit, in whose payment [the families] place[d] at his disposition their labor" (Oberem 1980, 117). Children were often given to the patron to be raised in exchange for their performance of household tasks, while patrons also regularly relocated populations to work on their lands (Oberem 1980, 118). However, the hacienda system of debt-peonage has eventually became obsolete as the combination of new missionary schools, government policies, agrarian reform, and petroleum development in the region provided Upper Napo Quichuas with increased access to wage labor and ended debt peonage as a source of social control (Perreault 2000; Muratorio 1991; Macdonald 1999). Since the turn of the twentieth century, and with increasing rapidity since the 1950s, the material, linguistic, and social ecologies of Upper Napo Quichuas have been deeply affected by three interlinked aspects of the settler colonial system: missionization, land reform, and mineral extraction.

While historically missionization was more sporadic, contemporary missionary activity since the 1920s has been intense and has contributed to reshaping daily life in Napo.[24] Josephine

---

[24]Despite the importance of priests, clerics, missions, and missionaries in re-shaping the social landscape of the Upper Napo region following the Spanish conquest, for much of colonial history interactions between representatives of the Catholic Church and Indigenous residents of the Upper Napo were relatively sporadic. Alongside various clerics and Dominican priests, Jesuits have been an important, albeit discontinuous, presence in the region. By the mid 1700s, according to Oberem, the majority of the Quijos were converted to Christianity, but "the Indians could not have had great knowledge of Christian doctrine, because at times years passed without priests visiting the smallest populations in their large parish districts" (1980, 105). While the Jesuits were expelled from Spanish territories in 1767, they returned to Napo in 1869, but again their missionary efforts were sporadic. Oberem further indicates that the Jesuit priests in Archidona exploited their position, using it to extract goods from their Indigenous congregants, in part resulting in a violent uprising against the Jesuits in 1892 (Oberem 1980, 114–15). After the Ecuadorian state finally and definitively expelled the Jesuits from the region in 1896, the Ecuadorian government invited the

Catholic missionaries have been especially important in the foundation of Quichua villages and towns around Napo. Until approximately the 1960s, Quichua peoples of the Upper Napo and other regions maintained relatively mobile residence patterns, preferring to travel between small, familial settlements and their dispersed hunting and agricultural lands, where they often sought refuge from the demands of missionaries and other colonial agents (Oberem 1980; Macdonald 1999; Muratorio 1991). Variations of this practice continue today for many people, who travel between homes in the urban centers and their homes near more distant agricultural lands. More permanent settlement around the resources represented by schools and missionary centers became increasingly attractive, however, as major agrarian reforms led to significant changes in land tenure and social organization. In Archidona, a missionary boarding school was complemented by a number of day schools built between the 1960s and 1970s in the surrounding countryside. Consequently, many families settled around these schools (Erazo 2013). Meanwhile, oral histories broadcast on Upper Napo Quichua radio programs often reference the role of missionary priests in establishing Quichua settlements in the area during a period and process called *llaktachina* 'to make a community.' Changes in residence and settlement patterns have transformed daily life for many people, further contributing to the rupture of the material conditions that sustained the practices now described as *ruku kawsay*—the lifeways of the elders.

Catholic missionaries in the region have also been integral in establishing patterns of language shift towards Spanish. Josephine missionization focused in large part on establishing

Italian Catholic Josephine Order to establish missions in Napo in 1922 (Oberem 1980; Spiller 1979; Muratorio 1991, 1995). Muratorio indicates that missionization was aimed at assimilation of Napo's Indigenous residents, as "the Josephines promoted an evangelizing ideology of Indian *integration* into regional and national development through productive labor" (1991, 163 emphasis in original). Many of my interlocutors are similarly critical of missionaries, particularly their role in rupturing Indigenous linguistic and cultural practices. Yet, many people I worked with in Napo are also deeply faithful; some even describes missionaries with providing a "civilizing" influence, leading particularly to improvements in women's lives. It is thus important to recognize both missionaries' role in spurring cultural shift, as well as the very real significance of Catholicism (as well as Evangelical Protestantism) for many of my interlocutors.

Spanish-language boarding and day schools, as well as technical programs in mechanics, carpentry, and handicrafts. A retired teacher and activist from Pano reflected that when they spoke Quichua, Catholic missionary priests told them "[you] have to abandon that, [you] have study in Spanish."[25] Many contemporary elders with whom I worked tell stories of their own or their parents' time at the missionary boarding school in Archidona, where they were actively discouraged from speaking Quichua. The effects of these policies have reverberated across generations. One woman in her early 50s described that she makes "some mistakes" when she speaks in Quichua, because her parents encouraged her to speak only in Spanish once she entered school.[26] Her father had studied with the Josephine priests, while her mother was raised with the Dorothean nuns in Archidona. The priests later sent her father to establish a school near Coca. There, students were tasked with clearing a square meter of grass with a machete when they spoke in Quichua. She joked, "my father always had a well-maintained schoolyard."[27]

Land reform and the distribution of "unused" lands have dramatically changed land tenure in Napo. Since the 1960s, Ecuadorian government policies have focused on the large-scale settlement of the "vacant lands" [*tierras baldías*] of the Amazon by both mestizo and Indigenous settlers from the highlands and coast.[28] Even prior to intensive land reform the 1950s, Quichua residents of Napo had "to defend themselves from the whites who want[ed] to denounce part of the Indian lands under the pretext that they comprised vacant land" (Oberem 1980, 119).

---

[25] "Ñukanchi shimii, runa shimii rimakpi, chita chingachina an ninuka, shinakpi castellanui yachana an." Roberto Alonso Cerda Andi, interview, 11-05-2016.
[26] "ansa panday panday rimani" Olga Chongo, interview, 10-01-2016
[27] "patiora limpio charik aka ñuka papito" Olga Chongo, interview, 10-01-2016
[28] Such policies have their antecedents in the 1936 *Ley de Tierras Baldías y Colonización* (Law of Empty Lands and Colonization), which established colonization of "uncultivated" and, therefore, unclaimed lands as a principal strategy to alleviate the poverty created by the highland hacienda land tenure system (Becker and Tutillo 2009). In contrast to the debt peonage practiced by lowland hacienda owners, Highland Indigenous communities found themselves subject to a system known as *huasipungo*, where they "were tied to the hacienda, and in return for their labor were provided with a marginal landholding for their own use" (Perreault 2000, 98). Despite early reforms, the inequality engendered by the hacienda system was still evident in the first national land census in 1956, which revealed that only 0.4% of Ecuadorian landholders held 45.1% of agricultural land, while 73.1% of small landowners held only 7.2% of cultivated land (Macdonald 1999, 66).

So-called "vacant land" (*tierra baldía*) was defined as any territory without a formal owner in the land registry. However, Upper Napo Quichua families had traditionally managed land through a series of customary, informal agreements in which members of an extended family claimed large areas, with boundaries marked by rivers and streams (Oberem 1980, 257). Further legal reforms in the 1960s and 1970s have led to the transformation of informal familial territories into a sometimes-contentious system of private and cooperative landownership. These changes have also transformed the possibilities of many families for inheritance and subsistence. Formal parcels must now be divided into ever smaller units among subsequent generations, while cattle ranching and small-scale cash agriculture have taken on new importance in the region.[29]

Petroleum and other mineral extraction have also shaped national policies and daily life in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Early oil exploration in the region first provided opportunities for Upper Napo Quichua men to work as guides in the forests, and also cleared the paths that the Josephine missionaries would travel in 1922 (Muratorio 1991, 166). Between 1938 and 1948, Shell Oil carried out intensive exploration in the region that would eventually be separated from Napo to form the province of Pastaza. After Shell Oil exited the region in the late 1940s, the Texaco-Gulf consortium secured a contract to explore 1.5 million hectares in 1964, helping to establish petroleum as a central feature of social and economic life in much of the Ecuadorian Amazon (Perreault 2000, 111).

Development in Napo further intensified between 2007 and 2017 during the presidency of Rafael Correa, whose populist "citizens' revolution" was funded in large part by oil extraction in the Amazon. The discovery of large reserves of heavy crude petroleum in Napo accelerated development in the region and created conflicts in communities divided over the financial

---

[29] For further details see Macdonald 1999, 1979; Perreault 2000; Muratorio 1991; Becker and Tutillo 2009; Jarrett 2019.

resources promised by mineral extraction (Uzendoski 2018; Erazo 2013). However, processing of the heavy crude reserves proved more difficult than expected and the developer Ivanhoe Energy officially ceased production in the region in 2015 (Uzendoski 2018, 368). Nevertheless, the infrastructure for such projects—as well as the larger petroleum industry of which they are a part—continues to mark the landscape around Napo in the pipelines that snake alongside the now extensive network of paved roads that fans out towards the east.

Roads have also become one of the most obvious signs of development in Napo. Elder residents frequently comment on the small forest paths that they had traveled as children which have become dirt roads, while dirt roads have been paved. A highway now winds from the national capital Quito, over the often frigid Andean *páramo*, before descending into Napo's mountainous, tropical rainforest. It was this rugged landscape that some elder residents of Napo describe their parents and grandparents traversing for days on foot to carry trade goods to and from Quito, while more distant familial histories recount that Upper Napo Quichuas were pressed to work as porters of both cargo and people, whom they carried in chairs strapped to their backs until the 1800s (Oberem 1980; Muratorio 1991; Erazo 2013). In the early 1970s, Archidona and Tena became connected to Quito with a major highway, reducing the time needed to travel to the capital from days to a matter of hours (Perreault 2000, 168; Erazo 2013, 31). Contemporary storytelling is shaped by the history of this period, when speakers of Upper Napo Quichua came into increasing contact with foreign *gringos*, as well as white colonists.[30] Today,

---

[30] For instance, while traveling together in a van on the road to Quito, an elder member of AMUPAKIN reflected on how an *urku*, a mountain, visible through the window became known as "Gringo Changa" [Gringo's Leg] during the period when the road was constructed. She described a story told by her grandparents about a crew of workers and heavy equipment "all made to disappear inside that mountain."[30] Gringo Changa earned its name for a spirit that later was sent out from inside the mountain, appearing in the form of a gringo who spoke incomprehensible English.

these roads facilitate access between rural *comunidades* and the urban centers of Tena and Archidona, drawing many young people towards the cities and the opportunities they offer.

Various state, religious, and economic actors have contributed to the rapid development and urbanization of the areas surrounding the town of Archidona and the provincial capital of Tena over the last century, particularly since the 1960s. In these regions, attendant material changes in the rainforest, as well as the demands of participating in a growing settler society have led many people away from once widespread practices of swidden-agriculture and subsistence hunting on dispersed familial lands, towards dense settlements and urban wage labor. Today, however, an increasingly elderly generation remembers with deep nostalgia the way life was "before," while young cultural activists utilize such memories as the basis for enregistering "our own" language and culture in media. It is such use of community media, particularly radio media, for grassroots linguistic and cultural revitalization in the Upper Ecuadorian Amazon that is the primary focus of this study.

1.2 Remediating endangerment

As an ethnography situated at the intersection of Indigenous media production and linguistic revitalization, my use of the term *remediation* plays on at least two meanings: its more common use in the sense of "remedying" or "correcting" something (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.), and its more specialized use in media studies (Bolter and Grusin 1999) to analyze the ways that media technologies and texts are reconfigured across sites of mediation.

The first sense of remediation as remedy underlies many of the practices and discourses that I discuss. Members of a diverse Upper Napo Quichua community of practice and their institutional and academic allies frequently seek to mitigate or "reverse" (Fishman 1991)

26

ongoing situations of shift towards Spanish. Others, meanwhile, also seek to counter the long-term use of a unified, pan-Kichwa standard in well-intentioned, largely institutional language revitalization projects based in bilingual education and standard language literacy. The efforts of many of my interlocutors in Napo to "revalorize" and revitalize significant sociolinguistic practices are thus one sense in which they are attempting to remediate language shift.

Despite multiple sources of concern—both internal and external—about ongoing processes of linguistic and cultural change, interlinked processes involved in the creation and consumption of Upper Napo Quichua community radio demonstrate the contemporary vitality of many significant practices, as well as the emergence of new modalities to sustain them. Today in Napo, many speakers worry that young people are increasingly "mishu tukusha" [turning into white-mestizos] or "awalltayasha" [becoming white]. Likewise, Michael Uzendoski describes how anthropologists have long foretold "the continual loss of indigenous culture in the Upper Amazon and final assimilation of indigenous peoples to mestizo society as peasants" (2005, 165). Upper Napo Quichua people thus find themselves enmeshed within multiple discourses of endangerment, projected from both internal and external sources, in which their very personhood is in question. Yet, both the ways that many speakers conceive of continuities between their past and the present, as well as the forms of synthesis and renewal evidenced by Upper Napo Quichua media production and reception, suggest that community media producers, program participants, and receptive audiences together seek to define and reanimate a shared memory of their past in a present in which social, material, and environmental conditions have dramatically changed. I thus seek to "remedy" dire discourses of endangerment by highlighting the successes of my interlocutors in transmitting their linguistic and cultural practices across sites of production, even

when they are significantly reconfigured by the processes of transmission.[31] The radio programs

I discuss, then, are akin to what Perley (2012, 142) has called "emergent vitalities," in which

media provide new domains of use grounded in "community creativity." Like many of the

people with whom I work, I seek to trace the indexical connections between contemporary *runa*

kawsay, 'the lifeways of the Upper Napo Quichua,' and *ruku kawsay*, 'the lifeways of the

elders,' evidenced in these emergent vitalities.

Nevertheless, I remain attentive to the real anxiety many people experience in what often

seems to be a rapidly changing world. Such anxiety circulates frequently in face-to-face

interactions and Upper Napo Quichua media. For instance, they shape the widely popular song

"Ruku Kawsay" [Lifeways of the Elders] by César Grefa, a Kichwa-speaking politician also

known by the stage name "el Indio Amázonico" [the Amazonian Indian]. He laments in the

song's insistent refrain:

Ñukanchi yachak Jumandyka,	Our wise Jumandi,[32]
Ñukanchi yachak Jumandyka,	Our wise Jumandi,
Shinzhi yuyayta charishkata	The powerful thought that he had
mana alita iyarisha	without reflecting upon and remembering [it]
Mishu yuyayta apishkanchi	We have taken on white thinking
Mishu yuyay balichichinchi	We exalt [lit. give value] white thinking

As suggested by the song above processes of "remembering" and "forgetting" are central to

discourse about linguistic and cultural shift in Napo. Indeed, the verb *iyarina* is derived from the

verb *iyay* 'to think, reflect.' When combined with the reflexive *-ri* it takes on the meaning of 'to

remember [through self-reflection].' Similarly, people frequently use the verb *kungarina* 'to

---

[31] I thus seek to resist tendencies towards what O'Brien (2010) has called *lasting,* in which Native Americans were discursively erased in New England histories. Davis (2017) uses "*lasting*" to refer to the hyperbolic discourses of language endangerment focusing on perceptions of an ever-receding horizon of cultural uniqueness predicated on discourses of the 'last' speaker.

[32] As mentioned briefly above, Jumandi is a regional hero of anti-colonial resistance for his role in a major uprising against the Spanish, for which he was executed in Quito. He is a central figure in Napo Kichwa politics, particularly in the Archidona-Tena region (Uzendoski 2005; see also Sawyer 2004).

forget' to describe linguistic and cultural change and continuity—claiming that young people have 'forgotten,' or, alternatively claiming that they themselves have 'not forgotten.' Despite these fears about contemporary processes of "forgetting," in homes around Napo today, many of the practices of *ruku kawsay* are *remediated* both across generations, as well as across spaces of transmission, as contemporary families and early morning radio programs draw upon and refashion material practices and ways of speaking from the past and present. It is in this transmission that I locate the second meaning of the term *remediation*.

The concept of *remediation* emerged in media studies (Bolter and Grusin 1999; Bolter 2001; Silvio 2007) to describe the ways in which new media technologies appropriate and refashion the forms and techniques of prior media. While Bolter and Grusin suggestively describe that "a medium is that which remediates. It is that which appropriates the techniques, forms, and social significance of other media and attempts to rival or refashion them in the name of the real," (1999, 65), they largely remain focused on media technologies as the mediums of remediation. However, I propose a more expansive view of media and mediation, grounded in the Peircean realism of certain branches of semiotic and linguistic anthropology (Mannheim 2018b; Ball 2014; Peirce 1955; Keane 2005), which propose that all experience is mediated by semiosis. That is, that all semiotic activity is a form of mediation, because there is no experience of the world prior to or apart from semiotic interpretation, interpretations which must be built up through socialization into culturally-patterned relational worlds. If all semiotic activity is a form of mediation, then individuals can also be seen as mediums of transmission, whose actions allow semiotic materials to be continually interdiscursively and intertextually refashioned. I thus approach remediation as a basic component of all cultural activity, as we daily draw upon and

reconfigure semiotic material from various sources in our own projects of meaning making, both above and below the level of metapragmatic awareness.

Remediation is a means to explore the ways in which fashions of speaking, genres of verbal artistry, interactional routines, and material practices are drawn together—as parts of registers—across time and across generations, and in doing so, are reworked and reconfigured within changing contexts of use. While a basic part of semiotic practice, such reconfigurations and transpositions may often cause considerable anxiety. For instance, in Napo, elders frequently worry that their children and grandchildren no longer wish to speak Quichua—especially their local Quichua—nor do they want to drink the fermented brew of manioc *aswa*. For these elders, such practices help to enregister a stable figure of Upper Napo Quichua personhood, which is being reconfigured for many people through increased contact with figures in other regimes of social value. While much more profound, I suggest that they are expressing a similar anxiety to that which often arises during the process of remediation, in which media ideologies (Gershon 2010) are violated as past channels, modalities, and technologies are appropriated and reconfigured for new purposes, transgressing norms of use and practice that may have once lain below the level of general awareness.

1.3 (Re)animating collective memory

The second major thread alluded to in this dissertation's title concerns the ways that my interlocutors in Napo use radio and other media forms to *reanimate* linguistic and cultural practices undergoing shift in contemporary contexts of settler colonialism in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Echoing César Grefa's song, in radio interviews and in daily conversation, many

30

people worry that young people and children are "awalltayasha" ['becoming white'] or "mishu tukusha" ['turning into white-mestizos'].

Consequently, a major response to linguistic and cultural shift in Napo has been mounted through institutional bilingual education programs using Unified Kichwa. Such projects, however, have contributed to producing their own sociolinguistic disjunctures, what Meek describes as "the everyday points of discontinuity and contradiction—between social or linguistic groups, within discourses, practices, or between them, even between indexical orders—that interrupt the flow of action, communication, or thought." (2010, x). In both the Ecuadorian Lowlands and Highlands, ethnographic research has shown that language standardization as a model for revitalization has led, for instance, to the development of a prestige variety modeled on the standard, to the subsequent resistance to the standard by adherents to regional varieties, as well as to ideological confusion for novice speakers about the "correctness" of the often contrasting forms spoken at home and at school (Grzech 2017; Grzech, Schwarz, and Ennis 2019; Uzendoski 2009; K. A. King 2001; Wroblewski 2012).

In this context, Upper Napo Quichua cultural activists—of varying ideological commitments—are increasingly turning towards different forms of public and broadcast media— including radio, television, and performance events such as Indigenous beauty pageants— to transmit their language and culture. Thus far, anthropologists of the region have largely approached Upper Napo Quichua media through the analytical lens of performance (Rogers 1998; Wroblewski 2014), treating revitalization events such as the regional cultural pageants modeled on international beauty pageants as spaces where essentialized representations of Indigenous Amazonian culture are performed for urban, multiculturalist audiences. Past work has emphasized the "symbolic redundancy" and "invented" elements of these productions,

highlighting the intertextual gaps between "performed" and "lived" realities. However, Yasmin Moll's exploration of contested theology and aesthetics in Islamic media production in Egypt provides an alternative approach to the contemporary mediation of "tradition," as she proposes that "[…] practitioners reconfigure […] tradition through engagement with the variety of normative regimes they encounter as modern subjects" (Moll 2018, 236). Like Moll, I question the analytical validity of the "invented tradition," a specter which hangs over many discussions of contemporary Quichua media production. [33] Many academic observers in Napo fixate, for instance, on young women dancing in bikinis made from red, brown, and black seeds, or men who don grass skirts for musical performances—which no one wears in daily life—but which have emerged as a central component of the public register of cultural performance. Rather than treating such practices as spurious inventions, I take these forms seriously within their contexts of use, particularly as ways of imagining and animating a nostalgic past (Boym 2007; Debenport 2015, 2017) directed towards a hopeful future, with the context and constraints of the present.

The analytic of *animation*, however, reveals some new about how Upper Napo Quichua cultural activists, media producers, and community members use media to bring particular social selves to life. Rather than focusing on these media productions as "performances," in which there may be significant gaps between performers and roles, I approach these productions as sites for the projection of chronotopic worlds that are *animated* through various forms of semiotic media (Silvio 2010; Manning and Gershon 2013; Nozawa 2013; Barker 2019; Fisher 2019; Goffman 1974, cf. 1959). Rather than animation in the sense of drawn or computer-generated imagery, the analytic of animation emphasizes the ways that participants—both producers and audiences—

[33] Moll suggests that the "invented tradition is analytically suspect," as such reconfigurations are key to the production of discursive traditions (2018, 236). Moreover, the idea of the "invented tradition" assumes the necessity of continuity between a past origin or original state, creating the stakes for the "last" ideologically pure representative of a particular culture or language to vanish, while also circumscribing the possibility of creativity and transformation.

breathe life into social figures and characters, which may be constructed through the lamination of different kinds of semiotic media. I further extend the concept to *reanimation*—to consider the ways that Upper Napo Quichua media producers and participants in their programming animate characterological figures (Manning and Gershon 2013; Nozawa 2013; Barker 2019) of social personhood, often *re*animating enregistered (Agha 2005) figures of their elders and their practices in the present through broadcast and other media. Linguistic anthropologists have largely drawn upon the Bakhtinian concept of chronotope—inseparable expressions of time, space, and personhood (Bakhtin 1981 [1938]; Agha 2007; Inoue 2004)—in relation to language, exploring how linguistic practices allow speakers to draw listeners across time and space. The preference of some programs for remediating embodied productions into purely aural radio media points to the significance of modalities beyond the verbal for constructing and calibrating chronotopes (Hartikainen 2017; Eisenlohr 2015; Moore 2016). Using the lamination of various semiotic media, of which speech is only one modality, radio producers and participants (re)animate social figures who inhabit chronotopes of the past, present, and a hopeful future, in which linguistic practices, contexts of use, and social relationships have been reconstituted.

The analytics of remediation and reanimation speak to a growing concern shared between Native American and Indigenous Studies and linguistic anthropological approaches to language shift and revitalization (Davis 2017, 2018; Vizenor 1994, 2009; Perley 2012) to consider not only the negative aspects of language and cultural shift—perceptions of absence in the context of settler colonialism—but also the emergent sites of synthesis, renewal, and vitality. As Meek has observed, "language revitalization involves not only the reconstitution of some grammar, but of the indexical orders that link a grammar to a complex of meaning emergent through a world of experience" (2010, 50). The reconstitution, here conceived as remediation and reanimation, of

indexical connections where they have been ruptured by—often forced—cultural and linguistic shift is one way that my interlocutors sought to use mass media to both sustain and reawaken significant forms of interaction and genres of practice (Garrett 2007, 2005).

1.4 Methods and position across field sites

This research explores the social effects of Upper Napo Quichua revitalization media, which requires understanding not only the production of Upper Napo Quichua media, but how such media are embedded in daily communicative practices. Drawing on other ethnographic studies of the social embeddedness of media (Hirschkind 2006; Fisher 2016; Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, and Larkin 2002; Abu-Lughod 2004; Wortham 2013; Wilson and Stewart 2008), I am particularly interested in understanding how the social circulation of forms of speech beyond mobile discursive "texts" (Spitulnik 1997) is facilitated by radio media. How do narrative practices, styles, registers, and other bundles of semiotic features circulate—if at all—between face-to-face interactions and radio-mediated communication?

Ethnographic methods, moreover, have proven to be particularly valuable for studying language shift and reclamation. Mufwene (2017) notes that despite a great deal of attention in disciplinary linguistics to the topics of language endangerment and revitalization, the causes motivating people to shift from Indigenous and other minority languages to dominant, frequently colonial languages remain undertheorized. He observes that many linguists make vague gestures to "colonization" or "globalization" in disrupting Indigenous and other marginalized languages, rather than "the adaptions their speakers make in response to their changing socioeconomic ecologies" (2017, e203; cf. Meek 2010, 42).

Nevertheless, many linguistic anthropologists, grounded in ethnographic fieldwork methods, have long been concerned with uncovering and understanding the social, economic, and political forces and regimes of value within which speakers of minority languages are enmeshed. This study draws inspiration from traditions within linguistic anthropology that connect the study of language shift and change to the ways that languages are ideologized within broader political economies (Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal and Woolard 2001; Kroskrity 2000; Kroskrity and Field 2009). Linguistic anthropologists such as Susan Gal (1979), Don Kulick (1992), and Barbra Meek (2010) all provide nuanced ethnographic examples of the ways that larger sociolinguistic and economic frameworks influence the ways that minority languages are transmitted between generations. Ethnographic research can provide insight into questions of ongoing interest: Why do speakers of minority languages, despite many well-established programs aimed at reinvigorating or reawakening heritage languages, continue to shift to dominant, colonial languages, such as Spanish, and English? And, what practices support the ongoing transmission of linguistic and cultural forms, even in contexts of settler-colonial institutions that devalue Indigenous ways of being in and speaking with the world?

The now well-established turn to multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) in anthropology also informs this work. While many studies of media find their analytical purchase in either production or reception, a full picture of remediation in Upper Napo Quichua radio programs required a focus on both the production of radio programs, as well as the ways they are commented upon and recontextualized in daily life. Consequently, I turned to multi-sited ethnography's call to 'follow the thing,' and followed Upper Napo Quichua radio media across various sites of creation, consumption, and reproduction, while remaining attentive to radio's intertextual and multi-platform connections with other forms of mediation in Napo. My research

seeks to understand not only the ways that producers and participants craft media productions, but also the effects of revitalization media on daily practices. Drawing inspiration from studies of reception such as Hirschkind's (2006) examination of the listening practices associated with Islamic cassette sermons and Spitulnuk's (1997) study of the social circulation of media discourse, as well as studies of language revitalization as socialization (Meek 2010; Garrett 2005), my research sought to document the ways that radio media are taken up—or not—by listeners of varying ages and linguistic abilities in Upper Napo Quichua households.

My primary dissertation research took place over eighteen months in Napo, which were divided between two trips. My first twelve months of fieldwork took place from December 2015 – December 2016. I followed this with six more months of fieldwork between February and July 2016. My dissertation is further informed by nearly ten years of experience researching, studying, teaching, and living in various regions of Ecuador. Although this text focuses on my research in the Ecuadorian Amazon, it also draws upon my experiences as a Fulbright English Teaching Assistant at a university in highland Imbabura province between 2011-2012, as well as concurrent language study and research with Quichua language activists in Otavalo and Quito. It was during this time that I became interested in the possibilities of broadcast media for language revitalization, as I was a frequent guest-host on the university's daily pedagogical English-language television program "TALK." I became intimately aware of the power of media texts to circulate among audiences (Spitulnik 1997), as viewers would sometimes recognize me on the street and repeat the show's catchphrase "This is Talk!" At the same time, I was studying Highland Quichua with language revitalization activists in Otavalo and assisting in sociolinguistic surveys of the number of Quichua speakers in Imbabura, which indicated that Quichua use continued to decline among school-aged speakers. I consequently entered graduate

school with an interest in using community-engaged methods to study and support the reclamation of Indigenous languages, with a particular focus on understanding the possibilities of media technologies for community-directed revitalization.

1.4.1 Research sites

My dissertation research took place across three primary sites: (1) in radio stations and other sites of Quichua media production in Napo; (2) with the traditional health and cultural activism cooperative of the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo (AMUPAKIN – Associación de Mujeres Parteras Kichwas de Alto Napo); and (3) in households of the community of Chawpishungu. In the following sections, I will briefly describe each, and my position(s) within them; I return to production and reception in more depth in Chapter 2.

1.4.2 Radio stations

Between 2015 and 2017, I conducted research with four Quichua-language radio programs in Napo. I worked mostly closely with the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi*, often serving as a guest announcer on the program. I also observed other cultural and political events organized by the mayor's office in the Municipality of Archidona, which funds *Mushuk Ñampi*. I attended planning sessions for many of the cultural events they sponsor and received behind the scenes access to beauty pageants and cultural exhibitions in the region, as the hosts of *Mushuk Ñampi* were frequent MCs at these events. I also carried out regular observations with three other Quichua-language radio programs in Tena—the Quichua-language morning and evening programs on the Catholic station La Voz de Napo, as well as a morning program (*Antisuyu Ushay* 'Power of the Amazon') and an evening program (*Wasima Tigrashun* 'Let's Return Home') on the commercial station Radio Olímpica, both of which were cut from the schedule for financial reasons during my research. During my time in Ecuador, I visited other Quichua-

language radio stations and programs in both the highlands and lowlands, as well as with community media activists and organizations in Quito.

1.4.3 AMUPAKIN

To investigate how cultural performances are produced, I worked with the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo (AMUPAKIN: *Asociación de Mujeres Parteras Kichwas de Alto Napo*). AMUPAKIN gathers local healers and midwives to provide traditional health services, as well as training to a new generation of healers. During my fieldwork they were comprised of 11 members, the majority of whom are elderly and middle-aged (60s – 40s) Quichua-dominant women, alongside a fluctuating group of their adult children and adolescent grandchildren who participate in the organization. Although focused on traditional health, AMUPAKIN continues to develop as a community tourism organization and also participates regularly in cultural exhibitions, such as those organized by local radio programs aimed at linguistic and cultural revitalization.

During fieldwork, I collaborated with AMUPAKIN at their request to develop and produce *Ñukanchi sacha kawsaywa aylluchishkamanda/Relaciones con nuestra selva/Relating to our forest* (2017), a collection of narratives told by their members, which detail their social relationships with the beings and landscapes of the Amazon. Published with funding from the Ecuadorian Ministry of Culture and Patrimony, a book and matching DVD collect fifteen stories told in lowland Ecuadorian Quichua (lineated, following conventions in linguistic anthropology) with Spanish and English translations. The project brought together elder members of AMUPAKIN and their family members, alongside graduate student volunteers, who collaborated to film, edit, transcribe, and translate the narratives. My work in collaborative community media production informs the analyses I present in this text, particularly in relation to narrative

practices, but I have chosen to leave a full analysis of the project to future publications, in which AMUPAKIN can receive the full attention the organization and its members deserve.

It is important to note that this research has largely focused on media and cultural production by women, frequently relying on in-situ participant observation of the offstage and "behind the scenes" (Shryock 2004) moments of daily life for female participants in radio programs and beauty pageants, a cultural revival cooperative, and a rural household. The gendered, complementary division of labor has been a central theme of Amazonian ethnography (Uzendoski 2004a, 2005; Muratorio 1991). Today, both labor and appropriate socializing among Upper Napo Quichua people is still often separated by gender. Although I have interviewed men, especially male politicians and other leaders, my research has been shaped by my close friendships with women in Napo. In turn, this informs my research in important ways. For instance, Blanca Muratorio (1998) once noted that Upper Napo Quichua women were largely excluded from Indigenous politics, which were dominated by male politicians. She further describes the role of male politicians in constructing an essentialized version of a primordial Amazonian femininity for public consumption, a view that has been echoed by others in their analyses of Napo Quichua *ñusta* competitions, Indigenous cultural and beauty pageants (Rogers 1998; Wroblewski 2014). My research suggests, however, that both elder and young Quichua women have come to play an important role in shaping media production in Napo. In particular, young women's participation in cultural media production—particularly *ñusta* pageants and revitalization organizations—indexes a specific stance towards the maintenance and reclamation of significant linguistic and cultural practices, while it also brings many women into fuller political participation (see also Erazo 2013; Perreault 2005). My research also shows that elderly women play an important role in shaping the semiotic forms of these productions. Moreover,

both participation in media production, and the reception of radio media reinvigorate and reanimate the communicative practices of elder speakers.

1.4.4 Chawpishungu

I conducted research on uptake of radio programs and other forms of community media in the rural *comunidad* (Indigenous community) of Chawpishungu in the multigenerational household of Serafina Grefa.[34] Serafina is a well-known healer and near-monolingual Quichua speaker born in 1949—placing her in late 60s at the time of my research—whom I met through my work with AMUPAKIN, where she is a long-time member. Serafina regularly participates in cultural performances with others from AMUPAKIN and has appeared repeatedly on the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi.* She and her immediate and extended family are central figures in this account. I primarily studied reception in Serafina's household, my main residence, where I was able to accompany her multi-generational family in their early morning routines. I also visited other households in Chawpishungu in the early morning and evening hours when they were most likely to be consuming radio and other media. I further carried out demographic and sociolinguistic surveys with the majority of adult and adolescent residents. Rather than collecting broader data from multiple communities, I chose to conduct an intimate, in-depth study of media reception and attitudes around language and cultural shift and vitality in Chawpishungu. This

---

[34] Sarah Shulist has described the tensions of conducting research on language revitalization in the Brazilian Amazon, where the daily concerns of life— domestic and sexual violence, unemployment, suicide, alcoholism—are often much more pressing than language shift (2018, 173–173; see also Meek 2010). She further makes a specific choice to include such topics in her study. These are issues that emerged at various points in my research in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Yet, these are also topics I have purposefully chosen not to discuss in detail, sometimes at the explicit request of my interlocutors, but also because these are not the stories I was tasked or entrusted with telling through my research. Nevertheless, they are serious problems many confront, and many people trace them to the erosion of Quichua disciplinary and socializing practices. Moreover, such considerations also shaped my decisions about where to live and carry out reception studies in important ways. After hearing multiple accounts and also attending a number of celebrations at which an intoxicated spouse struck his wife, I made a specific decision to seek out a family where such events would be less likely to occur. During June 2016, I spoke frankly with the midwives of AMUPAKIN about both my desire to arrange a homestay with one of their families, as well as to avoid situations where I might feel compelled to intervene in situations of domestic violence. This is how I arrived in the home of Serafina Grefa, a long-time member of AMUPAKIN, who came to be one of my closest interlocutors and teachers in Napo.

approach has provided me with a singular perspective on the everyday communicative habits of a contemporary multigenerational Quichua-speaking household, in which intergenerational transmission is still in processes, but has also been ruptured at various points.

This study of Upper Napo Quichua radio and other forms of revitalization media thus brings together a complex corpus of interviews, elicitations, observational, and participatory data to explore the effects of mass mediation on Indigenous linguistic practices. At the same time, I narrow in on the remediation and reanimation of the practices of the early morning *wayusa*-drinking hours as a central organizing thread within this multi-sited research into the use of media for cultural and linguistic revitalization.

1.4.5 A note on names

I have chosen not to use pseudonyms, unless requested by research participants, in this work. One's knowledge, gained through personal experience and transmitted across generations, is a precious resource, which should be attributed, for most of the people with whom I worked (see AMUPAKIN 2017). However, at times I discuss what could be seen as sensitive social and political stances or practices. In such cases, I am purposefully vague.

1.5 Major contributions

Language activists and their allies (e.g. Camp and Portalewska 2013; Ginsburg 1997; Wilson and Stewart 2008) have increasingly called for the use of a wide variety of media as a method to amplify the voices of speakers of marginalized and threatened languages. Yet, the specific effects of the production, reception, and circulation of such media on speakers' daily practices largely remains an open, contextually-dependent question. Indeed, ethnographic research exploring the ways that linguistic and cultural practices are transposed into new

contexts of mediation (Peterson 2017, 1997; Choksi 2018; Debenport 2015; Webster 2017; Fisher 2019) has shown we cannot assume that community media have the same effects and meanings in all settings of linguistic and cultural shift. Through the first in-depth, ethnographic and linguistic study of the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape, I show that these radio programs can considerably expand the ways in which we evaluate (1) the production and reception of media; (2) the cross-cultural formation of publics; (3) Amazonian narrative; and (4) the methodologies and effects of language revitalization.

First, careful attention to the interlinkages between the creation and consumption of Upper Napo Quichua radio dissolves any analytical or methodological divide in media studies associated with the production and reception of media, showing that these processes are inseparable among a mutually constitutive community of producers and consumers of Upper Napo Quichua media. In this view, radio programs emerge not as decontextualized production events, but as deeply embedded in producers' and consumers' daily lives and social relationships. Indeed, it is impossible to understand the effects of media as a method for language revitalization without attention to spaces of production, reception, and their overlap. Many of the social routines and gendered practices remediated on Upper Napo Quichua community radio are unintelligible without attention to the historical and contemporary contexts of use that they seek to reanimate on the air. Importantly, such revitalization media are grounded in the verbal artistry and poetics of an intimate, familial sphere, in ways that challenge the focus on stranger sociality, rational debate, and political action typically associated with discussions of "publics" and the "public sphere" (Warner 2002; Habermas 1989; Anderson 1983).

Second, and relatedly, the reception and subsequent interpretation of media are not transparent processes. Rather, the formation of publics around various kinds of media is an issue

of cross-cultural relevance (Gal and Woolard 2001). The case of Upper Napo Quichua radio media shows, in particular, that participation in a public is not always organized "as a relationship among strangers" as described by Warner (2002, 74), but often implicates an interactional "private," in Debenport's words, "practices with texts among select groups of known individuals" (2015, 142). The (re)circulation of aural and oral media among an entangled population of producers and consumers, reveals the ways that public and private spheres of interaction are laminated in radio programs, hailing both known and unknown interlocutors. Further, listeners' different linguistic codes—standardized and regional—may hail or exclude them from the various publics and privates that co-exist in Napo, depending on their subject position(s). While print and film practices have been more widely explored in relation to the formation of Indigenous publics, Upper Napo Quichua radio media respond to both the oral poetics, and unexpectedly, the embodied textual practices (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012) of Quichua narrative and other verbal artistry.[35]

The formation of publics is also cross-culturally relevant in order to understand how members of the different publics implicated by Upper Napo Quichua broadcast media engage with these media. Prior analysts in Napo (Rogers 1998; Wroblewski 2014) have considered the ways in which Indigenous media is directed to and received by multicultural audiences, with a particular emphasis on "essentialized" formulas. However, many of signs deployed in cultural performance are not seen as essentialized icons of a pristine indigeneity by my Upper Napo Quichua interlocutors, but as a way of honoring and remembering the practices of the elders, as well as imagining a world free from white social and material domination. The midwives of

---

[35]See, for example, Debenport's (2015) ethnography on "Keiwa" dictionaries and soap operas; Peterson's (2017) work on Navajo film and Twitter feeds, as well as an earlier article (1997) on radio; Anthony Webster on Navajo poets and poetics (2009), and the use of YouTube to overcome textual constraints (2017); Choksi (2018) on Santali writing in and on real and virtual sites; and LaPoe and LaPoe (2017) on storytelling and (digital) news media in Indigenous North America.

AMUPAKIN often complained, for instance, when they saw young women who wore shoes in cultural presentations like parades or beauty pageants. In contrast, AMUPAKIN's members never wore shoes during their presentations. Is this another case of strategic essentialism, and the presentation of an ideologically pure, noble savage for public audiences? I suggest that it is not. Rather, it is grounded in what I have called the remediation and reanimation of the embodied habits of their mothers and grandmothers. Elder women remember a time before rubber boots were worn in the forest and have shown me—reanimating the memory through the channel of their own bodies—the way that their mothers used a machete to clear the ground of thorns when they would harvest peach palm. Within the different semiotic systems held by members of various publics, a barefoot woman in traditional dress might index an essentialized indigenous femininity, but for many of the women who participate in such productions, it is an index of one's respect for the practices of the past in a materially distinct present. This is why the analytics of remediation and reanimation are so important in this case, because they tell us something both about both how historical consciousness works in Napo, as well as what is happening in these media productions, at least among a significant portion of their audience.

Third, then, Upper Napo Quichua radio media focuses attention on how chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981 [1938]) of the past are brought to life in the present among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua. The ways that historical narratives, through the "words our elders left behind," are transposed onto the radio speaks to long-running debates regarding the interrelationship of myth and history in Amazonian historical consciousness. Moreover, it raises issues relevant to what Lévi-Strauss (1966) infamously termed "hot" and "cold" societies. He called "hot" those that "resolutely internaliz[e] the historical process and mak[e] it the moving power of their development," while he called "cold" those that seek "by the institutions they give themselves, to

annul the possible effects of historical factors on their equilibrium and continuity in a quasi-automatic fashion" (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 233–34). The distinction between "hot" and "cold" societies is sometimes taken to be one of "people without history" (Wolf 1982; J. D. Hill 1988), but this was a definition Lévi-Strauss himself rejected (cf. Gow 2001). Rather, recognizing that all societies "are in history and change," he was interested in exploring "the fact that human societies react to this common condition in very different fashions" (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 234). That is, he seems to have been more interested in exploring structural patterns in the ways in which various groups engage in social reproduction and transformation, as evidenced through narrative. While Lévi-Strauss lacked the necessary primary sources—as he was working from entextualized, translated narratives, far removed from their dialogic, intertextual webs of meaning—to fully account for these processes (Mannheim 1999), structurally-oriented anthropologists have become increasingly attentive to the ways in which oral narratives are sites of worlding, in which speakers constitute their own theories of action, agency, and historical process (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007; Gow 2001; Mannheim 2015; Descola 2014).

While I do not go so far as to classify Upper Napo Quichua as a "cold" society, practices like live-broadcast *wayusa upina* radio programs evidence a preference for constituting the past as a knowable world within the present. Upper Napo Quichua narrative practices—including ideophony, intertextuality, and formal dialogism—contribute to make chronotopes of the past inhabitable in the present. This is not to say, however, that my interlocutors did not recognize differences between the past and the present. Many would comment on how clever and smart the elders of the past had been in ways that contrasted with their own contemporary practices. Such claims, however, also occurred in the context of clearly identified material and social changes between their own lives and the collective memories of the past projected through the

transmission and re-transmission of "the words our elders left behind." Yet, at the same time, many insisted that they continued to "remember" their elders' practices and stories by living [Qu. *kawsana*] or existing [Qu. *tiana*] with them—that is, animating them—in the present.

When Upper Napo Quichua speakers tell stories of both recent events and the more distant past, quoted voices, grammatical forms, sound symbolic expressions, gesture, and indeed, whole bodies become modalities for bringing those events to life, focusing listeners' attention onto the projection of a chronotope of the past from the perspective of the present (Nuckolls 1996).[36] Rather than taking many of these historically-oriented narratives as "myths" and "legends," generic categories many people explicitly reject as external, I trace the semiotic processes through which a collective interpretation or memory of the past (Halbwachs 1992 [1925], 1980 [1950]; Nora 1989; French 2012) is constituted through various forms of mediation of "the words our elders left behind," spanning face-to-face interactions to broadcast media.

Finally, my interlocutor's focus on the remediation of embodied practices in aural media directed at linguistic and cultural revitalization draws attention to the ways that a focus on language revitalization as the reconstitution of a decontextualized, formal code may be inadequate to reconstitute the spaces where that code once had meaning. For good or bad, linguists and (linguistic) anthropologists have been some of the primary academic advocates for language revitalization (J. H. Hill 2002; Perley 2012; Palmer 2017). Linguistic anthropologists have also been particularly reflexive about the ways in which dominant or hegemonic ideologies shape social practices. Yet, sympathetic linguists have also frequently turned to methodologies

---

[36] Dialogic, conversational narrative is a particularly important genre in Quechua verbal art (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998), as it was the customary form of transmission for Quechua oral tradition, and it is shaped by particular discursive practices. These include formal dialogism, embedded discourse, intertextuality among narratives, and the construction of dialogic relationships among utterances through formal linguistic mechanisms such as tense, evidentiality, and sound symbolism (for more on Quechuan narrative practices see Nuckolls 1996, 2010a; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012; Howard 2012; Allen 2011; Faller 2004).

for revitalization grounded in standardizing, text-based approaches to language (Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Shah and Brenzinger 2018), which have in turn influenced the approaches many groups take to language revitalization. This is not to create a simple dichotomy between text-based revitalization practices and other modalities. Rather, I emphasize that text remains an important modality in a larger methodological toolkit.

Nevertheless, text-based approaches to revitalization are not without significant contradictions and it is worth examining their effects within complex ideological assemblages and ecologies of language (Kroskrity 2018; Hill and Hill 1986). In Napo, speakers frequently express beliefs such as "Quichua is pronounced just as it is written," one of the main reasons written standardization has been extended into oral standardization. In some ways, then, this research treads familiar ground, as the case of the "unification" of the regional diversity of Ecuadorian Quichua has created similar debates around social value and authenticity as in other contexts (Jaffe 1999a; French 2010). Yet, prior analyses (e.g. Wroblewski 2012, 2014) have also suggested that these debates are in some senses the spurious complaints of a conservative population who refuses to support the progressive project of linguistic unification.

Far from spurious complaints, however, this research shows that contradictions of revitalization through the standardization of and formal education in a historically oral language are intimately related to the ways in which Upper Napo Quichua people ideologize linguistic differentiation, socialization, and respect for one's elder. In turn, these were ideologies that I frequently found to be remediated on many radio programs in Napo, for instance in *Mushuk Ñampi*'s focus on the reanimation of linguistic practices as embedded in contexts of use and the dialogic authority of elders on their monthly live broadcast of the *wayusa upina*. Upper Napo Quichua radio programs thus attune us to the ways that alternative modalities and methods for

linguistic and cultural revitalization are able to respond to the complex linguistic ecologies that surround speakers of shifting codes. In the case of Napo, community broadcast media contribute to the articulation of a multivocal, dialogic public sphere, which is grounded in the intimate social routines of Upper Napo Quichua family life.

In order to make claims about the efficacy of community revitalization media, it is imperative to trace how community radio media are actually produced, consumed, and (re)circulated in a complex ecology of language in the Upper Ecuadorian Amazon. Rather than simply assuming that media are an effective method for linguistic and cultural revitalization, I show that they are one because the production and reception of Upper Napo Kichwa radio media are deeply embedded in speakers' daily lives and communicative practices. Moreover, they are linked into broader social and economic processes in the Ecuadorian Amazon, as the nascent Upper Napo Quichua media industry has come to provide a new economic outlet for residents of Napo and has thus opened new domains of use—which nevertheless are often tied to self-consciously "traditional" domains—for Quichua. Closely linked to community tourism cooperatives, cultural activism and performance groups, and a wide variety of other social and political organizations, Upper Napo Quichua radio media helps weave together some of the diverse strands of the Upper Napo Quichua social world. Such interlinked spaces are increasingly drawing young people and their elders together to define, recuperate, and reanimate significant linguistic and cultural practices. Although these practices might also be transformed by their remediation both across generations and onto the radio, these radio programs are nonetheless contemporary sites of Quichua survivance and vitality.

1.6 Overview of chapters

Overall, the case of Upper Napo Quichua community radio highlights the need to understand both media and revitalization within their specific contexts of production and reception. Together, the following chapters move across different spaces of production and reception to develop an account of how a nostalgic past is constituted, circulated, and, sometimes, contested through media events directed towards the twinned revitalization of language and cultural contexts of language use, rather than just language itself.

In the Ecuadorian Amazon, a dedicated group of radio hosts and producers give shape to the early morning hours of their Upper Napo Quichua listening audience. However, the codes articulated on the air are disputed, as the written standard Unified Kichwa has increasingly emerged as an oral standard (Chapter 2). Many in Napo, however, perceive linguistic unification and text-based approaches to revitalization to be a significant imposition on their own linguistic practices, which they link to the spoken words of their elders. A new group of language activists has thus emerged, who draw upon the aural and oral potentialities of radio media to respond more effectively to regional ideologies of language which emphasize respect for 'our own language' and the 'words our elders left behind' (Chapter 3). Explicitly oriented towards members of a regional rural public and the revalorization of 'our own language,' the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* remediates and reanimates these 'words our elders left behind' on a live, radio-broadcast production of the early morning guayusa-drinking hours. Due to the multivocal affordances of radio media, however, participants in these programs are able to animate dynamic, and at times contested, chronotopes and figures, which establish a polyphonic public sphere, in which multiple fashions of speaking may emerge (Chapter 4). These programs, in turn, are semiotically anchored in 'the words our elders left behind,' a collection of wide-ranging

historical, familial, and personal narratives. Although many of these narratives are often externally categorized as "myth," for many of my interlocutors the stories passed down by their elders are key sites where both collective memories and social imaginaries are constituted, which informs their sense of how people develop as Upper Napo Quichua social persons (Chapter 5). Although many of the practices remediated on the radio are undergoing shift, these radio programs reinvigorate the linguistic practices of their listening audience, dialogically strengthening the words of counsel and other verbal practices of still present elders (Chapter 6). These nostalgic media events are also hopeful projects, in which participants seek to (re)animate their elders' knowledge and history in both the present and the future, among an electronically-mediated community of practice, which converges in the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape.

Chapter 2
Tuning in to language revitalization in the Upper Napo

2.1 Introduction

Once a month the traditional familial home reawakens on the lowland Quichua-language radio show *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path,' and reverberates throughout the Amazonian province of Napo, Ecuador. During semi-improvised, live-broadcast radio programs, local community residents and cultural performers reanimate the interactional time-space of the *wayusa upina*, which may refer to the act of 'drinking guayusa tea,' as well as the time of day when this act generally occurs, also sometimes called *waysa uras,* 'the guayusa-drinking hours.' This period now comprises the pre-dawn hours when many households rise, drink a strong, tea-like infusion of the leaves of *Ilex guayusa* among the gathered family, and prepare for their day, often accompanied by the sounds of regional Amazonian Quichua radio.

Despite the primarily aural affordances of radio media, the home produced by *Mushuk Ñampi* for their live broadcasts is not just sonic, comprised of an imagined space populated by decontextualized, disembodied voices. Rather, during monthly radio broadcasts hosted by local communities, female performers shuttle hollowed out gourds filled with steaming guayusa to a co-present audience, largely comprised of Quichua-speakers, most of whom live in the surrounding area. This audience is there to witness the performance of a traditional *wayusa upina*, an event some may still recognize from their own lives. As the female participants cross back and forth carrying their cups between the audience and a central hearth, where an open fire crackles, the experience of drinking from shared bowls of guayusa, and a lightly fermented brew

of manioc or peach palm *aswa*, seem to invite those watching to enter into an embodied, intimate experience of the time and space of the traditional home. These shared practices further blur the distinction between production and reception, drawing co-present audience members into an ephemeral experience of familial sociality in which language is alive in contexts of use deeply ideologized in connection with linguistic and cultural socialization.

In homes around Napo, however, the listening audience is enveloped in a primarily aural world projected from the intermingling of speech, song, and sonic texture on the radio. Segments devoted to interactions between elders and youth, elders' narratives, raucous jokes, and musical performances reinvigorate many of the traditional linguistic practices associated with the *wayusa upina,* while Spanish-language discourse and political speeches also introduce new genres into the intimate space of the morning routine. Participants and hosts largely do not narrate the scene of the radio events in detail—claiming that their audience will already be able to imagine what is unfolding on the air—and instead allow speech and interaction to emerge within the reanimated space of the traditional home. As such, the listening audience remains largely unaware of the complex, multimodal production that frames the radio shows, but which may nonetheless resonate in their own homes, as hollowed out gourds, as well as ceramic mugs, filled with guayusa pass across an open fire, while they listen to the program. In households around Napo, such programs reinvigorate the practices of speakers of various competencies, serving as dialogic points of departure for listeners. In their consumption, then, they also collapse distinctions between the production and reception of media, as electronically-mediated moments of production and reception are dialogically linked to new moments of production mediated through face-to-face channels.

This chapters begins with some of the central questions that animated my dissertation research in Napo—why do these lowland Quichua radio producers, cultural performers, and community members invest so much energy in live productions that most of their audiences will only experience aurally? Why do they look so frequently to the past when they imagine possibilities for the future? How do they make this past come alive in their present? And, how are their various audiences interpellated into these possible worlds? It is such questions that shape this chapter, as well as those that follow. As I answer them, I will show that the producers of the program *Mushuk Ñampi* are engaged in their own part of an often contentious revitalization movement, which seeks to publicly remediate, and therein "revalorize," practices, symbols, and discursive forms some see as threatened by both shift towards Spanish and urban lifeways, as well as by the use of standardized Unified Kichwa in well-intentioned and well-established language revitalization practices centered on state-run bilingual education and institutional media production.

Here, I contextualize the radio programs and linguistic and cultural practices analyzed in the rest of this text. I first provide an overview of the interconnection between cultural and political activism in the "revalorization" of Upper Napo Quichua language and culture through broadcast and performance media. I then consider two of the major gains of pan-Kichwa social movements in Ecuador related to language planning and revitalization—the establishment of institutional intercultural bilingual education programs and the creation of the written standard Unified Kichwa for use in such programs. These projects have sought, quite successfully, to elevate Quichua and other Indigenous languages to the ideological status of colonial languages, such as Spanish. However, they have also engendered a great deal of debate in regions like Napo, where many people worry that the gains of linguistic unification—otherwise known as

53

"language standardization"—and bilingual education are, paradoxically, threatening local forms of speech. Let us now tune into debates surrounding the forms of speech used on and off their air, by exploring the settings for the production and reception of Upper Napo Quichua media.

2.2 "Revalorizing" Amazonian Quichua language and culture

The goals of language revitalization projects are often taken to be the creation of new speakers (Meek 2010; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Fishman 1991). Yet, Napo community radio programs do not directly produce new speakers, as the most frequent participants are usually already competent speakers of Upper Napo Quichua. During my research, no one I knew became a fluent speaker of Quichua solely by listening to the radio—nor did anyone try, to my knowledge. Nevertheless, such programs have demonstrable linguistic and social effects among a diverse Upper Napo Quichua community of practice, members of which—through broadcast media and political action—have increasingly come to experience themselves as members of various regional and national Quichua publics, counterpublics, and privates (Warner 2002; Debenport 2017). Significantly, participants and producers in these programs aim at the *revalorization*—social, political, and economic—of Upper Napo Quichua language and cultural practice. Such revalorization is taking place in the context of social, economic, and material pressures leading to shift towards Spanish language and colonial lifeways, as well as ideologies of linguistic unification and standardization that shape many of the projects and discourses of Ecuador's pan-Kichwa and larger pan-Indigenous political organizations. In the face of both shift towards Spanish and the institutional valorization of Unified Kichwa in bilingual education and much broadcast media, many producers of and participants in these projects are attempting to

reconfigure the regimes of value within which both traditional and contemporary regional cultural practices and forms of speech are positioned.

Practices like *Mushuk Ñampi*'s *wayusa upina* aimed at sustaining and revitalizing language and culture in Napo are often configured as responding to a need expressed in Spanish to "revalorizar" 'to revalorize' and in Quichua (though derived from Spanish) to "balichina" 'to give value' to speakers, regional forms of speech, contexts of use, interactional routines, material practices, and natural resources that are described in Napo as integral aspects of *ñukanchi kikin kawsay* 'our own culture/lifeways,' as well as *ñukanchi kikin shimi* 'our own language.'[37] In turn, community media have emerged as a particularly important site in which cultural activists and media producers construct and authenticate a historically-grounded image of "our own" language and culture, which shapes contemporary ideas of the past, and which participants also hope will be projected into the future.

Upper Napo Quichua radio media have considerable effects on daily practices. Listeners of radio programs frequently comment on their content, dialogically extending conversations and narratives from the air. Participation in community media production also draws young media producers into greater dialogue with a wide range of social actors, often leading to improvements in their own linguistic abilities. Further, cultural revitalization and tourism organizations bring together elders, adults, adolescents, and children, creating new sites of socialization into linguistic and cultural practices that are increasingly shifting. For instance, the adolescents and young adults who volunteer with the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo, also participate regularly in cultural presentations for both regional and international audiences. Consequently, these young people are increasingly recuperating Upper Napo Quichua linguistic

---

[37] In Upper Napo Quichua, kikin generally carries the meaning of 'own' [Sp. propio]; further meanings include 'same' [Sp. mismo], and 'true' [Sp. verdadero] (C. Orr and Wrisley 1981; Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2009).

and cultural practices through their daily interactions with knowledgeable elders. Meanwhile, in Upper Napo Quichua households and communities where *Mushuk Ñampi*'s daily morning programs are consumed, community radio programs often reinvigorate communicative spaces and practices, providing culturally-relevant and locally-meaningful programming upon which listeners regularly reflect and comment, often leading to further moments of storytelling and conversation within the home. Revitalization media serve as everyday sites of renewal for shifting sociocultural practices, linguistic and otherwise. They allow language and culture to enter into new regimes of economic and social value. Indeed, they extend and amplify the socioeconomic value of the traditional Upper Napo Quichua domestic sphere within the overlay of a dominant settler colonial social system, by transforming its everyday habits, practices, and interactions into both a valued setting for public events and a site of economic opportunity.

Residents of Napo have responded in various ways to the arrival of contemporary settlers, which have included establishing agricultural cooperatives, individual land titles, Indigenous communal territories, and ethnic Federations.[38] In turn, Ecuador has provided a luminous example of the possibilities of Indigenous political organizing. In twentieth-century Ecuador, broad coalitions of Indigenous peoples, in conjunction with the support of progressive missionaries and other activists, reshaped social and political life (Sawyer 2004). In the Tena-Archidona region, FOIN, the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of Napo (Federación de Organizaciones Indígenas del Napo) played an important role in the formation of the

---

[38] Near Archidona, founding members of the Pueblo Kichwa de Rukullakta created a large, communally-held territory and a seat of Indigenous political power in the region by embracing cattle ranching, which had first been introduced by the Jesuits in the 1890s (Erazo 2013, 34). Erazo's (2013) history of the organization shows that activists from the region worked tirelessly to bring together and politically organize a group of people who had previously related to each other through kinship networks into a large agricultural cooperative and sovereign territory. Other communities, meanwhile, sought communal title to their land as Indigenous *comunas* through the agrarian reform office IERAC. However, this was often a slow and difficult process. Some people consequently opted to seek individual titles (Macdonald 1999, 88). During this period, Indigenous residents of Napo were also able to turn to newly formed Indigenous organizations to support them in their interactions with state institutions.

Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (CONFENIAE –

Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon) in 1980 (Sawyer 2004;

Macdonald 1999; Erazo 2013). Kichwa and Shuar leaders in CONFENIAE actively engaged

members of other groups in the Amazon, including Waorani, Siona-Secoya, and Cofán, in a

growing process of pan-Indigenous organizing. Their early congresses also included highland-

based organizations, and these meetings eventually led to the formation of the Confederación de

Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE – Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of

Ecuador). CONAIE has made major strides for Indigenous rights since the 1980s and 1990s,

when members of its community bases and other supporters paralyzed the country with massive

strikes. With demands centering on culture, education, health, and territorial rights (Sawyer

2004; Becker 2010), Indigenous activists have been particularly successful in gaining more

control of education and language planning. Indeed, political organization and language planning

are inseparable in CONAIE's history.

Napo's robust contemporary Quichua-language media industry is another significant

outcome of political organization in the region. In the Archidona area, where I carried out the

majority of my fieldwork, Juliet Erazo has suggested that local political and cultural activist

Carlos Alvarado Narváez used cultural productions to "create an 'us' that extended beyond

people's kinship groups to include multiple Kichwa families" (2013, 45).[39] Alvarado began to

travel around the region in 1969, accompanied by his performance troupe, Los Yumbos

Chawamangos.[40] Erazo describes that in their early days, the group "performed songs and dances

that celebrated the epic stories of indigenous heroes, […] [and] the everyday aspects of Kichwa

---

[39] Although I have interviewed Carlos Alvarado, he requested final approval of any material resulting from our conversation. I will not have the opportunity to consult with him until after I defend this dissertation and will discuss his interview in later publications.
[40] Depending on the writer's orthography, the name may also be spelled as Chawamankus, Chaguamangos, or Chahuamangos among other variations.

culture" (2013, 46). In doing so, they helped to establish the contours of much Upper Napo

Quichua media, contributed to the development of an "imagined community" (Erazo 2013, 45;

Anderson 1983) among Upper Napo Quichua people, and founded a genre of music sometimes

called "Runa Paju" (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012). The seeds of these early

performances would grow into a diverse Upper Napo Quichua mediascape, which has helped to

fortify the use of Upper Napo Quichua in the area, and which today may provide an alternative

modality to literacy-based revitalization media in intercultural, bilingual education programs.

Quichua speakers in Napo province have thus been engaged in linked projects aimed at

political sovereignty and cultural revitalization since at least the 1960s, when regional activists

became involved in national pan-Indigenous organizing (Sawyer 2004; Becker 2010; Macdonald

1999; Whitten and Whitten 2011). Macdonald contends that in Napo involvement in pan-

Indigenous political mobilization around territorial sovereignty "created much sharper ethnic

boundaries and a heightened sense of 'ethnicity'" (1999, 7). As coming chapters will show, this

"heightened sense of 'ethnicity'" is evident in various genres of broadcast media, including

Mushuk Ñampi's monthly *wayusa upina* shows. In such programming, producers and

participants create and contest various enregistered figures of social personhood as they define

the boundaries of *ñukanchi kawsay* 'our lifeways.' Many—including the organizers of *Mushuk

Ñampi*—are attempting to counter the mediated enregisterment of Unified Kichwa as the sole

register of public discourse and contribute to a more diverse public sphere. The question remains,

however, what exactly are they contesting? Before I tune into the Upper Napo Quichua

mediascape, I turn to the history of language planning and the linguistic forms that shape the

contemporary linguistic ecology of Upper Napo Quichua, both on and off the air.

2.3 Unifying Indigenous languages and nations

Indigenous political organizing in Ecuador has frequently gone hand in hand with language planning and standardization efforts, a process widespread in the Andes.[41] In Napo, as in other areas of Ecuador, Indigenous educators have played a major role in the development of Indigenous federations and political movements. Macdonald (1999, 86), for instance, recounts that in the Archidona-Tena region, a group of Quichua teachers helped form what would become the Federation of Indigenous Organization of Napo. Education has thus been a major priority for CONAIE, which grew from this period of organizing. In 1988 Indigenous educational activists achieved something unprecedented in a country where they were—and are—still subject to racist discrimination—the creation of the Dirección de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (DINEIB – Directorate of Intercultural Bilingual Education) (Montaluisa 2018, 268).[42] Luis Montaluisa, who served as Director of Education, Science, and Culture for CONAIE, as well as the first director of DINEIB, explicitly highlights the close connection between language planning and Indigenous politics, writing "standardization of Quichua is closely linked to bilingual education and to the realization of the collective rights of [Ecuador's] Indigenous nationalities" (2018, 282).

Unification of Ecuador's multiple varieties of Quichua into the written standard Unified Kichwa has been a significant priority and achievement for Quichua-speaking teachers and activists. In the 1980s and 1990s, they held various meetings to decide on a standardized form of the language for use in politics and bilingual education. By 2008, Quichua (as *Kichwa*) and Chicham (as *Shuar*) were included in the constitution as official languages of intercultural communication (Limerick 2017; Wroblewski 2012; Becker 2010). For many activists, educators,

---

[41] For examples comparing Ecuador with Bolivia and Peru see Durston and Mannheim 2018; Haboud and Limerick 2017; Howard 2007; Hornberger and King 1996, 1998; see also Mannheim 1998, 1991.

[42] Montaluisa (2018, 268) notes that this department was initially named the *Dirección de Educación Indígena Intercultural Bilingüe* when it was created in 1988 but was renamed to remove "Indígena" in 1992.

and a growing class of bilingual Quichua speakers living in urban areas, unification through language standardization has lent ideological strength to the language.

Serious debate about how to write Quichua first emerged in Ecuador in the early 1970s, though these discussions are inseparable from broader orthographic developments in the Andean region. For most of colonial history, Quichua was written according to the orthography of Spanish. In Ecuador, missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) continued the practice of using Spanish orthographic conventions to write texts in regional dialects of Quichua, as they saw Quichua-language education and literacy as a transitional step towards the ultimate goal of literacy in Spanish (Howard 2007; Montaluisa 2018; Limerick 2017; French 2003). However, as Limerick shows, the continuation of this practice in Ecuador ran counter to SIL's own orthographic practices, which shifted "from [using] the Spanish alphabet to more 'scientific' alphabets for writing in Indigenous languages" (2017, 110). As more SIL missionaries began to formally study linguistics, they increasingly promoted a unified writing system for Quechua, based in the norms of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Indeed, their 1944 "Unified System for Quechua and Aymara" was the basis with minor modifications for Peru's official Quechua alphabet. After its adoption in 1954 as an international standard for Quechua, it was this alphabet that "made official in the Andes the *k*" (Limerick 2017, 111), a grapheme that has inspired considerable debate in Ecuador.

Although SIL missionaries in Ecuador continued to utilize regionally-influenced, Spanish-derived orthographies for writing Quichua, in the 1970s, Ecuadorian academics and their activist allies began to experiment with unifying Quichua's orthography. Montaluisa traces orthographic unification in Ecuador to the work of Consuelo Yánez within the Instituto de Lenguas y Lingüística (Institute for Languages and Linguistics) at the Pontifica Universidad

Católica del Ecuador (PUCE). Grounded in studies of the phonology of northern and central

highland Quichua, new, unified systems for writing Quichua were developed through the Centro

de Investigaciones para la Educación Indígena (CIEI – Research Center for Indigenous

Education). These new systems included the *k*, which Limerick indicates "was taken from

regional efforts to write Quechua in unified ways" (2017, 112) and attempted to establish

Ecuadorian Quichua as part of an international pan-Andean movement. Throughout this period,

however, various literacy programs and orthographies competed in Ecuador. In 1979, the

Ecuadorian government initiated a national Quichua literacy campaign, necessitating the

development of a unified system for writing in Quichua (Montaluisa 2018, 294).

The first official attempt to standardize Quichua was carried out in 1980. In various

meetings that included representatives from the SIL, PUCE, and Indigenous organizations, a

standardized orthography for Quichua was developed. Unlike the system advocated by the CIEI,

however, the orthographic system adopted in the 1980s and used until 1998 for the production of

national pedagogical materials, retained some elements of Spanish orthography, such as *qu, c,*

and *j*, and did not include the graphemes *k* or *w*. While this orthography initially also included

the letters *b, d, g, f*—which are often used to represent regional variation in obstruent

phonemes—they were later retained only for Spanish loanwords (Montaluisa 2018, 297). The

1980 alphabet ultimately included 21 letters (Montaluisa 2018, 297; Limerick 2017, 104):

<center>*<a, c, ch, h, i, j, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, qu, r, s, sh, t, ts, u, y, z>*</center>

<center>*Table 2.1 1980 Unified alphabet*</center>

The 1980 orthography was further revised at meetings in 1998, and formally adopted in

an accord by DINIEB in 2004. Montaluisa argues that support for a more unified orthography

grew as increasing numbers of bilingual teachers were trained in programs that included

linguistic theory, while adult literacy programs also included orthographic and linguistic training.

Such programs, alongside the growth of pan-Indigenous politics in Ecuador, Montaluisa argues, "contributed to make Indigenous leaders aware of the need for a unified writing system" (2018, 301). The orthography adopted by DINEIB in 2004 included the new graphemes *k* and *w*, and reduced the alphabet to 18 letters by removing *c*, *j*, *qu*, *ts*, and *z* (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2009, 12):[43]

< a, ch, h, i, k, l, ll, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, sh, t, u, w, y>

Table 2.2 2004 Unified alphabet

With its reduced inventory of graphemes, Unified Kichwa's writing system standardized phonology and morphology through a "deep orthography" (Limerick 2017), in which numerous regional variations in pronunciation are attached to a single grapheme.

As alluded to above, one of the most salient features of language standardization has been the replacement of Spanish orthographic *qu* with *k*, leading to the new official designation in Ecuador of *Kichwa*. The grapheme *k* also illustrates some of the difficulties of the standard's deep orthography, given the variable realization of the phonemes linked to the grapheme *k* throughout Ecuador. Limerick's recent discussion of the fraught history of language standardization is illustrative of these difficulties. He describes an interview with a speaker from an unidentified region that is suggestive of a phonological difference that is widely thought to be lost in Ecuador. The speaker describes, "For example, the *k* united the *g*, the *c*, and the *q*. The three letters are fused. With those three letters, there were vocabulary differences that weren't related to allophones. They were different meanings. It's not the same to say *killa* and *jilla* because *killa* is 'moon' and *jilla* is "laziness"" (2017, 113). Although Limerick does not elaborate on this example, it is suggestive because in Southern Peruvian Quechua and other

---

[43] The graphemes *ts*, *z*, and *zh* are used for "pre-Kichwa" words (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2009, 12)

varieties, there is a distinction between stops with velar /k/ and uvular /q/ place of articulation, leading to a distinction between *killa* 'moon' and *qilla* 'laziness.' This distinction is widely thought to have been lost in Ecuadorian Quichua, and, is often seen (e.g. Torero 1964; Adelaar 2013) as a diagnostic feature of the Ecuadorian branch of Quechua. In Napo, I also found a possible distinction between the velar stop /k/ and what might be a velar or uvular fricative in the minimal pairs [iki] 'sap, tears' and [ixi] 'grasshopper,' as well as between the words [chaka] 'bridge' and [chaxa] 'opossum.'[44] Unified Kichwa also incorporates many neologisms intended to replace Spanish loanwords, while it erases much regional vocabulary related to the lowland environment, which is not shared with highland Quichua (Grzech 2017; Grzech, Schwarz, and Ennis 2019). Detailed, comparative, collaborative analyses of the lexicon and phonology of different varieties will thus be an important step to providing an accurate linguistic history of the Quechuan languages spoken in Ecuador, as well as for understanding the role of language variation in local regimes of value.[45] Table 2.3 highlights some of the significant sounds in Upper Napo Quichua represented by the grapheme *<k>* of Unified Kichwa:

k	Upper Napo Quichua form	Unified Kichwa form	translation
[g]	*chagra*	*chakra*	'swidden garden'
	-guna	*-kuna*	plural suffix
[Ø]	*-una/-wna*	*-kuna*	plural suffix
	-u-/-w-	*-ku-*	continuative suffix
	ana	*kana*	'to be'
[x]	*kwintax (Sp.)*	*willak*	'teller'

---

[44] Likewise, in much speech of Upper Napo Quichua, the agentive written as *-k* in Unified Kichwa is often realized as a glottal stop (miku'una eat-AG-PLU 'they were were eaters') or as a (possibly velar) fricative '*mikujuna'* - the preferred spelling in the phonetically influenced orthographic system of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. In SPQ, the agentive is a uvular stop -q. Detailed acoustic phonetics of lowland Quichua will be an important step to resolving such questions.

[45] There has been an increasing interest in detailed phonological studies of Ecuadorian Quichua, including Stewart 2018 on vowel perception in Imbabura Quichua, Kohlberger 2010 on stops and affricates in Cotopaxi Quichua, and O'Rourke and Swanson 2013 on Tena Quichua phonology.

-ngawa	*-nkapak*	purposive suffix
-ngax		

Table 2.3 Possible phonetic realizations of orthographic <k> in Upper Napo Quichua

As this chart indicates, standardization of the orthography of Quichua has also taken place

alongside standardization of morphology and lexicon in pedagogical materials for use in

bilingual education and literacy programs. For instance, the Unified purposive suffix *-nkapak*, is

realized as both [*ngawa*] and [*ngax*] by speakers in Napo. In his dialectal survey, Montaluisa

(2018) proposes that *-ngawa* is used in the southern dialect area of lowland Quichua, while *-ngak*

is used in the Tena region. However, I have found both of these forms in use by the same

speakers (see AMUPAKIN 2017) in the Tena-Archidona region; further analysis is thus needed

to clarify the use and distribution of these morphemes.

Given levels of institutional and community support, alongside a still large population of

fluent speakers, the situation in Ecuador might seem more hopeful than those of many minority

languages around the world. Indeed, it is important to highlight how many people continue to

speak Quichua in Napo, and how many more are recuperating it, given very recent

discriminatory practices against speakers of Indigenous languages throughout Ecuador. Yet, due

to ongoing patterns of language shift towards Spanish in Napo, it is also worth examining the

effects that language revitalization projects are having on the ground. As Howard observed, "in

Ecuador, the principle of a unified Quechua has been taken to the extreme, with its

implementation somewhat forced onto the spoken and not only the written language" (Howard

2007, Paragraph 327). [46] Confirming other studies in the region (Wroblewski 2012; K. A. King

2001; Howard 2007) my research suggests that bilingual educators in Napo have helped develop

---

[46] Original Spanish quote: "En el Ecuador se ha llevado al extremo el principio de un quechua unificado, con su implantación algo forzada en el lenguaje hablado, no solamente escrito."

a formal, public register, which draws upon features of Unified Kichwa and regional Upper Napo Quichua, as well as forms that are bivalent (Woolard 1998b) between Unified Kichwa and neighboring varieties. Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of resistance by members of other publics, who align with regional forms of speech.

In attempting to establish a new, unified public of Quichua speakers in Ecuador by standardizing the language's orthography, purifying it of Spanish loanwords, and transferring these norms to the spoken code, language planners and activists have largely normalized Highland varieties of Quichua for the pan-Kichwa standard, which are further regimented for use in Spanish-language institutional settings, such as government and school, rather than the intimate familial spaces many contemporary speakers of Upper Napo Quichua associated with language in use, deeply connected to the "words our ancestors left behind." As I will detail later, ideologies of linguistic unification are often tied to ideas about the relationship between a unified polity or nation and a unified, usually written, language. These, however, may contrast with regional ideologies of social and linguistic belonging. For those without access to bilingual education and literacy programs, particularly elders with limited formal education, the public established by linguistic unification and purification could also be experienced as exclusionary, with forms directed towards particular, ratified participants—a private, rather than public, sphere. Further, for many, linguistic unification has violated deeply held ideologies about the connection between regional forms of speech and the reproduction of social personhood and cultural knowledge. In turn, these debates have significant implications for the publics hailed by the forms of speech used in different media which circulate in Napo.

2.4 The register of Upper Napo Quichua radio media

Many of the hosts of Quichua-language programs broadcast from Tena and Archidona are strongly aligned with the use of regional varieties of Quichua on the air. Hosts often imagine their audience as rural and elderly speakers, and thus claim that their listeners will not understand if they hear Unified Kichwa on the air. However, many acknowledged that they walk a difficult line between appeasing members of their audience most comfortable with regional forms of speech and those aligned with linguistic purism and unification. For instance, Gloria Grefa, host of the morning and evening Quichua-language shows broadcast on the Catholic Josephine Mission's station La Voz de Napo sometimes received messages from listeners criticizing her speech. One listener, for instance, wrote by text message—using an orthography that mixed standardized spellings and local phonetic realizations—to correct her description of a cellphone as *"celular muku"* [Sp. cellular, Qu. junction/joint] on the air, and suggested that she use the neologism "willilli" instead. This form, however, does not appear in the Unified Kichwa dictionary (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2009) distributed by the Ministry of Education and written by coordinators from the Direction of Intercultural Bilingual Education. It is likely derived from the verb *willana* 'to tell, to inform'—a neologism drawn from other varieties re-introduced to replace the Spanish-derived *kwintana* 'to tell, to converse'—semantically extended to replace *celular*. Like Gloria, the other hosts of the four Quichua-language programs with whom I worked regularly faced dilemmas and criticism due to language choice.

Despite Michael Wroblewski's earlier observation (2012, 2014) that broadcast media have been one of the main sites for the transmission of an oral register of Unified Kichwa, I encountered a great deal of opposition to the oral enregisterment of Unified Kichwa in radio media. Indeed, even Spanish-speaking owners and managers of radio stations in Tena are well

aware of the debates surrounding the use of regional or standardized varieties. In interviews, many emphasized that their Quichua-speaking audiences want *kichwa de aquí* 'local Quichua.' Similar to radio hosts, station managers imagined their audiences as aligned with regional varieties of Quichua. Indeed, "other" varieties of Quichua could be highly marked for listeners.

Listeners in Archidona and Tena, for instance, pick up the signal from the Radio Jatari, a Quichua-language, community-licensed[47] radio station broadcast from Arajuno in neighboring Pastaza province. In contrast to many Napo radio programs, the hosts of Radio Jatari consistently utilize a broadcast register incorporating highly standardized forms in their programming. In turn, their speech often elicited commentary in the households where I studied uptake of radio shows. For instance, one morning, upon hearing the Radio Jatari announcer say "aswakunata upyachinchi" (we serve manioc beer to drink), my host Serafina Grefa repeated the phrase, "'aswakunata upyachinchi' nin" 'he says, "we serve manioc beer to drink."' When I queried her on its meaning, she emphasized that in her variety it is said differently:

1   *aswa* ni-nun,   ñukanchi *asa* ni-nchi.
      aswa say-3PL 1PL   *asa* say-1PL
      'They say *aswa*, we say *asa*.'
2   *asa*-ra   upi-chi-ychi   ni-nchi ñukanchi rima-nchi,
      asa-ACC drink-CAUS-2PL.IMP say-1PL 1PL   speak-1PL
      'In our speech, we say "serve *asa* to drink."'
3   pay-guna-ga   *aswa*-kuna-ta upi-chi-ra-ychi   ni-nun
      3-PL=TOP   asa-PL-ACC drink-CAUS-do-2PL.IMP say-3PL
      'They, on the other hand, say "serve *aswa* to drink"'

Serafina's commentary points to a number of perceived differences between local speech and that of the host on Radio Jatari, though I am careful to note that she does not identify his speech

---

[47] The 2013 Communications Law divides the airwaves into public, commercial, and community frequencies. 34% of the airwaves are reserved for community-directed stations. However, in practice, it has proved exceedingly difficult for communities to receive approval for their community frequencies. During my fieldwork in Napo, there was no dedicated Indigenous community radio station, and all Quichua-language programming was broadcast on publicly or commercially-licensed stations. Fernando Calapucha suggested during our interview that Arajuno had received the license and governmental funding to establish Radio Jatari Kichwa due to disagreements in Napo about whether to place the station in Tena or Archidona.

as Unified Kichwa, rather slotting it into the regional variations of Arajuno. Nevertheless, she identified the speech as distinctly different from "our speech." Most salient seems to be his pronunciation of *aswa,* the drink known in Spanish as *chicha*, a fermented manioc brew that may range from mildly to strongly intoxicating, which is a staple product of many households. In Archidona, syncope of diphthongs is a common phonological process, yielding the form [asa], which contrasts with [aswa], bivalent with both Unified Kichwa and some local varieties of Quichua.[48] Moreover, Serafina demonstrates a high level of metalinguistic awareness about regional variations. She would similarly comment when she heard speakers on the radio using the form *yupaychani*, repeating "*yupaychani*, nin" 's/he says *yupaychani*," which contrasted with her frequent use of *pagrachu*. Thus, in everyday spaces of media reception, the sounds of a standardized broadcast register remain marked for listeners, even when they are not explicitly identified as standardized. The markedness of these forms, in turn, attune us to some of the major debates surrounding language standardization and revitalization ongoing in Ecuador today, a topic to which I return as I conclude this chapter. For now, however, let us turn the dial to listen in more closely to the production and reception of radio and other media in Napo.

2.5 Voices of the Amazon

Radio holds a great deal of linguistic significance in Napo, as well as Ecuador more generally, as it has been one of the most popular, widespread, and inexpensive media technologies in the region. In Napo, Quichua-language radio shows are a well-established feature

---

[48] The form [aswa] is also in use in Archidona, and even Serafina may alternate between the two pronunciations, as she does in another transcript discussed later. Serafina's comments also point to perceived differences between the standardized plural marker -kuna and object marker -ta. For Serafina, plural marking appears to be non-obligatory, while the object marker is realized as -ra. An implicit contrast between the standardized pronunciation of the plural -kuna also emerges from her own voiced realization of the plural as [-guna] in "paygunaga."

in a local mediascape that is nonetheless still dominated by Spanish-language programming. Article 36 of Ecuador's Communications Law enacted in 2013 requires that 5% of daily programming "express and reflect the cosmovision, culture, tradition, knowledge, and wisdom of Indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian, and Montubio communities and nationalities."[49] At stations in Tena, this requirement is often met with Quichua-language music and programming. During my fieldwork, four stations based in Tena— La Voz de Napo [The Voice of Napo], Radio Ideal [Ideal Radio], Radio Arcoíris [Rainbow Radio], and Radio Olímpica [Olympic Radio]— regularly broadcast mixed-format talk-radio and music programs in lowland Quichua. Other stations, such as Radio Fuego [Fire Radio], played automated mixes of lowland Quichua music in the pre-dawn hours when station owners imagine their Quichua audiences to be home and attentive to the radio. Napo's airwaves were also shaped by regional satellites of national, Spanish-language stations such as Radio Canela [Cinnamon Radio], which did not have regular programming in Quichua. While traveling in taxis or passing a store with the radio playing, I would occasionally hear short segments in regional or national varieties of Quichua or other indigenous languages, such as Chicham or Wao Tededo. However, such segments were irregular and unpredictable, minimizing their role in establishing a regular receptive public. In contrast, it was daily programs such as *Mushuk Ñampi* and stations such as La Voz de Napo to which my interlocutors regularly tuned their radios in the early mornings when they drank infusions of *wayusa* and in the evenings while they ate a light supper or drank mildly fermented *aswa*.

---

[49] Text from http://www.supercom.gob.ec/es/defiende-tus-derechos/conoce-tu-ley/223-art-36-derecho-a-la-comunicacion-intercultural-y-plurinacional

Since approximately the 1960s, alongside other forms of infrastructure, Western technologies of mediation have come to play an increasing role in Napo. The earliest two-way radios in Napo were used by Josephine missionaries to communicate between Tena and more distant settlements (see also Macdonald 1979). This point-to-point communicative infrastructure eventually grew into the Catholic Josephine radio station, La Voz de Napo 'The Voice of Napo,' which was founded as a short-wave station in 1970, as reliable hydroelectric energy was just arriving in Tena (Spiller 1979). La Voz de Napo acquired an AM (amplitude modulation) frequency in 1998 and began transmitting as an FM (frequency modulation) station in 2010. The station's current range throughout Napo, Pastaza, and Orellana provinces is further extended to national and international audiences by simultaneous online transmission. Listeners may thus call in from communities around Amazonian Ecuador, as well as more distant regions in the highlands and coast, though Napo is the most well-represented province among their listenership. The station's more distant listeners were generally residents of Napo who had moved for work or school, and who called in or wrote over Facebook to request songs and send messages to their families still in Napo.

La Voz de Napo regularly broadcasts two programs in Quichua: in the morning, a show loosely called "wayusa upina" '*wayusa* drinking' broadcast between 5 and 6 a.m., and in the evening, from 6 to 8 p.m. a "runa shimira rimana" 'Quichua-language' program, the rest of their programming is in Spanish. Both Quichua programs are predominantly hosted by Gloria Grefa, a Quichua-speaker from the Talag region to the east of Tena. Gloria was in her early twenties during my fieldwork. Although she had been born in Napo, Gloria had been raised for part of her childhood and adolescence by a Spanish-speaking foster family in the capital city of Quito. She

once described to me how she continued to read the Catholic *Devocionario Quichua* while she was living in Quito, helping her to maintain her understanding and use of Quichua. After returning to Napo to reconnect with her natal family, Gloria had worked as a volunteer and apprentice at La Voz de Napo. Between 2013 and 2015, she worked in the communications department of the provincial government of Napo as a translator and media professional. In 2015, after her two-year government contract ended, she returned to take a paid position at La Voz de Napo as their Quichua-language radio host.

Before dawn each day, and well past dark each evening, in a second-floor studio in a building next to Tena's central San Jose Cathedral, Gloria would sit in front of the computer used to manage the radio program, fielding phone calls and texts messages from her listening audience, while she queued up songs, and spoke lovingly into the microphone. Gloria had a high, clear voice that some listeners would describe as *mishki* 'sweet,' though others might comment that she had a *llaki* 'sad' tone to her voice, a descriptor that often evokes the pain of love and empathy. Nevertheless, she saw her job at the radio in terms of the affective labor of bringing joy (*kushiyachina*) to her listeners with both her voice and song, as well as providing words of counsel (*kamachina*) about religion and significant cultural practices like drinking *aswa* and *wayusa*, speaking in *runa shimi*, and respecting one's elders. Although a fluent speaker of Upper Napo Quichua (alongside Spanish), Gloria's speech is also influenced by the extended period she had spent in the highlands, her work in government settings, as well as the orthography of the Quichua texts with which she interacts on the air. Like other radio hosts, Gloria must mediate between the expectations of her audience who align with standardized forms of speech, as well as those of her regional audience. She thus sometimes uses standardized forms, such as the

71

neologism *mashi* 'friend/co-worker,' but also told me that on the air she imagines she is speaking with her family, using forms of speech that are recognizable to them.

While Gloria is the most frequent host of the Quichua-language programs, an Italian Josephine priest, Padre Mario, also hosts a half-hour long religious segment on Monday nights, during which he spoke in both Spanish and Quichua. Throughout La Voz de Napo's history, priests with some command of Quichua have hosted the programs, frequently assisted by regional Quichua speakers. Listeners in Napo speak fondly of Padre Mario Perin, as well as his predecessor Padre Humberto Dorigatti, one of the earliest hosts of the program, who had arrived in Napo in 1947.[50] Padre Mario, meanwhile, had lived in Napo since his arrival in 1966. Only a few contemporary priests seem to have learned Quichua, and it was thus uncommon in Archidona for priests to carry out mass or other services in Quichua.

La Voz de Napo's programming focuses on religious education, local and (inter)national news, messages, and religious and popular music. Italian Josephine missionary priests and nuns also recorded a number of Quichua-language devotional songs, such as "María Ñukapa Mama" ['My Mother Maria'], which Gloria plays alongside hits from Upper Napo Quichua groups like Los Playeros Kichwas ['The Kichwa Beachboys'], Patricio Alvarado and his *orquesta* Llaki Shungu ['Loving/Sad Heart'], or Kambak ['Yours']. Gloria regularly uses her platform to discuss linguistic and cultural change, but the focus of her shows, particularly those in the evening, is the reading of prayers from the *Devocionario Quichua*, as well as the daily gospel and passages from the Bible in Spanish that she simultaneously translates into Quichua on the air. La Voz de Napo is also an important site for both local organizations and regional listeners to

---

[50] I attempted to interview Padre Humberto in September 2016 at the retirement home where he resided in Archidona but found that he was no longer capable of participating in interviews at his advanced age. He died in February 2017, an event which I and others in Chawpishungu learned about on the radio.

transmit messages. Gloria always has a large stack of papers for her segments of *yachachina* ['news' or 'announcements']—personal or organizational messages and announcements that had been dropped off by listeners, as well as announcements from the municipal and regional government. Regardless of the language they were originally written in, Gloria generally translated these items into Quichua. Death announcements of Napo Quichua congregants and catechists are also a significant part of the program, accompanied by prayers for the departed person's soul in purgatory. Like all of the other radio hosts with whom I worked, Gloria keeps a small notebook where she writes the names of people she interacts with in her daily life in Napo, who regularly request a *saludushka shimi* [Qu. 'shout out, literally 'greeting' from Sp. *saludar* 'to greet'] on the radio. And like other Quichua-language radio programs in Napo, Gloria's shows were deeply imbricated in listeners' everyday interactions, as her voice lovingly [ashka llakishkawa] accompanied them in their daily prayers, alerted them to the death of a distant family member, or provided them with energy in the early morning hours.

2.5.2 Radio Olímpica

Listeners turning the dial on their radio between 5 and 6 a.m. might find both Upper Napo Quichua and Spanish in use on the program *Antisuyu Ushay/Poder Amazónico* [Amazonian Power]*,* hosted by Fernando "Disco" Calapucha and Jacobo Andi, both in their fifties during my fieldwork. The program was broadcast from the *barrio* Dos Rios in Tena, in the ground floor of an unassuming home that had been converted into the studio and offices of the radio station, while the station owner occupied the back rooms of the house and rented out the apartments above. At the start of my fieldwork, Radio Olímpica also had an evening Quichua-language program entitled *Wasima Tigrashun* [Qu. 'Let's Return Home'], which focused on messages and music. However, Napo's mediascape is ephemeral and constantly shifting, and

shortly after I began research, this program was cut from the schedule for lack of advertising revenue. Later, *Antisuyu Ushay* was also cut for lack of funding, though Jacobo and Fernando eventually returned to the air with a new evening program on Radio Olímpica. During my fieldwork, neither received a wage for their work at the radio, "regalando" [Sp. 'gifting'] their time to the owner of the private station that broadcast their program, while they supported themselves and their families through their regular jobs at the Municipio de Tena.

While the hosts of other Quichua-language programs largely seemed to imagine their audience as comprised of Quichua-dominant elders and families listening in the rural countryside, the hosts of *Antisuyu Ushay* spoke more explicitly to a bilingual, urban public. As Jacobo described, the program above all was intended to "valorize" the language for those living in the city or nearby who "did not want to know Quichua nor the majority of our practices." The hosts switched regularly between the phatic use of Upper Napo Quichua messages and music to frame the program, and informational content in Spanish, which they often summarized in Quichua. Their programs shared a focus with others in Napo on Quichua music (though they also played Spanish-language music, which was uncommon on the other programs where I worked), *mensajes* sent in as text messages or via Facebook (usually written in Spanish), local and national news, *consejos del buen vivir* (Sp. 'advice for good living'), and *cuentos y leyendas* (Sp. 'stories and legends')[51] of the region, which they worried were being "forgotten." They also saw the radio as an important means to raise the "self-esteem" [Sp. *autoestima*] of Quichua speakers in the area. Although the program is bilingual, Fernando also hopes that the greater use of Quichua on the program will "influence" [Sp. *incidir*] listeners and contribute to the revalorization of the language, in the face of the social and economic pressure to learn global

---

[51] Although Fernando and Jacobo, as well as hosts like Rita and James, would sometimes frame Napo Quichua stories in Spanish as "leyendas," I will show in coming chapters that this was a designation with which not all of my interlocutors agreed.

languages like Spanish or English. They frequently used translation from Quichua to Spanish, or Spanish to Quichua, for instance in telling the time or in transmitting messages to and from their listeners, to model the fluent use of both languages together, while emphasizing that Quichua belonged on the airwaves as much as Spanish.

Jacobo and Fernando were in their early and late fifties during my fieldwork and their personal backgrounds are illustrative of the social setting of contemporary settler colonialism in the region. Jacobo was from a rural community a number of hours travel by foot and boat from Tena. His parents had married when his mother was 12 and his father was 14, and together had gone to work on a *hacienda* for a *pata* (Qu. from Sp. *patron* 'land owner'). As a child, Jacobo's mother had sent him to Tena to live with the *patrona* of the *hacienda*, a woman named Blanca Spencer, "in order to learn proper morals" like politeness [Sp. *educación*] and respect [Sp. *respeto*]. It was during this three-month period with the *patrona* that Jacobo was first introduced to electric light, amplified music, and cars. Fernando, meanwhile, was from a Tena Quichua family, and had watched Tena expand from a missionary town surrounded by Indigenous settlements to a bustling frontier city, a history he would remark upon when we walked together through town. He had learned Quichua as his first language at home. However, at three and a half years of age, his family had placed him in an *internado*, a boarding school run by nuns. Yet, as he claimed, he had "never forgotten Quichua," even after six years in a Spanish language boarding school, which he attributed to his early exposure in his family.

Despite shared experiences of social domination within the Spanish-speaking settler colonial system, Fernando and Jacobo disagreed somewhat on the role of parents in teaching Quichua to their children. Fernando emphasized the importance of early childhood education in Quichua, while Jacobo was more supportive of the idea that parents teach their children Spanish

75

from a young age. As he argued, in his own case, when he had learned Spanish, he spoke it

"badly" [Sp. *mal hablado*] which caused his interlocutors to laugh at him. The concern that

children will speak Spanish with an accent or with other markers that it is their second language

is often supplied as a reason to explicitly teach them Spanish as children, even if parents are not

themselves fluent speakers. Like many parents I encountered, Jacobo was supportive of efforts to

help young children learn Spanish, which he saw as a necessity for contemporary life in Napo.

The bilingual format of their radio program responded to some of these tensions surrounding the

dual role of Quichua and Spanish in Napo, particularly among their imagined listening public.

Like other radio hosts with whom I worked, Fernando and Jacobo also had a history of

interaction with Kichwa Unificado, which further shaped their speech on the program. The

owner of Radio Olímpica, like other station managers in the area, was aware of the debates

surrounding regional and standardized forms of Quichua and insisted that his local listening

audience wanted "local Quichua." In turn, "local Quichua" was the most common register

employed on *Antisuyu Ushay* program. Although conversant with the norms of Unified Kichwa

due to their involvement in politics, both opted generally to speak regional Upper Napo Quichua

on the program. Fernando, in particular, was quite adamant in his opposition to Unified Kichwa,

which he claimed was not in his nature to use.[52] For instance, while visiting the program one

morning early in my fieldwork, I tried out the Unified Kichwa term *kitilli* 'parish,' a word I had

picked up in my work among the hosts of other programs, while sending *saludos* to listeners

around Napo, Fernando then corrected me on the air, using a distinctly regional code, which

included the characteristic reduction of the locative *-pi* to *-i* on *llaktai* 'in the town.'

---

[52] Spanish original: "no [lo] utilize por naturaleza."

GE: Ashka llakishkawa shu saludanara kachana munani, ñuka mashiguna La Libertad purama, chimanda Sabata llaktai no? Archidona purama, tukuy ñukanchi katikunara Tena **kitillii** Archidona **kitillii** alli tutamanda nisha.
FC: Ñukanchi rimanchi 'Archidona **llaktai**, Tena **llaktai**, Cotundo llaktai, tukuy **llaktai**,' bueno.

*GE: I want to send a loving greeting to my friends near La Libertad, then in the town of Sabata, no? near Archidona, saying good morning to all of our listeners in the **parish** of Tena, in the **parish**[53] of Archidona.*
*FC: We say, 'in the **town** of Archidona, in the **town** of Tena, in the **town** of Cotundo, all 'in the **town**' [llaktai],' okay.*

Soon after, when we were speaking off the air during a musical interlude, Fernando revealed that he had argued fiercely with some of the main academic architects of Unified Kichwa regarding the introduction of neologisms and had been told that 'he was not Quichua enough' due to his lack of support for the project of unification. In a later interview, Fernando emphasized that he saw clear differences between the Quichua spoken in the *sierra*, widely associated in Napo with the norms of Unified Kichwa, and Amazonian Quichua, particularly in terms of phonology. He argued, "Amazonian Quichua it its own identity, which can't be compared with the Quichua of all of the highlands." Yet, like other hosts I met, Fernando and Jacobo might also adjust their speech to their interlocutors, sometimes using a more standardized register of speech when they interacted with guests who hewed more closely to standardized forms. Their speech on air might also include other, somewhat less contentious neologisms, particularly *mashi*, which is now common in the broader the discourse of both Spanish and Quichua-language politics in Ecuador.

Fernando and Jacobo's history of involvement with radio media is also illustrative of the ways that radio has been used for development projects in the region, which have coincided with a broader emphasis on the use of media to "give voice" (Fisher 2016) to marginalized peoples around the globe. Although they traced their history of involvement with the radio to 2004, when they briefly had a program together on Radio Arcoíris, Fernando emphasized that 2005 was the

---

[53] Although Fernando could be correcting a mislabeling of a political division. However, all of the areas I listed may also defined as *parroquía* in Spanish, while Fernando's addition of Cotundo is another *parroquía* within the *canton* of Archidona.

year that their program was born, when the Spanish NGO Ayuda en Acción [Help in Action] arrived in Napo.[54] According to Fernando, one of the NGO's primary strategies to propel regional development was through radio programming. Fernando and Jacobo thus hosted a program called *La Llave del Futuro* [Sp. 'The Key for the Future'], which dealt with health, education (particularly language), political organization, regional economic development, and agriculture. In the intervening years, as their programs have come and gone at different stations according to the availability of ever-shifting sources of funding, they have added cultural change and environmental conservation to the major themes of their program. Fernando thus describes their program in terms of a widespread, international ideology of the positive potentialities of community media to develop and shape the awareness of their listening audience around major social issues (Powdermaker 1962), with a particular emphasis on linguistic and cultural shift.

2.5.3 Mushuk Ñampi (Radio Ideal and Radio Arcoíris)

The Quichua-language radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path' first arrived on Napo's airwaves in July of 2015. Unlike other Quichua-language radio shows where I conducted research, the program *Mushuk Ñampi* was not produced by an established radio station. Rather, it was funded, produced, and broadcast by the Municipality of Archidona. In fact, the small, majority Quichua town of Archidona did not have any established radio stations, as all of Napo's stations were located in the capital of Tena, some 10 kilometers to the east.[55] The Municipality of Archidona's Department of Communications thus partnered with two stations in Tena, the commercially-licensed station Radio Arcoíris and the community-licensed station Radio Ideal, to

---

[54] Although Ayuda en Acción remains active in other regions of Ecuador, they no longer appear to support projects in Napo.
[55] Archidona did not have a radio station during my fieldwork, but Fernando and Jacobo described working at a station, Radio Lider, in Archidona during the period Ayuda en Acción was active in Napo. The mediascape in Napo, however, shifts frequently. During my fieldwork, the Municipio de Archidona had begun the process of acquiring the license for a public radio frequency, but this project has yet to come to fruition.

broadcast their program, with a reach that included Napo, as well as the neighboring provinces of

Orellana and Pastaza.[56] The program is also simultaneously live-broadcast on Facebook,

affording its daily archival online, as well as a further channel of communication between the

radio hosts and listeners, as those with computers or mobile phones might also comment on the

show on Facebook during the live-broadcast, or send messages to the hosts via their individual

accounts. One morning, for instance, the mayor of Archidona commented on Facebook during

the broadcast that *ukuy*, the flying reproductive queens of leaf-cutter ant (*Atta* spp.) colonies,

were leaving their nests. James then relayed this information on the air, causing those I was

listening with to run outside to search for the plump, winged ants, which are a seasonal delicacy,

served steamed in a leaf wrap or toasted in a lightly-oiled pan until crisp. A short time after one

of my companions told someone we passed on the street that she had heard on the radio that the

ukuy were leaving their nests. These kinds of events underscore the dialogic relationship between

Upper Napo Quichua radio programs and their listening public.

When the show was launched, its two twenty-something co-hosts, Rita Tunay and James

Yumbo pre-recorded the program to be broadcast between 4 and 6 a.m. when many families

listen to the radio. Soon after, however, they switched to a live-broadcast format, due to audience

response. Listeners frequently attempted to contact the hosts during the show in order to request

saluduguna (Qu. from Sp. 'greetings, shout outs') or *mensajes* (Sp. 'messages')—as we have

seen, an extremely popular feature of all Quichua-language radio programming in Napo. The

show's mestizo director, Dario Lopez, however, would sometimes comment that *Mushuk Ñampi*

---

[56] *Mushuk Ñampi* was the primary Quichua-language program broadcast both by Radio Ideal and Radio Arcoíris. During my fieldwork, there was sometimes a Quichua-language broadcast on the community-licensed Radio Ideal on Sunday evenings, though I did not encounter any listeners of the program among my interlocutors. In addition to transmitting *Mushuk Ñampi*, the commercial station Radio Arcoíris also frequently broadcast the audio from Quichua beauty pageants, though I likewise did not encounter my interlocutors listening to these broadcasts. In Ecuador, the airwaves are divided between "commercial" (privately owned), "public" (governmental), and "community" (generally religious and Indigenous organizations) [CITATION??].

sought to be more than the other popular Quichua-language radio programs, with a focus on content beyond personal *mensajes* and music. Nevertheless, the demand for dialogic response between radio hosts and listeners led the production team to broadcast the program live each morning, while *saluduguna* directed to specific listeners were a significant genre on the air..

Each morning, Rita Tunay and James Yumbo would arrive a few minutes before—and sometimes a few minutes after—4 a.m. at the Municipal building in Archidona. The overnight security guard would open the doors as we arrived, often still heavy with sleep—James on a motorcycle from the small house nearby where he rented a room alone, Rita on her bicycle from the one-room apartment a few blocks away that she sometimes shared with her parents when they visited from the rural community where their agricultural land is, and me, in a taxi from neighboring Tena, where I rented an apartment.[57] Both Rita and James were regular employees of the Municipio's Department of Communications, with Rita serving as a secretary and communication's professional, while James edited photo, audio, and video for promotional materials. Like Gloria, both received a salary for their labor at the radio and in the communications department, helping to establish Quichua-language broadcasting and media production as a viable career path for young people in the area.[58]

The content of the program was largely directed by its two Quichua-speaking hosts, with oversight by Dario, as well as by Jaime Shiguango, the Quichua-speaking mayor of Archidona between 2014 and 2019. Although a lifelong resident of Amazonian Ecuador, Dario had not learned Quichua, and he would sometimes reflect that—as a *gringa*—my own abilities in

---

[57] Although I looked into renting an apartment in Archidona, there were few furnished options available during my fieldwork. Indeed, the only furnished home I found in Archidona was a large multibedroom house with a jaguar skin pinned prominently to the living room wall. The home had previously been rented to oil workers, and I did not find it suitable for my needs. I thus opted to live in the larger town of Tena, where I was able to rent a small, semi-furnished apartment.

[58] After my fieldwork ended in 2017, James left the *municipio* and established his own media production company working with Upper Napo Quichua musical groups. Rita, meanwhile, was elected Vice-Prefect of Napo in 2019, very likely bolstered by her widespread popularity on the radio.

Quichua put him and other white municipal employees to shame. He thus took a great deal of direction and input from the Quichua-speaking hosts of the program. James, for instance, suggested that they include a segment of *asichina* (Qu. 'humor/jokes,' literally, 'to cause laughter'). Although Dario was initially skeptical, they had very positive audience response to the inclusion of this segment. Joking is an extremely important genre of face-to-face communication in Napo, as Quichua-speakers, both men and women, delight in telling narratives of how a man received his *burla shuti* ['nickname,' but literally 'joking name'], and—with much less frequency on the radio—ribald *uchu shimi* (literally 'spicy words'), jokes focusing on sexual humor. During an interview, Dario likewise emphasized that while he provided technical direction and production help, *Mushuk Ñampi* was a "programa de ellos" [Sp. 'their own program'] with a "base comunitario" [Sp. 'community basis]. He thus argued that the program had ceased to simply belong to the *municipio,* but rather had come to belong to the people of Archidona, who shaped the program's content and often participated actively in its production.

Unlike other stations with dedicated, professional studios, *Mushuk Ñampi* was first produced in a narrow storage closet at the back of a small office that housed the communication's department. As the program's popularity grew, and the Municipio engaged in greater media production, the recording studio was moved from the small closet to a larger office (albeit also a former storage room). The room was decorated with print outs of the days of the week, months of the year, and numbers in Quichua, which are commonly discussed using Spanish loan words.[59] Promotional photos from cultural events, as well as pamphlets and flyers were also taped to the wall. On a window leading into the hallway, a small sign on the window

---

[59] I was unable to determine the providence of the terms chosen for days of the week and months. They do not coincide with the Unified Kichwa dictionary (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2009), and hew much more closely to Amazonian designations, such as the denomination of October as *Ukuy* ['Flying leaf-cutter ant'] in reference to the season when the ants emerge.

displayed the name of the program, *Mushuk Ñampi*, alongside a photo of a microphone and headphones, with an accompanying text in Spanish that described the mission of the program: "We are concerned with the sustainable development of our Canton. Our programming seeks to recuperate [*rescatar*] the identity, language, gastronomy, and customs of an entire people." While other hosts might include linguistic and cultural revitalization as a topic or theme of their program, it was one of the most explicit goals of the hosts and producers of *Mushuk Ñampi.*

While Rita sat at one desk, responsible for the much of the talk on the program, her co-host James would sit at a desk across the room from her, managing the computer program that queued songs and other audio recordings. They would often confer with each other, predominantly in Spanish but sometimes in Quichua off the air, while they conversed on the air in Quichua. Although the majority of the program is in Quichua, both James and Rita are also fluent speakers of Spanish, having completed high school and some post-secondary schooling in Spanish-language institutions. Many other Quichua-speaking staff at the Municipio had similar educational experiences, and the Municipio offices were often a Spanish-language space of interaction, though the young staff members would also switch into Quichua to laugh and joke with each other, or to speak with middle-aged and elderly visitors.

The linguistic histories of the hosts shaped the speech of the program in significant ways. Rita is the daughter of two speakers of Upper Napo Quichua from the Archidona region, though they encouraged her to speak only in Spanish. She thus learned Quichua from her grandparents, with whom she spent a great deal of time as a child. She has also interacted with standardized forms of Unified Kichwa through her involvement in beauty pageants, both as a host and as a former contestant. James, meanwhile, was reared in a bi-dialectal household with a complex history of movement across Ecuador's Amazonian provinces. He traced his paternal

grandparents' origin to a region at the border of what is currently Pastaza province, in the area around Santa Clara and Arajuno, though his paternal grandfather later moved the family to the Archidona area. His mother's family, meanwhile, were speakers of *uray shimi*, or the Bajo Napo [Lower Napo] variety. He traced their origins to the Rio Payamino, though they had later moved closer to the urban center of Coca. James had spent his early childhood around Coca with his parents, before they moved to the Archidona area. He thus considered his speech to be influenced by two dialects of Quichua—the *uray shimi* of his mother and the Napo *shimi* of his father's family—as well as the *mishu shimi* he spoke almost exclusively with his father. He had also interacted extensively with Unified Kichwa during three years of work and study in the Directorate of Bilingual Education. However, like many in Napo, James identified Kichwa Unificado as "shuk tunu" [Qu. 'another kind']. In addition to a common background with Kichwa Unificado, both Rita and James had been encouraged by their parents to learn and speak in Spanish. Having learned Quichua with her grandparents during her childhood, Rita was already a fairly strong speaker of Upper Napo Quichua, while James was actively recuperating his use of spoken Quichua through his work on the program. Both, however, were evaluated by fluent elder listeners as making "some mistakes," [*pandana*], or as speaking "his/her own way" [*paywa tunu*], though my interlocuters usually demurred from more explicit critiques. As I will discuss in coming chapters, while both James and Rita also explicitly supported the maintenance and recuperation of Upper Napo Quichua, their speech was sometimes also shaped by an emergent standard register of Unified Kichwa, as well as forms that are bivalent with other dialectal regions in the Ecuadorian Amazon.

Like the very speech of its hosts, *Mushuk Ñampi* is a complex, multivocal radio show, which incorporates various kinds of programming, as well as different speakers. The show may

be divided into two kinds of programming—their regular, daily programs, and their monthly

live-broadcasts of the *wayusa upina*, a sketch of which began this chapter. Both their daily and

monthly programs follow a script (Sp. *guión*), which was written in Spanish, and which guided

the action of the program. The script, however, often served more as a guide than its strict

minute-by-minute organization might suggest, as community leaders and residents of Archidona

would frequently stop by the show unplanned in order to make an announcement and would

often stay for a short interview on the air. Below, I reproduce and translate into English the first

page of the script for the program broadcast on May 9, 2017:

GUION TECNICO DEL PROGRAMA RADIAL MUSHUK ÑAMPY EN VIVO

TEMAS:	Institucional
LOCUTORES:	2 JAMES Y RITA
# PROGRAMA:	89
SECCIONES:	
FECHA DE TRANSMISION:	09/05/2017 (miércoles)
GENERO:	Programación Kichwa
HORARIO DE TRANSMISION:	LUNES A VIERNES 4:30AM A 6:00 AM.
DURACION:	90 MINUTOS

HORA	Nº minuto	OPERADOR	DETALLE	TIEMPO	INVITADOS
	Minutos	SECCIÓN 1			
04H00	0	Cortina de entrada	Intro del programa.	50 SEG	
04h01		Espacio Musical	Se reproducirá 1 canción	3 minutos	
04h04		Locutor 1 (RITA) Locutor 2 (JAMES)	ingresamos al programa y enviamos saludos a los oyentes - compartimos información tomadas de los diarios nacionales. - REFORZAMOS EL TEMA ACTIVIDAD DIARIA INSTITUCIONAL TOMADAS DE REDES SOCIALES Y RECORRIDOS	3 minutos	
04h07		Espacio Musical	Se reproducirá 1 canción	3 minutos	Pregrabado
04h11		Segmento cuento	Se reproducirá un audio Comunidad manku	2 minutos	
04h14		Locutor 1 (RITA) Locutor 2 (JAMES)	Regresamos al programa saludando a los oyentes, Dando a conocer los números de contacto y leyendo convocatorias. ✓ BALCON DE SERVICIOS (comisaria municipal) ✓ Reproducimos el audio: Comisaria- Abog. Daniel Díaz-ordenanza de CONSUMO DE ALCOHOL (PERMISO Y USO DE SUELO)GADMA #1 ✓ Traducción del audio anterior en kichwa	2 minutos / 1 minuto / 8 minutos / 2 minutos	
04h27		Espacio Musical	Se reproducirá 1 canción	3min	Pregrabado
04h30			Regresamos al programa saludando a los oyentes, dando a a conocer los números de contacto y leyendo convocatorias. ✓ BALCON DE SERVICIOS (comisaria municipal) ✓ Reproducimos el audio: Comisaria- Abog. Daniel Díaz-ordenanza de CONSUMO DE ALCOHOL (SANCIONES) GADMA #2	2 min / 8 min / 3 min	

Figure 2.1 Mushuk Ñampi program script, May 9, 2017

TECHNICAL SCRIPT OF THE LIVE RADIO PROGRAM MUSHUK ÑAMPI

Themes: **Institutional**
Hosts: **2 JAMES AND RITA**
Program #:   **89**
Sections:
Air date: **05/09/2017 (Wednesday)**
Genre: **Kichwa Programming**
Transmission schedule: **MONDAY TO FRIDAY 4:30 to 6:00 A.M**
Duration: **90 minutes[60]**

HOUR	Minute by #	OPERATOR	DETAIL	TIME	GUESTS
	Minutes	SECTION 1			
04H00	0	Opening bumper	Program intro	50 SEC.	
04H01		Musical Break	1 song will be played	3 minutes	
04H04		Host 1 (Rita) Host 2 (James)	we enter the program and greet the listeners - we share information taken from national news - **WE REINFORCE THE THEME OF DAILY INSTITUIONAL ACTIVITY TAKEN FROM SOCIAL MEDIA AND TOURS** [of the region]	3 minutes	
04H07		**Musical Break**	1 song will be played	**3 minutes**	Prerecorded
04H11		**Story segment**	1 audio clip will be played [from] Comunidad Manku	2 minutes	
04H14		Host 1 (Rita) Host 2 (James)	We return to the program greeting the listeners, Making contact numbers known and reading announcements - **SERVICE COUNTER (municipal office)** - **We replay the audio:** Office- Lawyer Daniel Diaz- order of ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION (PERMISSION AND LAND USE) GADMA[61] #1 - Translation of prior clip to Kichwa	**2 minutes** **1 minute** **8 minutes** **2 minutes**	
04H27		**Musical break**	**1 song will be played**	**3min**	Prerecorded
			We return to the program greeting the listeners, making contact numbers known and reading announcements	**2 min** **8 min**	

---

[60] Although the show has a listed duration of 90 minutes beginning at 4:30 a.m., the full script is for two hours of programming, from 4:00 until 6:00 a.m.
[61] GADMA is an acronym for Gobierno Autonomo Descentralizado de Archidona.

			- **SERVICE COUNTER (municipal office)** - **We replay the audio:** Office- Lawyer Daniel Diaz- order of ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION (SANCTIONS) GADMA #2 - Translation of prior clip to Kichwa	**3 min**	

Figure 2.2 Translation of Mushuk Ñampi's script

As might be evident from this script, the program mixes both Quichua-language music and community recordings with institutional promotion and information. Such segments highlighted the work done by the Municipio on behalf of the residents of Archidona, while also supplying them with information on new regulations and public health. In this case, the information centered on the sale and public consumption of alcohol (a major social issue in Archidona), while other days might see information about campaigns to fumigate against the mosquitoes (*Ae. Aegypti*) that carry Dengue, Chikungunya, and Zika, how to properly dispose of plastic waste, or maternal and infant health. Latter portions of the program focused on local *comunicados* [announcements], described in Quichua as *yachachina*, while James and Rita continued to play songs and recordings of jokes and stories from local communities. This particular day, they were joined in the last half hour of the program by Cesar Grefa, a politician and singer from the nearby canton of Arosemena Tola, who was visiting to promote the annual festival in his canton. Grefa also happens to be the singer of "Ruku Kawsay" [Old Lifeways], the haunting song about cultural change discussed in Chapter 1, which he sang live on the radio during his visit.

In March 2016, about six months after the start of their show, *Mushuk Ñampi* also introduced an innovative monthly program, which remediated an existing emphasis in the region on the demonstration of significant cultural practices as part of public events. Indeed, although the *wayusa upina* is also a part of daily practices, it has also become a central aspect of community celebrations, as community leaders and members travel from house to house, beating

drums, blowing on large snail shells and awakening neighbors with steam pots of guayusa (see also Jarrett 2019). *Mushuk Ñampi*'s programs remediate the practices of these communal celebrations, as well as the more intimate realizations of the *wayusa upina* among the gathered members of intergenerational, kinship-based residence units. For instance, the program described below (Figure 2.3) celebrating the anti-colonial resistance of Jumandi, began with the members of the Wayra Churi [Qu. 'Sons of the Wind'] arriving on foot, wearing traditional dress, while they beat drums, blew large snail shells, and sang. Other programs, meanwhile, might see one of the hosts seated with a microphone next to an open fire, as a gathered "family" reanimated the processes of waking, and calling out for *wayusa*. These programs might be hosted by the Municipio in the courtyard of the municipal offices, but more often they were held in rural communities around the canton of Archidona and transmitted through a mobile Internet connection to their partner stations. These shows thus drew in a wide variety of participants, which could include ad-hoc groups of community leaders and other residents, as well as members of cultural revitalization and community tourism organizations, who are skilled in the presentation of traditional cultural practices.

Like their daily counterparts, *Mushuk Ñampi*'s monthly program also followed a script, which Rita developed in consultation with members of the hosting community. In the early days of these programs, participants were given greater freedom in planning. However, after a particularly disorganized program in one community, Rita began to spend more time preparing with community participants, visiting before the broadcast to review the script for the program and to discuss expectations that the practices presented be treated as "sacred." Although the individual programs could vary a great deal, depending on their setting and participants, the first page of the script for the program broadcast on November 16, 2016 provides a sense of how they

are organized similarly to the daily programs, but with a focus on live presentations and

interaction:

GUION TECNICO DEL PROGRAMA RADIAL MUSHUK ÑAMPY EN VIVO

TEMAS:	Institucional	
LOCUTORES:	2 JAMES Y RITA	
DURACION:	120 MINUTOS	
FECHA DE TRANSMISION:	16/11/2016 (miércoles)	
GENERO:	Programación Kichwa	
HORARIO DE TRANSMISION:	LUNES A VIERNES 4:00 AM A 6:00 AM.	

HORA	Nº minuto	OPERADOR	DETALLE	TIEMPO	INVITADOS
	Minutos	SECCIÓN 1			
4H00 am	0	Cortina de entrada	Intro del programa.	50 SEG	
		Espacio Musical	Se reproducirá una tema musical en vivo con el grupo challua anga churikuna	2 minutos	✓
		Saludo de Conductores Fondo Locutor 1 (RITA) Locutor 2 (JAMES)	Introducción Saludo de bienvenida a las comunidades oyentes, y recalcamos el tema de JUMANDI YUYAY, agradecemos a los actores culturales (waira churis, amupakin, yumbo takis, challua anga churikuna, Chunta kuru wasi) por su participación; intervienen con saludo de bienvenida: 1. ALCALDE	3 MINUTO	
	8 minutos	Espacio Musical	Se reproducirá una canción	2 minutos	
		Locutor 1 (RITA) Locutor 2 (JAMES)	Retornamos al programa con frases emotivas y damos paso al RITUAL del churu pukuna a cargo de los waira churis y su respectiva explicación. Responsable narración :	5 minutos	ACTO # 1
04h14		CHISTE en vivo	Sr. Nelson Chimbo	1 minuto	
04h22		Locutor 1 (RITA) Locutor 2 (JAMES)	Enviando saludos a las comunidades y frases emotivas retornamos al programa para iniciar con la demostración y explicación de la wayusa upina a cargo del grupo autóctono waira churis.	8 minutos	ACTO # 2
04h24am		Espacio Musical en vivo	Challua anga churikuna	2 minutos	
04H30		Locutor 1 (RITA) Locutor 2 (JAMES)	Retornamos al programa y enseguida el dialogo con el Sr. Fernando Espinoza con el tema de: ✓ LIDERAZGO DE JUMANDI	6 minutos	ACTO # 3
04h30 am		CHISTE en vivo	Sr. Nelson Chimbo	1 minuto	
		Espacio Musical	SE REPRODUCIRA UNA CANCION	2 minutos	pregrabado
04H37		Locutor 1 (RITA)	Retornamos al programa y		

Figure 2.3 Script for "Jumandi Yuyay" wayusa upina broadcast, November 16, 2016

TECHNICAL SCRIPT OF THE LIVE RADIO PROGRAM MUSHUK ÑAMPI

Themes:	**Institutional**	
Hosts:	**2 JAMES AND RITA**	
Duration:	**120 minutes**	
Air date:	**11/06/2016 (Wednesday)**	
Genre:	**Kichwa Programming**	
Transmission schedule:	**MONDAY TO FRIDAY 4:30 to 6:00 A.M**	

HOUR	Minute by #	OPERATOR	DETAIL	TIME	GUESTS
	Minutes	SECTION 1			
04H00	0	Opening bumper	Program intro	50 SEC.	
		Musical Break	**One song will be played** live by the group challua anga churikuna [Qu. 'Sons of the Fish Eagle']	2 minutes	
		Greetings by the background speakers Host 1 (Rita) Host 2 (James)	**Introduction Welcome** greeting to the listening communities, and we emphasize the theme of JUMANDI YUYAY [Qu. 'Jumandi's Thought/Philosophy'], we thank the cultural actors (waira churi, amupakin, yumbo takis, challua anga churikuna, Chunta kuru wasi) for their participation; they intervene with a welcome greeting: 1. **MAYOR**	3 minute	
	8 minutes	**Musical Break**	A song will be played	2 minutes	
		Host 1 (Rita) Host 2 (James)	We return to the program with moving speech and give way to the **RITUAL of blowing the snail shell** under the care of the **waira churis** and their respective explanation Responsible for narration:	5 minutes	**ACT #1**
04H14		**live JOKE**	Mr. Nelson Chimbo	**2 minutes**	
04H22		Host 1 (Rita) Host 2 (James	Sending greetings and moving speech we return to the program to begin with the demonstration and explanation of the **wayusa upina** under the care of the indigenous group waira churis.	**8 minutes**	**ACT #2**
4h24am		**Live musical break**	**Challua anga churikuna**	**2 minutes**	
4H30		Host 1 (Rita) Host 2 (James	We return to the program and right away speak with Mr. Fernando Espinoza on the topic of: - Jumandi's leadership	6 minutes	**ACT #3**
04H30am		**live JOKE**	Mr. Nelson Chimbo	**2 minutes**	
			[…]		

Figure 2.4 Translated script for November 16, 2016

89

These monthly programs brought Rita and James into close contact with the residents of local communities each month. Moreover, like other radio personalities in Napo, the hosts of *Mushuk Ñampi* reached their audiences over the radio each morning, but they also cultivated various face-to-face interactions with members of their listening audiences as they moved through both their work and personal lives.[62] Their jobs at the Municipio were one source for this interaction, as Rita was often the first point of contact for Quichua-speaking residents who visited the Department of Communications to leave messages and announcements. Beyond interactions in the Municipio, however, one of the primary avenues for contact between listeners and hosts was through their twice weekly visits to communities around the canton of Archidona. On Tuesday and Thursday mornings following the program, Rita and James would travel from Archidona's urban center to one of the many rural communities spread throughout the canton in order to record the speech and stories of their listening audience.

Although these visits were important ways for Rita and James to connect with their listeners, connections which they enjoyed and cultivated, they could also be frustrating experiences. Despite their best efforts to arrange the meetings ahead of time, they sometimes found upon their arrival that the community president had not convoked a meeting with community members, or that people had grown tired of waiting, and had already left for the forest or town to begin their day's work. At times, elder speakers demurred from recording with

---

[62] While my work with Gloria at La Voz de Napo was largely as a silent observer, I was a regular guest host on *Mushuk Ñampi*, as the young co-hosts requested that I assist them on the show, primarily with *saludu* directed to individuated to listeners in the area. They also sometimes interviewed me on the importance of linguistic transmission and revitalization. Rita and James told me that at the beginning of my time with the program, some listeners disapprovingly thought that I was a rather incompetent Quichua young person. However, when it was revealed that I was a *rancia* ['foreigner of European descent'], listeners were impressed that I had learned so much Quichua, because tourists most often stock learned phrases such as *alli punzha* ['good morning'] and *ñuka shutimi an* ['my name is']. As my linguistic abilities grew, however, I was more regularly brought onto the program, as well as on stage at Quichua beauty pageants where Rita and James were often hosts. As a foreign researcher who had learned the language, my presence was often used to underscore the value and importance of Quichua. After more than eighteen months in Napo, listeners around Archidona would sometimes recognize me as "Jhordí de la radio," when they encountered the *rancia* who spoke Quichua in town or their communities. I thus also had a section of the small notebook I carried with me for field jottings devoted to requests for *saludashka shimi* from listeners I encountered around Archidona and Tena.

the program, claiming that they did not know any stories. As the program's popularity grew, however, the community visits and recording sessions I attended drew in more participants. Rita and James were often greeted as local celebrities, and many communities prepared *wayusa, aswa*, or small meals for their visitors. Recording sessions generally took place in a community meeting house, or in its absence, a soccer field or other communal space. They were thus public events, and co-present listeners might comment on a storytelling event, or clamor to make their voices heard in the next recording. Significantly, then, while the decontextualized versions of these stories on the radio might appear monologic, they very often laminate the traditional dialogic setting of Upper Napo Quichua storytelling into the recording. Rita often recorded these stories on a small audio recorder or her cell phone, and they were later edited by James to include background music, or, sometimes, to cut out pauses, asides, and interview questions. During the visits, Rita also took careful notes about the organizational history and leaders of the community, as well as the names (and nicknames) of those present. These names would later circulate intertextually across radio programs, as Rita and James (and, some mornings, their *rancia* guest) would send them greetings over the radio, reminding them to get up and drink *wayusa*. It was quite common, in turn, for these radio-mediated *saludu* to recirculate in face-to-face interactions, as friends and family might comment that they had heard a shout out directed to a particular person or relay a message that had been directed to them on the radio.

While some kinds of talk, such as *asichina* and *burla shuti* narratives were easier to elicit, at least some of the team's difficulties in recording may have been linked to local ideologies of secrecy and value surrounding storytelling, which forms the basis for many people's social and personal power. The production of language revitalization media for the radio, however, has remediated new ideologies of public and private. Stories are intimately linked to the knowledge,

and thus power, of *rukuguna* 'elders,' as well as specialized *yachakguna*, a social category often glossed in English as "shamans," but meaning literally "ones who know"—the scientists, doctors, and scholars of Upper Napo Quichua communities, who are imbued with power to both heal and harm. Rita described in an interview that local beliefs about storytelling initially conflicted with the program's plan to establish an archive of community recordings for use on the air. As she explained, when they began carrying out recording sessions in rural communities, some people told them "My knowledge is my own, I don't want to share it."[63] Rita went on to describe that many people requested payment for their stories. However, she reported that after "counseling" [*kamachisha*] such people, she had slowly been able to change their minds, by telling them, "We must teach our knowledge. We must transmit it to children. When we die, where will all the knowledge be left? Who will know it?" Rita's acceptance of the necessity of recording once-secret knowledge for wider transmission was echoed by others, who advocated for recording elders' stories so that they would be remembered and known in the future.

Another important outcome of *Mushuk Ñampi*'s community recording sessions, beyond their importance for developing and amplifying both face-to-face and radio-mediated interactions between listeners and hosts, was the production of a somewhat informal digital archive of regional recordings of elder and adult community members. These recordings were housed on computers at the Municipio. During fieldwork, I was given a copy of at least some, though not all, of the edited files produced for the daily program. The files I received are divided into a number of folders, which are also indicative of some of the significant genres transmitted on the radio: APODOS [Nicknames] (16 files); Audios Cuentos Leyendas 2016 [Audio clips Stories Legends 2016] (37 files); AUDIOS RESCATADOS 2016 [Recovered Audio clips 2016] (20

---

[63] Rita Tunay, 2017-07-08: "Maykanbi rimanuk aka, ñuka yachashka ñukawak, ñuka yachashka ñukawak, mana munani chimbachinara"

files); CACHO DE LAS COMUNIDADES 2016 [Community Humor 2016] containing a number of files marked "pikante" [Sp. 'hot; spicy'] likely in reference to the descriptor *uchu shimi* 'spicy words' for sexual jokes (6 files); CHISTES EN KICHWA [Jokes in Quichua] (19 files); CUENTOS DE LOS ANCESTROS [Ancestral Narratives] (3 files); and two folders containing the original unedited recordings from specific communities. Despite the best intentions of the radio producers, this archive was somewhat haphazardly managed.[64] Nevertheless, despite some difficulties in production and management, recordings from *Mushuk Ñampi*'s community archive are of the most popular genres of radio media among listeners. In the community of Chawpishungu, radio listeners often stopped their ongoing conversations to listen to traditional narratives, personal accounts of the old days, medicinal songs, and jokes transmitted on the radio and my interlocutors similarly highlighted these recordings as one of their favorite aspects of *Mushuk Ñampi*'s broadcasts.

2.5.4 Collapsing production and consumption in a multimodal mediascape

From this brief overview of the different stations and programs where I conducted participant-observation, a number of features of the mediascape of Upper Napo Quichua radio come into focus. Significantly, radio media is inseparable from other forms of mediation in Napo. Although I attend to the production and reception of radio media in the remainder of this account, both radio hosts and audiences interacted with a wide-variety of media. For instance, all of the programs intertextually incorporated texts in some way, generally through announcements,

---

[64] Indeed, I found that the second collection of recordings I received from James after my own unexpected loss of data was somewhat different than the one I had originally received, though I have no way to compare them now. Nevertheless, it was unclear to me what happened to the original files they had recorded in individual communities during the two years I worked with the program. Many of the files in the archive are also labeled with metadata, such as the age and community of the speaker. This metadata might not be entirely accurate, however, as I found a recording in the archive with my host in the community of Chawpishungu that was mislabeled for both her age and community.

news, or books. Hosts often found these sources online, through various news organizations, or on Facebook. Their programs also circulated via the internet, and were deeply connected to Facebook, as hosts received messages through their Facebook Messenger accounts or searched for local news in their feeds. Quichua-language programs often contained intertextual references to the broader Upper Napo Quichua mediascape, as hosts promoted local festivals, celebrations, and cultural events, often inviting local participants to speak about these projects on the air. Radio listeners might also become participants in community recordings or broadcasts, and further came into contact with radio production through the circulation of messages between listeners and hosts. The production of radio media was not only inseparable from other forms of mediation in Napo, but also inseparable from radio's receptive audience.

2.6 Good morning, Chawpishungu

The ways station directors imagine their Quichua listeners both presupposes and reflects the listening habits of the Quichua audience of radio media. Although it is true that many families are at home and most attentive to their radios in the early morning hours or in the evening, many residents of rural communities also have flexible schedules, shaped by the variable daily labor of subsistence living. Listeners may thus be at home at various points of the day when the soundscape of Napo radio is molded by Spanish-language talk and music. In the rural community of Chawpishungu, I would often hear Spanish-language radio pouring out of people's homes during the day, as well as emerging from the tinny speakers of basic mobile phones as women worked in their swidden agroforestry gardens. Moreover, households with stereo systems capable of accepting flash drives would also play their own mixes of Quichua, Spanish, and English music during the day. These listening practices suggest that the stations and

94

programs described above would find a receptive audience for Quichua-language programming at other times of the day far beyond the early morning and evening hours.

Nevertheless, Quichua-language radio is generally broadcast between the hours of four and six a.m., and after six p.m., the hours when most people are preparing to begin or end their day. From my room in Chawpishungu, I would awake sometime between three and four a.m., when I first heard the matriarch of the household, Serafina, stir on the floor below, before a single bulb flickered on in the kitchen building located just behind the modern two-story cinder block and zinc home where we slept. Very often, however, I would be awoken by bright light and the energetic sounds of amplified Amazonian Quichua music spilling out from her son's kitchen. I would then join Serafina in her kitchen, often alongside her daughters and young grandchildren, by an open hearth set in a packed dirt opening in the center of a poured concrete floor. There, the gathered family drank guayusa tea and listened to the radio, either on their own small receiver, or sometimes via the speakers of a close neighbor who had the volume raised high.[65] On mornings when her teenage foster son—the member of the household who mostly regularly turned the radio on—slept in, I would sit by the fire with Serafina as she told her life history. It was in these intimate morning hours that I came to understand the ways in which *Mushuk Ñampi's* monthly live broadcast seeks to remediate and reanimate the familial routines of the *wayusa upina*, the drinking of *guayusa*, which many people have experienced as central to the transmission of elders' knowledge, and thus social personhood and collective memory.

---

[65] Although I had initially planned to study media reception in multiple households, I quickly discovered that arranging repeated observations of radio reception would be difficult and disruptive for most families other than my hosts. Although I did observe radio reception in other households, I immediately discovered that visits from a guest also reshaped morning routines in ways that made it difficult to gauge how listeners regularly interacted with and around the radio. It was thus most productive to observe daily radio reception in Serafina's multigenerational household, among a variable assortment of the members of the four families that lived in her large home. I supplement this in-depth observational data with interviews and shorter observations carried out with members of her extended family, as well as most other heads of household in the community.

Such practices are also seen as deeply endangered. Radio host Rita Tunay once argued, for instance, that these practices are no longer carried out in most households, except for homes where a grandmother or grandfather still lives. Indeed, in Chawpishungu, I found that in most other extended families, the majority of young adults had moved into town, returning to visit on weekends or holidays. This was a pattern I encountered across many of my interlocutors in Napo and Pastaza. As many young parents and their children increasingly move into urban areas to be closer to work or school, returning on weekends to the countryside to visit with their relatives, once close relationships of intergenerational transmissions between grandparent and other elder caregivers and young children have increasingly been reconfigured, if not entirely ruptured. Moreover, many of Serafina's adult children have established their own homes nearby. The grandchildren and foster children who lived in Mariano and Serafina's home had regular, near constant, access to their grandparents and the stories and conversations they shared in Quichua with other adults. However, many of the grandchildren generation spent most their time at home with their own parents and siblings. Peer-based interactions among children were almost always in Spanish—their daily language at school—and caregivers often spoke to their children in Spanish. They thus had relatively less access to the intergenerational settings of Quichua-language communication. Nevertheless, radio programming was one reliable source of Quichua-language production in many of these household. In some homes, it was adolescent children who sought these programs out, as they turned on the radio for their families in the morning.

Almost all of the families in Chawpishungu had at least a small, battery-powered radio at home. Three of the fifteen households where I conducted reception studies did not have a radio. However, two of these families indicated that they would listen to the radio when they could hear it playing from a neighbor's house. Serafina's son and next-door neighbor, for instance, did not

have a radio, but the close proximity of his home to those of his other family members, combined with the high volume at which most people listen to the radio, often allowed his family to listen to local news or pray along with la Voz de Napo in the evenings. The third family, meanwhile, reported that they used their cellphones to tune in to local radio, a popular means for many in Napo to access the radio in the absence of a receiver.

Cellphones are now another widely available communicative technology in Napo. All families have at least one cellphone at home—I did not encounter anyone in Chawpishungu with a landline—and many people, especially young adults and teenagers have their own personal cellphones. Even elderly Serafina has a basic cellphone. Yet, possessing a cellphone did not guarantee that one would have *saldo* [Sp. 'credit; balance'] with which to use it. Most people I knew utilized low-cost, pay-as-you-go plans from the international telecommunication companies Claro and Movistar for their phones, purchasing limited packages of phone minutes, texts, or *megas* [Sp. 'megabytes of Internet access'], which typically lasted anywhere from 24 hours to a week, depending on the quantity purchased and the terms of the package.[66] Although the high costs of personal computers placed them out of many people's reach, smartphones provided a more accessible channel to digital communications technologies. Many of the people I knew recorded photos, video, and audio from Upper Napo Quichua live musical performances, beauty pageants, and other cultural and political events on their phones. They would later gather together around the small screens to watch them with their family and friends at home. Social media platforms like Facebook and YouTube have also emerged as popular channels to share Upper Napo Quichua media. Quichua-language media also circulates through a network of pirate

---

[66] Many people often found themselves without *saldo*, and it was thus quite common for friends and family members to request a "loan" of *saldo* to make a phone call. Indeed, I grew used to the question, "ushi Georgia, kamba saldura mañachiwapay" [daughter Georgia, please loan me your *saldo*].

CD and DVD stores (Floyd 2008), as well as the informal sharing of audio and video files via USB flash drives. These venues were also sites for the circulation of highland Quichua media, as well as Chicham- and Wao Tededo-language music and videos.

A few households in Chawpishungu also have televisions. Serafina and Mariano, for instance, had a very small television on a shelf in their kitchen house, although I never saw anyone watch it. However, in the communal living space of their home, they also had a larger 20-inch tube television whose often staticky picture was always tinted green. Rough-hewn wood benches and stools were set around the edges of this central room between the doors that led to individual family's rooms. During the afternoons and evenings, Serafina's adult children and young grandchildren would sometimes gather to watch Spanish-language news, movies, or soapy *telenovelas*. Serafina would sometimes join them to watch before bed. Although she usually did not understand what was happening, these programs provided Serafina and her family members with information about significant differences between *runa* and *mishu* practices. For instance, when comparing the ways that *runa* and *mishu* women cry, Serafina contrasted the choked sobs she had seen from Spanish-speaking women on telenovelas, with the tearful sung laments of Upper Napo Quichua women. One of Serafina's sons, meanwhile, had a television at home and when I would drop by in the evening, he and his family would sometimes be watching a comedic or action-adventure film on DVD, usually a Chinese or Korean import dubbed in Spanish. I only encountered one other household in Chawpishungu with a functioning television during my fieldwork, in the home of Serafina's neighbor Theresa. When I visited, the television would often be tuned to the local public station AllyTV, which broadcast local news and informational programs, again predominantly in Spanish.

Television and film media in Napo are largely dominated by Spanish-language programming. Aside from an hour-long program entitled *Rayu Shinalla* [Qu. 'Like the Lightening'], which was broadcast between 5 and 6 a.m., and which focused on local news and Quichua music videos, most programming on AllyTV was in Spanish. I also had a collection of pirate DVDs of music videos by regional Quichua groups, as well as community media, such as the Napo film *Kukama Runa*[67]. Although we first watched these videos together at my request, family members occasionally later asked that we put on a DVD of videos by Los Playeros Kichwas or Los Jilgüeritos to watch in the evening. As these videos frequently portray significant regional stories and traditional cultural practices, Serafina's children and grandchildren would often ask her for further information or confirmation about what they saw on the screen. Similarly, they would ask her for more information related to her own experience when they heard community recordings of traditional and personal narratives.

Significantly, then, media reception in Chawpishungu is most often a dialogic, group activity. Although it could sometimes be a solitary activity—elderly grandfather Mariano, for instance, might take the family's portable receiver into his bedroom to listen to the radio alone some nights, while Serafina might comment to herself on the radio program she heard playing from next door—media consumption is usually carried out among groups of people. Cellphone use is also frequently communal, as young people often collectively watch videos, browse social media, or chat with unknown others on WhatsApp and Facebook message groups intended to meet new friends. The residents of Chawpishungu consequently also interact with radio media as only one part of a much larger mediascape in Napo. Nevertheless, it is radio that is the most regular channel to receive Quichua-language programming, as the broader mediascape in Napo

---

[67] See Bermúdez and Uzendoski 2018 for a discussion of the production and aesthetics of this film.

is still dominated by Spanish-language media. In turn, residents of Chawpishungu have clear preferences among the Quichua-language shows available to them.

In both my observations of their daily listening practices, as well as in formal interviews, the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* emerged as one of the most popular programs among the residents of Chawpishungu. One morning, while listening to the radio with Serafina and her family I asked what programming they liked. Her daughter Corina offered that they preferred the program "Alli Ñambi," while Serafina affirmed, "we most want to listen to *Alli Ñambi*"[68] When I asked why, she responded "what is being spoken in Quichua sounds good."[69] Although the program is formally entitled *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path'—a name I discuss in greater detail in the coming chapter—it was also often called "Alli Ñambi" 'A Good Path' by many of my interlocutors. This might reflect their positive evaluations of the program's content, as well as more broadly circulating discourses in Napo about following a "good path," whether actual or metaphorical. Serafina's daughter-in-law, Lucía, further explained that they enjoy listening to the program because it is from Archidona and thus focuses on local news and important happenings that are more significant for their lives than the programming of further stations like Radio Jatari broadcast from neighboring Arajuno. Radio Jatari, nevertheless, was another popular station in Chawpishungu, as it was the only dedicated Quichua-language community station to reach the residents of Archidona. At hours when other regional stations are dominated by Spanish-language programming, Radio Jatari would at least have an automated mix featuring Quichua music, though they often also play national and international hits.

When bored with the content of a given show, listeners might scan through the radio stations. They would sometimes settle on *Antisuyu Ushay*. However, I found far fewer listeners

---

[68] Qu. original: "*Alli Ñambi* mas munanchi uyangawa."
[69] Qu. original "runa shimi rimaushka alli uyarin"

of Jacobo and Fernando's program in the rural community of Chawpishungu, perhaps reflective of the host's greater orientation towards the Tena region, as well as the urban, bilingual public they imagine. Indeed, my observations suggest that listeners in Chawpishungu were much less interested in Spanish-language talk and interviews, often switching the station if there was too much talk in Spanish—including the long pre-recorded informational segments with municipal staff and officials from the ministry of health often broadcast on *Mushuk Ñampi*.

Programming from La Voz de Napo was also enjoyed in most households in Chawpishungu, and many of my interlocutors mentioned it as one of their preferred stations. In general, my interviews and observations highlight the importance of Voz de Napo for prayer. Indeed, the daily rhythm of households in Chawpishungu is often punctuated by Gloria Grefa's evening *risachina* [Qu. 'to make pray' from Sp. *rezar*] from the *Devocionario Quichua*, which radio listeners faithfully repeated along to the sound of her loving voice. Indeed, in many households, different hours of the morning correspond to different shows. Many listeners would tune into Radio Jatari's early morning talk and music show until 4 a.m. when *Mushuk Ñampi* came on the air. Between 5 and 5:30 a.m. listeners would switch to Voz de Napo for morning prayers, which along with day break, signaled the end of that morning's *wayusa upina*.

Upper Napo Quichua radio media thus provides a familiar and intimate soundtrack to a family's morning activities. It is this embedding in many people's daily lives, in turn, which makes radio such a significant channel for the survivance and revitalization of Upper Napo Quichua linguistic and cultural practices. The now well-established, but still growing, Upper Napo Quichua mediascape, which connects to a broader Amazonian media industry, has remediated many of the significant practices of verbal artistry used in face-to-face interactions in songs and entextualized narratives, therein reinforcing significant poetic and aesthetic practices.

Radio media also reinforce face-to-face communicative networks, as messages between listeners and hosts circulate across various contexts and modalities of production. Moreover, such practices implicate particular, named individuals, creating private spheres of interaction in public broadcasts. It is this entanglement with listeners' daily lives and communicative practices, then, that has allowed radio media to become such an effective grassroots strategy for linguistic and cultural revitalization, as aural radio media afford a more heterogeneous, multivocal use of language as a living, dynamic code than standardized text in formal education programs or as regimented towards Spanish-language institutional settings.

2.7 Contested revitalization practices

Settler colonialism has done a great deal to disrupt the intergenerational transmission of Quichua in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Missionization, changes in residence patterns, wage labor, and the various demands of interacting with the Ecuadorian settler state have reshaped daily life, and many of the practices that—until quite recently—sustained a social world in which regional forms of Upper Napo Quichua were the dominant code. Although Upper Napo Quichua is still widely used among adults in daily life, language shift to Spanish in the area is ongoing.

Today, however, some people in Napo also identify another, somewhat unexpected threat to the use of Upper Napo Quichua. Many young people, who may not dominate regional forms at all, are now adopting an oral register of Unified Kichwa, developed through their interactions with standard language literacy programs and institutional broadcast media. Although not often seen as a form of linguistic shift, it is my contention—drawing upon the anxieties expressed by my interlocutors about regional differentiation and belonging —that the adoption of Unified Kichwa may be seen as another form of linguistic shift, as young people increasingly adopt a

socially and politically dominant, standardized code at the expense of still circulating regional forms of speech. If revitalization is a form of "reshift" away from colonial languages towards Indigenous languages (Fitzgerald 2017), such processes raise complex questions about *what* is being shifted to, as well as the meanings those forms take on in speakers' daily lives.

Despite Unified Kichwa's significance ideologically and politically, ethnographic research suggests that linguistic unification has led to numerous contradictions in practice. In the Ecuadorian highlands, bilingual education programs using Unified Kichwa have led many young students to see their home varieties as "incorrect" in contrast to the norms of the standard (K. A. King 2001). Some parents further have described this variety to me as "ali runa shimi" or "ali Quichua" 'good Quichua,' suggesting differential perceptions of the standard's value. However, many others, especially elders in Napo frequently express a dislike for the use of Unified Kichwa in schools in large part because of their perception that it is "another" Quichua, distinct from their own variety. Rather than a simple case of diglossia between Spanish and Quichua, an increasingly triglossic configuration is emerging, in which Spanish and then Unified Kichwa are the languages of public speech, while regional varieties of Quichua are still stigmatized.

The experiences of a primarily Spanish-speaking teenager and his Quichua-dominant grandmother are illustrative of these difficulties. Although his family was originally from Archidona, the young man had lived in another region of the Amazon for an extended period, where he had studied Unified Kichwa at a bilingual school. When reflecting on this time during a conversation with his grandmother and two other bilingual young people, the teenager described that at the school they taught him "another Quichua." However, when he returned to Archidona, he explained, "[my grandmother] told me it isn't like that, it's another way." After learning Quichua from his grandmother, he concluded that the Quichua he had learned in school was

mezclado (SP. 'mixed') with "Quichua from the *sierra*" and that it "sounded different." His grandmother, meanwhile, described in Quichua that the form he learned was *llutachiska* (QU. 'Unified;' literally 'stacked/glued together'), while his friend offered the Spanish descriptor "Unificado." Later in the conversation, his grandmother emphasized that she wants local Quichua to be used and argued that because bilingual educators have combined the languages their children use pronunciations like [aʃku] 'dog' and [ataʃpa] 'chicken,' widely associated with highland Quichua, in contrast to the expected [aʎku] and [ataʎba]. For an increasingly vocal population in Napo their language is threatened not just by Spanish, but also by "another" Quichua, an emerging spoken register based on the written standard of Unified Kichwa, which they ideologically link with Highland pronunciations.

Wroblewski (2012, 2014) describes two camps in Tena during the early stages of this debate, when efforts to instill Unified Kichwa as a national standard were reaching their height. First, he identifies those that are pro-Unified Kichwa, who tend to be bilingual, well-educated, live in urban areas, and spend much of their life in Spanish. On the other side, he identifies "dialect defenders" (2012), many of whom also live in urban areas, but who are "dedicated to reviving an essentialized version of ethnic identity" (2014, 67). Limerick (2017) similarly illuminates conflicts that have emerged within the history of the Unified Kichwa literacy and language standardization movement, showing that encounters with alphabets remain emotionally fraught for many. Both provide needed accounts of the political, ideological, and emotional complexities of institutional revitalization movements, especially among urban audiences.

Nevertheless, prior analyses (e.g. Wroblewski 2012, 2014) have stressed the progressive vision of the educators and activists involved in the linked projects of bilingual education, language standardization, and linguistic revitalization. In contrast, many of the people with

whom I lived and worked in rural communities around the township of Archidona belong to a group who have previously been described as "dialect defenders," whose "defensive, traditionalist, and conservationist" stances contrast sharply with the "progressive rhetoric of ethnic unification and language purification" (Wroblewski 2012, 73) espoused by advocates of language standardization. Claims from dialect defenders about the "foreignness" and "unintelligibility" of Unified Kichwa are taken to be exaggerated complaints, linked to opposition to the elite background of speakers of the standardized code (Wroblewski 2012, 73). But, are the complaints of such "dialect defenders" really just the spurious grievances of a conservative rural population?

To answer this question, the following chapter turns to this more rural audience, many of whom—though not all—might belong to the group of people identified by Wroblewski as "dialect defenders." I focus on their use of grassroots, community-produced media to revitalize and revalorize local linguistic forms, often called *ñukanchi kikin shimi* [our own language] alongside the practices of contemporary rural lifeways. These practices are identified as contiguous with *ruku kawsay* [the lifeways of the elders], which echo through contemporary *runa kawsay* [the lifeways of the Upper Napo Quichua]. Whereas standardized text has been treated as one of the primary modalities for language revitalization media in Ecuador—and many other situations of linguistic shift and revitalization—the production and reception of Upper Napo Quichua community broadcast media leverages the aural affordances of radio programming to revitalize regional codes and contexts of use in a multivocal, heterogeneous public sphere. It is to an examination of these radio-mediated efforts within the often-contentious ideological assemblages of Ecuadorian Quichua language revitalization that I now turn.

Chapter 3
Revitalization Ideologies

3.1 Introduction

When a grandmother claims that her grandson is learning "another Quichua" in school, pointing

to enregistered regional variations, she is making a statement laden with beliefs about social

differentiation based on linguistic features. For many language activists, planners, and educators,

in Napo and elsewhere, language standardization and formal education have been seen as the

surest method to ensure the revalorization and revitalization of linguistic and cultural practices

(K. A. King 2001; McCarty 2008). Language standardization is often ideologically linked to the

need for political unity and has been seen as providing a common language for a common

movement. Yet, for many people in Napo, the use of the official orthography and the oral

production of standardized linguistic forms in bilingual education programs and state-sponsored

media programming runs counter to their beliefs about linguistic difference and belonging.

Entering into the debates that were introduced in the last chapter over language

standardization and language revitalization in Napo thus requires entering into a complex

assemblage of ideologies of language, what Irvine defined as "the cultural system of ideas about

social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests"

(1989, 255). This chapter contributes to a growing body of scholarship (Meek 2010; Meek and

Messing 2007; P. V. Kroskrity and Field 2009; P. V. Kroskrity 2011; Debenport 2015; Davis

2017; Perley 2012; De Korne and Leonard 2017) which explores how processes of Indigenous

language revitalization, documentation, and standardization are not ideologically neutral, but

rather are interwoven and loaded with a complex array of ideological commitments (P. V. Kroskrity 2018).

Residents of the rural, Quichua-speaking community of Chawpishungu express a clear preference for forms that are often described as "ñukanchi shimi" 'our language' and "ñawpamanda rukuguna sakishka shimi" 'the language our elders from the past left.' These attitudes are also reflective of past research across the region dealing with socialization (Mezzenzana 2017, 2018a; Uzendoski 2009; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012), which has repeatedly shown that Amazonian Quichua personhood lies for many people in a *habitus* developed through repeated embodied, mimetic instruction, the sharing of different substances that shape the body in particular ways, and the transference of abilities and knowledge between elders and young people through narrative, song, and spiritual breath. These attitudes thus contribute to the formation of particular ideologies of linguistic and cultural socialization, which are undergoing increasing shift and rupture, as young people's time is increasingly oriented towards formal education.

Many of the people with whom I lived and worked, however, belong to a group who have previously been described as "dialect defenders," whose "defensive, traditionalist, and conservationist" stances contrast sharply with the "progressive rhetoric of ethnic unification and language purification" (Wroblewski 2012, 73) espoused by advocates of language standardization. However, even in their most critical and radical forms, these scholarly and activist approaches to language revitalization that focus on language standardization have often relied on hegemonic standard language ideologies, assuming the necessity of one language for a unified polity. Interviews with Quichua-speaking residents of the rural community of Chawpishungu, as well as cultural activists and politicians from Archidona and Tena,

demonstrate that these means of revitalization alone do not adequately capture the beliefs many speakers in Napo hold about linguistic and cultural transmission in a previously unstandardized ecology of language. In contrast, broadcast media, in particular radio media, have emerged as a grassroots alternative to official language revitalization practices grounded in language standardization and literacy. Radio, as an alternative medium for linguistic and cultural revitalization, simultaneously affords a much wider range of social voices to emerge on the air, while it also reorients language revitalization from the use of standardized language in the classroom towards socialization within the home, and in particular, to interaction around the familial hearth, among the voices of both living and more distant elders. While they also entail their own remediated ideologies of language and media, such programs are forms of what have been called "emergent vitalities" (Perley 2012), as well as a form of Indigenous "survivance" (Vizenor 1994; Davis 2017; Biddle and Lea 2018; Nevins 2013) in which new contexts of use are created to further linguistic and cultural transmission, in the face of multiple pressures towards shift and loss.

3.2 Standard language ideology in the "unification" of Quichua/Kichwa

Widespread recognition of the gravity of language endangerment and the attendant loss of cultural and intellectual diversity, has spurred both speakers of endangered languages and scholars to focus on language shift and revitalization as critical social and political issues (Hale 1998; cf. P. V. Kroskrity 2011). Early linguistic anthropological inquiry (Gal 1979; Kulick 1992) showed that language shift should not only be considered in terms of macro-sociological processes (Fishman 1991), but as embedded within local regimes of variation, power and value—that is, within local ecologies of language (J. H. Hill and Hill 1986). Further, the

ideological matrices in which revitalization projects are embedded have significant, often

unintended, effects on language maintenance and the development of new speakers (Meek 2010).

These issues are all brought into sharp focus by the institutional emphasis on the ongoing process

of the "unification" of regional varieties in the standard Kichwa Unificado and its role as the

official vehicle for language revitalization in Ecuador.

Although a method not without its contradictions, language standardization, informed by

ideologies of standard language, has been a significant strategy in language planning (K. A. King

2001; Haugen 1966; Urla 2001; Luykx 2001), in order to elevate Indigenous languages to the

level of hegemonic colonial languages (Bourdieu 1991; Silverstein 1996a). Indeed, many

Kichwa language activists from the Highlands refer to success of language standardization in the

revitalization of Euskara (Basque) as one of their main inspirations for promoting Kichwa

Unificado.[70] Some of these activists have also been trained in language revitalization programs

held in the Basque Country, whose government has also supported revitalization projects in Peru.

However, in Napo, the interaction of Kichwa Unificado and regional varieties has

produced competing allegiances and multiple discourses of authenticity and purity, which have

been shown in similar contexts (J. H. Hill and Hill 1986; K. A. King 2001) to hinder

maintenance and revitalization. The educational system is generally one of the main points of

dissemination of a standardized indigenous language for institutional revitalization projects

(Meek and Messing 2007; Hinton and Hale 2001; McCarty 2008), producing a wide variety of

---

[70] See Urla (2012) for a discussion of the Basque language revival movement. Although there are a number of striking similarities between the cases—including conflicts over orthography related to different political positions, the complexities of combining multiple regional vernaculars into a written standard (Batua, or Unified Basque), its dissemination through literacy programs and schools, as well as the ultimate emergence of pronunciation guidelines based upon it—Urla indicates that after its introduction, "the indexical ties of Batua both to education and to nation building loaded it with prestigious and political connotations that muted most challenges" (2012, 95). Her analysis suggests that processes of adjustment, consensus building, and linguistic creativity have allowed acceptance for both Unified Basque and local vernaculars to coincide, rather than conflict (2012, 106).

print media materials for revitalization and bilingual education. This is also the case in Ecuador, where agreements between the *Dirección Nacional de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [National Directorate of Bilingual and Intercultural Education, DINEIB) and CONAEI established that the DINEIB would be responsible for both producing didactic materials and supporting the use of Kichwa Unificado (Montaluisa 2018; Limerick 2017; K. A. King 2001).

Research into the outcomes of other language revival projects has shown that such activities are often shaped by dominant language norms and institutions, with considerable consequences for the languages undergoing revitalization (Meek 2010). This is the case for Latin America, where different revival movements from Mexico (Faudree 2013) to the Andes (Hornberger and King 1996; S. M. Coronel-Molina and Solon 2011; Hornberger and Coronel-Molina 2004; Limerick 2017; Haboud and Limerick 2017; K. A. King 2001) have focused on the development of Indigenous alphabets and literatures, supported by literacy programs and bilingual schooling. Yet, as Faudree (2013) shows in Mexico, the development of Indigenous-language literatures does not guarantee that anyone will be able to read them, as the texts are frequently only interpretable to bilingual speakers. In a contrasting case, Sarah Shulist (2018, 61) suggests that in the Brazilian Amazon, the lack of official standards has hindered the implementation of policies that establish Indigenous languages as official languages alongside Portuguese. Moreover, literacy-based approaches and community language ideologies are not necessarily always at odds. Erin Debenport's (2015) ethnography of a Keiwa dictionary project in the Southwestern United States, shows literacy-based revitalization approaches also remediated the authors' own ideologies of secrecy and perfectibility in other areas, at the same time as the production of print materials conflicted with some of those same ideologies.

Within linguistic anthropology and related fields, the study of language ideologies has become a theoretical orientation of considerable significance.[71] Analyses of language ideology have considered not only they how may be embedded in daily communicative practices and institutions (P. V. Kroskrity 2000), but also how scholarly discourse itself transmits and reproduces ideologies of language (Richard. Bauman and Briggs 2003; French 2003, 2010). Language ideologies are pervasive in social practice as they circulate through speaker's spoken and unspoken beliefs, feelings, and rationalizations about language and the social field, in ways that articulate with broader political and economic formations. Moreover, ideologies, of language or otherwise, are multiple and cross-cutting in different social contexts, as encapsulated in Kroskrity's concept of *language ideological assemblages*, or the "the interaction of clusters of ideologies that occur within or across linguistic communities" (2018, 134). Such clusters of ideologies have been particularly important in shaping both the strategies of and responses to different projects to revitalize Ecuadorian Quichua. In this case, the *ideologies of language revitalization* tied to academic scholarship and espoused by elite advocates both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, intersect—and often conflict—with regional, community-internal *ideologies of language* held by many speakers of Upper Napo Quichua.

---

[71] Silverstein's early definition of language ideologies as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979, 193) locates them explicitly in metalinguistic and metapragmatic statements about talk (J. A. Lucy 1993). However, Silverstein (1981) has also shown that many areas of language structure and use often fall below the threshold of metapragmatic awareness. Linguistic anthropologists have thus considered how ideologies of language are embedded in other practices, as well as in implicit or explicit metapragmatic commentary (Woolard 1998a). Irvine's (1989) definition shifted the focus onto the role of language ideologies in political economy and allowed for analytical inquiry into how implicit and explicit ideas about language are mapped onto the sociocultural field, the moral and political weight that such ideas carry with them, as well as how they articulate with other ideological systems. Kroskrity, noting the diversity of approaches to and definitions of language ideologies, also highlights the emotional inflection of many of our ideas about language, and describes them as "beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds" (2007, 498).

In both Western popular belief and scholarship, language, with a particular emphasis on homogeneous ways of speaking, has been intimately linked to the idea of nation or community.[72] Ideologies that connect a single, standard or homogeneous language to a unified community have proven profoundly influential in Western scholarship, from Chomsky's (1965) abstract formulation of the ideal speaker-hearer as a member a homogeneous speech community, to Anderson's (1983) conception of the "imagined community" of the nation that emerged from the circulation of standardized language in print media. Such ideologies of the relationship of nation and language continue to circulate in the 21st century in viral videos in which an enraged shopper demands other patrons "speak English in America," or in still widespread views that 'home languages' (read as 'non-standard' varieties of English or other heritage language) belong in the home, while so-called 'standard' English is the "appropriate" language of the classroom (cf. Flores and Rosa 2015). For many of those living in what James Milroy (2001) refers to as "standard language cultures," the idea that a standard language must be constructed and promulgated through institutional intermediaries such as school or government is often subsumed by the naturalization of the standardized variety.[73]

In Ecuador, the ideological centrality of Unified Kichwa as a standard language among Indigenous intellectuals is reinforced by discourses of the authority of scientific, particularly linguistic, research. Such ideologies are embedded even in the name of a thesis by a bilingual educator from Napo, which is entitled *Desviaciones de la norma estándar en el habla kichwa de*

---

[72] Irvine traces this intellectual trajectory partly to the "romantic nationalism of the late 18th-century scholar Johann Gottfried Herder, who maintained that a language is the natural hallmark, and the most precious possession, of a people (*Volk*) or nation, reflecting its special spirit and identity" (2006, 689).

[73] The processes that go into the construction of a standard language have been well detailed by linguistic anthropologists and other scholars working within the theoretical paradigm of ideologies of language (L. Milroy 2000; J. Milroy 2001; Silverstein 1996a; Haugen 1966). Such work has shown that processes of language standardization and codification in grammars and dictionaries are informed by multiple ideologies, including regimes of value between oral and written forms (B. Schieffelin and Doucet 1998), the role of institutions in regulating language (Errington 1998), the authority of codifiers (French 2003, 200), the modernization of code (Johnson 2005), or the boundaries between varieties (Jaffe 1999b; Irvine and Gal 2000).

las comunidades del Cantón Tena, 'Deviations from the standard in the Kichwa spoken in the communities of the Canton of Tena' (Andi Aguinda 2012). Perceptions of the relationship between, and even the very naming of, linguistic varieties are thus ideologically loaded, evaluative processes of semiotic differentiation.[74]

The process of language standardization in Ecuador is deeply interwoven with multiple, at times competing, ideologies of language. In particular, an ideology that links linguistic and political unification has shaped the discourses and practices of many of the architects of language standardization. At the same time, discourses of scientific rationality and objectivity have also been used to support language standardization. Central, as well, is a commitment to the use of formal, bilingual education to consolidate and transmit a "formal" register of Unified Kichwa (Montaluisa 2018, 307). These themes are particularly evident in Montaluisa's (2018) account of the development of Unified Kichwa as told by one of its main architects, which highlights the role of a variety of language ideologies in shaping approaches to, and the present outcomes of, language standardization and revitalization programs in Ecuador.

3.2.1 A brief history of unification

As speakers in Ecuador well know, a standard is not simply found and recorded, but carved out from a diversity of linguistic practices through identifiable processes.[75] The creation

---

[74] The presence of a standard that can be metalinguistically named concurrently implicates some degree of ideological differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000) with varieties that now find themselves non-standard. When a standard has been carved out of the diversity of linguistic practices circulating among an aggregate of people then certain practices will necessarily be bounded off, and frequently evaluated against, that standard. In the case of American English, Lesley Milroy (2000) describes that the standard is often defined negatively, as standardness is measured by the degree to which nonstandard forms that index socially stigmatized codes and speakers are absent from a person's speech.

[75] Einar Haugen (1966) outlined the basic processes of standardization in his treatment of the growth of nationalism in connection to the creation of national languages from dialects. For Haugen, the process of standardization is intimately linked to the rise of the nation-state, and the need for a single code that can express national identification (1966, 927–28). In detailing the process of constructing a standard language, he identifies four key steps: "(1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community" (1966, 933). This process of standardization joins with standard language ideology in multiple ways, as it frequently draws upon different understandings of standard: standard as uniformity, standard as the most valuable or 'best' variety, and standard as shared in common (Crowley 1997). Eventually, the history of the purposeful or ideological construction of the standard may be erased, so that the standard is deeply felt to be the only correct and legitimate

of Unified Kichwa is inextricably linked to the history of pan-Indigenous political organization and bilingual education. This is not simply a case of compatible political institutions emerging at the same time, but rather the use of standardized language to directly support the goals of political unification, and thus, political empowerment of Indigenous peoples (Graham 2002). As Montaluisa explains, the meetings held in 1980 to standardize the orthography of Ecuadorian Quichua for use in literacy campaigns were contentious. In these meetings, he demarcates two ideological camps: the first, which he identifies as supported and influenced by SIL linguists, expressed opinions in favor of regional orthographies and emphasized the differences between different groups of Indigenous peoples. The second, in favor of standardization, argued that "the Indigenous peoples of [Ecuador] faced shared problems, and that unification of all was necessary to confront these problems, [and] proposed orthographic unification and literacy methods" to meet this goal (Montaluisa 2018, 294).[76] Yet, national-level language planners confronted issues in unifying people committed to their various regional orthographies. SIL linguists very likely had their own commitments to the regional, Spanish-derived orthographies that they had previously used for linguistic documentation and bible translation. Nevertheless, ideologies of linguistic differentiation that emphasize differences between regional varieties, and the connection of these varieties to identifiable groups of people, particularly one's elders, were pervasive among my interlocutors in Napo, suggesting that objections to standardization ran deeper than the influence of missionary linguists and were at least partially grounded in a complex assemblage of community-specific ideologies of language.

---

form of the language (L. Milroy 2000, 63). In turn, the construction of a standard may entail the ideological erasure or minimization of other varieties of the language, as well as of internal variation within the standard (J. Milroy 2001, 66, 82; L. Milroy 2000, 534).

[76] Spanish original: "Otro grupo, que consideraba que los indígenas del país tenían una problemática común y que era menester la unificación de todos para hacer frente a los problemas, propuso la unificación de la escritura y el método de alfabetización.

Although Montaluisa describes the role of what have been called "externally imposed" (P. V. Kroskrity 2018) language ideologies in shaping opposition to Unified Kichwa, he does not provide a similar analysis of the role of other remediated ideologies—like that of the hegemonic standard—that have been influential in consolidating support for language standardization. As in the United States (Silverstein 1996b, 1996a; P. V. Kroskrity 2018), an adherence to hegemonic ideologies of a monoglot standard and linguistic nationalism have been influential in approaches to language standardization and revitalization in Ecuador.

Text-based approaches to language planning and revitalization have held enormous influence in Ecuador, as well as in the fields of linguistics, language loss and endangerment, and linguistic anthropology. Many scholars of language, enthusiastically transmitting the call to "save" Indigenous languages, have contributed to a widespread emphasis on revival through documentation and the development of alphabets, dictionaries, and grammars (Frawley, Hill, and Munro 2002; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Fishman 1991; Hornberger and King 1996; cf. Whaley 2011). Bilingual education programs utilizing such materials have been an important way to reclaim symbolic legitimacy for speakers of Indigenous languages. Yet, these projects have sometimes encountered difficulties in producing fully bilingual speakers, as focus on learning a code does not necessarily lead to competency in *use* of that code in different contexts (Hinton and Meek 2018; S. M. Coronel-Molina editor. and McCarty 2016; Messing 2016). Alternative approaches to language revitalization that focus on immersive, oral transmission outside of formal education settings, such as master-apprentice programs in Native North America (Hinton 1997; see also Davis 2018) and Maori "language nests" have also been explored (J. King 2001) with positive results for extending language use beyond the classroom.

However, documentation and formal education continue to provide some of the dominant models for language revitalization in disciplinary linguistics (Shah and Brenzinger 2018).

Methods aimed at reclaiming formal education for Indigenous languages have frequently been supported by Indigenous intellectuals, many of whom have embraced bilingual education and writing in Indigenous languages using standardized orthographies (French 2010; Limerick 2017; Wroblewski 2012; Faudree 2013). Significantly, the creation of a standard lends what Bourdieu (1991) called "symbolic power" to Indigenous languages, elevating them to the status of colonial languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, or English. This has also been the case for Ecuador, where discourses of scientific rationality in language planning, as well as of the unifying power of a common script, have shaped contemporary approaches to bilingual education and language revitalization.

At stake in Montaluisa's analysis, then, are hegemonic beliefs regarding the necessity of a single language for a single polity, as well as the role of expert allies and scientific discourses in supporting the consolidation of a standard. Like many pro-unification language activists with whom I have interacted, Montaluisa cites (2018, 288) nationalist Basque revitalization of Euskara through standardization based on linguistic history as a major precedent for the ongoing standardization of Ecuadorian Quichua. In particular, he is drawn to the use of diachronic and etymological studies to construct a standard on the basis of shared linguistic history, arguing:

> The principal criteria chosen to decide among phonological and grammatical variations of the
> language, in accord with its unification, is the etymology, that is, that which is based on historical
> knowledge of linguistic evolution. This means that the oldest variants allow for the unification of

the language's orthography, while the linguistic innovations responsible for dialectal

fragmentation point to the dispersion before standardization.[77]

Montaluisa, then, positions linguistic unification, particularly for use in intercultural bilingual education programs, as necessary for the political empowerment of Indigenous Ecuadorians, while ideologically grounding its legitimacy in diachronic studies of linguistic history.

Such discourses of scientific rationality through linguistic description have played a fundamental role in the consolidation of Unified Kichwa, and are linked to both non-Indigenous allies, as well as Quichua language activists and linguists. Montaluisa indicates that efforts to document and standardize Ecuadorian Quichua first emerged from research carried out at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador (PUCE) in the 1970s, under the direction of the linguist Consuelo Yánez, whose study of two dialects of Quichua in the Central and Northern contributed to a standardized method for teaching Quichua at PUCE to Spanish-speaking professors working in Indigenous communities (Montaluisa 2018, 219). Yánez was also director of the Center for Research on Indigenous Education (Centro de Investigaciones para la Educación Indígena – CIEI) from its foundation in 1979 until 1985, while Montaluisa served as director until 1986 when the center was closed due to mounting tensions with the Ministry of Education (Montaluisa 2018, 298). AT CIEI, Montaluisa describes, "it was thought that the only way to have a common orthography for all of the dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua was to take the phonology of the language as a starting point" (2018, 292).

---

[77] Spanish original: "El principal criterio que se elige para decidir sobre las variantes fonológicas y gramaticales de la lengua, en función de su unificación, es el etimológico, es decir aquel que se basa en el conocimiento histórico de la evolución de la lengua. Esto significa que las variantes más antiguas permiten unificar la escritura de la lengua, en tanto que las innovaciones lingüísticas responsables de la fragmentación dialectal apuntan a la dispersión antes que a la estandarización" (Montaluisa 2018, 312).

However, as the phonological starting point was initially drawn from a limited range of studies based on two regions of the Ecuadorian highlands, these varieties have largely provided the ideological center for the forms of language standardization. This ideological centering of the standard in highland forms is further reinforced by the grounding of standardized norms in linguistic reconstructions of Proto-Quechua. Their approach, however, led Frank Salomon to describe that the CIEI uses "an ortho-phonemic [grafofónemico] representation that does not reflect the reality of any Ecuadorian dialect, but rather an imaginary and idealized lingua franca" (Salomon 1983, 400).[78] Yet, some varieties are closer than others to the forms of the standard. Based on his dialectal survey, Montaluisa writes that "if Proto-Quechua is taken as the point of reference, the degree of innovation from greatest to least would be the following: 1) Central Highlands 2) Southern Amazon, 3) Central Amazon, 4) Northern Amazon, 5) Northern Highlands, and 6) Southern Highlands" (2018, 317–18).[79] In regional varieties spoken in the Amazon, which have a number of innovations that distinguish them from their Highland neighbors, many people experience the standard as a foreign imposition, in large part because written norms are often treated as a model for new oral registers of speech.

3.3 Standardization and its discontents

Despite a number of contradictions that have arisen in practice, these early efforts to establish a standard language for use in bilingual education were nonetheless also profoundly

---

78 Spanish original: "La desventaja es la misma que se nota en todas las publicaciones del grupo asociado con la Universidad Católica, a saber, la insistencia en una representación grafofonémica que no refleja la realidad de ningún dialecto ecuatoriano, sino una lengua franca imaginaria e idealizada" (Salomon 1983, 400).

79 Spanish original: "Si se toma como punto de referencia el protoquechua, el grado de innovación de mayor a menor sería el siguiente: 1) Sierra Central, 2) Amazonía Sur, 3) Amazonía Central, 4) Amazonía Norte, 5) Sierra Norte, y 6) Sierra Sur" (Montaluisa 2018, 317–18).

radical, progressive, and transformative as they sought for the first time to place Indigenous

Ecuadorians in control of their own education, by actively including languages and speakers that

had been excluded from participation in the classroom as well as national politics. As Montaluisa

suggests (2018, 302–3), many of the issues that have arisen in the application of Unified Kichwa

and bilingual education are related to issues surrounding both corpus and status planning as

primarily oral languages in an unstandardized linguistic ecology entered into new regimes of

value and contexts of use. Spanish-language literacy ideologies in Ecuador, for instance,

generally emphasize a transparent relationship between grapheme and phoneme, as Spanish is

generally treated as having a relatively "shallow" orthography with a "more precise match

between letters and sounds" (Limerick 2017, 106). Such ideologies are frequently transposed to

literacy events, as well as pedagogical materials for literacy, in Quichua.

Although many of the language activists with whom I have spoken support language

standardization at the written level, most also expressed support for the maintenance of regional

speech varieties at the oral level. Nonetheless, pedagogical materials intended for bilingual

educators are often ambiguous on how to present the relationship between oral and written forms

of speech. For instance, the text *Method for the Intercultural Bilingual Education System*

(*Modelo del Sistema de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*) describes the purpose of the Academy

of the Kichwa Language as "the consolidation of Kichwa at *oral* and written levels" (Ministerio

de Educación del Ecuador 2013, 20 emphasis added), implying a concordance between the two,

in addition to an explicit goal of oral standardization. The *Methodological Manual for Language*

Teaching (*Manual de metodología de enseñanza de lenguas*), meanwhile, asserts an even greater

correspondence between written and oral codes; the authors write:

> On the other hand, in the alphabets created more or less recently for some indigenous languages
> we find an unambiguous relationship between letter and sound, so that each form (sound)

119

corresponds to one and only grapheme (letter). In this way, while in Spanish we have up to three ways to represent the sound /k/ (ca, ke, qui), in Quechua and Aymara there is only one (ka, ki, ku). This correspondence allows, for example, for the application of the phonic method [método fónico] in order to teach reading in these indigenous languages, as long as the teacher learns to apply it and has confidence in its effectiveness. With this method children learn the relationship between letter and sound in isolation; that is, for example, that a sound corresponds to the letter *l* or *s,* later they will learn that these letters are called "ele" and "ese."[80]

This presentation of the relationship between letter and sound in teaching manuals implies a transparent correspondence between them, regardless of the regional variety spoken by the student. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, this is far from accurate. For speakers of lowland varieties of Quichua, the grapheme *<k>* frequently does not correspond to the phoneme /k/ but rather to the voiced obstruent [g]; for example, the word spelled *wakra* [cow] in Kichwa Unificado is realized as [wagɾa] in Upper Napo Quichua (Wroblewski 2012, 75). In the standardized orthography, both allophonic and phonemic regional variations in phonology are essentially erased. Although the texts position Kichwa Unificado as a *written* and not oral standard, this presentation points to the possibility for slippage between written and oral standardization, especially when combined with explicit calls for oral standardization, as in the *Modelo* text. Such ideologies influence the relationship between oral and written forms for many of the people with whom I worked.

The speech of radio hosts in Napo evidences the complexity of literacy practices for Quichua speakers. Radio hosts who incorporate Quichua-language texts and messages into their programs generally read them aloud according to the orthography in which they are written. At the Voz de Napo station, Gloria Grefa reads passages from a version of the *Devocionario*

---

[80] Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2010, 52

Quichua (Vicariato Apostólico de Napo 1995), which is written in one of the prior, Spanish-derived orthographies, and which appears to inconsistently mix morphemic and phonemic forms from a number of dialectal regions. Although other sections of the text are closer to the oral forms of Upper Napo Quichua, the translation of "Gloria al Padre," for instance, includes the text *imashina carca callaricpi* 'as it was in the beginning,' with the form *carca* (*karka* in Unified Kichwa) 'was', which in Upper Napo Quichua would be realized *aka*. These differences are summarized in the following table:

Devocionario text	Upper Napo Qu.	Pastaza Qu.	Lower Napo Qu.	Highland Qu.
<carca> [ka-rka]	a-ka	a-ra	ka-rka	ka-rka
BE-PA.3SG	BE-PA.3SG	BE-PA.3SG	BE-PA.3SG	BE-PA.3SG
'it was'	'it was'	'it was'	'it was'	'it was'

Table 3.1 Comparison of past tense in different dialects

These variations result from elision of word-initial /k/ of the copula *kana*, as well as elision of /r/ from the past tense marker *-rka* found in most other dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua. Pastaza Quichua is provided as a further example of the phonological innovations of the southern and central Ecuadorian Amazon, as it also utilizes *ana* and its own unique past tense form, *-ra*. Both Lower Napo Quichua and Highland Quichua, in contrast, utilize the form found in the *Devocionario*. Although Gloria regularly uses the copula *ana*, as well as forms using the past tense *-ka* of Upper Napo Quichua on the air and in everyday speech, when reading from the *Devocionario* she pronounces it [karka]. Radio listeners who prayed along at home, meanwhile, similarly repeated the forms written in the book that were then pronounced on the air, even when in conflict with everyday patterns of regional speech, suggesting the emergence of a particular register for religious speech. Likewise, on the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi*, whose name I discuss in more detail below, the two co-hosts regularly pronounced the name of the program

[ɲampi], transposing the written grapheme *<p>* of Unified Kichwa*, in contrast to the regularized post-nasal voicing of [ɲambi] generally used by Upper Napo Quichua speakers in everyday speech. Orthographic practices and literacy-based approaches to revitalization, then, can have a considerable effect on the oral production of speech in Napo.

In addition to the influence of Spanish pedagogical and literacy practices, ongoing conflicts between Indigenous activists and the policies of the Ecuadorian state surrounding funding and autonomy have stifled some of most transformative pedagogical proposals of language planners and activists. Both Montaluisa (2018, 302–3) and Consuelo Yánez (1991, 62) cite lack of support from the Ministry of Education for many of the conflicts that have emerged around language standardization and bilingual education. Lack of state support for the more progressive goals of bilingual intercultural education was also one of the primary issues with the education system identified by Roberto Cerda Andi, a Quichua politician and language activist from Tena, who was the regional director of bilingual in education in Napo for twenty-four years, and who was actively involved in the language standardization movement. Montaluisa argues (2018, 301, 304) that linguistic training has created widespread acceptance for the necessity of a standard, formal language among educators and politicians, as well as community members influenced by them, but the situation in Napo is much more complex on the ground. There are many, including Cerda Andi, who support the new ideological goals of linguistic and political unification, but there are many others for whom linguistic unification has emerged as a serious imposition on, and even a threat to, their own practices.

3.3.1 Linguistic unification and language ideology in Napo

The story Roberto Cerda Andi tells of the history of activism surrounding bilingual education and language standardization is one that emphasizes the importance of these as

strategies for countering the practices of Spanish-language institutions aimed at the suppression of Indigenous languages and cultures. When I first asked how he began his work in bilingual education, he identified it as a response to the linguistic discrimination of missionary education:

> Ñukanchi ashka… ña kallarikanchi, turmundurikanchi escuela yachanai yaya padregunawa, misioneros catolicos, ñukanchira ña [kachikuna ak-], castigu kunak aka rumira churasha, rumira apichisha ñukanchi shimii, runa shimii rimakpi chita chingachina an ninauka, shinakpi castellanui yachana an.

> *'We… well we began, we suffered a lot in school with the priests, the Catholic missionaries, they punished us by giving us a rock, making us carry a rock when we spoke our language, runa shimi, they said "you must abandon that, you must study in Spanish.'*

However, as Cerda Andi explained, many people rejected these calls for linguistic assimilation, gathering together with the emerging Indigenous Federations with the goal of "strengthening [and] revalorizing our culture," [*ñukanchi kawsayra shayachingak, valichingak*]. Yet, for Cerda Andi, the significant gains represented by the establishment of the national and regional offices of the Direction of Bilingual Intercultural Education have been undone by a lack of government support, and the oversight of the Ministry of Education. As such, the ideal plan he outlined for intercultural bilingual education utilizing Quichua was not possible within the institutional and financial constraints imposed by the Ecuadorian state. He explained that educators had planned for pilot programs based in children's maternal languages, with a gradual introduction of another language, for Spanish and Quichua speakers alike:

> Ñukanchi nishkanchi wawamandara runa shimi yachakgunara chita yachachingak runa shimii, ansa ansa castellanu mishu shimira ikuchingak, rimashun tercer, cuatro grado. Randi castellanu wawa yachakguna shinallara tercer cuatro runa shimira yachachingak. Shina nikanchi, ishkindi ñambira apangak.

'We wanted to teach students who spoke runa shimi as their maternal language in runa shimi*,*
slowly introducing Spanish, let's say in the third or fourth grade. On the other hand, for Spanish-
speaking students, also in the third or fourth grade to teach them runa shimi*. That's what we*
wanted, to take the two paths together.'

But for Cerda Andi, these ideals of immersive intercultural bilingual education were not realized,
"because of a lack of funds, despite many requests." Cerda explained that the outcome of these
projects, were such that Quichua was treated "practically like receiving in a private school any
other language, [as a] second language" Some of the effects of second-language implementation
were evident in the ways that other interlocutors recounted learning Unified Kichwa in school,
such as the young man described in the previous chapter, who reported learning "another
Quichua" at a bilingual school near Coca. Quichua-speaking adolescents in Chawpishungu
sometimes laughed about the strange forms they learned in their Quichua courses at high school;
one day, in particular, they were perplexed that they had been taught to say *ñawi lulun* 'eyeball,'
as they were accustomed to a reduced form commonly used around Archidona: *ni lun*.

As part of his linguistic and cultural activism, Cerda Andi was also actively involved in
the meetings surrounding language standardization, in large part, his explanations suggest,
because of its ideological potential to establish a unified Quichua public. Beyond a shared
writing system, however, Cerda Andi also emphasized the ideological power of lexical
purification through standardization, in order to establish a (counter)private (Debenport 2017) of
ratified or otherwise knowable participants among Spanish speakers. He explained that Quichua
speakers in Napo incorporate many loan words from Spanish, including *pagarachuna* [Que Dios
le pague]*, tarabana* [trabajar]*, intindina* [entender]*, salurana* [saludar]. In contrast to groups like
the Waorani, whose language is not comprehensible to Quichua speakers, he argued, "because
we have taken so many words from Spanish [mishu shimi], they [Spanish-speakers] will

understand [us].[81] He further identified orthographic unification as a major means to overcome the fragmentation of regional dialects. He attended many of meetings organized at PUCE through the Department of Languages and Linguistics, which were described in Montaluisa's account. According to Cerda Andi, the meetings sought to respond to a central question: What to do about regional variations?

> Chibi tandarinauka imara rangai. Limoncocha shuk tunu riman. Loreto shuk tunu riman. Tena shuk tunu riman. Archidona shuk tunu y shinallara Punosuyu, awallakta, sierramanda shuk tunu riman. Imara rangai kuna?
>
> *'There they met, [and asked] What can be done? Limoncocha [in the northwest Ecuadorian Amazon, in what are now the provinces of Sucumbíos and Orellana] speaks one kind. Loreto [in the northernwest Ecuadorian Amazon, present day province of Orellana] speaks one kind. Tena [in the central Ecuadorian Amazon, present day province of Napo] speaks one kind. Archidona [to the north of Tena in present day Napo province] one kind, and then Punosuyo, highlanders [awallakta] from the sierra speak one kind. What can be done now?'*

Here, Cerda Andi echoes many of the ideologies of regional linguistic differentiation I encountered among other speakers in Napo, discussed in more detail below. However, unlike some of the other people with whom I spoke, Cerda Andi identified this situation of regional diversity as a source of "llaki" 'problems; sadness.' These issues, Cerda Andi remembers, were addressed at the Campamento Nueva Vida—the first Congress of the Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, where the pan-Indigenous organization CONAIE was founded—and where, Cerda Andi reports they discussed what orthography was to be used. In this interview, Cerda Andi expressed his support for the ideological power of language standardization to construct

---

[81] "randi, ñukanchiga ashka mishu shimira apisha rimakpi, intindingaraun, kamutaringaraun."

particular publics. Yet, unlike a number of other bilingual educators with whom I have interacted in Napo, Cerda Andi did not transfer the phonological and morphological norms of written Unified Kichwa to his speech during our interview. He did, however, incorporate many of the neologisms of Unified Kichwa to replace the common Spanish-loan words he identified in Upper Napo Quichua. Such forms, in turn, have proven particularly contentious in metalinguistic discussions of language standardization in Napo.

In attempting to establish a more exclusive sphere of interaction for Quichua speakers in public, language activists inadvertently excluded other members of their Quichua-speaking public. An ethnographic moment from my fieldwork at the radio stations illustrates some of these difficulties. Although the register for broadcast media is contested, speakers around Napo are increasingly familiar with expectations from bilingual educators and other standard language activists that Unified Kichwa be used as a public, formal register of speech. During a radio interview, one guest—a prominent local politician— became particularly flustered when she needed to use numbers while speaking in Quichua. Like many bilingual Quichua-Spanish speakers I have met in Napo, she was most comfortable counting in Spanish. As the guest explained after the interview ended, she had earlier attempted to get a position with the Direction of Bilingual Intercultural Education of Napo (DIPEIB-N). However, for the job, she had to take a test in Unified Kichwa that included numbers, as well as months of the year and days of the week, all of which are most commonly discussed in Spanish. Similarly, she recalled questions on the exam focusing on words that she didn't know, such as "how do you say 'car' in Kichwa?" with a correct response of *antawa*, as well as "What is 'flag'?" In an exam seemingly intended to test linguistic competency in the standard code, the guest reported that she received a "zero." Although lexical purification and orthographic unification have lent ideological strength to

126

Unified Kichwa for speakers like Cerda Andi, it has also, contradictorily, engendered anxiety in speakers that sometimes hinders language use. Wroblewski has argued that speakers opposed to or non-literate in Unified Kichwa have tended to "point to its foreignness and unintelligibility, often to the point of extreme exaggeration" (2012, 73). However, many people—even elder monolingual speakers—are sensitive to and adept at managing dialectal variations in Quichua, which now often includes the standard. What often seems to be at stake, in this case, are the social relationships indexed by different varieties of speech, the stances these varieties project, and the various publics established by them. Rather than dismissing these as "exaggerations," it is worth examining the particular ideologies of language that produce such evaluations.

These issues came to the fore in an interview I conducted with Jaime Shiguango, the mayor of Archidona, elected for the administrative period of 2014-2019. Shiguango is a Quichua-speaker in his mid-50s from the community of Porotoyacu. He first trained internationally in agricultural management, but later became a homegrown politician. During his tenure as mayor of Archidona, Shiguango instituted a number of popular social programs, under the banner "Mushuk Ñampi/Un Nuevo Rumbo" [A New Path], including a very popular radio program of the same name. As I attended planning meetings for public events such as the annual *Ñusta Chunta Warmi* [Miss Peach Palm Princess] cultural beauty pageant, Shiguango would often comment that the young contestants should model their speech on that of their grandmothers, rather than the standardized register mandated by the planners and judges involved in intercultural bilingual education in many pageants (see Wroblewski 2012).

When I asked Shiguango about his stance towards the use of Unified Kichwa on the radio program produced by the Municipio of Archidona, Shiguango responded that linguistic unification "has made us lose our own cultural identity, our own language," and worried that "lo

nuestro" 'what is ours' was being lost because of it. Like many of the dialect defenders

interviewed by Wroblewski (2012), Shiguango first identified the Unified neologism for "thank

you" *yupaychani* ('I am grateful') as one of the greatest threats to local linguistic practices.

These practices have become significant markers of a regional public, even when those practices

utilize Spanish-derived forms, such as *pagarachu* ('thank you' or 'may you be paid,' derived

from Spanish *que Dios le pague*):

> *'I am opposed [to unification] because, well, to say yupaychani, when you go to (your)*
> *grandfather's house, they say pagarachu, if you say yupaychani, they don't respond. So, what is*
> *ours is going on getting lost. That's why, in my speech[es], I speak how my father, my mother, my*
> *dear grandmother speak with me, I keep maintaining [their speech]. Sometimes, so I don't come*
> *off poorly in other institutional spaces, I say yupaychani, since it can be necessary to be neither*
> *too left-wing nor right-wing, right? It's better to keep joining together, right? But demanding*
> *what is fair, that we can't lose our own culture, our own language, what we speak'.[82]*

Further, as Shiguango suggests here, many of his actions establish a middle-position towards

Unified Kichwa. Although he is ultimately against linguistic unification, he demonstrates respect

for it institutionally. For instance, his signature platform, Mushuk Ñampi [A New Path] is

spelled in all marketing materials according the conventions of Unified Kichwa. However, his

choice of the word for 'path' is surprisingly complex. In the Ecuadorian lowlands, and in

Shiguango's own interview, the most common pronunciation for 'path' is [ɲambi]. Although the

---

[82] The beginning of the interview was carried out in Quichua, but I initiated a switch to Spanish to ask about language choice on the radio. The original Spanish text is: "Entonces, esto, yo me opongo porque bueno para decir "yupaychani" cuando dicen, cuando vas a donde el abuelito dicen "pagarachu" entienden, si dices "yupaychani" no dicen nada. Entonces se va perdiendo lo nuestro, lo propio nuestro, entonces por esto en mi discurso hablo lo que mi papa, mi mama, mi abuelita me dicen, yo voy manteniendo. A veces por no quedar mal en otras instituciones yo digo "yupaychani," porque a veces un poco hay que también no dejar solo hacer derechista ni izquierdista, ¿no? Mas bien un poco ir empatando, ¿no? Pero reclamando lo justo que nosotros no podemos perder nuestra propia cultura, o sea idioma, lo que hablamos. Por ejemplo, me decían este *lampa*, el machete no era, *mircanu* decían antiguamente o *sawli* decían. Ahora dicen *lampa*. Entonces, no me parece. Esa palabrita nosotros debemos mantener en honor a nuestros antepasados o hasta ahora mantenemos. Pero ahora vienen este unificación de idioma, entonces pierden totalmente. Por eso estoy muy desacuerdo."

Unified form is *ñan*, Shiguango utilizes an officially recognized lexical variant from the lowlands (Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador 2009), in which *ñan* is fused with a non-productive locative marker *-pi*, which, when spoken, undergoes voicing following a nasal.[83] Thus, while this form would read as "on a new path" for speakers of many other Quechuan varieties, for speakers of Upper Napo Quichua, this form simply means "a new path."[84]

While Shiguango stakes out a middle path towards the use of unified forms, he also suggests that there is an exclusionary interactional sphere among ratified participants established by the purging of Spanish-derived words in Unified Kichwa, which excludes elder speakers, who "don't respond" to neologisms. As Shiguango continued, he explicitly expressed an ideology widespread in the Napo that links respect for one's elders to one's language, and which contrasts markedly with linguistic unification:

> *'For example, they've said to me* lampa*, but that was not what the machete was, they said* mircanu *in the past, or* sawli.[85] *Now they say* lampa*. This doesn't seem right to me. We should maintain this little word to honor our forefathers* [Sp. antepasados]*, or even today we maintain it. But now they come with the unification of the language, and everything gets lost. That's why I'm against it.'*

Neologisms, then, have become one of the most significant signs of the division between regional and standardized forms of speech. Moreover, they conflict with ideologies of respect for one's elders, which are central to how many people think about linguistic transmission.

---

[83] In Napo, the productive locative is generally elided to *-i* and may be realized as [y] (e.g. 'in the river' [yakuy] or as a lengthened vowel (e.g. 'in the house' [wasi:]). Some speakers also produce the form -ibi. /p/ is generally voiced following vowels, nasals, and other voiced consonants.

[84] I am grateful to a reviewer of my first publication (Ennis 2019) for pointing out the bivalent interpretations of the program's name.

[85] Orr and Wrisley (1981, 23) list "sauli" as the term used in Bobonaza and Tena Quichua, and also include "lampún," and "mircanu." During my fieldwork, I encountered *sawli* quite frequently, but not the other terms listed. The Ministry of Education's (2009) Unified Kichwa dictionary only lists *lampa*. Although I am unsure of the derivation of 'mircanu,' Oberem (Oberem 1980, 315) reports that "saule" (sauli; sawli) derives from Spanish *sable* 'saber.' Even though these forms are derived from Spanish, what remains significant are Shiguango's boundary-making practices between the varieties, and the ways that they are linked to categories of speakers (elders vs. bilingual educators).

Rita Tunay, one of the young co-hosts of the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi*, where I conducted a great deal of my fieldwork, further indicated that for many in Napo, Unified Kichwa is experienced as a foreign imposition. During an interview about her work at the radio, I asked her, "how do people in Napo feel when their own language, their own culture is heard on the radio?"[86] Although I did not explicitly ask about Unified Kichwa, my invocation of "your own language," led her to contextualize the program's linguistic choices with the debates in Napo about language standardization and institutionalized language programs:

Karan comunidad paktashkai kwintarishkanchi. Payguna rimanushka, kuna timpu killkai gobierno mandashka kay runa shimira yachangawa. Shinakllara mandashka charin kay sierramanda shimira yachangawa, ñukanchi rimanchi Kichwa Unificado.[1]

In each community we visited we talked [with the residents]. They said, these days it is written and ordered by the government to study Quichua. However, the order says to study that language from the highlands (sierramanda), what we call Kichwa Unificado.[1]

S'nakpi rikukpi, kaymanda runa shimiwa rikukpi, chimanda runa shimiwa rikukpiga ansa, shu tunu rimanchi. [2]

Observing this, when we compare runa shimi from here with runa shimi from there, we speak a little bit differently. [2]

'Nakpi randi kaymandakta sakishaga, chimandakta rimangak kallarishkanchi ñukanchi. Kay yachana wasigunai, tukuy chaygunai, wawaguna mana rimashallara clasebi chita yachanun. [3]

So, instead we began to abandon what is from here, in order to speak what is from there. In these schools, in all of that, even children who don't speak learn that [Kichwa Unificado] in class. [3]

'Nakpi yuyarinushka mana nisha kanguna, ñukanchi shimira kikinda rimanguichi, nisha. Ñukanchi ruku yayaguna, rukumamaguna mana intidinun kikinda kay kichwa unificado nishkara, payna mana tan intindinun. [4]

So, they remembered that, and said "no, you all must speak like our own language." Our grandfathers and grandmothers don't understand what's called Kichwa Unificado like ours, they don't understand it so much. [4]

'Nakpi, ñukanchi yuyarisha rikushkanchi. Alcaldes yuyarishka, pay mana munarini nin kichwa unificado, kanguna rimana manguis nin kay rimashka runa shimira, chitami ali intindinun

So, thinking it over, we contemplated. The Mayor thought about it too, and he said "I don't want Kichwa Unificado. You all have to speak the runa shimi spoken [here]." He said, "that elders,

nin ruku yayaguna, mamaguna, ñukanchi rimanchi personas de la tercera edad. [5]	*mothers will understand," [those who] we call the elderly.* [5]
'Nakpi paygunai yuyarishami ñukanchiga kayta rimangak yallillak hawayachisha apangak kallarishkanchi. [6]	*So, really thinking of them, we particularly began to speak this, in order to elevate [it] more.* [6]
'Nakpi chayta payna gustu valichisha uyanushka, valichisha, alimi shina katiychi, alimi, alimi nisha, ah-ah, shina rimanushka.[7]	*So, they enjoyed and appreciated hearing that, and appreciating it they said, 'it's really good, continue like that, it's good, it's good,' mm-hm, that's what they said.* [7]

These comments from both Jaime Shiguango and Rita Tunay suggest that the use of Unified Kichwa excludes elderly Quichua speakers from the new linguistic public established by language standardization. In turn, Rita positions these elder speakers as one of the primary publics hailed by the regional forms of speech most often used on her radio program. Indeed, Rita had earlier explained that one of the most popular features of their programs were recordings the radio team had carried out in communities around Archidona, which established a large archive of historical narratives, personal testimony, traditional music, and other forms of verbal artistry in Upper Napo Quichua. She reported that listeners from nearby Tena had told her when they heard the recordings of traditional songs, they were reminded of their own fathers and mothers, who were long dead, eliciting feelings of sorrow and love ["llakiñan"].[87] Such remediations reinvigorate communicative practices among listeners, and hail publics grounded in affect. In contrast to top-down institutional measures—legal mandates, formal education—she identifies as sources of linguistic rupture, which lead speakers to "abandon what is from here," radio media afford the remediation of a wide range of voices, including the intimate, socializing

---

[87] "Yuyarinchi nin paywa yayauna mamaguna, ña unay wañushkaunara, chi takigunara uyakpi llakiñan nin, payna shina kwintanuk aka nin shinami takisha, ruku yayaguna kawsanuk aka"

narratives of elders, which were once widely shared around a family's morning fire, over steaming bowls of guayusa tea.

Despite her reservations about Unified Kichwa, transcripts from both our interview and from *Mushuk Ñampi* reveal that Rita engages in complex linguistic practices, both on and off the air. Although adept in the regional forms she learned as a child with her grandparents, Rita also completed high school in Archidona, has studied Unified Kichwa, and as a young woman participated in cultural pageants in Napo, events she now frequently hosts as one of the most popular Quichua-speaking *animadoras* (MCs) in Napo. She is thus well-acquainted with many of conventions of Unified Kichwa, and at various points in our discussion she incorporated Unified neologisms such as *antawa* 'car.' Indeed, in line six of the above transcript, Rita uses the form [hawayachisha] 'elevating' [lit. making above], which is generally associated with Unified and highland pronunciations. In Napo, however, this form is normally realized as *awa*, due to regularized elision of word-initial [h]. Conversant in the forms of Unified Kichwa, like Shiguango, Rita often demonstrates respect for her interviewees' linguistic norms by deploying resources from multiple codes. That is, on the air, Rita often switches between the use of a more standardized register of Napo Quichua, and a more regional register, often depending on her interlocutor. I will show examples of this in the following chapter which focuses on the ways that *Mushuk Ñampi*'s radio shows remediate a multimodal production of the early morning guayusa-drinking hours, therein animating a range of social voices, which very often also include those that speak with the regional voice of "our own language."

3.4 The indexicality of "our language"

While language ideologies are embedded in interactions—including mediated interactions, such as when listeners respond to standardized speech on the air as "another" variety—they become particularly visible in metalinguistic statements. In order explore the ways that significant social institutions and practices related to linguistic and cultural socialization are understood by speakers, I carried out a series of survey interviews with residents Chawpishungu.[88] The language surveys I conducted included four questions about linguistic beliefs that regularly elicited comments on regional diversity, as well as the practices of contemporary children and young adults:

1. *Kan rikukpi, escuelai runa shimira yachachina an?*

   In your view, should *runa shimi* be taught in school?

2. *Kamba wawaguna runa shimira rimachu ningui?*

   Do you want your children to speak *runa shimi*?

3. *Ima tunu runa shimira kanba wawaguna rimachu ningui?*

   What kind of *runa shimi* do you want your children to speak?

4. *Kan rikukpi, ima tunu runa shimi tian?*

   In your view, what kinds of *runa shimi* are there?

Table 3.2 Sociolinguistic survey questions

In the following discussion, I highlight three recurrent themes in the interviews that hold particular importance for understanding issues around language shift, revitalization, and standardization: (1) widespread essentialist ideologies of regional linguistic variation and social

---

[88] Data from the following section on ideologies of linguistic variation and belonging in Chawpishungu are drawn from 23 survey interviews carried out with male and female heads of household, who ranged in age at the time of their interview from 25 to 75. All of my interviewees are L1 Quichua speakers from the Archidona-Tena area. I transcribed interviews in ELAN, and tabulated responses for comparison in Microsoft Excel.

133

differentiation; (2) an indexical connection of "our speech" to "our elders;" and (3) an emphasis on the utility of bilingualism.

Many of the debates around language standardization revolve around perceptions of the foreignness of Unified Kichwa. These conflicts hinge less on perceptions of the artificialness of the standard, and more on the ways that people already differentiate among regional communities based on speech. Indeed, as the elementary school in Chawpishungu is exclusively Spanish language, few parents mentioned Unified Kichwa in their interviews, except for the youngest, who had themselves studied it in high school, or those associated in some way with bilingual education. However, in Chawpishungu, as in Cerda Andi's interview, I found a well-developed awareness of regional variations, particularly within the Amazon. While the particular dialectal region varied depending on the speaker, all of the respondents identified multiple regional locations as "shuk shimi" 'another language' or "shuk tunu" 'another kind.' Further, like Southern Quechua speakers (Mannheim 2017), ideologies of local essentialism connecting speech and personal identity to particular places were pervasive among my interlocutors. Languages and people are regularly described using the ablative morpheme *manda*, indicating that they are *from* and *of* particular, named places. In the Amazon, such places included *uray* 'downriver,' referring to the Bajo Napo region; the province of Pastaza; Sarayaku, a well-known autonomous territory in Pastaza, as well as the town of Montalvo farther downriver on the Bobonaza, near the border with Peru; Loreto, located to the northeast of Archidona; Coca, also north and further east; the nearby canton of Loreto, and the town of Ávila to the northeast of Archidona; and Tena, located some 10 kilometers from the Archidona area. Some also identified neighboring linguistic groups like the Shuar and Waorani as speakers of their own *shimi*. However, in contrast to the specificity with which many of interviewees described the Amazon,

134

drawing upon their varied experiences with speakers from the larger region, fewer had interacted with Quichua speakers from the highlands. Some would reflect, then, that the *sierra* in general was another kind of *shimi*, while those with wider experience identified highlands regions such as Quito, Riobamba, and Cayambe. In turn, many people described difficulties in comprehension across dialects.

These attitudes are well summarized by Ines Pizango, a woman in her early 50s from the community of San Rafael in the canton of Archidona. As a Quichua-dominant speaker, Pizango expressed a strong preference for Quichua, proclaiming, "I don't like to hear children speak in Spanish."[89] When I asked her what kinds of *runa shimi* there are, she responded:

> Shuk parti**manda** shimi mana ñukanchi shimi kwinta, mana intindiwakta rimanun, mana intindini, […] Ari, shuk tunu rimanun. Karan tunu yachayras, ñukanchi ñukanchi shimi, paynas shuk tunu, shuk**manda** shimi, shuk tunu rimanun. Uray shimi, ari, payguna, Sarayaku shimi, kay urayma, Quito mashti runaguna shimi shuk tunu rimanun, ari.
>
> *'Language **from** elsewhere, isn't like our language, they don't speak comprehensibly [intindiwakta], I don't understand [...] That's right, they speak another kind [shuk tunu]. Every kind of knowledge, we [have] our language, and theirs [is] another kind, language **from** elsewhere, they speak another kind. Lower Napo [uray] Quichua, yes, them,* Sarayaku shimi*, here downriver [*urayma*], Quito people's language, they speak another, that's right.'*

For Pizango, languages 'from elsewhere' are not like *ñukanchi shimi* 'our language.' These attitudes were echoed by Fabian Grefa Shiguango, a fluent bilingual Quichua and Spanish speaker in his late 30s from the community of Yanayacu near Archidona. He has traveled extensively, and in response to my question about the different varieties of Quichua, described

---

[89] "Ah-ah, ñuka mana gustani castellanui rimashkara uyangawa, wawaguna rimashkara."

his experiences with speakers from other regions. He described, in particular, that speakers of other varieties of *runa shimi* "make a few mistakes" [ansawalla pandanun]:

> Ñuka kwintashkani sierra runaunawa, ah mashti, Cayambemanda runaunawa, kay kay provincia de Napo rimak runaunakllara shinallara cambianun ansawalla. Ari, ansawalla, ñakas intindirin tukuy. Ñukas sierramanda ak runaunawa kwintanushkani shinallara ansawalla pandanun. Ah-ah, shina tunu kwintanushkani. Ari tukuy, ashka sami shimimari, runa shimi ashakllara.
>
> *'I have spoken with* runa *from the* sierra*, um,* runa *from Cayambe, even though they are from this province of Napo, just like that, they are just a little different.[90] That's right, just a little, almost everything is understood. I have also spoken with* runa *from the* sierra*, they also make a few mistakes. Mm-hm, I have spoken with those kinds. That's right, all those, there are really many varieties, even though they are* runa shimi*'*

Fabian's description that speakers of other varieties "make mistakes" in their speech, was repeated by other interviewees. Teresa Tapuy, for instance that described that "we don't understand" highland speakers of Quichua (*awallta tunu*) from Quito, and that "even though they speak like us, they speak a little twisted up with mistakes."[91] Her description of the speech of highlanders as twisted or winding (*kinguchinun*) contrasted with the "straight" (*recto*), flowing (*pasakta*) manner of their own speech in Archidona. For some then, dialectal variations could make speech incomprehensible, while for others, it represented just a small barrier to communication. However, my interlocutors in Chawpishungu also seemed to accept this situation of linguistic diversity as a natural part of the social landscape. As my interlocutors all indicated, there are many varieties of *runa shimi*, each belonging to its own place.

---

[90] Grefa is likely referring to Quichua speakers from Oyachachi in the region of the Cayambe-Coca reserve. Oyacachi is located in the mountainous regions of Napo, near the border with Pichincha province. Based on my observations during a short trip there, speakers in Oyacachi speak a highland variety of Quichua.

[91] Teresa Tapuy, 2017-03-15: "ñukanchi kwinta rimashallara payguna ansa panday kinguchisha rimanun"

While many people emphasized that speakers from other regions were difficult to understand, a number also reported that after conversing they had learned to understand the differences. A few of my interviewees also included examples of regional variations with which they were familiar, and mimicked forms of speech they had learned elsewhere, demonstrating a strong sensitivity to enregistered regional variations in prosody and pitch, phonology, and lexicon. Such was the case for Serafina Grefa and her husband Mariano Aguinda. Serafina, for instance, recounted that her sister had married an *uray kari,* a man from downriver, from the community of Amarun Misa, near Coca. After moving there, Serafina reported, her sister began to speak like a "Coca warmi," and she imitated her speech, her pitch, cadence, and morphology in line 1 of the following transcript:

1	SG	"Aswatami rani" nin.	*She says, 'I make* aswa*,'*
2		Aswata rani… "Aswata upiray" nin.	*I make* aswa*… She says, 'Drink* aswa'
3		"Upirana munanguichu" nin.	*She says, "do you want to drink?"*
4		Ñukanchi shimibiga munanchimi nisha rimanchi	*And in our language, we respond saying, "yes, we do want to."*
5		Ari, payga shu shimii riman.	*That's right, but she spoke in another language.*

<div align="center">[…]</div>

8		Shina rimanun ari, chi uray shimi.	*That's how they talk, that's right, that downriver language*
9	GE	Napu urai?	*Downriver on the Napo?*
10	SG	Ari, Napu urama kawsak runauna shina rimakuna aka, shinakpi..	*That's right, the people who live down the Napo talked like that, so..*
11	GE	Maypurama?	*Where?*
12	SG	Cocamanda urama Amarun Misa runa, chimami ñuka ñaña yachaka paywa shimira.	*From Coca, downriver, people of Amarun Misa, over there my sister learned their language.*
13		Kay ñukanchi kwintana shimira chingachiy chingachiy rasha, randi uray shimira kwintak aka.	*Being made to lose and lose this, our spoken language, instead she was a speaker of the downriver variety.*
14		Shina kwintak ñañami wañuka	*My sister who spoke like that died.*
15		Cocama sirin	*She rests in Coca.*

| 13 | Shina kaybimi ñukanchiga randi shina shimiunara mana yachanchi. Ña payna kwintashkara ansa panday panday rimani. | *Like that here we, in contrast, don't know words/language like that. So, I'm making a few mistakes recounting their speech.* |

In line 1, Serafina's commentary points to a number of perceived differences between the speech her sister came to employ and "our" language. For instance, *aswa* is most often realized as "asa" in Archidona Quichua, and this form remains highly marked for Serafina. She also employs the -*ta* object marker, generally realized as -*ra* following [a] in Upper Napo Quichua. She also uses *rana* 'to do/make,' which is often replaced with *rurana* to avoid possible sexual connotations in Upper Napo Quichua. The verb *upirana* and the command form *upiray* 'drink' also differs from *upina* and *upiy* in Upper Napo Quichua. In Serafina's generation, women usually arrived in their husband's community as a *kachun*, a daughter-in-law, oftentimes at a very young age, and were sometimes reared by their future husband's family; this was the case for some of the elder wives in Chawpishungu. In turn, becoming part of a community, at least for Serafina's sister, involved taking on the speech of those around her, as she left her natal community behind. In contrast to the *uray shimi* of the Amarun Misa *runa*, Serafina described herself as *Archi runa warmi*, an Archidona Quichua woman. Serafina's husband, Mariano, meanwhile, imitated speech he had encountered in other provinces during our interview. He laughingly recounted that in Pastaza, where he had lived for a number of years in his adolescence working as cattle hand, they use words like *ndá* 'yes,' instead of *ari* as in Napo. Though he said he had forgotten many of the forms he had learned, at the time, he had "captured" their language and was able to converse easily. He similarly laughed remembering that in Loreto they use forms such as *karka*, and produced an exchange, which contrasted with what "we" speak:

138

Chi ñukanchi "chibi churakanchi" tapunchi, payna "chipichu karka," ninun. <ha ha> "Mana

chipichu karka" nin, "kaypimi karka," nisha shina rimanun chiguna.

'So we ask, "[should we have] put it there?" and they say, "it wasn't there." <ha ha>

[They] say, mana chipichu karka *[it wasn't there], they say* kaypimi karka *[it was here], that's*

how those ones talk.'

According to Mariano, speakers from Loreto are part of the same *muntun*, or kinship group as

those from the highlands. His evaluation seems to be reflective of the different morphological

and phonological forms embedded in this exchange. In Upper Napo Quichua, the words for

'there' and 'here' are "chibi" and "kaybi," respectively. However, in contrast, Mariano

repeatedly identified the forms "chipi" and "kaypi" in use around Loreto.[92] Further, as discussed

above, the third-person singular past tense *karka* also contrasts with the past tense *aka* used in

Upper Napo Quichua. Mariano joked that not understanding, he and his companions had put the

item in question on the *karka*. For a number of my other interviewees, dialectal differences

largely hinged on lexical differences, such as the use in Pastaza of *win* 'all' instead of *tukuy*.

Such ideologies of lexical differentiation, then, are likely a significant source of conflict for the

introduction of standardized neologisms, such as the oft-maligned *yupaychani* 'I am grateful.'

My interviewees' responses further indicate that enregistered differences in morphology and

phonology, alongside lexicon, are rhematized as markers of regional belonging.

Languages from "elsewhere" were differentiated from languages "from here," *kaymanda*.

When I asked parents what variety of Quichua they wanted their children to speak, I received a

number of variants that emphasized *ñukanchi shimi* "our language." Answers also sometimes

linked the language to particular places, especially *Napomanda shimi* 'the language of Napo' or

---

[92] I have not analyzed the speech around Loreto. However, Orr and Wrisley list *chaipi* [chaypi] as the form in use in the Limoncocha area. It is possible that Mariano is misremembering the form, or that this is another, possibly still undescribed, regional variation.

Archidona *shimi*. Two of my interviewees also offered the descriptor *uma llakta shimi* 'the language of the community of the headwaters' to describe the variety spoken around Archidona, while Serafina described her variety as *Archi runa shimi* 'the language of Archidona Quichua.' Most parents, however, provided deictically-laden answers such as "kay rimashka shimi" 'this spoken language'; "kay Quichua shimi" 'this Quichua language'; "kay llakta shimi" 'this community's language'; "kaymanda ñukanchi shimi" 'our language from here'; "ñukanchimanda shimi" 'the language from us.' While the speech and language of others was described as inextricably linked to other places, my interviewees indexically linked their own language to "here," suggesting an essential relationship between their natal territories and their sociolinguistic identities.

Elders and their speech were also deeply ideologized in connection to "our language." These attitudes emerged throughout my interviews. Ines Pizango, for instance, responded that she wanted her children to speak what she called "ñawpamanda rukuguna sakishka shimillara" 'just the language our elders left.' This was an attitude echoed by Serafina Grefa, whose response to my question emphasized the importance of ideologies of uninterrupted intergenerational transmission of language, and knowledge:

> Ñawpamanda rukuguna sakishka shimira ama kungaringak, ama ichungak. Ñukanchi, chima, payguna ima tunu nisha, kwintasha rukugunami shina rimasha, sakikuna aka ñukanchira, "Kanguna mana kungarina changuichi. Ñukanchiga ñawpamanda rukumandami, kay shimira, ñukanchi apa yayaguna Achi yayagunami, kay shimira sakinuka" nishami kwintakuna aka ñuka mama ñuka papa. Shina rashami, ñukaga kasna kawsani.
>
> *'[I want] the language the elders from before left behind not to be forgotten, not to be thrown away. There, our elders told all kinds of things, speaking like that, they left [it] to us. My mother, my father would tell [us], saying, "You all must not forget. Our grandfathers, the Archidona*

140

fathers, they left this language, from before, from the elders." Doing it like that [not forgetting], I

too live that way.'

Significantly, the way that many people in Napo describe linguistic and cultural shift is with the

word *kungarina* 'to forget.' As Serafina says, she does not want her children to "forget" the

words and language left by their elders. Serafina's son-in-law Fabian also described that he

wanted his children to speak "Napomanda runa shimi" 'the Quichua from Napo' and that it

would be "no good," if children learned *runa shimi* from the highlands. He continued, explicitly

emphasizing the connection to the language spoken by elders:

> Ñukanchi shimira, payna, rukuguna kwintay, chi kwintashka shimiunarami, kwintakpiga valirina.
> Kuti, shuk llaktamanda, shu sierra, costamanda shimiunara cambiasha, valichikpiga, kaybiga ña
> ñukanchillara mana valichiushka kwinta tukun runa shimi.
>
> *'Our language, the stories of the elders, when those spoken words are told, they are appreciated.*
> *Then again, changing for one from elsewhere, a highland or a coastal language, makes it valued,*
> *so here it's like what is ours ends up being unappreciated.'*

All of the parents I interviewed, then, wanted their children to speak their own Quichua, and

connected this Quichua to their elders, as well as to their home territories. Moreover, for parents

like Fabian and for grandmothers like Serafina, forms of speech linked to elders are signs of

respect and valuation of the language of the past in the present, whereas changing one's speech is

a form of rupture and disregard for memory. These ideologies of remembering and respect

conflict with emergent ideologies of linguistic unification, particularly when written norms are

transferred to oral speech, as they become markers of "another kind" of Quichua.

Despite the sometimes-contentious debates and discourse surrounding Unified Kichwa I

often encountered among Upper Napo Quichua politicians and cultural activists, these linguistic

surveys largely did not elicit responses that included Unified Kichwa. Nevertheless, discourse

141

about language teaching and language standardization did emerge at certain points. Unlike most of my other interviewee in Chawpishungu, Lucia Grefa, the youngest *kachun* in Serafina's household at 25 years old, had completed high school as well as some distance university courses, and had experience with Unified Kichwa. Answering a question about her literacy skills in Quichua, she described, "now our spoken language is written with the language from people from the highlands," which, she said, made it difficult to understand.[93] Later, when I asked her what variety she wanted her young son to speak, she responded:

> Munani kay wasii ñukanchi rimaunchi, kasna ñukanchi rimaunchi. Mana kichwa unificado. 'Nakpi pay chita ñawpa punda yachangaraun kasna wasii rimaushkara, chi runa shimira. Kuna shinalla colegioma, escuelama rishkai, pay, payta shu tunu runa shimi yachachingaranun. 'Nakpi munani ñuka may, pay munashka runa shimira yachachu nisha
>
> *'I want [how] we speak in this house, how we speak. Not Unified Kichwa. So, he's first going to learn what is spoken at home, that runa shimi. Then like that when he goes to high school, when he goes to school, they are going to teach him another kind of runa shimi. So then, I want him to learn whatever language he decides.'*

Lucia's comments are telling in a number of ways. Like her in-laws and neighbors, she first describes that she wants her son to learn to speak the way they do at home. Indeed, she emphasizes that this is what her son will first learn. Unlike her neighbors, however, she explicitly identifies Unified Kichwa as something that she will not teach him. Yet, she also imagines that they will teach him another kind of Quichua at school, presumably a Unified variety. She thus concludes that she would allow him to choose the language he wanted. This openness to other languages was repeated in Lucia's strong multilingual ideology, as she also told me that she

---

[93] Lucia Grefa 2017-04-18 "ñukanchi kuna rimaushka shimi, kuna sierramanda mashti runauna shimiwa kuna killkashka, killkashkara leana kallaripi."

wanted her toddler Rumi to learn her Quichua, as well as *mishu shimi*, Spanish, and *rancia shimi,* English. Such an openness to multilingualism, in turn, was the third prominent ideology I found among parents in Chawpishungu.

Many parents with whom I spoke expressed a strong preference for their children to learn "ishkindi shimi," that is, Spanish and Quichua. However, their use of the suffix *-ndi* suggests that they see these as a whole made up by their complementary differentiation.[94] Their responses further appear to reflect an ideology of linguistic utilitarianism (P. V. Kroskrity 2018), in which Spanish is differentiated through its use only among Spanish speakers, while they wished for their children to use *runa shimi* with other *runa*. This view was espoused by one of Serafina's elder sons, Rafael Aguinda, who described that he wanted his children to learn both Quichua and Spanish for use with complementary, but separate populations:

> Ñukaga munanimi runa shimira, shinallara, castellanuras rimanuchu, mana shuk shimira yachangawa, ishkindi shimira. Ñukanchiga runapuraga, ñukanchi shimibi, ñukanchi mishuunawaga castellanubi.
>
> *'What I want is* runa shimi*, as well as for them to also speak Spanish, for them not to learn one language, but two together* [ishkindi]. *[When it is just] us, just among* runa*, [we should speak] in our language, and [when] we [are] with the* mishu *[we should speak] in Spanish.'*

Such attitudes of the utility of Spanish for communicating with Spanish speakers were repeated by many parents. Teresa Tapuy remembered, for instance, that when the school in Chawpishungu was established, they decided not to put in a bilingual program as some suggested, but a Spanish language program so that the children would be able to interact with

---

[94] In Napo, when the suffix *-ndi* is attached to the numeral *ishki* 'two' it can translate as 'both.' This translation, however, misses some of the complexity of this form, which is related to *-ntin* of other Quechuan languages. As in other varieties, it is frequently used to express the ideas of natural, differentiated pairs, such as *kari warmindi* 'husband and wife,' which form a whole differentiated by their complementary forms of production and interaction.

state institutions in town, where elder monolingual speakers of Quichua were discriminated against by Spanish speakers. Yet, many parents and grandparents now also confront children and grandchildren who "don't want" to speak in Quichua and respond in Spanish. Complaints and jokes about children and young people's behavior were common, while their practices were often attributed to their time in Spanish-language schools. These attitudes were expressed by Ines Pizango, who recounted how she becomes angry when young people speak to her in Spanish:

> Ñuka shina yachachini ishkindi shimira, castellañu rimakunara castellañui rimana, ali yachakuna, mana castellañui rimakunara, runa shimii rimana. Ñuka chita munani. Mana... Ñukaras castellañui rimak wawa anun, shina piñani. Mana intindini, rimashka wawa, payna castellanui rimasha shayanun, nakpi, "Imai yackak mama, imamanda mirak wawagunarai? Runa mamai mirak wawauna nishka, runa shimii rimana runa rukuunara. Ñuka chitami gustani.
>
> *'This is how I teach the two languages together: speak in Spanish to those who speak Spanish, to be respectful, speak in* runa shimi *to those who don't speak Spanish. That's what I want. When they speak to me in Spanish too, then I get angry. I don't understand, when children stand around talking in Spanish, then [I say] "What kind of mother, how could these children have been raised? Children that have grown up with a* runa *mother, should speak in* runa shimi *to* runa *elders." That's what I like.'*

These interviews, then, reveal at least two very significant ideologies of language associated with multilingualism. First, parents see bilingualism or multilingualism as desirable for their children. Their attitudes seem to reflect an attitude of linguistic utilitarianism, somewhat similar to that described by Kroskrity speakers of Western Mono, which "foregrounded the practical economic adaptations offered by particular languages, while deemphasizing linguistic contributions to personal and group identity" (2018, 135). However, while my interviewees widely recognized the economic and social utility of Spanish for interacting with Spanish speakers, their ideologies

of linguistic essentialism also lead them to differentiate between *mishu shimi* and *runa shimi* as markers of ethnic identity. The second ideology expressed in these interviews, then, is the very deep importance of language to index different social identities. Children's shifts in linguistic practices are often ideologized as reflective of shifts in social personhood, as discourse frequently circulates that young people are "awallatayasha" 'becoming *mestizo*' by "forgetting" the lifeways, language, and lessons of their elders.

My interlocutors' linguistic ideologies have considerable ramifications for language policy and planning. Their allegiance to "our language" suggests a major conflict with top-down policies of linguistic and political unification through language standardization. However, their answers are also suggestive of alternative models and modalities of language instruction, which could be—or have been—implemented in various ways. Although my interlocutors hold essentialist views about linguistic and social identity, they also express strong variationist and utilitarian ideologies of language. It seems possible, then, that standardized Kichwa Unificado could be taught more effectively in schools, in ways that do not minimize regional variations, but celebrate them as part of a speaker's linguistic repertoire. Indeed, this is a suggestion made by Montaluisa, who proposes that teachers be trained to understand regional variation in order develop "polydialectal" speakers (2018, 309). In turn, Montaluisa indicates that radio programs may be another means to support the creation of polydialectal fluency. In Napo, radio and other media have been taken up both to support linguistic unification, as well as to provide an alternative to top-down language policy focusing on language standardization and literacy. In such programs, "our spoken language" finds space on the air alongside standardized forms.

These interviews also suggest that formal education may not be the only answer for linguistic revitalization in Napo. While parents wanted their children to attend school, they also

expressed a strong preference for the transmission of knowledge between elders and young people within the home. As Fabian said, "We must not forget *runa shimi*. The language left by our elders should only be forgotten upon one's death." According to Fabian, one of the best ways to do this was for young people to record their elders' stories, so that when they die, the stories they had told would not be forgotten.[95] Indeed, this has become a central method for cultural and linguistic revitalization carried out on community radio programs in Napo today.

3.4.1 Alternative modalities for revitalization

Ongoing debates in Napo regarding the use of "another" language for revitalization in bilingual education programs raise complex questions about the effects of these projects among the communities they are intended to serve. Text-based approaches to language revitalization frequently draw upon assumptions still common in some academic fields about the relationship of language to other aspects of social life. Sympathetic scholars and institutions seeking to promote linguistic vitality, may inadvertently incorporate their own beliefs about language into their documentation and revitalization of endangered languages, often treating language as a system separable from other domains of social life and culture (Mühlhausler 2002). However, a growing body of scholarship produced by linguistic anthropologists, particularly those working at the intersection of Native American and Indigenous studies, questions some of the central assumptions and ideological entailments of these approaches to language shift and revitalization (Meek 2010; S. M. Coronel-Molina editor. and McCarty 2016; Hinton, Huss, and Roche 2018; Nevins 2013; Davis 2017). Perley (2012), for instance, highlights a focus on extractive practices

---

[95] "Runa shimiraga mana kungarina chanchi. Rukuunamanda shimi, chitaga wañushalla kungarina anmi. Mas yachachina, intindichina manchi ñukanchi wawaunara. Shina tunu ruku kwintayra karan comunidadbi charisha, kasna kwintasha uyarikpi wawaunasga, intindisha, grabasha, apishaga ruku wañukpisga, kwintashka shimigunaraga mana kungarina angaraunun." [Fabian Grefa]

in linguistic documentation, describing the production of "zombie languages," as these "languages are neither dead nor alive in that the languages no longer live among active speakers, nor have they vanished or disappeared" (2012, 134). Documentation further becomes elevated to a form of salvation for endangered languages. Yet, as Perley so evocatively argues, "the forced disembodiment of heritage languages from speakers is traumatic and tragic" (2012, 137), suggesting, that languages are anything but durable, fixed objects for the people for whom they gave form to a communicative world. Perley, further calls to "shift the focus of language experts documenting languages to include 'saving' communicative practice, while preserving the code" (2012, 146).

Although formal education is undeniably a significant strategy to revive and revitalize threatened languages, it is but one method in a larger toolkit. Documentation and the production of texts in Indigenous languages, alongside formal education, can be extremely significant means to support contemporary movements for Indigenous sovereignty and establish future records for speakers whose practices have been subject to colonial violence and rupture.[96] However, hegemonic beliefs about language, particularly its separability from other domains of practice or the connection of a standard language to a unified polis, are often included in such projects. It is thus important to remain attentive to the ideological presuppositions and possible mismatches of documentation and revitalization projects for those involved, and the possibilities of other forms of mediation to respond more effectively to local ideologies of language, which in Napo, have largely focused on both oral and embodied transmission of knowledge among multigenerational, kin-based residence units. At stake in these projects, then, are not just ideologies of language, but

---

[96] Indeed, I have engaged in my own projects of textual documentation through collaborative research in which I produced a collection of oral literature with the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo. We published the collection as a trilingual book and DVD, requiring us to navigate complex orthographic choices and translational practices.

also ideologies of media (Gershon 2010) and mediation. As in other contexts of language revitalization, ideologies of communication, pedagogy, and socialization emerge as particularly important (P. V. Kroskrity and Field 2009; Nevins 2004). Many Quichua-speaking parents in Napo are concerned with not just *what* is transmitted, but *how*—that is, the channels through which—it is transmitted to their children. Consequently, community media production has emerged as a new and powerful medium for socializing novices into shifting practices, while amplifying the abilities of those that have maintained them.

3.5 *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path' for revitalization

The radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path' first intervened in the complex linguistic and media ecology in Napo in the summer of 2015. The program is funded by the Municipality of Archidona, under the direction of the mayor Jaime Shiguango, as part of his platform of "Mushuk Ñampi." With this program, Shiguango sees himself staking out a new path for the residents of Archidona, with major programs focused on economic and social development, especially through community tourism and other forms of "sustainable development" (*desarrollo sostenible*). One of the most important facets of this campaign is similarly named radio program *Mushuk Ñampi*, a two-hour variety show, which is produced live between 4 and 6 a.m. in Archidona's municipal offices or a village in the township and simultaneously transmitted throughout Napo by two stations in Tena, as well as over the Internet. Shiguango's radio program is explicitly directed at a rural audience he sees as ignored by most broadcast media and erased by linguistic unification. However, it is also an important medium to advertise the cultural programs and social projects underway in Archidona, and the programs are

thus also directed towards national and international audiences, as a way to simultaneously counter deep-seated discrimination against Indigenous Ecuadorians and foment tourism.

Despite the importance of Quichua-language speech on *Mushuk Ñampi*, when Mayor Shiguango explained the goals of the program to me, he did not focus explicitly on language revitalization. Rather, he described, "the goal of the radio above all is to transmit and strengthen [*prevalecer*] culture." He continued, listing a number of the areas which are the explicit subject of Mushuk Ñampi's programming, particularly during their monthly, multimodal *wayusa upina* broadcasts:

> *'Within culture, we have our food, dance, Quichua sporting, that is, hunting, the* pajuyujs *[those with power], which is the transmission of powers/abilities, shamanism, natural medicine or traditional medicine, as well as how to live in the rainforest. So, for example, when one goes to the communities, the people tell stories, how it was before, now we do things like this. So [the goal is] to see how we connect with* [empatar]*, let's say these skills* [técnicas]*, that existed before once again.'*

Shiguango thus conceives of the radio program as a central method for entering into communities and revalorizing knowledge and skills that are still present in various modalities. This was a point that emerged when I asked about discourse in Spanish that surrounds the program, which focuses on "revalorizing" [*revalorizar*], rather than "saving" [*rescatar*] culture. Shiguango continued, again pointing to his conception of "culture" as grounded in existing material practices and rural lifeways:

> *'"To revalorize" [revalorizar] means that the culture already existed, we have [it], we know [it]. 'Save' [rescate] is when everything is already lost, I'll say "I'll save this part," right? That's why I, I'm not [unintelligible], I said, "my father knows how to make chicha, how to survive in the rainforest, what it is to make the shigra [woven net bag]." Will I say, "I am going to save a*

shigra or a basket"? No. It is that it already exists. What remains is to value [valorar] what we

have and show it to the public so that they recognize it, right?'

Here, Shiguango discursively links material objects to social figures and contexts of use and

positions them within a new regime of value. His answers, in turn, are suggestive of an

alternative model to revitalization, which contrasts with the well-established focus on language

unification that he opposes. Instead, he links multiple modalities of cultural practice, while

focusing on the ways that such practices should be transmitted through interactions with named

social figures: fathers, mothers, and grandparents. Language, then, becomes a vehicle for

transmission, but the focus is on communication within contexts of use and practice.

Interviews with residents in Napo suggest that language policy has had a significant

impact on the positive valuation of Quichua, as many people cited the inclusion of Quichua as a

legally official language of the state as a way of revalorizing the language. Yet, revitalization

practices rooted in linguistic unification and standard language literacy also often turn out to be

at odds with how many people conceive of the transmission of language and culture. In contrast,

many of the activities and non-discursive signs marshalled in a multimodal register of Upper

Napo Quichua revitalization media remediate the ways in which cultural practices are described

to have traditionally been transmitted within the home, bringing them onto the airwaves and

repositioning them within new regimes of value. Moreover, many of these programs, and the

broader mediascape of which are a part, are explicitly oriented towards reinvigorating

interactional relationships and contexts of use within the home, connected to the 'words the

elders left,' and thus seek to extend revitalization beyond knowledge of a standard code to

language as a living communicative and relational system. In contrast to the seemingly singular

voice of unified text, the aural and oral nature of the medium has allowed for the emergence of a

multivocal public sphere, in which multiple forms of speech and communicative practices meet

and find space together on the airwaves. These programs, then, are ways of remediating and reanimating elders' voices and practices for ongoing circulation in the future, through forms that are responsive regional ideologies of socialization, authority, and respect for the words of one's elders—though, as we shall see, they also involve their own ideological reconfigurations.

Chapter 4
Reanimating Elders in a Multimodal Mediascape

4.1 Introduction

In the Ecuadorian Amazon, cultural and linguistic activists are increasingly turning not to text, but to broadcast and performance media as sites of cultural revalorization and renewal. In doing so, many seek to establish indexical connections between the present and the past brought to life through their elders' vivid, embodied narratives. But, how is the past brought to life in the present? Increasingly, Upper Napo Quichua media producers and community members are remediating and re-animating their historical and contemporary lifeways through multimodal mass media practices. In addition to the expected aural and oral modes for radio media, these radio programs also draw on embodied, visual, olfactory, and alimentary modes of experience. While such programs seek to revitalize and revalorize regional linguistic forms, they more directly seek to renew the contexts of use and interactional routines through which those forms are seen to have been more robustly transmitted in the past.

Once a month, between 4 and 6 a.m. on the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* 'A New Path,' the familial home reawakens for both radio listeners and a large, co-present audience. In these programs, two young radio hosts and a rotating cast of community participants remediate (Bolter and Grusin 1999; Silvio 2007)—that is, refashion from one medium of transmission into another—and reanimate the intimate morning routines known as the *wayusa upina* 'the drinking of guayusa tea.' These programs are part of a densely interconnected mediascape in Archidona that in turn radiates throughout the province of Napo and its neighbors. Participants in this

152

mediascape draw on many of the same discursive and nondiscursive signs, interactional routines, and material practices to configure a multimodal register (Ennis 2019; Agha 2011) of Upper Napo Quichua media. *Mushuk Ñampi*'s live radio programs are thus inseparable from other forms of cultural mediation in Napo, which include, among other modes, Indigenous cultural beauty pageants, parades and harvest festivals, community celebrations, dance exhibitions, live and recorded musical performances and music videos, political rallies, television programs and community film, and user generated social media. Across these media, cultural activists and performers reproduce significant practices such as the *wayusa upina*—discussed in detail in this chapter—as well as events such as hunting in the forest and working in the *chagra*, the traditional *tapuna* 'engagement ceremony,' or medicinal rituals surrounding birth.

Anthropologists working in the Ecuadorian Amazon have thus far approached many of these forms of public culture through the lens of "cultural performance" (Rogers 1998; Wroblewski 2014), which often lead them to questions of "tradition," "authenticity" and "essentialization," with anthropologists serving as sleuths hunting for the invention of tradition and the gaps between performers and their roles. However, where an analytic of performance has drawn attention to the ways that individual actors perform a role, as it were, on the stage of social life, the emerging analytic of animation draws increasing attention to the techniques and semiotic modes through which a group of participants project "qualities perceived as human—life, power, agency, will, personality, and so on—outside of the self and into the sensory environment" (Silvio 2010, 427). Moving beyond notions of animation as tied to a particular medium—that is, as it is often thought of as hand-drawn or computer-generated—the anthropology of animation deals with "the comparative study of the technes of animation" (Silvio 2010, 427), or the ways characters and interactional environments are brought to life. In this view, *Mushuk Ñampi*'s

multimodal radio programs, as well as the mediascapes of which they are part, are ways of remediating and re-animating—bringing back to life—the chronotopic world of their elder's past within the present, for ongoing circulation in the future.

These programs project what Bakhtin and linguistic anthropologists alike have called chronotopes. Bakhtin (1981 [1938]) defined chronotopes as conventionalized ways time (*chronos)* and place (*topos*) are represented in different artistic periods, genres, and novels, as well as the logics of personhood and action presupposed within such spatiotemporal frames. Linguistic anthropologists have similarly explored the semiotic mediation of subjective experience through "cultural chronotopes," which, as Agha describes, pertain to "a semiotic representation of time and place peopled by certain social types" (2007b, 321). On *Mushuk Ñampi*'s *wayusa upina*, a chronotope of *ruku kawsay* is brought to life each month among participants and listeners—whose engagement with these programs and their chronotopic worlds spans the radio-mediated moment of production, as well as prior preparations for and later (re)circulations of the program.

As participants and producers bring these chronotopic worlds to life in the present, their radio programs become examples of what Biddle and Lea have described as an Indigenous *hyperreal,* "art at work to make the real *more* real, when the real is itself what is at risk, at stake: namely, Indigenous history, language, presence, silence, denied, ignored" (2018, 6, emphasis in original). Indigenous media are thus significant forms of "survivance," which Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor in part defined as a move beyond survival to creating "spaces of synthesis and renewal" " (1994, 53) in the face of cultural genocide. Rather than establishing a distant, inaccessible past, however, these programs actively make the past present among participants and audiences, bringing 'the words our elders left behind' to life. These reanimations

of elders' voices once occurred more robustly within households, as speakers used the narratives handed down across generations as sources of counsel and knowledge about the shape of the Upper Napo Quichua social world and its practices. Today, however, they are occurring with greater frequency in community broadcast media, and by extension, among the cultural organizations and community members that participate in these productions. Moreover, they become accessible in new ways to their various receptive audiences.

Chapter 2 introduced a puzzle that shaped much of my research: *Why invest so much effort in monthly live-broadcast, multimodal dramatizations of their elders' practices, which the majority of audience members will only experience aurally?* Part of the answer lies in the sense of endangerment many people feel regarding the practices and interactional spaces where linguistic and cultural socialization are deemed to have once taken place. Producers of the program *Mushuk Ñampi* are engaged in an alternative effort to reinvigorate and "revalorize" regional practices, symbols, and discursive forms they experience as threatened by shift towards Spanish, as well as by other approaches to language revitalization. Their programs provide an alternative to writing-based language revitalization based on the use of standardized Unified Kichwa in well-intentioned and well-established bilingual education programs. Through media events like Indigenous beauty pageants and public storytelling exhibitions, largely directed at an urban, bilingual audience, bilingual educators have sought to enregister an "intercultural code," which Wroblewski (2014) describes as a regionalized register of standardized Unified Kichwa, alongside well-established icons of lowland Quichua cultural practice based on swidden agriculture and forest-based subsistence. However, alternative revitalization projects like *Mushuk Ñampi*'s multimodal radio programming allow for the recalibration of these signs to establish indexical links to the voices of elder figures, speaking with enregistered sounds and forms of

155

regional varieties of Quichua. Such programs are oriented towards members of a local counterpublic, who feel themselves erased by revival practices based around bilingual education, language standardization, and literacy projects. Through repeated public instantiations of a multimodal chronotope of their elders' words and worlds, the participants in these programs seek to reanimate and revalorize their own history of linguistic and cultural practices in the context of rapid social, economic, and environmental change that have spurred shift at multiple levels.

At the center of these programs is the *wayusa upina*, the drinking of guayusa tea. Seen by many as the site where children are socialized into the lifeways of their elders, both narratives of personal and familial experience and the ethnographic record reveal the ways that the *wayusa upina* is described to have occurred in the past, as well as the discourses of endangerment surrounding its current practice. While still a central practice in some rural households, the *wayusa upina* is now much less relevant to the daily routines of many others. *Mushuk Ñampi*'s programs, however, combine multiple modes of semiotic practice in order to bring to life the social figures, interactional routines, and material practices of the *wayusa upina* in a time-space often referred to as *ruku kawsay* 'the lifeways of the elders.' Yet, the voices these social figures speak with are sometimes contested, as regional and standardized voices coincide on the air during *Mushuk Ñampi's* program, establishing a multivocal public sphere. Ultimately, however, these programs bring to life a multimodal chronotope of the past, which participants hope will be projected into the future, as a source of synthesis and renewal in the face of multiple pressures towards the intergenerational rupture and shift of language and lifeways.

4.2 Upper Napo Quichua "cultural performance" in context

Quichua speakers in Napo have utilized cultural production as part of their efforts to establish political sovereignty since at least the 1960s. Pan-indigenous political movements emerged to counter accelerating processes of settler colonialism in the region, which Macdonald suggests, "created much sharper ethnic boundaries and a heightened sense of 'ethnicity'" (1999, 7). Such a "heightened sense of 'ethnicity'" has been also noted by other anthropologists conducting research among Upper Napo Quichua communities, who have focused both on processes of lowland Quichua "acculturation" (Hudelson 1981; cf. Uzendoski and Whitten 2014) in the context of settler colonialism, as well as ongoing "ethnogenesis" in response to multiculturalist state politics (Wroblewski 2012).

One space in which this 'heightened sense of ethnicity' in Napo has been especially noted is in public media. Beginning in 1980, cultural activists based in Tena initiated what has become a major site of cultural production in the area—the crowning [*akllana* 'selection'] of a *ñusta*, an Indigenous Princess, in elaborate cultural pageants, modeled in many ways on international beauty pageants and their realization among local settler populations (Roberto Cerda Andi, personal interview Nov. 15, 2016; cf. Wroblewski 2014; Rogers 1998). According to language activist and former politician Roberto Cerda Andi, local activists demanded public space to produce these pageants because they wanted to highlight the beauty of their own culture. As he explained, "We were ignored. There was only one culture: colonist [*colona*], white [*blanca*], Hispanic [*hispana*], whatever you want to call it, culture. And ours?" For activists like Cerda Andi, these public events were opportunities to "value" the beauty of Quichua women and culture, which had been "ignored" by the dominant colonial society. Over the last 40 years, such pageants have become a widespread and popular feature of the Upper Napo Quichua

mediascape. They are also widely practiced in other areas of the Amazon, as well as elsewhere in Ecuador, though they have come under increasing critique in other regions. Nadino Calapucha, lead singer of Kambak 'Yours' and a full-blown Amazonian Quichua popstar from the province of Pastaza who performs regularly at *ñusta* pageants, proposed that although the pageants sometimes turn women into "adornments," they are of the only places in Tena and other urban areas where Quichua people are able to make their culture publicly visible. While this may have been the case in the past, increasingly, radio and media platforms have amplified these spaces in Napo. Nevertheless, cultural pageants remain popular among their Quichua publics in Napo; across different scales of production—from rural communities to large coliseums, these events draw considerable crowds, who clamor for their preferred contestants.

As public events, pageants and other sites of cultural production in Napo address multiple audiences. Indeed, it is in such pageants that many anthropologists of the region encounter contemporary Upper Napo Quichua cultural production. In turn, anthropologists such as Rogers (1998, 1996) and Wroblewski (2014) have analyzed these events through the lens of cultural performance and representation. Rogers describes, for instance, that "an integral component of the pageant involves the assumption of 'traditional' dress and behavior, which is thought by organizers, contestants, judges, and audiences to be a more authentic or truer expression of essential indigenousness than the still ethnically marked costumer and behavior of contemporary indigenous women" (1998, 74). Wroblewski further describes these events as moments of "strategic essentialism," in which self-consciously "primitivist formulas" are deployed for cultural survival (2014, 72). Both highlight in particular that in these pageants, participants don historical and imagined forms of dress of the past, therein representing social figures that are more "ideal" than "real," while they speak in regionally-inflected or Unified Kichwa and "play-

[act] native rituals" which "reinforces that this is an 'indigenous performance'" (Wroblewski 2014, 172).

However, as in all forms of semiotic practice, the signs deployed in such pageants will have distinct semiotic grounds for different audience members. For those like Rogers and Wroblewski, the diverse signs recruited in such pageants are often interpretable as essentialized icons of feminine Amazonian indigeneity. As Rogers notes, however, his analysis is grounded in his own position as an audience member, as well as informal conversations with others in the audience and organizers. Wroblewski likewise appears to draw upon greater research with audience members and institutional pageant organizers. These authors thus provide needed critiques of the political economy surrounding the ways that Amazonian Quichua indigeneity is articulated among largely urban, multicultural audiences.

However, many of the signs treated in past analyses as essentialized icons, or as "play acting" of native rituals, are often interpreted as indices, contiguous for cultural producers, participants, and many audience members with their contemporary homes, as well as the ways that they remember and imagine the past. Among many Upper Napo Quichua community radio producers, media consumers, and cultural revitalization organizations, such public media events become ways of *reanimating* figures from the past in the present. In these programs, participants define and reconnect to interactional practices, lifeways, and material forms that have been increasingly ruptured in the contemporary context of settler colonialism. Not just some sort of spurious invention or mere performance of culture, these programs create opportunities through which cultural practices can be remediated and reanimated across sites of production and across generations. The practice of *wayusa upina* as it is carried out today in rural households in Chawpishungu, as well as in descriptions that circulate both in radio media and the ethnographic

record, reveal how practices and discourses have been refashioned across sites of production in revitalization media, as well as why they are significant for the goals of *Mushuk Ñampi* to revalorize Upper Napo Quichua cultural practices and language.

4.3 Endangered chronotopes

In homes around Napo, many Quichua-speaking residents of rural communities and urban neighborhoods continue to awaken before dawn and drink guayusa—prepared on both stovetops and open fires—accompanied by the soundscape of Napo Quichua radio, which has typically included pre-recorded music, morning prayers from the Catholic station, and bilingual Spanish-Quichua talk shows. Listeners often comment to each other and themselves on the talk and songs, and if the family has gathered for the day, adults may also discuss events while they drink guayusa, weave *shigra* bags or fishing nets, and prepare food, sometimes with children sitting by quietly. Yet, many practices once described in connection to the *wayusa upina* are no longer carried out today. During my time in Chawpishungu, I rarely heard people discuss their dreams in the morning. Nor did they make music, nor tell many stories; at least not the "mythic" narratives that an overeager researcher—like me—would have expected from the numerous published collections of Lowland Quichua oral tradition. Serafina has repeatedly told me that she does not remember such stories, though she heard them during the *wayusa upina* in her childhood when her mother and other relatives would narrate distant and near history and discuss their lives. However, as the youngest child in her family, many of Serafina's elder relatives died early in her life, and in her husband's home she found herself without a community of speakers to practice and hone her knowledge of such narratives. The loss of these social relationships is one source of significant, and ongoing, intergenerational rupture. Media production and the

mediated interactional relationships established by the radio, however, have emerged as a significant way to augment existing communicative networks and conversational practices.

The hosts and producers of the radio program Mushuk Ñampi are thus attempting to reinvigorate the intimate familial spaces where elders once transmitted narratives and other modalities of traditional cultural practice. By recording stories and interviews with members of the rural communities that dot the mountainous rainforest around Archidona, the program seeks to bring these voices to the airwaves, so that they will not be forgotten. Stories of the near past, which detail the material practices of elders' childhoods and the ways that communities were founded and settled are of the most common genres in this archive. In these narratives, speakers frequently link the guayusa hour to a particular way of being in the world, which young people are "forgetting," or abandoning. In these social histories, it is through conversation among knowledgeable adults, as well as habitual routines linked to swidden-agriculture and the hunting of wild game that the storytellers developed the embodied habitus of Upper Napo Quichua personhood. These narratives suggest that the *wayusa upina* was of the most important sites for the transmission of different modalities of cultural practice, shared through the food and drinks consumed in the morning, the use of "strong" (*shinzhi*) substances like hot peppers, ginger, and stinging nettles to discipline children's bodies and spirits, and the production of bags, baskets and, hunting instruments, as well as the narratives people told. The same sense of cultural loss is also echoed by anthropologists of the Ecuadorian Amazon, who often attribute change to the expansion of a Western, market economy (e.g. Muratorio 1991, 1998, 1995; Oberem 1980; Hudelson 1981; Macdonald 1979, 1999; Wroblewski 2014, 2012; Perreault 2000, 2005; Uzendoski 2005; Whitten 1976; 2008).

In turn, the pre-dawn routines of the *wayusa upina* are often treated as a paradigmatic example of cultural shift, both by scholars and by Quichua-speaking community members and media producers, who worry that its loss is indicative of a cascading series of changes in language and lifeways. Blanca Muratorio (1991) illustrates an ongoing concern with the loss of the *wayusa upina*, based on interviews conducted between 1982 and 1983 with Rucuyaya [Grandfather] Alonso. She describes that "in the old days" families rose between three and four to drink guayusa and prepare for their daily chores, while "[s]itting around the fire, they could recall ancient myths, relate interesting experiences, and discuss the night's dreams" (1991, 7). However, according to Muratorio, "the conditions that made it possible no longer exist in the Tena-Archidona area" (1991, 8). Other ethnographers have also described the guayusa hour's historical connection to particular kinds of talk, including storytelling, dream analysis, and music (Macdonald 1979; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012), noting that these practices are in decline. Muratorio specifically identifies Quichua-language radio programs broadcast by Catholic and Protestant missionary stations as significant sources of competition for the speech of the guayusa-drinking hours (1991, 8). Indeed, in many homes, the radio is often the most frequent accompaniment to the guayusa drinking hour, as solitary elders and adults rise before dawn, while children and young people sleep later. Reports of the guayusa hour's demise are at times exaggerated, as these practices have been remediated across generations in some households. Nevertheless, the guayusa hours are most frequently observed by elders and adults in rural homes, which have also become increasingly segmented, reorganizing interactional relationships and contexts of linguistic and cultural socialization.

My host in Chawpishungu, Serafina Grefa, was interviewed for *Mushuk Ñampi's* radio archive by co-host Rita Tunay during a visit to the community.[97] In a nearly ten-minute long narrative interview, representative of the themes of others from the archive, Serafina describes a childhood shaped by the routines of the early morning hours, which were linked to the practices of subsistence agriculture, illustrated in this brief excerpt:

4	SG	[…] ñuka kangunara rimangaraushkani ñuka mamaguna **ñawpa timpu** ñukanchira **ruku uraspi** atachikuna aka.	*[...] I am going to tell you all how my mothers, **before** [ñawpa timpu], **in the old days** would make us get up.*
5		Las tres punto, las dos atarik anchi.	*We got up at three on the dot, two on the dot.*
6		Atarisha, waysa yanunga mandakpi, waysa yanusha, tuta las tresta upichik anchi.	*We got up, and being sent to prepare guayusa, we made guayusa, and at night, at three, we would serve it.*
7		Upichisha chi manda washa shinallara aswara upichinai shinallara, las cuatro punto ña upichikanchi aswara.	*After we gave it to drink, it was time to serve* aswa*, at four on the dot we served* aswa*.*
8		Shina rasha upichisha, chimanda washa shinallara las seis tukukpi 'nallara kuti shu tapu upina ninuk aka.	*And after we served it, when it was around six a.m., they asked for another cup.*
9		'Na ninukpi, 'nallara punzhayashkai kutillara shuk tapura upichisha ña chagrama tarabangawa llukshik anchi.	*So, when they said that, when it was daybreak, we served another bowl, and then we went off to work in the* chagra *[agroforestry garden].*
10		Ña llukshisha, tarabasha, las deiz oncegama tarabak anchi.	*So, we went, we worked, and we worked until ten or eleven.*
11		Tarabasha chimanda washa shinallara, wasima ña doce tukukpi, lumura pilasha chagramanda, tarabay pasashka washa shamuk anchi.	*We worked, then, home when it was noon, we peeled the manioc from the garden, and after we finished work we would come [back].*
12		Ña shamusha, wasibi lumura yanusha, **ñawpa timpu** nikpiga mikuna illak aka.	*So, coming back, we cooked the manioc at home. In what's called* ñawpa timpu *'the time before' there wasn't any food.*
13		'Na rakpi, illakpi, may alla akpi, may yuyu akpi, may lisan yuyu garabatu yuyu, pallasha apamusha, uchura takasha karak anchi.	*So, when it was like this, when it was lacking, if there was any wild mushroom, any tender shoot, any palm heart* [lisan yuyu]*, or fern tip* [garabatu

		yuyu], *we gathered it and carried it back, and mixing in hot pepper [*uchu*], we would give it to eat.*
14	Karakpi uchura mikukuna aka tukuy ñuka yayagunas mamagunas tukuy taula risha, shugllai muntunarisha mikuk anchi.	*When we gave it to eat, they would all eat the spicy [dish], all of them, my male elders and my female elders going to the table, piling it all up in just one we would eat.*
15	Pangamanda asha lumura churasha uchura shinallara [lava-] mashti kallanaibi takak anchi.	*We ate manioc from a leaf, but the spicy dish, we mixed up in a shallow earthenware plate* [kallana].
16	Kallanai takasha chiwa mikuk anchi.	*We mashed it on the plate, and we ate that.*
17	Mikukshka washa shinallara aswaras shinallara upichik anchi.	*Then after eating we would also serve* aswa.
18	Upichisha, ñawpa timpu rukuguna shinara karakuna aka.	*Giving to drink, in the time before, the elders would give that to eat.*
19	Shina karashkara mikuk ani.	*I am someone who grew up being given that kind of food to eat.*
20	Y...Shinamanda **kuna**, **kuna kay tapai** nikpiga kuna mushuk iñak wawaguna, mushuk iñak ushishiuna, churiguna imarangas mana valinun, tuta atarinaras, tuta asa rasha upichinaras, waysa yanunaras, mana upichinun.	*And... From then on, **now, now in this time**, the newly raised children, the newly raised daughters and sons, no matter what, they don't respect getting up at night, or making* aswa *at night and serving it, or preparing guayusa to serve.*
21	Shina rakpi, ñukaga ñawpamanda upichiushkara mana kungarini kuna punzhagama.	*But to this day I do not forget this way of giving to drink from before.*
22	Chi washaga ñukanchi tarabak anchi, shigra awangak, inshinga awangak, shinallara tukuy shigragunara pitara cauchuna, pita turkana, tukuy rasha, cauchusha, tiashami, shigra, ishinga, awak ani.	*After that, we work[ed], to weave* shigra *bags, to weave* ishinga *nets, and like that, to [make] all of the* shigra, *to twist the* pitak *fiber, to spin* pitak *into thread, doing all of it, twisting, spinning, sitting there, I'm a weaver of* shigra, ishinga.
23	Kuna punzhagama mana kungarini shuk chita. Shinarasha tarabasha kawsani.	*To this day I don't forget that. I live doing that work.*

Table 4.1 Serafina Grefa's description of the wayusa upina for Mushuk Ñampi, pt. 1

Serafina immediately brings listeners into a narrative chronotope of *ruku uras*, describing the

wayusa upina within a contrastive time—and later space—which is peopled by her elders and

peers who learned the proper ways of being in the world—getting up early, serving and drinking guayusa, working hard. As she affirmed in our interviews, Serafina also claims that these are practices she has not "forgotten," and that she continues living that way. Other testimonies in the archive contain similar claims, as one man described:

> Las cuatro tupui atarisha waysara yanuchisha, upisha, tiani, kwintarisha tiani maykanbi, shinakllara wawaguna mana atarinun. Rukupura atarinchi. Atarisha, waysa yanusha, upisha, asara upisha, kwintanusha tianchi, punzhayanlla, chiwasha tarbanama rinchi.
> *I get up around four, have* waysa *prepared, I drink, and I'm there telling stories, but children don't get up. Just us elders get up. We get up, prepare guayusa, drink [it], drink* asa*, and telling stories together we're there, until the day breaks, then, we go to work.*

These narratives and interviews for the radio set up a number of contrasts between the present and the past, which highlight perceived differences in social personhood between youths and elders, as well as in social practice. However, such stories are not just complaints about "kids these days" who sleep in too late, but long-standing ways that personal and familial history have been used to counsel and socialize children and young people into the practices of Quichua social personhood. They are a key way of animating and transmitting a social history of Upper Napo Quichua personhood, which as one of my interviewees suggested, "should only be forgotten upon one's death."

As Serafina continued to describe the way that the *wayusa upina* articulated with other aspects of her daily life, Rita began to ask if something is true, and Serafina responded emphatically, cutting her off. In doing so, she illustrates an important point about the *wayusa upina*—that its practice was enabled by traditional residence patterns. She describes her childhood home as a large, multi-family household, in which adults and children slept side by side on bamboo platforms, allowing the family to rise together:

24	**RT**	Serafina ... siertu?	*Serafina, is it true?*
25	**SG**	Siertumi. Ari, siertumi. Ñuka rukik mani chitas	*It is true! Yes, it is true! I have seen it with my own eyes*
26		Shinallara, shuk wasi rasha, karan kuchuwai gaytu nikuna aka **ñawpa timpu**.	*Just like that, building one house, in each little corner was what they called* gaytu *[bamboo sleeping platform][during] the **time before**.*
27	**RT**	Ña	*Yes?*
28	**SG**	Gaytu nisha rimashka, kaywama shuk gaytu, kaybi nina, kayma shuk gaytu, chiway nina, chima shuk gaytu, karan dueño shinarasha chariushka maka	*What was called* gaytu*, over here a* gaytu *and here a fire, here a* gaytu *and just there a fire, there a* gaytu*, each had their own like that.[9]*
29	**RT**	Ña.	*Yes?*
30	**SG**	Shina rashkara ñuka rikuk mani.	*I have seen that kind of thing with my own eyes.*
31		'Na rasha, chibimi atarishaga tukuy warmiuna atarisha, waysara yanusha, karan kuchura waysa waysa rikuchiushkami.	*So, doing that, in there, getting up, all of the women getting up, preparing guayusa, in each corner [calling] "waysa, waysa" was to be seen*
32	**RT**	Vela illak?	*Without light?*
33	**SG**	Vela illak, vela illak, nina pakiwalla kuyuchisha, kasna rasha waktasha purik manchi.	*Without light, without light, waving around just a little piece broken off of the fire, doing like that, cutting a bit off, we would walk.*
34		'Na rasha tiaushkarami, **kunaga** luz tiakllara tukuy punzhaklla sirikllara punzhayangama, las seisgama puñunun.	*So that's how it was, **but now** even though there is light, even though everything is laid out clear as day until the day breaks, they sleep until six!*
35		Shinakpi ñukaga ama chita rikuk nisha kunaga tutara atarisha tiani.	*Being that way, I don't want to see that, and even now I get up when it's dark.*

Table 4.2 Serafina Grefa's description of the wayusa upina for Mushuk Ñampi, pt. 2

Serafina's interview contains an implicit contrast between her home in the past and today. What she does not explicitly mention is that the style of home she describes is no longer consistently built around Napo.

The contemporary period is often characterized as a time of *llaktachina* 'settling; to make a village' in which families who had subsisted on migratory hunting and swidden agriculture across large territories, settled down in order to make land claims and to raise cattle. These

changes have been described by other ethnographers of the region (Erazo 2013; Macdonald 1999). Erazo, for instance, cites an interview with a woman named Manila Catalina Alvarado, born in 1910. In the interview, Alvarado describes moving to her husband's community of Yawari, reflecting that "before, there was only one house in Yawari. The whole Shiguango family lived there. My father-in-law had four sons, and his brother had three [who all lived in the same house with their wives and children]" (2013, 37). Construction styles have changed dramatically through this period, while settlements have become increasingly segmented into individual family units from the older pattern of patrilocal longhouses.

Residence and habitation patterns have changed alongside the style of houses many people build in ways that also reshape the morning hours. While in Chawpishungu today, a few of Serafina and Mariano's children still share their home, most of her adult sons and their families live nearby in their own homes. These houses vary a great deal in their style and materials. Serafina and her family live in a large two-story constructed from cinderblocks and roofed with zinc. Other of her children live in raised homes set on pillars and constructed with wood planks. Moreover, some buildings in Chawpishungu still have thatched palm roofs, which are preferred by many as they are both cooler in the sun and quieter in the rain. However, zinc is now the most common roofing material, as traditional construction techniques are often more expensive and labor intensive. In Serafina's household, as well as in the homes of her children and other neighbors, individual family units have their own bedrooms and maintain a separate room or building to cook in. In homes in Chawpishungu, then, many grandparents and parents rise to drink guayusa, and prepare for their days, while in separate rooms, their children sleep later into the morning, rising around 5 or 6. Serafina is the first to rise and sit by the fire until she is joined by her youngest daughter-in-law, or one of her daughters who still lives at home. And

167

when Serafina is not at home, the fire might remain cold well past dawn. However, in Serafina's childhood, young girls and daughters-in-law were sent to prepare the guayusa. And in her story above, Serafina animates their voices, using the particular rhythms and pronunciations of the *runa shimi* of Archidona, as they call out into the darkness "waysa, waysa" 'guayusa, guayusa.'

However, it is not just elders who reflect on the guayusa drinking hours with nostalgia. Rita Tunay also identifies the *wayusa upina* as the time when she developed her own skills in Quichua. "When I was about to start kindergarten," Rita explained in an interview, "my mother used to punish me for speaking Quichua. She told me, 'you have to speak Spanish (Qu. *mishu shimi*; lit. 'the *mestizo* language').'" Rita's mother understands limited Spanish, and thus hoped that Spanish-dominance would open new opportunities for Rita. But Rita also often spent time with her grandparents, who had moved into town, and they cared for her while her parents were living in their rural home and working on their agricultural lands a few hours away. In their home, they would wake her at 4 a.m. to feed her and get her ready for the bus to school, seated by the fire. Rita thus continued to speak Quichua with her grandmother. In Rita's estimation, it is the children who spend time with their grandparents who have the greatest abilities in Quichua. But now, she said, while parents are at work, children spend time at daycare or school, rather than in their grandparents' homes. However, in Rita's memories of her childhood, as for many others, the *wayusa upina* was also one of the most important times that elders had to transmit their knowledge and their stories, and by extension, their language.

Although the naming of the practice of the *wayusa upina* suggests that it as an act centered on the drinking of guayusa, it is actually comprised of a range of socially intimate behaviors and practices centered around the familiar hearth and home. For many, it has been an important site to transmit knowledge about a daily life that is connected to forms of forest-based

subsistence, as well as Quichua-language narrative and daily conversation. Yet, many people also experience it as slipping further away from daily relevance as the generations of people for whom it was a central practice age and die. It is thus with a very deep sadness that elder speakers sometimes reflect on the end of *ruku kawsay* 'old lifeways.' It is a loss that implies not just an abstract loss of cultural and linguistic practices, but the loss of people.

However, as Shiguango and Tunay's interviews suggested, *Mushuk Ñampi*'s radio programs attempt to counter both this experience of social rupture, as well as the discourses of endangerment surrounding Upper Napo Quichua cultural practices. By refashioning contemporary and remembered elements of the *wayusa upina* on the air, retooling them and expanding them, they assert their continued presence through a politics of visibility (Hartikainen 2017), in which media presence is a means to give voice to marginalized groups. Each morning, Mushuk Ñampi's co-hosts exhort their listeners to accompany them in reviving themselves by drinking guayusa. They also often play community-sourced recordings of elder's personal testimonies about the guayusa hour, which emphasize the ways the *wayusa upina* and its associated activities were once carried out. The hosts thus portray the guayusa hours as contemporary, engaged in by current listeners, but simultaneously traditional, grounded in its full realization in *ñawpa timpu*, 'the time before,' the past. As in Serafina's narrative, elders' practices—and voices—move through time with those who remember them and animate them in their own lives. Nowhere is this more evident than in Mushuk Ñampi's monthly multimodal productions of the *wayusa upina,* in which their elders' narrative descriptions of *wayusa upina* come to life on the air. In these programs, the producers and participants recalibrate the semiotic grounds of cultural performance, creating indexical connections from the present to the past, and re-enregistering discursive and nondiscursive signs of Upper Napo Quichua culture in a

multimodal chronotope. These programs, then, bring the past back to life in the present for many of their participants, as well as for members of their co-present and listening audiences.

4.4 From cultural performance to (re)animation

Prior analyses have emphasized the performative elements of Upper Napo Quichua cultural media, focusing on gaps between the lived realities of performers and their nostalgic roles. However, an analytical trope of animation, and more particularly, of *reanimation*, illuminates the work of *Mushuk Ñampi* to reawaken the past in the present, as they reanimate figures of their elders and contexts of interaction for mass-mediated circulation. At stake are the ways that a diversity of media and agents, human and nonhuman alike, are drawn together to create "the effect of a unified living character" (Manning and Gershon 2013, 109).

Recent theorizations of "animation" as an alternative to "performance" in linguistic anthropology emphasize how selves bring variously-mediated characters—such as cartoons, digital avatars, and puppets—to life (Silvio 2010; Manning and Gershon 2013; Gershon 2015; Nozawa 2016, 2013). Teri Silvio defines animation broadly "as the projection of qualities perceived as human—life, power, agency, will, personality, and so on—outside of the self, and into the sensory environment through acts of creation, perception, and interaction" (2010, 427). I am drawn to animation in this case, for as Silvio, Gershon and Manning all note, beginning with animation opens up a very different set of questions than the analytic of performance, which conceives of social life as stage, in which there are "gaps" between a performer and their role. It is such gaps that seem to have so concerned other anthropologists in their discussion of Upper Napo Quichua cultural "performance" and "representation" in *ñusta* cultural pageants.

The analytic of animation, however, shifts attention from presumed gaps between performers and their roles, to the ways that characters are co-constructed by animators and audiences, as well as different media. Although dramaturgical metaphors have also emphasized the interaction of social actors and their audiences, these have been less central compared to the coherence of the social identities projected through self-performance. For instance, the analytical metaphor of performance leads Goffman to conclude that "when an individual plays a part, he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them" (Goffman 1959, 17). Further, for Goffman, performers in social life move through "settings" and "scenes" for the interactions that take place within them. Animation, however, draws further attention to the ways that separate forms of media are laminated together themselves construct a character (Silvio 2010, 429). These laminations are evident in puppetry (Barker 2019, 2017), in which various media—the puppet itself, the staging, as well as actors' voices—interact to create a character or figure emergent from their confluence.

Nevertheless, scholars working with the analytic of performance have also dealt with the emergent nature of social identity in interaction. Bucholtz and Hall (2005), for instance, emphasize both the emergent and "partial" nature of identity in interaction. As they indicate, questions of agency have often troubled approaches to identity. They suggest, however, that "the role of agency becomes problematic only when it is conceptualized as located within an individual rational subject who consciously authors his identity without structural constraints" and call in part for considering identity as a form of social action, which may be achieved between subjects (2005, 606). An analytic grounded in animation, however, emphasizes from the outset that characters are constructed by collectives of people utilizing a range of media and semiotic systems, while their coherence is only possible through intersubjective action, as

171

audiences also help to bring to life underdetermined or "incomplete" characters (Silvio 2010).

While these observations emerge from considerations of drawn and digital animation, they

remain relevant for what are more traditionally perceived as embodied performances, such as

Mushuk Ñampi's wayusa upina broadcasts. In such programs, bodies can also be seen as a

medium to channel both 'the words our elders left behind' and personal experience, alongside a

range of phenomenologically diverse media. Participants breathe life into these social figures and

interactional spaces, assembled in collaboration with a team of producers, which are all given

further life through their reception by their co-present and listening audiences.

Animation is thus also useful for considering the emergence of new forms of labor in the

Ecuadorian Amazon, as cultural tourism becomes an increasingly prevalent industry. Silvio

(2010) highlights the near simultaneous emergence of discourses of performance in both gender

studies and the business world. Though these two realms may seem somewhat disparate, she

traces the emergence of performance as a dominant trope in academia to the same period that

labor practices were shifting in the deindustrializing world, "feminizing" the workforce, and

bringing a new emphasis to labor that involved "emotional work" and performing a role. In

contrast, Silvio locates animation at a moment in which "content creation" and branding are

becoming some of the dominant modes of engaging in the "new economy," in which social

actors are coming to see "the brand as the primary repository of value and branding as a

precondition for action in the world" (2010, 431). Upper Napo Quichua productions—though

primarily directed towards Quichua-speakers in the county of Archidona, as well as in other

regions in Napo—are also part of a larger process of branding of Indigenous culture, carried out

by local and national government, as well as NGOs, and community tourism groups. Participants

thus reanimate their elders in these productions for both local audiences, as well as external

172

observers, working across multiple scales of experience and value. Members of different audiences, in turn, invest these social figures and worlds with different kinds of life, imaginatively co-constructing a particular social figure from the different semiotic modalities that cohere in bodies and scenes. For some, then, the social figures animated in these productions are performed as "essentialized" icons or roles, while for others, they breathe life into indexical links across space and time.

The ways many of my interlocutors already think of themselves as animating the words and practices of their elders makes animation a particularly appropriate analytic for *Mushuk Ñampi*'s multimodal radio programs. Speakers of Upper Napo Quichua often describe themselves as 'not forgetting' [mana kungarina] their elders and their knowledge by 'living' [kawsana] (or animating) their words and practices in daily life. Goffman (1959) is widely known for his role in centering the metaphor of performance in social analysis. However, his discussion of "footing" (1981a) has also proved highly useful for understanding the ways that participants orient to an interaction. He noted that the apparently unitary speaking self may take on different roles, including that of *animator* for the words of others, who may be projected as *figures* of the interaction (see also Manning and Gershon 2013; Irvine 1996). In turn, these roles and figures may "leak" across contexts and frames of interaction (Irvine 1996). These interactional roles are particularly important in Upper Napo Quichua narrative practices, in which tellers transmit words and knowledge passed down through oral tradition, marking the speech of others with the quotative forms *nin* and *ninun* 'it is said' and 'they say,' therein animating figures of their elders through their speech. Transcripts in the following section will demonstrate the widespread preference among Upper Napo Quichua speakers for dialogically embedding the voices of others in their narratives, accompanied by the verb *nina* 'to say, to

173

think, to want.' The reporting of elders' speech—the speech they left behind—is thus one way of reanimating their knowledge and practices in the present.

However, voices are only one way that the lifeways of the elders (*ruku kawsay*) are animated across narrative events. Bodies are another frequent way in which the past is brought into the present, as gesture and other forms of action bring the participants of narrated events into the present. The members of AMUPAKIN, for instance, once complained about young women who wore shoes during a cultural parade, when their organization always went barefoot in such events, even when walking on public streets. For them, walking barefoot indexed the embodied habits of their mothers, who had walked barefoot through the forest before the introduction of rubber boots in the region. While participation in the norms of white Ecuadorian settler colonial society now demands that people wear shoes in public, many elders are most comfortable at home barefoot or in light flip flops. Media production and other cultural events, then, create spaces in which these practices can be lived and remember, even temporarily, in public.

For many of the people with whom I worked, their participation in cultural productions such as *Mushuk Ñampi*'s were not treated as performances of singular characters, but as the combined labor of multiple people and modalities of semiotic practice. Silvio (2010) describes that in her research on a Taiwanese video puppetry series, the question 'How do you get into character?' didn't make sense for people cosplaying puppet characters, who were instead animated through the interplay of cosplayers' bodies and surrounding signs. Likewise, for many of the elder members of the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo (AMUPAKIN), their participation in programs like the multimodal *wayusa upina* staged monthly on *Mushuk Ñampi* were not about performing a character. Rather, these women often saw themselves as bringing to life temporally displaced social figures and practices—those of their past selves, as

174

well as mothers, aunts, and grandmothers—through the lamination of phenomenologically diverse media, including speech, clothing, face paint, material goods, and staple food products, among others, on and around their contemporary bodies. These signs are drawn from their own memories of the historical past, more distant oral history, as well as from the ways that people imagine the pre-conquest world to have been. As María Antonia Shiguango—the founder of the association—explained, when the members of AMUPAKIN participate in cultural presentations and media productions, they wear the clothing of *ruku kawsay* 'old lifeways,' as a way of honoring their mothers and fathers. Many contemporary elder women remember being taught to paint their faces with the flesh of the bold red *manduru* 'achiote' fruit before planting *lumu* 'manioc,' an index of blood and the maternal relationship between a woman and the tubers. Others remember that their parents adorned themselves with *manduru* and feathered crowns, as well as many of the styles of dress—the blue, one shouldered *pacha*, or the purple *kushma* gathered and pinned at each shoulder—that are commonly worn in Upper Napo Quichua revival media. For many, they themselves or their parents were of the generations that were discouraged from such practices by an encroaching and discriminatory settler society.

Shifting attention to the analytic of animation does not displace the analytic of performance. Rather, animation provides a productive way to explore Upper Napo Quichua cultural production that looks beyond the gap between performed and lived realities, in order to consider the ways that my interlocutors sought to remediate both their elders' lifeways in the past and their contemporary present on the air, therein simultaneously developing and bringing their elders' inscription of the past to life through mass media.

4.5 Elders on the air

In Ecuador, the official, national approach for countering language shift has largely taken the form of second-language instruction of Unified Kichwa, often in classrooms where the Quichua spoken at home differs a great deal from standardized forms. The focus, then, has often been on changing the linguistic practices of young people, rather than holistically strengthening the voices of contemporary speakers. This approach has produced an emerging diglossia within Quichua/Kichwa codes, in which some parents describe the Quichua taught in bilingual education programs and used in state media as "good Quichua" (*ali runa shimi*), while others remain deeply opposed to the use of "another" kind of Quichua in these institutions. Locally and community-produced media, in turn, have emerged as a significant site for both the transmission of a standardized oral register (Wroblewski 2012), as well as for regional voices to speak back against the top-down imposition of standardized language. Moving beyond the top-down emphasis on the revitalization of a shared, standard code, *Mushuk Ñampi*'s radio program focuses instead on the revalorization and renewal of multiple modalities of social practice, which include significant contexts of use and forms of interaction in which Upper Napo Quichua language and culture have been transmitted intergenerationally. As both Rita Tunay and Mayor Jaime Shiguango indicated during their interviews, the program seeks to reconnect audiences to contemporary and historical practices that continue in many homes, but which are no longer materially possible in many others. These programs, then, seek to establish a historically-grounded collective memory of "our own" language and culture, authenticated through mass media, as a communal site of remembering, in the face of increasingly widespread "forgetting." Indeed, Rita and her co-host James often described on the air that the *wayusa upina* exists "so that we don't forget our elders' lifeways," *ñukanchi ruku kawsayra ama kungaringak.*

Producers and participants of the radio program *Mushuk Ñampi* thus gather hours before dawn once a month to reawaken the familial hearth and home both on the air and before a live audience, amplifying the reach of still living elders and the familial histories they and their descendants hold. On the radio show, traditional genres of talk and interaction are reanimated alongside other modalities of social practice, remediating both the intimate morning hours, as well previous remediations of these events in other public settings, including beauty pageants and political celebrations. *Mushuk Ñampi* has staged *wayusa upina* programs in the courtyard of the municipal building, but most are broadcast from rural villages and small towns around the township of Archidona. These events have become very popular, and political leaders often request that they host a broadcast in their communities during their annual anniversary celebrations. While the show might be organized somewhat differently depending on the available participants—some communities have professionalized community tourism groups, skilled in cultural presentations, while in other cases elders, community leaders, and their younger family members might be assembled ad-hoc to perform—these events are widely attended. Audiences, which included residents of all ages from the community, as well white and Quichua municipal employees, frequently gather before the 4 a.m. start of the program, remaining to watch for more than two hours as friends and family animate routines and practices often described in narratives, and which may still take place in various ways in their own homes. Co-present audiences often take part, drinking *wayusa* and *aswa* served by performers and participating in demonstrations, frequently blurring the line between production and reception.

These productions can thus vary a great deal in their details, but they also follow a fairly set formula, which Rita Tunay has developed in consultation with her co-workers in the Municipality of Archidona. Tunay's program is interdiscursive, drawing on interviews she has

177

conducted with elder speakers, as well as her own childhood experiences, and her past participation in cultural pageantry as a *ñusta* contestant. In these productions, signs which often serve as icons of Upper Quichua Napo culture are recalibrated as indices, connected to named social figures—elders (*rukuguna*), grandmothers (*ruku mamaguna*), grandfathers (*ruku yayaguna*), who most often speak with the familiar cadences of Upper Napo Quichua.

The shows usually begin with a group of sleeping figures being awoken by an iconic sound—a flute, a drum, the hooting of an owl—and then a man's voice calls out, telling his family to awaken, to brew and drink guayusa. At the production site, there is a swirl of activity, as slumbering figures stir next to a fire, and women appear next to audience members with gourds full of *wayusa* and *aswa*, which are drunk and passed on to the next audience member. Over the air, however, the audience listening at home must rely on the blending of discursive and nondiscursive signs if they are to be transported into the aural chronotope of the past projected by the intermingling of speech and sound on the air. These productions also reinvigorate communicative practices in the homes where programs are received, as listeners comment on the programs and the narratives transmitted on them, respond emotively to live and pre-recorded music, and repeat snippets of the shows throughout the day. These early morning programs remediate and reanimate a time-space of the elders, in which participants and audience members communally "remember" and reanimate practices and narratives drawn from living memory, oral history, as well as the ways they imagine the pre-conquest, pre-colonial past.

These programs are further grounded in an Upper Napo Quichua aesthetic preference for material abundance, rather than a "symbolic redundancy" that reinforces the "indigeneity" of the performance (Wroblewski 2014; Rogers 1998). Such aesthetic preferences are visible in the ways members of rural Quichua households shape their landscapes, for instance, planting living

'fences' of decorative red flowers along the paths between their homes and the river. These flowers, in turn, are often incorporated into decorations for cultural productions. Moreover, many such events take place during harvest and community celebrations, and in them, the gathered wealth of *runa kawsay* is proudly displayed. Forest-sourced food and medicinal products also set the scene, as audience members drink *wayusa* and *aswa,* and participate in the medicinal and disciplinary application of stinging nettles, wild tobacco juice and smoke, and hot pepper. Participants use the words their elders left behind, enregistered interactional routines, their own speech, and a wide variety of semiotic media to reanimate social figures and interactional spaces.

Even though these programs are produced for the radio, non-linguistic, inaudible modes of production emerge as necessary to their realization. These programs are simultaneously over- and under-determined, both specific and open in their semiotic practices. While discursive genres including interviews, narratives, musical performances, and interactions between elders and young people work alongside sounds like bird calls and traditional instruments to reanimate a past home on the air, these productions are incomplete without the material reanimation of the familial hearth and home for their live audiences. Most participants wear traditional forms of dress, in use at various points over the twentieth century and sometimes even earlier, while the hearth and home themselves are often remediated in temporary structures, laden with handwoven bags, baskets, traps, nets, and traditional food products. At the center of these productions is an open fire and a pot of guayusa. Yet, the complex multimodal scenes which frame the show remain largely undescribed and inaccessible to the listening audience. I once asked Rita why the hosts largely do not describe and narrate the events taking place, and she answered that members of their audience would be able to imagine what was occurring. *Mushuk Ñampi*'s programs, then, rely on the indexical connections of their various audience members to bring them fully to life.

179

What is significant is that *wayusa upina* productions can only be appropriately realized through

concrete, embodied interactions between participants—that is, they must be fully realized

reanimations of elders' narrative chronotopes of the past. The loss of the other semiotic modes

on the air, however, is a constraint of radio media (Goffman 1981b).

The following transcripts are drawn from a *wayusa upina* broadcast carried out in the

community of Santa Rita on September 13, 2016, which is representative of the broader material

and discursive practices of the show. This was the second *wayusa upina* event that *Mushuk*

Ñampi had produced with the residents of Santa Rita, who have a well-developed cultural

tourism center, funded in part by international NGOs. This particular program was also attended

by a team from *Radio Pública del Ecuador*, making both the stakes and the show's production

values particularly high. Participants donned a range of clothing styles. The show's producers

and hosts wore contemporary street clothes, while children and adolescents were also in jeans

and t-shirts. Many adult participants, however, wore clothing that indexed other times. Some

women donned the modest floral A-line dresses worn by many of their mothers and

grandmothers, or the dark blue one-shouldered *pacha,* modeled on the dresses of earlier time

periods, now often embellished with gold bric-a-brac. As the show began, participants in the

program laid under blankets together beside a central fire. Rita began the show by explaining that

many practices were carried out and taught to children in the past as part of the *wayusa upina.* In

the following transcript, she is especially concerned with the same material practices—

particularly *shigra* bags, and *ashanga* baskets—identified by Mayor Shiguango:

| Rita | Kay tutamanda, ima sami karan tunu wayusa upina, **ñawpa timpu** ñukanchi **ruku yayaguna ruku mamaguna** kikindalla kay samira yallichisha, wawagunara yachachisha katinuk aka, James. Ima sami, kay shigra rurana, ashanga awana, ashka karan tunu kay | *'This morning, our male and female **elders** [ñukanchi ruku yayaguna, ruku mamaguna] **before** [ñawpa timpu] just this way carried out all the parts of the* wayusa *upina, and they continued teaching their children, James. All kinds of things, the* |

waysa upina nikpi, kikindalla valichisha yallichuishka. Randi ña **kuna punzhami** ansa <u>kungariy</u> <u>kungariy</u> rurashkanchi, karan tunu mana valichinchi, shinakllara, **kuna kay tutamanda** kwintarisha katirinagaraushkanchi ima sami kay Santa Rita ayllu llaktapi.₁	*making of* shigra*, weaving of* ashanga *baskets, all sorts of things [are] the* wayusa upina*, and like that, valuing it, they maintained it [Unified Kichwa* yallichina *'to make strong/known], however* **now today** *we have* <u>forgotten</u> *a little, we didn't value every kind. Even though it's that way,* **now this morning** *conversing we will find out [lit. we are going to have followed] how it is in the community of Santa Rita.'* ₁

Table 4.3 Santa Rita excerpt #1, introduction

Here, also Rita makes a number of the same discursive moves as my interlocutors in Chawpishungu, as she links the material practices of the *wayusa upina* to the teaching [yachachisha] of their elders. She echoes their emphasis on "forgetting," linking it to a lack of appreciation for the past. However, she suggests that the antidote to this forgetting in the present is to experience how the *wayusa upina* is, or was, practiced in the community of Santa Rita.

Over the next two hours, Rita, her co-host James, and their listeners heard stories and watched interactions that reanimated narrative memories of the discourse and practices of *wayusa upina.* During the show, indexical connections are established between regional forms of speech and non-discursive signs of elders' practices and culture, co-enregistering regional speech alongside the semiotic media of cultural performance. For instance, in the following exchange between Rita and a middle-aged woman named Olga, the ongoing embodied reanimation of the *wayusa upina* is grounded in familial authority and knowledge, particularly regarding the brewing and serving of *Ilex guayusa*. Significantly, these are practices that are frequently "acted out" on stage during beauty pageants, as young *ñusta* contestants similarly inhabit social figures of the past, who might prepare guayusa for their families beside a fire on a hunting trip in the forest. Guayusa is a disputed agricultural product in Napo. It has been increasingly

commercialized by internationally-linked companies and non-governmental organizations.[98] In at times strident discourse (*shinzhi rimana*), residents of Napo worry that extractive outsiders are stealing and profiting from a product uniquely connected to their cultural history. People frequently claim that outsiders are profiting from a culturally significant product, as the extraction of agricultural and medicinal products by transnational capital becomes an increasing concern in the region. In these programs, however, indexical connections are reclaimed among regional speakers of Quichua, their personal testimonies of familial tradition and history, and other semiotic forms—like guayusa—that have become icons of traditional Upper Napo Quichua culture when they circulate in both national and international media. Through broadcast media, however, these 'stolen' products are repatriated within local regimes of value and use.

In lines 18-20, Rita and the community president Bolívar orient listeners to the coming interview with Mama Olga, while they describe the morning scene reanimated before them in Santa Rita:

Rita	Shinakpi Bolívar kayma ñukanchi ima sami yallichiunchi, kay ruku yaya takishkara uyashkanchi, kay Olga mama atarishka, kikindalla ña mamaguna, churiguna atarianun wayrasa yanungak.[17] 'Nakpi, kay mama Olga imamandara kwintangaraun pay?[18]	*So, Bolívar, so far we are carrying out all sorts of things, we have heard this grandfather's song, mama Olga here has gotten up, just the same now mothers and sons are getting up to brew* waysa.[17] *So Mama Olga here, what is she going to talk about?[18]*
Bolívar	Ña Mama Olga kwintangaraun kay waysa imasna rashara yanusha upinara.[19]	*Ok, Mama Olga is going to talk about this* waysa, *how it's made, brewed, and drunk.[19]*
Rita	Ña shinami, Mama Olga, imasnara tuparingui?[20]	*Ok so, Mama Olga, how are you?[20]*
Olga	Ali punzha, kay ayllu llaktamanda tiauxguna, chimanda, shuk mashti, ñukanchi apuma, apu:nara saludani kay punzhai.[21] 'Nakpi ñukanchi ñawpa, ñawpa timpu mamauna kasna rasha, yanusha, atarisha	*Good day, to all the people here from this community, and also, one, uh, our leader, to our leaders I greet you today.[21] So, our grandmothers in the time before, doing it like this, brewing, getting up and*

[98] In the Archidona area, one of the main buyers of guayusa leaves is the company Runa, a "clean energy" beverage maker founded by a young social entrepreneur from the United States. Despite the company's early focus on social responsibility, Runa recently split from their NGO *Runa Tarpuna* and was recently sold to the beverage company, All Market Inc. For an in-depth discussion of guayusa commercialization and its effects in Napo see (Jarrett 2019).

yanusha upixunami. Abisba, machakuy ama kaningawa, tukuy ama killa, killangawa, sumak trabangawa, chillami rimani.[22]

brewing they would drink. So that snakes and bees wouldn't bite, to keep from being lazy, to work hard. That's all I have to say. [22]

Table 4.4 Santa Rita excerpt #2, guayusa

Mama Olga's response in lines 21-22, meanwhile, is illustrative of two important points. First, in line 20, she demonstrates a familiarity, albeit somewhat halting, with the conventions of public political discourse in Upper Napo Quichua. Muratorio has suggested that "nationally and within the Amazon region, [Indigenous] organizations have been almost exclusively led by men" (1998, 410). However, women have become increasingly involved in public cultural production, as well as in Indigenous politics. In turn, these public spaces have come to be increasingly grounded in practices of *kamachina*, narrative counseling, between elder and young women, in which an elder woman uses the words left by her elders—familial history—as well as narratives of personal experience, to advise a young woman on how to live.[99] These counseling sessions would generally occur organically during the *wayusa upina* of day-to-day interaction, as grandmothers, mothers, and daughters gathered together to weave *shigra* and drink guayusa. Today, they are remediated across sites of production, now serving as a major site of socialization on programs like *Mushuk Ñampi*. There has thus been a major shift in genres of interaction in which women engage, and how their social histories are remediated and made public, as programs such as the *wayusa upina* on *Mushuk Ñampi* show that the domestic sphere has become a central site of cultural revalorization and revitalization.

Significantly, in turn, Mama Olga utilizes a distinctly regional register of public discourse, illustrated by the morphemic, phonological, and lexical forms she employs. This is evident from the moment she speaks (numbers correspond to line numbers from the transcript):

(21)

---

[99] This description of the *kamachina* resonates with a genre of female narrative practice identified by Muratorio, in which "indigenous grandmothers create their ethnohistories by telling thoughtful and emotional stories about the domestic sphere of their lives" (1998, 410).

```
 ali    pundʒa kay     ayllu llakta-manda tia -w    -x  -guna
Good day     p.DOM family village-ABL  be -DUR -AG -PL
```
'Good day to all those here from this community,


```
chi      -manda shuk mashti ñukanchi apu  -ma    apu -:na -ra  saluda-ni.   kay     pundʒa -i̯
D.DOM -ABL    one  um    our      leader-DAT leader-PL-A greet -1.SG P.DEM day    -LOC
```
'next, a uh, I greet our leader, leaders this day.'

Mama Olga's speech is distinctly marked by the regional variations of Upper Napo Quichua. She consistently voices obstruent and affricates following vowels, as in [manda] and [pundʒa]. She also elides a number of sounds in ways that mark the speech of Upper Napo Quichua, eliding [p] from the locative morpheme *-pi* and realizing it as a diphthong [ai̯] on [pundʒa-i̯]. Like most others in the Archidona-Tena region, she reduces the durative realized in other regions as [ku] or [hu] to *-u* realized as [w] in [tiawxguna] 'those who are being here.' Similarly, she elides the [g] of the plural [guna], pronouncing [apu:na], and further marking it with the accusative cognate *-ra*. The dative *-ma* is further reduced from the form *-man* found in other regions and proscribed in Unified Kichwa. At the level of lexicon, her choice of the Spanish-derived verb *saludana* 'to greet,' contrasts with the common Unified neologism *allichana*, sometimes used in public discourse and radio media. In such segments, then, significant cultural icons are re-enregistered alongside the voices of regional speakers, becoming indexically linked to the authority of their elders in the past.

It is important to note, however, that there is more going on in Mama Olga's speech directed to the political leaders present than a straightforward use of regional forms. The phrase *ali punzha* 'good day,' for instance, is a calque of Spanish *buenos días*. Andronis suggests that this is a form that was introduced into the Amazon through contact with highland speakers, or which is at least ideologized as a Highland or Unified form (2004, 267). Nevertheless, this form, alongside *ali tutamanda* [good morning], *ali chishi* [good afternoon], and *ali tuta* [good

184

evening], are pervasive in daily speech and media in Napo today.[100] Moreover, Olga's use of

ayllu llakta [familial settlement] and *apu* [leader] are part of the larger discourse of Indigenous

politics in Napo. Nevertheless, these programs also respond to regional codes of interaction.

Both narratives of personal experience and elders' voices are reanimated on the air, for instance,

as Mama Olga grounded the ongoing action in the practices of "our grandmothers," who "in the

time before" would get up and brew guayusa, "doing it like this."

On the programs, participants shift from narratively animating the lessons of their elders,

to using bodies as a medium to reanimate their stories. In lines (23) - (30) below, Rita continues

to talk with Mama Olga, and together they discursively animate for the listening audience the

social figures of *payaguna*, an affection term for female kin, which can be applied to sisters,

aunts, cousins, and friends, as well as young girls. In the following transcripts, I gloss this term

as both 'sisters' and 'daughters,' depending on the age of the interlocutors, though its most direct

translation is 'older sister' (C. Orr and Wrisley 1981, 75). The *payaguna* projected through

different modes of discursive and nondiscursive semiosis in this interaction, and brought to life

by community residents, meanwhile moved to serve guayusa to the family gathered by the

fireside, as well as to the larger co-present audience.

Rita	Alimi. Shinakpi kayma kikindalla kuna maykan payagunara kumbirangaraunchi kay waysa yakura yanungak? 23	*Very good. So here like this now who are the sisters we will invite to brew this infusion of* waysa? 23
Olga	Kay payauna, kimsa payaunami tianun. 24	*These sisters, there are three sisters.* 24
Rita	Ña shutira rimapay. 25	*Now say tell us their names please.* 25
Olga	Lourdes Alvarado, Gloria Andi, y mashti, como se llama? *ay*! y.. <<audience laughter>> Denise Chimbo. 26	*Lourdes Alvarado, Gloria Andi, and um [Sp. what's her name?] ay! and… <<audience laughter>> Denise Chimbo.* 26
Rita	Ña payna yanungaranun. 27 Kuna payna imasnara rashara yananuk akai? 28 [xxx]	*Ok, they're going to prepare it.* 27 *Now how would they used to have prepared it?* 28

---

[100] In contrast to these Spanish-derived greetings, some speakers, remember other interactional routines carried out by their elders. They call for people to greet each other by lightly touching their open palms together while loudly exclaiming "*chis*!" This was not a form used by Olga, nor by other participants on this program. The revitalization of regional codes is a complex process.

| | panga mayllasha, shinakpi chayta kwintapay. 29 | *[unintelligible] washing the leaves, so tell us about that please. 29* |
| **Olga** | Shu mangawara apisha, waysa pangara sumakta mayllasha, kivichisha mangai churasha yanusha upichina anmi shina, shina rasha ñawpamandas shina rikuchikuna anmi ñukanchi ruku mamauna. 30 Chitami kuna chita paktachingaranun payguna. 31 | *To serve* [wayusa] *you have to take a little pot, wash the* waysa *leaves very well, twist them up, put them in the pot, and brew them, doing it like that from before too our grandmothers show us. 30 That's what they are going to carry out now. 31* |

Table 4.5 Santa Rita excerpt #3, preparing guayusa

In this excerpt, Rita and Olga link the social figures of *payaguna* 'sisters/daughters' to the women serving guayusa, further connecting their actions to the way that grandmothers showed them how to do things "from before." Throughout this segment, then, material practices and other nondiscursive signs are co-enregistered with regional forms of speech, as both Olga and Rita utilize a distinctly regional register of Upper Napo Quichua to describe them. Indeed, in this section of the transcript, unlike some others from the show, there are no forms that seem to be tied to Unified Kichwa. Participants even regularly use the form *waysa*, the casual, regionally-inflected pronunciation heard by many firesides in Archidona, as women call out into the darkness of the early hours before dawn, *waysa, waysa*.

Olga's description, which grounds the practices of the *wayusa upina* in the lessons and actions of her grandmothers, sets the stage for the ways that narrative testimonies of elders' practice are reanimated on the air. During the programs, elder and adult participants reanimate interactional routines and lessons, which are often drawn from their own experiences. In transmitting these lessons, they discursively reanimate the social figures of their elders and their voices. This is highlighted by the ways that Olga later introduced a lesson to two young girls on how to weave *shigra* in a later segment of the broadcast. *Shigra* are hand-knotted net bags, which have been central in Upper Napo Quichua culture for their use in the forest, and they are still woven in some homes during the early morning guayusa drinking hours. Today, however, many are woven from repurposed plastic cord spun from woven plastic sacks, rather than labor

186

intensive *pitak* fiber. In the following excerpt, Rita asks Olga, "what did [your] grandfathers and grandmothers counsel?" Olga then discursively reanimates the scene as it occurred in her childhood, before she voices the speech of counsel (*kamachina*) of her female relatives, embedding their words into her story.

Rita	Imara kamachinuk akai ruku yayakuna ruku mamakuna kay punzhayanakunai, Mama Olga yallichipay ña?₁	*What did [your] grandfathers and grandmothers counsel [you] when the dawn was breaking, Mama Olga please demonstrate, ok?₁*
Olga	Kay ñawpa punda, ña wasyara upikanchi.₂ Ña chiwasha, kay ñukanchi ruku mamauna ñawpa kasna rasha, shigrara awasha, mashti, katusha ganana anmi **nisha** <u>kamachixuna</u> anmi.₃	*First, we drank guayusa.₂ Then after that, our female elders <u>counsel us</u>, **saying** "first doing it like this, weaving* shigra*, um, selling [them], [you] have to earn [money]." ₃*

<center>*Table 4.6 Santa Rita excerpt #4, kamachina*</center>

In this excerpt, Olga reanimates the speech of her grandmothers, "ñawpa kasna rasha, shigrara awasha, mashti, katusha ganana anmi" ["first doing it like this, weaving *shigra*, um, selling [them], [you] have to earn [money]"] and marks it in line 3 with the quotative phrase:

(3)

```
…nisha  kamachikkuna  anmi
ni -sha   kamachi -x  -una  a    -n-mi
say-SS    counsel -AG -PL  COP-3-EPST[101]
'they (would) counsel us, saying…'
```

In the next line, Olga switches the interactional frame from citing the authoritative speech of her female elders to directly addressing the two young girls. As she does so, she refashions and expands the instructions of her elders for a new generation:

Olga	Shinakpi payauna uyanguichi, kasna rasha, awasha, mastisha, katuna, mashti kulkira ikuna, chimanda mana killa wawa tukuna, shigrara awana, ishinga awana, mashti manga llutana awana, chiguna mashti, mashti	*So, daughters [payauna] listen, doing it like this, weaving, um, to sell, like this you'll get money, then, you must not turn into lazy children, weave* shigra*, weave* ishinga *nets,*

---

[101] I follow Karolina Grzech's analysis that the enclitic *-mi* in Tena Kichwa is a marker of "epistemic primacy," defined as "the relative right to know or claim" (Grzech 2016b, 89).

| anmi, uyanguichi.4 Kuna ña chillarami | *um, craft earthen pots, listen.4 Now that's all I* |
| rimani ñuka.5 Uyapanguichi payauna.6 | *have to say.5 Please listen to me daughters.6* |

Table 4.7 Santa Rita excerpt #5, kamachina

These programs remediate and reanimate interactional routines and discursive practices widely associated with the transmission of skills and abilities between adult caregivers and children. As in Olga's speech, these forms of discourse rely on requests for young people to "listen."[102] The use of personal testimony and familial narrative is also a significant way that caregivers and competent adults socialize young people into the particularized skill set of traditional Upper Napo Quichua lifeways. During these counseling sessions, contemporary elders likewise ground their knowledge in the words and practices of their own elders in the past.

As the segment continued, Rita questioned Olga about the *shigra*, and Olga explained in more detail about how the *shigra* was used to carry food and game collected in the forest. She further demonstrated how to produce *pitak* fiber from the flesh of long stalks of agave, as well as how to weave the bags, simultaneously explaining and carrying out each step, before placing a *shigra* over the body of the elder girl. Thus, throughout the program, significant icons of Upper Napo Quichua culture—in this case the *shigra*, the mimetic weaving of which is also often incorporated into beauty pageants—are transformed into indices of the lessons, and voices of rural elders. As Olga concluded her lesson, she again grounded her authority in the discourse of the past, and called on the daughters to listen:

| **Olga** | Paya rikuy, rikuychi kasnmi, kasna rashami kangunaga shigrara awashaga kangunawak valirina imas maykan, maykanbas katusha ganana tukunchi kaywa.24 Payuna uyanguichi, ñuka ima tunus, ruku tunumi rimauni, ruku mama | *Daughter look, look [plural], like this, doing it like this, now you all weaving the* shigra *must value what is yours, whatever we sell, we end up earning with this.24 Daughter listen, I am speaking in the way of the elders, from being a* ruku mama*, in order to value what is yours. Are you listening daughters? 26* |

---

[102] They are also akin to the "paju transfer" ceremony described by Muratorio, in which "a younger or less competent woman purchases the powers (pajus) of an avowed expert on growing good manioc, on preparing 'sweet' manioc beer, or on curing a specific ailment" (1998, 412).

188

ashkamanda, kangunawak valiringawa. 25
Uyanguichichu payauna? 26

Table 4.8 Santa Rita excerpt #6, kamachina

Despite Olga's impassioned plea using her authority as an elder, this interactional routine nearly met the infelicitous fate of many interactions I have witnessed between grandmothers and their granddaughters, who often fail to respond to the common question, *are you listening?* In this exchange, the two young girls were silent until they were quietly prompted by Rita:

| **Rita** | Rimay, rimay. 27 | *Speak, speak.* 27 |
| **'Paya'** | Ari, uyanchimi. 28 | *Yes, we are really listening.* 28 |

Table 4.9 Santa Rita excerpt #7, kamachina response

During *Mushuk Ñampi's* remediation and reanimation of the familial *wayusa upina*, families sleep side-by-side, and children rise alongside their elders, in order to be counseled into the interactional routines and social practices that sustained the transmission of Upper Napo Quichua lifeways once, and often still, deeply rooted in material conditions of the Ecuadorian Amazon. Participants in these exchanges reanimate collective and personal memory, bringing to life a world in which children respond appropriately to their regional elders. Through the combined labor of the participants and the semiotic media deployed around them, participants reawaken social figures from their past to interact around the fire, further aided by the animating voice of the *animadora* [Sp. 'announcer, MC,' lit. 'animator'] Rita Tunay.

Yet, these programs are also polyphonic, as the oral and aural affordances of radio media allow a range of contemporary voices and codes to emerge on the air. On *Mushuk Ñampi*'s program, radio media affords ongoing processes of accommodation and adjustment among regional and standardized forms, creating space for multiple fashions of speaking to coincide together. While many participants utilize the spoken codes ideologized as left behind by their elders, others engage in more complex practices.

4.6 The polyphonic affordances of broadcast media

Although Mayor Shiguango is ostensibly opposed to linguistic unification, *Mushuk Ñampi*'s broadcasts draw in a wide range of social actors. While they are most explicitly oriented towards members of their regionally-committed public, their participants may also include politicians, bilingual educators and other proponents of linguistic unification, making space for many fashions of speaking to emerge on the air. The affordances of radio media allow these shows to be extremely interdiscursive and multivocal. The past reanimated on the air is largely determined by its participants, making room for contestation and creativity in these productions. During *Mushuk Ñampi*'s programs, a variety of social figures may be emergent—rural elders and adults, intercultural educators, as well as bilingual, bidialectal youth.

On *Mushuk Ñampi'*s programs, like others in Napo, standardized and regional forms coincide on the air. Many participants in these programs incorporate standardized forms of speech into their on-air broadcasts. However, many of these speakers have become adept at managing different codes and registers of Quichua and deploying them strategically across conversational settings and partners. In contrast to the excerpts detailed above from the same program, in the following exchanges, the participants begin in a more standardized register before turning to a register dominated by regional forms. Whereas many other sites of public cultural performance inscribe the use of Unified Kichwa, alongside many of the same nondiscursive and material signs, these productions ultimately contribute to the development of a more heterogeneous register for public media, in which the voices of rural elders, such as Mama Olga Salazar described above, emerge alongside voices that employ standardized forms.

In the following transcript, forms that are most likely drawn from Unified Kichwa are bolded, while forms that are possibly bivalent between Unified Kichwa and varieties of Quichua

spoken throughout the Amazonian region are underlined. Here, Rita discusses the ongoing

production with the president of Santa Rita, Bolívar:

Rita	**Mashi** kuna kay tutamanda ñukanchi paktamushkanchi, kikindalla **yallichi**ngak <u>wayusa</u> upina nishkara. Imaraygu <u>wayusa</u> upina?$_5$	'**Mashi** *[Unified Kichwa, 'friend'], we have arrived here today this morning in order to **carry out** in your own way what is called the* <u>wayusa</u> upina. *What is the* <u>wayusa</u> upina *for?*
Bolívar	<u>Wayusa</u> upinaga, ñukanchi ñawpa punda ñawira mayllana, chimanda ñukanchi aychara pukurina.$_6$	*'Well the* <u>wayusa</u> upina, *first we wash the face, then we blow it over our bodies.'*
Rita	Ña, kuna ratuway shinalla ñawpa timpu kay waysa upina nishkara **yallichi**ngarausha ima**ta** ruranuk akai ñawpa punda?$_7$	*'Ok now, like before (when) they were going to **carry out** this that is called the* waysa upina, *what did they do first?'*
Bolívar	Ñawpa punda, mashti waysa**ta** upinaiga, ñukanchi rukuyaya *abuelo* nishka atarin, kay <u>shuk pacha</u> punzhayana uras<u>pi</u>.$_8$	*'First, um, in the drinking **of** waysa, our rukuyaya, our grandfather [Sp. abuelo] gets up at <u>one in the morning</u>, when it is turning to day.*
Rita	Ña 'nakpi kuna uyashunchi imara charinchi kayma ruku yayaguna ñawpa punda atarisha imara ruranuk akai?$_9$	*'Ok, so now let's listen to what we have here, the grandfathers that got up first, what did they do?''*
Bolívar	Ruku yaya atarisha ña kay llawta nishkara uyashka maka kay shimiwa pukusha.$_{10}$	*''When grandfather got up, then this what's called a* llawta *[flute] was heard, as he blew with his mouth.'*
Rita	Ña llawta, llawta nikpi llawta, imamanda rurashkara kay llawta?$_{11}$	*'Ok,* llawta, llawta, *what's called* llawta, *what's it made from this* llawta?
Bolívar	Llawtaga kay shuk ichilla wamak tulluwa uktusha y chiwa, uyachiushka maka.$_{12}$	*'Well the* llawta, *[they] pierced a little bamboo tube, and with that, it was heard.'*
Rita	Imara uyachinuk akai?$_{13}$	*What was heard?'$_{13}$*
Bolívar	Chibiga ñukanchi sagrado ninchi kay ñukanchi mashti atarina. Mashti kay puñuna, puñunara kallpachina ninchi, chaytami kay rukuyayaga uyachikpiga ña puñukguna kallpak aka.$_{14}$	*Well there, we say that its sacred, this our um, getting up. Um, this sleep…we say it makes sleep run, so with that when grandfather played it, the sleepers would jump up.'$_{14}$*
Rita	Ña shinakpi kuna kayma charinchi Efraín Alvarado pay ashka, kuna ruku yaya llawtara ñawpakma y**allichi**sha uyachingarah<u>un</u>, Efraín…$_{15}$	*Ok so, now who we have here is Efrain Alvarado, now the elder coming up will demonstrate the* llawta *and make it heard, Efraín…$_{15}$*
	[Efraín plays the flute for 50 seconds]	
Efraín	Ña shinakpi, mama**kuna** <u>hatari</u>ychi, churi**kuna** <u>hatari</u>ychi, ña waysa upina	*Ok with this, **mothers get up**, **sons get up**, we have come to the <u>time</u> to drink* waysa,

191

<u>pacha</u>mi tukunchi atariychi, shamiychi, ña ruku kawsaunimi.[16]	*get up, come here, the old man is awake now!* [16]

Table 4.10 Santa Rita excerpt #8, llawta

In this excerpt they discuss a flute. Significantly, this is another one of the sonic signs of "essentialized" Quichua culture often used in *ñusta* pageants, in which "following the accelerating tempo of traditional flutes, stringed instruments, and recorded rainforest sounds, each contestant breaks into a number of choreographed dance performances" (Wroblewski 2014, 72). As in other segments in Mushuk Ñampi's *wayusa upina*, the traditional flute is recontextualized within a new regime of value, its material qualities identified, tied to the body of a living elder, projected both from descriptions of the past (*ñawpa timpu*) as well as from their reanimation in present (*kuna*). Yet, the voices reanimated and enregistered in this segment utilize more than just the regional forms of Upper Napo Quichua. Rather, they utilize a register closer to what Wroblewski has called an "intercultural code," which he describes as "a Kichwa dialect, sparsely accented with Unified Kichwa variants" that "is emerging as a new public power code" marking particular social identities (2014, 76). While it may be true that "to use the intercultural code is thus to use the sanctioned code of the indigenous elite: educated, urban professionals with a powerful voice in the local political arena" (Wroblewski 2014, 74), use of the 'intercultural code' does not always index simple acceptance or support for this code.

While the participants in this exchange incorporate limited Unified Kichwa variants, their use is likely a form of situational code-switching (J. J. Gumperz 1989), or perhaps register shifting, in response to the perceived linguistic stances' of their conversational partners. In the ideologically fraught world of cultural revitalization, as Mayor Shiguango suggested, 'it is better to not be too left-wing, or too right-wing' in such interactions, but to choose a middle path, while still 'maintaining what is ours.' While Rita and her interlocutor Bolívar mark themselves as familiar with the "power code," it is a slight adjustment in their speech which is for the most part

consistent with the familiar, everyday register of regional Upper Napo Quichua. In this interaction, then, these speakers seem to choose a middle path between the norms of fully unified or standardized language, while simultaneously maintaining 'what is ours.'

In contrast to other portions of the program, when interviewing speakers like Mama Olga who clearly utilize a regional register of speech, in this excerpt, both Bolívar and Rita incorporate limited elements of Unified Kichwa into their speech. This largely seems to be tied to the presence of the elder Efraín, waiting beside them to begin playing his flute. While he does not initiate the conversational frame, once he speaks it becomes clear that Efraín Alvarado utilizes a register includes a number of the phonological conventions of Unified Kichwa:

(5) Rita

mashi kuna   kay   tuta-manda ñukanchi pakta -mu-shka -nchi   kikin-da-lla
friend today   P.DEM   night-ABL   we   arrive -CIS-PRF-1PL.   own-ADV-LIM

yalli   -chi   -ngak   <u>wayusa</u> upina ni-shka -ra   ima-raygu <u>wayusa</u> upina
exceed -CAUS   -PURP   guayusa drink say-PERF-AC what-reason guayusa drink

'***Friend**, we have arrived here today, this morning to **demonstrate** in your own way what is called the* <u>wayusa</u> upina. *What is the* <u>wayusa</u> upina *for?*'

The words in bold mark Unified neologisms. The first, *mashi*, is widely used in political discourse as a calque on the Spanish '*comapañero'* or 'comrade/friend,' suggestive of the close connection between linguistic unification and political activism in Ecuador. The second, *yallichina*, was described by one of my interlocutors in AMUAKIN as a word that is "rebuscada." That is, a neologism in Upper Napo Quichua, reintroduced from another variety. While he explained that the word has a sense of 'exceeding (another) in competency,' 'to win,' or 'to defeat' by being 'stronger, more intelligent,' in this context, he suggested that the speakers meant that they were 'demonstrating' (*haciendo conocer*) the *wayusa upina*. I have translated

193

this form variously as 'to maintain' (to make exceed/stronger) and 'to carry out' or 'to demonstrate' (to make known) depending on the context. I have also underlined the form *wayusa* as bivalent, as this may be a standardized pronunciation, or a more careful, or perhaps formal, pronunciation of a form commonly realized in Archidona as *waysa*. However, the form *waysa* also occurs in both Rita and Bolívar's speech, as it does in both lines (7) and (8).

(7) Rita

ña kuna ratu   -wa -i   shinalla ñawpa timpu kay   waysa upina   ni -shka -ra
ok now moment -DIM -LOC like-LIM before time P.DEM guayusa drink   say -NOM-ACC

yalli   -chi   -nga[k] ra -w   -sha ima-**Ta**   rura-nu -k   a   -ka -i   ñawpa punda?
exceed -CAUS -PURP do -DUR -SS what-**ACC** do-3.PL-AG   COP-3PST-Q   first   point

'Ok now, just like before (when) they were going to carry out this that is called the waysa upina, *what did they do first?'*

(8) Bolívar

ñawpa punda, mashti waysa -**Ta** upina -i   -ga   ñukanchi ruku yaya
first point   um   guayusa-**ACC** drink -LOC-TOP   our   elder father

abuelo   ni-shka atari-n   kay   shuk pacha punzha.ya-na   uras-Pi
grandfather[Sp.] say-NOM get.up-3.S P.DEM one   time   day.become-NOM hours-LOC

'First, um, in the waysa upina, *our grandfather, who (we) call abuelo, gets up at* one a.m. *when the day is breaking'*

In these lines, Rita continues to use the form *yallichina*, as she does throughout the program; this standardized form seems to be a regular part of her mediated speech. Of greater note, however, is the use by both speakers of the accusative *-ta* in a context where cognate *-ra* would be expected for Upper Napo Quichua. Indeed, Rita also uses accusative *-ra* in the same sentence where she produces the standardized *-ta* following the vowel [a], saying both *nishkara* and *imata*. Bolívar, meanwhile, also utilized *-ta* in line (8). However, in lines (9) and (10) both speakers return to use *-ra* following the vowel [a], which they continue throughout the conversation.

Meanwhile, I have underlined *shuk paka* as possibly bivalent between Unified Kichwa and regional speech. There is a widespread emphasis in the linguistic purism movement to reclaim counting and time-telling in Quichua, as this often done in Spanish. Even Serafina in her testimony described above for *Mushuk Ñampi*, reported the hours at which she used to get up in Spanish. Further, while "pacha" is often calqued to describe the space-time of Spanish-language 'heaven' [Qu. *awa pacha*] and 'hell' [Qu. *uku pacha*,] its use to mean "time/hour" is more likely a neologism to replace the use of Spanish-derived *uras* to mean 'hour/time.' Indeed, Bolívar uses *uras* to describe the time around dawn, *punzhayana uraspi*. In turn, his use of the locative *-pi* is also bivalent, as he could be producing standardized *-pi* or devoicing regional *-bi* following [s].[103]

It is not until line (15) that Rita again employs standardized forms, once again utilizing the form *yallichina* to move the program forward:

(15) Rita

ña shinakpi kuna kay   -ma   chari-nchi Efraín Alvarado   pay a   -shka, kuna ruku yaya
ok CONJ   now P.DEM-DAT have-1.PL Efraín Alvarado   he   COP -PERF now elder father

llawta -ra   ñawpak-ma **yalli** **-chi**   -sha uya -chi -nga[k]   ra -<u>Hu</u> -n, Efraín
flute -ACC in.front-DAT **exceed -CAUS** -SS   hear-CAUS-PURP do-<u>DUR</u>-3.S   name

'Ok so, now who we have here is Efraín Alvarado, now the grandfather coming up will demonstrate the llawta *and make it heard, Efraín…'*[104]

---

[103] In Napo, the locative morpheme *-pi* is very frequently reduced to *-i*. However, the form is somewhat unstable, and is sometimes pronounced *-bi*, as well as *-ibi*.

[104] In a recent publication (Ennis 2019) I analyzed the form "ñawpak-ma" as "forward/towards the front" as *ñawpa* means both 'before' and 'in front of,' and extended this to suggest that Rita meant the *llawta* would be made known going forwards, in the future. However, the future is generally conceived as 'behind' *washa*, as in *washa timpu* 'the future/the time behind' for speakers of Upper Napo Quichua, while the past is in front (*ñawpa*). Thus, my earlier claim that Rita suggests that this form will be made known forwards (*ñawpakma yallichisha*) as a time in the future is inaccurate. Rather, she is simply indicating that the production is moving forward with this coming demonstration. Despite this error on my part, the mistaken translation does not significantly undermine my overall argument that these productions are oriented towards the future, as they work against what are perceived to be contemporary processes of "forgetting," suggesting that they will be remembered in times to come.

In line (15), beyond her use of *yallichina*, Rita also pronounces the durative as *-hu*. In contrast, the durative in Upper Napo Quichua is usually realized *-u-* or *-w-* depending on phonological context. While this form could index Unified Kichwa's durative *-ku-*, as I will discuss in more detail below, it is also bivalent with other varieties of Amazonian Quichua. Rita most likely acquired this form from her co-host, James, whose speech mixes forms from both Archidona and Coca Quichua, as his parents speak different regional dialects.

While Rita and Bolívar incorporate one or two standardized forms per utterance in this section, it is the social figure of the *ruku yaya* that they introduce who uses the most standardized forms in his brief speech. Unlike Mama Olga who speaks with the regionally-inflected forms of elder Archidona Quichua women, Efraín's speech seems to animate the social figure of the male "indigenous elite." After he finishes playing the flute, Efraín calls out to the family sleeping by the fireside:

(16) Efraín

Ña shinakpi mama **-Kuna Hatari** -ychi churi-**Kuna Hatari-**ychi
Ok CONJ   mother -**PL**   **get.up** -IMP son-**PL**   **get.up** -IMP

ña   waysa   upina <u>pacha-</u>mi tuku   -nchi
now guayusa drink hour-EPST happen -1.PL

atari-ychi, sham-iychi, ña   ruku kawsa -w   -ni -mi
get.up-IMP come-IMP   now elder live   -DUR-1.S -EPST

*'So like that, **mothers get up**, **sons get up**, we have come to the <u>time</u> to drink waysa, get up, come (here), the old man is awake now!'*

Here, Efraín incorporates the standardized pronunciation *-kuna*, which contrasts with the voiced and elided pronunciations of *-guna* and *-una* for the plural described above in Mama Olga's speech. He also uses the form *hatarina*, which is bivalent with both Unified Kichwa, as well as with other varieties in the Amazon. Given the context, however, it seems likely that this is

196

transference of the written norms of Unified Kichwa into his speech, as he also employs the pronunciation *atarina*, generally used in Upper Napo Quichua. He further repeats the use of *pacha* instead of *uras*. However, he also incorporates forms such as *waysa*, as well as the regional durative *-u-* in [kawsa-w-ni-mi]. The social figure he animates on the air, then, utilizes the "intercultural code," the use of which often indexes "another kind" (*shuk tunu*) or "his variety" (*paywa tunu*) to listeners in Chawpishungu.

Even though there are strong indexical connections between the forms employed in this transcript and standardized forms of speech, individual speech practices are also very complex. Many forms used in Unified Kichwa are bivalent with forms used in other regional Amazonian varieties. For instance, co-host of Mushuk Ñampi James Yumbo frequently uses "kana" for the copula, rather than "ana." While this at first glance could seem like the influence of Unified Kichwa in the speech of a resident from Archidona, it actually results from his familial linguistic history—his mother is a speaker of Coca Quichua where the copula is *kana*, while his father is from the Archidona area, where it is *ana*. Similarly, James employs a durative suffix pronounced [hu], in contrast to the [u] durative used by most speakers in the Tena-Archidona area, again drawn from his mother's dialect. In turn, Rita sometimes also incorporates this form on the air, as she does in line 15 above "yallichingara<u>hun</u>," which she and James have indicated to me they perceive as a more 'emphatic' way of speaking. It is thus problematic to approach the use of standardized forms—or morphological and phonological forms that may appear to be so—in broadcast media as transparent acceptance or support for the enregisterment of an oral standard. As many Unified forms are bivalent with other regional varieties, their use may indicate a speaker's complex linguistic background. Their use may also index deference and adjustment to the linguistic attitudes of one's interlocutor, as Rita switched between different registers and

varieties of speech during the program, producing more regionalized forms during her

interactions with Mama Olga, while utilizing a more standardized register in her interactions

with Efraín, who seems to also employ standardized forms. While Mushuk Ñampi's program

may seem at first to project a static image of the past, these productions are deeply imbricated in

the complex, ongoing debates and contestations over what form that past will take and what

voice(s) it will speak with.

4.7 Multimodal chronotopes and the reanimation the time-space of the elders

As *Mushuk Ñampi* remediates the interactional and material practices of the *wayusa*

upina, the bundling of discourse and other semiotic modes work together to reanimate the time-

space and social figures of a past handed down through the words the elders have left behind.

Consequently, there are identifiable semiotic mechanisms through which *Mushuk Ñampi*

reanimates the space-time of their elders in the present, with the hope that it will continue to

inform the practices of the future. Bakhtin once observed that "chronotopes are mutually

inclusive, they co-exist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict

one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships" (1981 [1938], 252).

That is, he proposed that chronotopic representations are as dialogic (Tedlock and Mannheim

1995) as other forms of meaning making, incorporating and taking shape through their

interrelationships—of both likeness and contrast—to varied representations of time and space

(Agha 2007b; Lemon 2009; Wirtz 2016; Lempert and Perrino 2007). Silverstein, in particular,

has shown how the relationships built up from reference between events (interdiscursive

relationships) and reference between texts (intertextual relationships) are inherently chronotopic,

because they draw distinct instances of discourse and action into temporally and spatially

equivalent frames, "across which discourse seems to 'move' from originary to secondary occasion" (2005, 6). If such references are successfully calibrated, participants in an interaction experience a sense of likeness—of variable degree—across distinct instantiations of events or genres (Silverstein 2005, 9). In turn, the semiotic process of rhematization and dicentization (Ball 2014; Irvine and Gal 2000) contribute to nomic calibrations (Silverstein 1993), in which semiotic relationships between a present event and a distinct realm make a "replica of an otherworld, which allows that world to be phenomenologically available, inhabitable in the present moment" (Dick 2010, 281). In these radio events, participants and various audiences may experience a telescopic collapsing of time, as contemporary and past practices and voices are linked in a multimodal register formulation.

Hosts of *Mushuk Ñampi* often describe the *wayusa upina* in Spanish as a "rito," a ritual. In these productions, speech, material practices, and patterns of interaction are co-enregistered, in performances that are intended to be performative, as they seek to bring their elders' past back to life, to reanimate it, in the present. Thus, as Agha has suggested, the process of enregisterment involves the calibration of multiple signs—linguistic and nonlinguistic—into a coherent semiotic whole, "capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles and of relations among them" (Agha 2007a, 55). Like other rituals, *Mushuk Ñampi*'s productions seek to produce a collective connection (Ball 2014) to the past and its resonances in the present. As Rita often repeats on the air, their *wayusa upina* exists so "we don't forget our elders' lifeways"—*ñukanchi ruku kawsayra ama kungaringak.* Temporally anchored in their elders' past and spatially in the familial hearth, hosts and participants bring to life a chronotope of their past, minding audience members not to "forget" the social figure of elders and their lifeways. Through multimodal semiosis producers and participants seek to make indices out of

199

icons—including narrative icons of past practices, as well as material icons such as gourd cups, infusions of *guayusa*, bamboo flutes, *shigra* bags, and *ashanga* baskets—which already circulate widely in Napo performance media, re-establishing connections to the techniques and voices of their elders, or at least the ways they have been handed down into the present. This is a process known in semiotic anthropology as dicentization (Ball 2014; Ingebretson 2017), in which an iconic relationship of likeness is re-interpreted as a relationship of contiguity—pointing the present to an often-nostalgic chronotope of the past.

Mushuk Ñampi's live reanimation of the *wayusa upina* on their radio programs further illustrates the ways in which forms of speech, material practices, and patterns of interaction are bundled in chronotopic formulations that circulate through various forms of media. Indeed, the chronotopic world reanimated on *Mushuk Ñampi* would be incomplete without the multiple semiotic channels and modes that participants utilize, which are nevertheless constrained when broadcast by the aural affordances of radio media. Yet, as Hartikainen observed regarding the reconfiguration of the social figure of Brazilian Candomblé practioners as peace activists, linguistic anthropologists have largely examined "how [chronotopes] are produced through and invoked by language" (2017, 360). Taking a more broadly semiotic approach to chronotopes, Moore (2016) and Hartikainen (2017) have thus explored how qualia like color are marshalled as signs that reconfigure relationships of place and time, as well as the social figures that inhabit them. Further, as Agha shows in his discussion of "commodity registers" (2011), phenomenologically diverse signs—speech, durable objects, activities—may all be recruited as diacritics of social personae and lifestyle practices. Such registers thus enable the circulation of chronotopic formulations. *Mushuk Ñampi's* multimodal reanimation of the *wayusa upina*

highlights the ways that nondiscursive signs and material objects—as part of registers—allow for, and actually are integral to, nomic calibrations across chronotopes.

These radio programs offer an alternative model of revitalization, one which is grounded in *habitus* and interaction. Unlike literacy-based revitalization projects, which often treat language and culture as separate modalities, *Mushuk Ñampi'*s radio programs seek to reawaken language as a mode of cultural practice in interaction. However, like all value projects that exist in complex interdiscursive orders (Agha 2011), the enregisterment of 'our own language' alongside 'what is ours' as a lifestyle formulation will be taken up in various and unpredictable ways by different participants and audiences, variably recognizable as emblematic icons of the past, or as contiguous indices across time, which allow the past to come alive in the present.

4.8 Reanimating collective memory

Anthropologists of the Ecuadorian Amazon have thus far described similar events as "performances," and as "representations" of culture. As predicted by scholars of animation, a focus on performance has led prior analysts to focus on the intertextual gaps between performer and role, between lived and performed reality, between the text and its context (R Bauman and Briggs 1990). Rogers, in writing about "representation" in Archidona explains, "when social reality is consciously re-presented it undergoes a semiotic transformation that introduces a slippage between the representation and that which is represented" (1996, 77). We might find such slippage in the near infelicitous performance by the adolescent girls who had to be prompted to respond to a question that forms part of a well-worn interactional routine between mothers and daughters in Upper Napo Quichua. Such slippages introduce elements of the "uncanny" of animation " (Silvio 2010) into these programs, in which characterological figures

201

are not always entirely life-like, reminding viewers and listeners that these are not simply the intimate familial practices of their memories or their homes, but their public remediation and reconstitution in a new medium.

Mannheim (2018a) makes a distinction between two notions of representation, which help to disentangle some of the analytical difference between performance and animation in this case. In the first, what he calls "representation$_1$" language and cultural forms "stand for" an objective social reality. Under this view, ethnographers and other scholars interpret and decode the symbolic material of culture. Performance-oriented analyses of media productions, then, are akin to decoding a "representation$_1$" of the objective reality of cultural life. However, Mannheim's second form of representation, "representation$_2$," refers to the "essential properties" of an expression, as used in math, linguistics, and cognitive science. It is in this view of representation$_2$ that Mannheim finds the possibility of an ontological approach, or "an ethnographic view of language and culture as actively engaged in making the world we take for granted, rather than representing it" (2018a, in press). Animation likewise speaks to the ways in which a meaningful world is brought to life through active engagement among participants. Mushuk Ñampi's (re)animation of the *wayusa upina is itself a form of cultural practice*, not just a representation or performance of some pre-existing reality. The live-broadcast *wayusa upina* is not just the familial event it remediates and reanimates from daily experience, but its own contemporary practice—an emergent vitality on the air, and a way that participants can continue to 'remember' their elders' lifeways as mediated communities of practice.

Viewed through an analytic of (re)animation, events like the *wayusa upina* become sites in which language and culture are actively engaged in making the social world. Repeated instantiations of these productions contribute to the enregisterment of a range of signs—

linguistic, visual, durable objects, activities and lifestyle practices—in a multimodal register (Ennis 2019; Agha 2011, 2005), through which participants project figures of their elders. By reanimating contexts of interaction and figures of social personhood, both remembered and imagined, in the present, the producers and participants are actively involved in making, and remaking, their social world. These productions are not meant to be "real," but hyperreal in the sense advocated by Biddle and Lea (2018, 6). They are events that attempt to remake a reality that has been increasingly ruptured by the social and material changes engendered by colonial policies and external regimes of value within which Upper Napo Quichua people find themselves. They confront a world in which they experience their culture and language as deeply threatened, as indicated by the decision of Carlos Alvarado Narváez —a widely-known Quichua musician and cultural activist in Napo—to entitle one of his books collecting local narratives, *Historia de una cultura a la que se quiere matar*, 'The history of a culture which they want to kill' (1994). These events are not just a "representation$_1$" or "play acting" of culture, they are themselves a site of cultural production, a new way of living culture in the present—a form of "survivance" in the face of cultural genocide, at least for some members of a diverse Upper Napo Quichua community of practice. In turn, many of the kinds of narratives transmitted during these programs have long served as sites of cultural and linguistic socialization, which participants and producers hope will continue to shape social personhood among their listening audience, as they remind listeners not forget the language and lessons of their elders.

Chapter 5
Upper Napo Quichua Narrative and the Animation of Collective Memory

5.1 Introduction

The transmission of narratives and embodied practices among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua is central in the formation of a collective memory of their social world. In everyday moments of interaction, speakers often re-animate the voices of the people—generally their elders—who taught them something significant, which could include stories of the origins of animals and plants in the forest, prohibitions surrounding hunting and alimentation, the preparation of medicinal plants, material techniques for planting or weaving, among many other strands of familial, inherited knowledge that combine to make *ñukanchi rukuguna sakishka shimi* 'the words our elders left behind.' Fundamentally, when adults and elders teach '*yachachina*,' they both demonstrate '*rikuchina*' and converse '*kwintana*,' bringing past practices and voices into the present. These forms of embodied and linguistic knowledge are sites of collective memory, what French defines as "a social construction constituted through a multiplicity of circulating sign forms, with interpretations shared by some social actors and institutions and contested by others in response to heterogeneous positions in a hierarchical social field in which representations of the past are mediated through concerns of the present" (2012, 340). They are collective in the dialogic sense advocated by Halbwachs, as it is in "society that [people] recall, recognize, and localize their memories" (1992 [1925], 38).[105]

---

[105] Theorizations of collective memory (e.g. Connerton 1989; Climo and Cattell 2002; French 2012) generally trace their intellectual history to the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who outlined a fundamentally dialogic theory of memory.

These practices are also central to the ways that *Mushuk Ñampi* remediates and reanimates elders' knowledge on the radio. Once a month, the hosts of *Mushuk Ñampi*, alongside a larger group of cultural activists and media producers in Napo, bring the interactional space-time of the *wayusa upina*, as a site of cultural and linguistic socialization, to life on the air. Moreover, in other daily media practices, from the naming of radio shows to on-air exhortations to drink guayusa, the chronotope of the *wayusa upina* is a central intertextual point of reference for Upper Napo Quichua radio and other forms of media production. Accordingly, this multimodal, intertextual chronotope of the familial home—like that of the Bakhtinian literary chronotope—entails and presupposes certain understandings of personhood and relationality, a tacit social ontology (Mannheim 2015). The voices that are articulated in these on-air reanimations, then, can reveal a great deal about how social personhood is constituted among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua.

Specifically, a speech genre called *kamachina* 'counseling, ordering, disciplining,' is central to the practice of the *wayusa upina*, both on and off the air. In face-to-face encounters, *kamachina* speech is integral to understandings of how children, novices, and otherwise errant social practioners (such as *killa* 'lazy' wives and husbands) are socialized into the appropriate knowledge, behavior, habits, and interactional relationships that give shape to contemporary— and, for some, historically recognizable—Upper Napo Quichua social practices. These forms of counsel also become ways of knowing the past, because *kamachina* speech is fundamentally based around the reanimation and transmission of elders' knowledge, which includes that of their

---

According to Halbwachs, "it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the act of recollection" (1992 [1925], 38). From this perspective, Halbwachs argued that "in reality, the past does not recur as such, […] everything seems to indicate that the past is not preserved but reconstructed on the basis of the present. […] Collective frameworks […] are precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society" (1992 [1925], 39–40).

own elders, in an interdiscursive chain. However, as the knowledge regularly called *ñukanchi rukuguna sakishka shimi,* 'the words left by our elders,' has often been transmitted during the morning hours of the *wayusa upina*, it is today seen to be increasingly endangered in the context of shifting social relationships and daily habits. As it is a form of knowing which adheres in living bodies, 'the words told by the elders' (*ñukanchi rukuguna kwintashka shimi*) is also ephemeral, prone to be lost when the person who holds it dies. During one live broadcast radio *kamachina*, for instance, an elder speaker counseled a younger supplicant to honor and love his mother and father while they lived, as "you will not hear your father's speech after he dies."[106] Today, the linked complex of the *wayusa upina/kamachina* is central to discourse about linguistic and cultural shift, as well as efforts to revitalize and revalorize *runa* lifeways by extending their reach over the air. This is evident in the ways that many speakers frame recorded stories, as was the case in Serafina Grefa's narrative of elders' practices recorded for *Mushuk Ñampi*. Indeed, the coda of her narrative frames it as a form of *kamachina*, or counsel, rooted in the authority and words of her elders.

During the recording she tells listeners, "so now I'll make you listen to just a little of the words of counsel [*kamachishka shimi*] of our elders that came before."[107] As she speaks, her voice takes on an urgent cadence, developing a clipped, rhythmic tone, which characterizes the speech genre of *kamachina*. And as she relates her memories of the past, she interweaves the counsel of her elders with her own speech, slipping between first-person declaratives and citations of the speech of elder relatives, a linguistic practice that characterizes *kamachina* speech, as well as narrative practices more generally in Napo. "I am speaking when all the sons,

---

[106] Mushuk Ñampi, November 16, 2016: "Yaya shimira yaya wañushka washalla mana uyanguichu Ruku Uchu."
[107] Serafina Grefa: "'nakpi kuna ñukanchi ñawpa rukuguna kamachishka shimira ñuka kuna uyashka tupuwara kangunara ringrichini"

all the children are listening. I say this because I don't want them to encounter hardship or sadness of any kind. Like this, all of you as ones with ears that listen, as ones that pay heed, they will live listening. Speaking that way my female kin would also give advice." She continued, "When they ordered any children, they would say 'by being a child who listens, listening they will live' and this speech, just a very little bit of what I heard, with all of you listening, I now speak." Although brief, this recording about the importance of respect for the words of one's elders underscores the ways that speakers index and voice inherited knowledge in their daily linguistic practices. It also points to the importance of such knowledge for contemporary revitalization projects in Napo, including *Mushuk Ñampi*'s efforts to "revalorize" and reconstitute the indexical linkages between elders' *ruku kawsay* and contemporary *runa kawsay* through collective, radio-mediated remembering.

The narratives that are animated in face-to-face interactions and on the air reveal some of the ways that my interlocutors are grappling with ongoing cultural and linguistic shift through Upper Napo Quichua social ontologies, which—I suggest here—are remediated across narrative genres. Amazonian narratives have long fascinated academic analysts, and the interrelationship of the seemingly stable genres of "myth" and "history" therein remains a topic of considerable discussion. In Napo, the recounting of familial narratives and personal experiences often draw upon many of the same understandings of the ways that people become recognizable members of different social formations, as the "mythic" narratives more commonly circulated among outsiders and academics. In all of these kinds of stories—which for my interlocutors belong to the category of 'what the elders told' or 'what the elders taught'—language, substance, material practice, and interpersonal interaction are key ways that different categories of social beings are produced and transformed. In the stories told by the elders, the people of the distant past (*ñawpa*

207

timpu) often became what are today animals or plants because they failed to engage in proper social relationships or took up new habits, changes which were actualized by a simultaneous transformation in their external coverings (clothes, fur, feathers) or the products they ate and drank. In strikingly similar ways, contemporary elders reflect on and remember how the things they ate and drank, and the interactional relationships they maintained with their own elders, gave shape to the lives they now live as the contemporary elders of Upper Napo Quichua society. However, many children today, they say, are 'forgetting' the words left behind by the elders, and consequently, their ability to 'live' them in the present.

More than just complaints about intergenerational change or 'kids these days,' the discursive structures and narrative patterning of many people's stories reflect a deep concern that the relational field of Upper Napo Quichua personhood is being transformed in the context of linguistic, social, and environmental change. Moreover, stories of personal experience and recent history are becoming some of the most commonly told narratives in Upper Napo Quichua storytelling, as stories of the ways the world and its inhabitant took shape in the past, handed down by more distant elders, are told with decreasing frequency. Nevertheless, these stories drawn from conversations among elders' in the past, brought to life in various modalities in the present, are key ways that Upper Napo Quichua storytellers mobilize a collective memory for future-oriented action through the socialization of novices into appropriate norms of social behavior and interaction.

5.2 Myth and history in 'the words our elders left'

Speakers of Upper Napo Quichua have found the stories left behind by their elders under increasing attack in the context of settler colonial expansion. This point was driven home to me

during my interview with Roberto Cerda Andi on the history of the bilingual education

movement. During the interview, I mentioned my interest in the "stories" (Sp. *cuentos*) he and

other bilingual educators had collected in the early days of the movement. He remarked in reply,

"the stories, which according to the external understanding is myth, for us is a reality. They are

true. So, for people with [this] awareness, we couldn't be quiet, or say that it is myth. It is not

myth for us." [108] As he spoke, Cerda Andi emphasized the externality of the foreign gaze on

Upper Napo Quichua stories by holding his arms his front of his body as he began to say "la

concepción extraña" 'the foreign understanding,' and then pulling his hands rapidly inwards.

Cerda Andi's comments are indicative of the issues many outsiders encounter when they attempt

to apperceive Upper Napo Quichua narrative practices.[109]

These comments highlight a thorny issue for scholars interested in Upper Napo Quichua

narrative practices, as well as Amazonian narrative more generally, namely, how can what we

externally perceive as "myth" be real? This is an issue I have confronted repeatedly in working

on Upper Napo Quichua narrative practices. Narratives I was repeatedly told were the "true"

stories told by the elders, often seemed quite impossible according to the ontological system

within which I operated. Similarly, many anthropologists have found themselves grappling with

how to approach stories that self-evidently seem to be 'myth,' because of seemingly fantastic or

fictional thematic elements, yet that also seem to be historical, because they address events said

to happen in the past. Such tensions emerge, for instance in Kohn's description that

---

[108]Roberto Cerda Andi, November 15, 2016: "Los cuentos, que según la concepción extraña es mito, para nosotros es una realidad. Son verdades. [Georgia: ¿sí?] Entonces no puede.. para personas conscientes, no podíamos estar como tranquilos, o decir que es mito. Para nosotros no, no es mito"

[109] Boas (1889) observed that many attempts to apprehend Indigenous linguistic and cultural systems were plagued by the inability to "hear" the voices of Indigenous interlocutors within their own systems of meaning. In particular, Boas argued that linguists' description of the phenomenon of "alternating sounds" in so-called "primitive" languages in fact resulted from "a wrong apperception, which is due to the phonetic system of our native language" (Boas 1889, 52). Cerda Andi similarly highlights a case in which apperception of Upper Napo Quichua narratives within external systems as "myth" conforms to the preexisting logics of those external systems. That is, the external gaze perceives something as myth, which belongs to another genre entirely.

contemporary oral traditions told by highland Quichua speakers in Oyacachi are "mythic in structure and logic but historical in content" (2002, 548). Yet, Kohn also proposes "oral traditions should be treated qua history," because they "retain a primordial, albeit enigmatic, connection to the past in ways that concomitantly inspire and elude the native historians who enlist them in their attempts to create a sense of their place in the world" (2002, 548). Even so, there is a persistent trend in anthropological approaches to understanding indigenous history that seeks to show how oral narratives (or 'myths') inscribe historical processes, which analysts can then identify as historically accurate by "combining these indigenous formulations with reconstructions of the global political-economic structures of contact and colonization" (J. D. Hill 1988, 3). Yet, when these approaches analytically make history for indigenous peoples by reading their "myths" through our knowable world of colonial "history," whose history does it become?[110] As Gow suggests, much of this work proceeds from the assumption "the history of indigenous South American peoples is there taken as primarily, if not exclusively, the history of their invasion and domination by European colonial forces" (2001, 16). That is, oral narratives do not become history until they can be made legible by outsiders within the intertextual world of written, colonial history. Rather than taking oral traditions as contemporary ways of knowing the past from the present, both constitutive and reflective of particular ontological worlds,

---

[110] I began thinking about this issue when I met the descendants of Rukuyaya Alonso—cousins of Pedro Cerda Andi—who had been Blanca Muratorio's main interlocutor for the book *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso* (1991), in which she uses translations of oral narratives told to his eldest son as counterpoints to explore the records of the colonial archives. The resulting book is a forceful condemnation of the history of colonial and missionary activity in the region. Rukuyaya Alonso's family had a Spanish translation of the book, which they proudly showed me along with his government ID card stored inside. The book, however, did not seem as if it were regularly used or read, and rather served as a monument to the importance of their elder's knowledge to outsiders. More meaningful during my brief visit were the stories Rukuyaya Alonso's youngest son told about his father, as well as the concrete crypt where he was buried behind the house. As an anthropologist, I worried that the book describing their family history was not more meaningful. History, and knowledge of the past, seemed to mean something very different to us.

enmeshed within interactional relationships and intertextual webs of meaning, they become decontextualized objects, to be evaluated against 'our' verifiable history.

This approach shapes the edited volume *Rethinking History and Myth* (1988). Hill positions the volume in opposition to structural approaches to myth, which he reduces to a distinction between "myth as fiction as opposed to history as fact" (1988, 5). His position, however, seems to be rooted in a misreading of what Lévi-Strauss meant by 'history' in his discussion of "hot" and "cold" societies. Hill suggests that the distinction is one in which "'cold' societies [are] without history, [and] 'hot' ones that have progressed beyond myth" (1988, 4). This, however, is not a claim actually made by Lévi-Strauss (Gow 2001, 16). Lévi-Strauss suggested, in particular, that the difference between 'cold' and 'hot' societies is to be found in the "the former seeking, by the institutions they give themselves, to annul the possible effects of historical factors on their equilibrium and continuity in a quasi-automatic fashion; the latter resolutely internalizing the historical process and making it the moving power of their development" (Lévi-Strauss 1966, 234). Presented as a provisional classification, the distinction has much more to do with the forms of social reproduction and transformation taken by different societies, who nevertheless all find themselves within historical time and processes of change. Scholars drawing upon structuralist approaches to myth, likewise, are interested in "understand[ing] the ways in which the indigenous societies of Amazonian *set about constituting* the specific historical situations in which they find themselves embroiled" (Fausto and Heckenberger 2007, 16). In the case of Upper Napo Quichua, I have found that one of the ways in which speakers constitute historical situations is through the chronotopic reanimation of the 'stories the elders told.' Through their storytelling practices—primarily ideophony, gesture, internal multivocality, and conversational dialogism—the past becomes knowable through

experiences of dialogic narrative events, which draw participants into the intertextual, chronotopic worlds projected by the narratives.

In exploring the narratives that circulated on the air and in face to face interactions, I am less interested in the external analytical distinction between "myth" and "history," and more in the ways in which intertextual connections among narratives reflect and presuppose speakers' ontologies of their social worlds. Like, Gow, who chooses to describe mythic narratives as "ancient people's stories" rather than "myths," as to do so would "[fail] to signal the difference between Piro people's articulated categories and the technical language of anthropology" (2001, 29), I refer to many of these stories as 'the elders' narratives,' drawing upon the idea of "the words our elders left behind" and "what the elders before told" [*ñawpamanda rukuguna kwintashka shimi*], which were the ways narratives were usually classified by my interlocutors. Instead of treating the categories of "myth" and "history" as stable entities in the world—a system in which some positivist events of history may be expanded through oral mythology—I turn to the analytic of *collective memory*, as it aligns more closely with the semiotic processes of inscription described by my interlocutors, which deal with the oral transmission of what was spoken before across generations. I am interested here in the dialogic, interdiscursive, and intertextual practices through which narratives of the past come to life in the present for their listeners within a community of practice. Throughout fieldwork, "forgetting" (*kungarina*) and "remembering" (*iyarina; yuyarina*) were the most frequent ways that my interlocutors described the transmission, maintenance, and transformation of both significant cultural knowledge and daily practices. Rather than perpetuating a form of ontological violence, even unintentional, on my interlocutor's narratives by labeling them as 'myths' or as indicative of a 'mythic time-space,' (c.f. Whitten 1976; c.f. Reeve 1988) therein projecting my own metaphysical

212

assumptions of the limits of the possible and impossible, I ask: What makes narratives "true" for my interlocutors? How do they come to inhabit narrative worlds? And how do these narratives have intertextual and interdiscursive meaning?

I was told repeatedly by speakers in Napo that their stories are not lies [Qu. *yanga rimana*] nor myths [Sp. *mitos*]. Rather the stories they recounted were simply the stories of their elders, as well as 'the stories told by the elders from the time before, *'ñawpamanda rukuguna kwintashka shimi*, developed and transmitted through an oral and embodied inscription of their knowledge. To explore the ways that my interlocutors classified narratives, I played back a small selection of stories drawn from *Mushuk Ñampi*'s archive of community recordings for some of the members of AMUPAKIN. Three women in their 60s, two women in their 40s, and a man in his late 30s provided commentary. These speakers made a temporal distinction between stories of *ñawpa timpu,* the time 'before,' and *ruku kawsay*, elder lifeways. However, events that occurred in both were deemed equally true, as they were recognized as narratives inherited from the elders, who had inscribed events that had occurred, in named, recognizable places.

The spoken stories of the elders are a significant way that Upper Napo Quichua social ontologies emerge in daily practices. Mannheim has suggested that narrative and song are "central to social life is the construction of a 'social imaginary,' a set of interpretive images, figures, and forms that project an implicit social ontology" (2015, 44). These can be formally described in verbal artistry through presupposition, implicature, and pragmatic lamination. Presuppositions—tacit assumptions of an utterance—serve as guides for interpretation of narrative content. As Mannheim explains, with "any utterance that has not been framed conversationally (or through specific literary devices) as contrary-to-fact, for a listener to attend seriously to the content of the utterance would be to acquiesce in its presuppositions" (2015, 47).

In Napo, the stories passed from the 'elders from before' *ñawpamanda rukuguna*, are able to project similar assumptions about the world, because they share a similar quality of truthfulness for their listeners, at least those who do not frame them as contrary to fact. Allen (2011, 115–16) has shown that for speakers of Southern Peruvian Quechua, there is a significant difference between stories that are deemed to be *kwintu*, covering events that could possibly occur or occurred in a different time-space, and those that are deemed *chiqaq*, having occurred within our present social time. The speakers of Upper Napo Quichua with whom I worked, however, made a generic distinction between *kwintu*, a true story handed down through the narratives of elders, and *kachu*, a joke or tale told just for entertainment. Significantly, for my interviewees, the transmission of 'the words spoken by the elders' was also linked to the early morning guayusa drinking hours, when *kamachina* narrative counselling sessions traditionally occurred, in which inherited narratives and personal experience are used to transmit significant lessons of social personhood and relationality. This seems to be a system undergoing considerable change, at least from the perspective of many storytellers, who often report that young people no longer believe the stories of the elders—yet, for them, these were the true stories of the elders, which provided insights into why their lived world took the shape that it did.

A vignette drawn from my research in the household of Serafina Grefa vividly illustrates the importance of the intergenerational transmission of elders' knowledge to the perception of the narrative truth of the stories that form different strands of collective (perhaps familial) memory in Napo. One morning, during the guayusa hour in Serafina's home in Chawpishungu, I heard a bird calling outside. While we drank *wayusa*, I asked Serafina if the bird I had heard in the trees outside of the kitchen was an *iluku*, or the nocturnal common potoo (*Nyctibius griseus*). The narrative origin of Iluku as a young Quichua woman who is transformed into a bird is

described as one of the central narrative pillars of Amazonian Quichua mythology (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012, 59), or what I have suggested to be a modality of collective memory. I was mistaken about the bird I had heard, but in correcting me, Serafina demonstrated the way many elder adults around Napo live in a world permeated by the knowledge and underlying presuppositions of Upper Napo Quichua narratives, even though much of their explicit knowledge of those stories may have faded. Referencing the call of bird that she had heard singing to the new moon in the nights before, Serafina sang and explained:

> *"Ñuka kusalla" nisha wakauka.*
> She was crying, saying, "my dear husband."

That morning, Serafina remembered fragments of the origin story of Iluku, such as the way she sings mournfully to her lover the moon, and the moral lessons about femininity instilled when her female relatives told her the story as a child, but she could not recall many of the major plot points of the narrative. And as she expressed her confusion about the details of the story, she turned instead to narratives about her family drawn from her own childhood. That is, she turned to instilling her own narrative lessons through her knowledge of the past, passed down from her elders, and from her own experience. Most significant for Serafina was the ways the story of Iluku connected to lessons about how to properly secure and carry the wrapped skirt—*pilluna*—once worn by many women in Napo. Indeed, this was the response she provided when I asked her why Iluku sings to the moon. In turn, the following exchange illustrates the ways that Upper Napo Quichua narratives are intergenerationally transmitted among familial units, as she describes in line 9 being told the story of Iluku before she got married, when she still lived among her female kin.

1	**SG**	"Ñu::ka:: ku::sa::lla: aww aww" wakan.	*'She cries, "myy huusbaand, aw aw"'*
2	**GE**	Ah, chi.	*'Oh, that['s so].'*

3	**SG**	Shinami wakan pay. [laughter]	*'That's how she cries.' [laughter]*[111]
4	**GE**	Ima rasha?	*'Why?'*
5	**SG**	Chima ñawpa timpu, payguna rukuuna uyashkaimari, Iluku Mama nishka payguna... mashtibi, ima ninunmi?	*'Well that, in the time before, when the elders certainly heard, what was called Iluku Mama, they..um, what was it they say?'*
6		Chita mana ali…Kwintashkarami ñuka kungarini.	*'That, not well… I forget what was told.'*
7	**GE**	Ah.	*'Oh?'*
8	**SG**	Ari, kungarini kuna.	*'Yes, I have forgotten now.'*
9		Ñuka ñawpa chara ñuka kari apishka mayanbi ñuka mamauna iñachishka uraspi kwintakuna aka chi Iluku mama kantashkara.	*'Before, still around the time when I got married, when I was being raised by my female relatives, they would tell what that Iluku Mama sang.'*
10		Kantasha Iluku mama kantashami, kay pillunara, manzhu ñukanchi kay makikutuna churarinchi, pilluna anakunchi.	*'Singing, singing Iluku Mama, this skirt, isn't it so that we wear the makikutuna (long blouse), [and] we wrap the pilluna [skirt]?'*
11		Anakushka manzhu kasna, kasna rasha, kasna, kuti kaymandakta kasna ña kuna anakushka.	*'Wrapped, you know, like this, doing it like this, like this, and again to this spot and now wrapped [in the skirt].'*
12		Chiga chumbiwa watanchi.	*'Then we tie [the skirt] with a belt [chumbi].'*
13		Watashka, manas kunaway[112], Iluku Mamaga daz, paskay pasan ningui chumbira.	*'Tied, but just then, [but you] the Iluku Mama like daz! quickly let the belt fall open.'*

Table 5.1 Serafina describes Iluku #1

Serafina continued to explain in detail the way that she was taught to wrap and tie her skirt,

which was linked to the embodied practices of her more distant female elders. According to

Serafina, women were once commonly teased by being called "Iluku Mama" when they held

their skirts and belts tightly as they rose from their seat, lest the belt and skirt fall open. Although

many women now wear leggings, jeans, or shorts, Serafina remembers a time when comparisons

to Iluku, and dialogic reference to her story, were parts of daily speech for her female relatives:

---

[111] Serafina had repeated the song numerous times without laughter at the start of the conversation, but when I turned on my recorder and requested that she sing the song of Iluku again she began to laugh.
[112] Roberto Cerda, personal communication (04/02/2019): "Manas Kunaway es: menos pensado/ en poco tiempo/ en cuestión de segundos."

23	SG	Anakukpimi chiga, chimandami chi payguna Iluku mama nisha, chi mana yangachu kuna Iluku Mamami tukun nisha rimanushka nin	*'When they wrapped the skirt, then they said "Iluku Mama," and saying, "that isn't worthless, now she has become Iluku Mama," they would have spoken, it is said.'*
24		Chimandami, Iluku Mama nisha kantanuk ashka.	*'Then they would have sung [about] Iluku Mama.'*
25	GE	Ah.	*'Oh?'*
26	SG	Ari, chimi, kantashka shimirami, rukuunaga chi shimira atarisha shina kwintakuna aka.	*'Yes, that's right, the sung speech [of Iluku], the elders would get up and like that tell that speech.'*
27		Ima kwintasha tiasha, wakashkaras tukuyra kantanun, kantasha…	*'How they converse while they sit, what is lamented too, they sing everything, singing…'*

Table 5.2 Serafina describes Iluku #2

At this point in her reflections, Serafina was interrupted by her youngest daughter-in-law, Lucía. Although Serafina had focused on the link between Iluku and the way her female relatives used the story to detail the necessity of properly situating one's skirt, Serafina did not clearly outline why Iluku sings to her husband. However, in other versions of the story I have both recorded and read, Iluku fails to follow her brother—who impregnated her in secret at night—as they flee their family by climbing high into the sky. As he climbs upwards to become the moon, Iluku's skirts fall open as she clutches them, preventing her from climbing a ladder into the sky. She thus remains on earth, becoming the Iluku, doomed to sing to her distant husband the moon. Lucía seemingly attempted to elicit some of this narrative content from Serafina by asking for whom she cries in line 28. Serafina then explained that Iluku sang to the moon, her husband. In turn, in line 36, she proposes that the elders from the "before" are said to have heard what Iluku said as she cried to the moon, in turn passing her speech down across subsequent generations.

28	LG	Ima.. ima rashara.. pita wakan pay. Pita nisha wakan.	*What.. why… For whom does she cry? For whom does she call out as she cries?*
29	SG	Killara rikusha, killarami karimi nin [ñuka chi kari]	*Seeing the moon, she says, "the moon is my husband, [that's my husband.]"*

30	[chi ñawpa rukuunaga kari]	*[before the elders [said] that [the moon was a] man]*
31	'Nakpi, chi Iluku, chi killaga, llukshimusha manzhu, gustu mushuk manzhu chiiuu shamunun.	*So then, that Iluku, and that moon, you know how when it comes out beautiful and new, doesn't it come out like* chiuu*?*
32	'Na rakpi, chita rikushaga, "ñuka kari kawsashaga kasna gustu, {arma..} luna kwinta kay ñuka karimi kay luna" nishami rikushka nin.	*So, when that happens, seeing that she would have looked at the moon and said "my husband is just living like that, beautiful, […] like the moon. This is my husband this moon," it is said.*
33	Shina rimakpi chi lunga chiiuuk mushuk tikawalla llukshimushka nin mushuk killawa.	*When [she] speaks like this that full moon would have come out like* chiiuuk*, new and shining, it is said, with the full moon.*
34	Ñukami kasna karira charik ani, ñukami kasna kari, ñuka karimi kay luna nisha rimashka nin.	*Saying, "I once had a husband like that. My husband is like that, my husband is this moon," she would have spoken, it is said.*
35	Rimakpimi chi imasna killa manzhu ansawa, ansawa ansawa awa sikasha katimun chi katimushkara rikushami payga chi wakashaga shina kantak ashka nin.	*When she spoke, that..you know how the moon little by little by little climbs up following along? She would have sung crying like that when she saw that [path above] [he] followed, it is said.*
36	Shina kantashkamandami, chi Iluku mama shina kantashkamandami, tukuy payguna kantashkara, chi rukuguna ñawpa timpu kawsakunaga apinushka chi shimira.	*From the way she sang, from the way that Iluku Mama sang, all of what they sang, those elders who lived in the time before would have learned [lit. caught/grasped] that speech.*
37	Chi shimira apishkarami washa washa iñak wawagunama shinallara kwintakuna ashka.	*That speech which was learned [grasped] they would have told just the same way to the children that grew up later and later.*

Table 5.3 Serafina describes Iluku #3

In the following line, I attempted to clarify which *shimi* [speech; language; word] had been

narratively passed down across the generations. In responding, Serafina emphasized the ways

that these narratives are grounded in the oral inscription and transmission of collective memory.

In lines 36, 37, 42, and 43 Serafina uses the verb *apina*, 'to grasp, to catch,' to describe the ways

that the song of Iluku was recorded by her elders and passed down:

38	GE	Ima shimara?	*'What speech?'*
39	SG	Chi Iluku kantashka shimira	*'That speech which Iluku sung.'*
40	GE	Chi "ñukaa kusa…"	*'That "my husband…"'*
41	SG	Ari ñukaa:: kuusaallaa:: nishka, pay kantashkara tukuy rimakuna ashka.	*'Yes, "myy huusbaaand" she would have said, they all would have spoken (about) what she sang.'*
42		Rimakpiga, chi mashtigunaga, chi mamagunaga, chi malta washa iñakguna, shinallara apinushka chi shimira, chi shuti, chi payguna kantashka shimira.	*'And when they spoke it, those um, then those mothers, those young people that grew up later, just the same way they would have learned [grasped] that speech, that name, that speech which they sang.'*
43		Shina apisha sakirishkarami kay ñuka mamaunara kwintakuna ashka.	*'Like that learning what was left behind, here they would have told [it] to my female relatives.'*
44		Ñuka mamawa yayaunami ñawpa punda yachanushka.	*'My mother's fathers would have known it first.'*
45		Chi yachashka shimirami ñuka mamaunama kwintanushka.	*'That speech which they had learned they would have told to my female relatives.'*
46		Ñuka papaunama kwintanushka.	*'They would have told [it] to my male relatives.'*
47		Chi kwintashka shimirami ñuka papaguna randiga, ñawpa punda payguna kuna Wapa Yaya nishka, Wapa Mama nishka, y mashti, Pakay Ruku nishka chigunaga ñawpa timpumanda, rukumanda kawsakuna ashka, ñuka yayaunawa yayauna.	*'That speech that was told, my male relatives on the other hand, first now they, [the one] who was called Wapa Yaya, [his wife] who was called Wapa Mama, and um, [the one] who was called Pakay Ruku, those ones were from the time before, they would have lived from the old [times], my fathers' fathers.'*

Table 5.4 The elders' knowledge of Iluku

Central to Serafina's recounting of the speech of Iluku Mama is both the ways that the

story was used dialogically to instill an understanding of Upper Napo Quichua feminine *habitus*,

as well as the way that it was transmitted across generations. Significantly, throughout the

transcript, Serafina uses the stative verbal suffix *-shka* (usually analyzed as a "storytelling" tense

219

of indirect experience in other Quechuan languages (Faller 2004; Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998)) and the quotative markers "nin" 'it is said' and "ninun" 'they say.' Serafina uses these indexical markers of received, multivocal knowledge, to narrate the spacetime of the origin story of Iluku, as in line 32:

32	SG	'Na rakpi, chita rikushaga, "ñuka kari kawsashaga kasna gustu, {arma..} luna kwinta kay ñuka karimi kay luna" nishami **rikushka nin.**	*So when that happens, seeing that **she would have looked** at the moon and said "my husband is just living like that, beautiful, [...] like the moon. This is my husband this moon," **it is said.***

However, she also uses these forms to describe the actions of her distant, reported elders, as in line 18 (not included in the abbreviated transcript above):

18	SG	"Kan Iluku mama kwintami talingui" **nishka**, "chi ñawpa ruku mamaunami shina **talikuna ashka**" **nin**mari	***It is certainly said*** *that **they would say** "'Like the Iluku Mama you spill [open],' those grandmothers **before would spill** [open] like that"*

Such grammatical patterns suggest that genres of storytelling often treated as analytically separate —the mythic spacetime of narratives of *ñawpa timpu* and the history of their elders' experience (e.g. Whitten 1976, 46–50)—occupy a similar spatiotemporal plane. According to Serafina, this knowledge of the time "before" was spoken across the generations, until it reached her grandparents, whom she names. Further at stake in Serafina's account, then, are the ways that collective memories are formed and transmitted among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua. Serafina's accounts of the transmission of familial knowledge, as well as the results from the playback interviews which I conducted at AMUPAKIN, indicate that many speakers of Upper Napo Quichua experience the narratives of the distant past (*ñawpa timpu*), more recent familial experience (*ruku kawsay*), and personal experience as true for similar reasons. Specifically, the

reanimation of stative events containing present-tense voices across generations establishes the verisimilitude of their elders' collective memory of the past. The past is not a distant land that exists only in narrative, it is knowable across the generations who have be able to capture (*apina*) knowledge of it and transmit living experiences of it through narrative, using regular grammatical and poetic patterns.

Returning to the play-back interviews regarding *Mushuk Ñampi'*s archive, narrative recordings declared *sirtu* ['true'; derived from Spanish *cierto*] by the group of listeners included: the stories of a husband who revealed himself to be a Woodpecker Man, as well as a husband that turned into a Kukupa Owl; oral history of a village that was threatened by the intrusion of an *auka*, a member of a neighboring, violent Indigenous group; and two personal testimonies of elders' practices. In contrast, a more contemporary story about a young woman who had forgotten Quichua after moving to Quito, was declared only possibly true, and intended as a *kachu* to entertain than to serve as a source of counsel or advice (*kamachina*) for listeners. However, personal testimonies of contemporary older adults who had come of age in a period referred to as *ruku timpu* (elders' time) or *ruku kawsay* (elder' lifeways), were also judged to be true by the group of listeners. Although my listeners made a distinction between the narratives of the distant past and more contemporary history, they were judged to be true if they were perceived to have been passed down by knowledgeable elders, particularly if listeners could corroborate them within an intertextual web of narratives and experiences from their own lives. Had they also heard a similar story among their elders? If so, them it was assigned to the category of 'true' stories, which their elders had told. As these stories were not perceived as contrary to fact among my interlocutors, seemingly distinct genres of narrative are able to project similar tacit understandings about the social ontology of the Upper Napo Quichua social world.

5.3 Telling stories in Amazonian Quichua

In this section, I consider some of the daily, habitual ways people know and tell stories in Upper Napo Quichua in the context of advancing language shift and cultural change and introduce the ways such stories transmit underlying assumptions of the Upper Napo Quichua social world. The narratives of the elders—though widely represented in anthropological collections from the area and frequently objectified in grassroots language revitalization projects—are an increasingly specialized narrative form. Today, ruptures in intergenerational transmission have created many younger speakers in Napo who identify as passive bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals, and who thus do not respond appropriately to the dialogic narrative practices of their elders, which demand responses during storytelling. However, even among Quichua-dominant elder and middle-aged speakers, the effects of intergenerational ruptures in transmission stemming from external factors (such as increased missionary activity and the development of mission boarding schools, and the presence of Spanish-speaking *colonos* in the region) and internal factors often resulting from those external pressures (such as a greater emphasis on obtaining Spanish-language education for children, language socialization practices, or migration) are visible, as many elder speakers report that they never learned or no longer remember the stories told by their parents or grandparents. Many storytellers also express that today young people don't believe [*mana kirinun*] the narratives of the elders, who are no longer respected as true sources of knowledge. Instead, contemporary elders increasingly emphasize telling narratives of more recent history and personal experience regarding changing cultural practices, topics described as *ruku kawsaymanda*, about or from the lifeways of the elders.

Although the content of the stories has changed, many of these more contemporary stories project similar assumptions about the formation (and transformation) of personhood, as their more temporally distant counterparts. A central assumption here is that narrative is a central site through which speakers transmit the underlying assumptions and tacit presuppositions about their social world (Mannheim 2015; Urban 1984). As Urban suggests, the embedding of speech in narrative discourse becomes a site through which language users project an "ethnopragmatic theory" of how "the relationship between speech and action is conceptualized by users of the language" (Urban 1984, 310). Narrative is thus a central site through which speakers engage in processes of worlding (Descola 2014).

What may first appear as a rupture or loss of narrative genres is in fact indicative of a shift along a historical narrative continuum, within which speakers perceive the narrative stories of *ñawpa timpu*, the time-space 'before', and personal and familial narratives of *ruku kawsay* as similarly true. Whitten (1976, 46–50) has described elaborate systems of temporality among speakers of Canelos Quichua, in which he identifies distinct temporal periods related to "mythic space-time" (*unai*), the "ancient times" (*kallari uras*), the "times of destruction" (his own classification based on the prevalence of narratives of upheaval), "times of the grandparents" (*rukuguna*), and "present times" (*kuna*). However, in my work with speakers of Upper Napo Quichua, I found a much less differentiated approach to temporality. Among my interlocutors, both the distant past of "beginning times," and the seemingly more recent past of *ruku kawsay* were most often referred to with the temporal deictic, *ñawpa* 'before,' or as *ñawpa timpu*, 'the time before,' as in Serafina's story above. As Serafina explained, knowledge of these times was passed down through the speech of various generations, reanimated in elders' knowledge across narrative events, space, and time.

223

Like other areas of Upper Napo Quichua cultural practice, traditional oral narratives are

perceived as increasingly endangered by both community members and academics. The

introductory material to *Cuillurguna* (C. D. Orr and Hudelson 1971), a now classic collection of

Amazonian Quichua narratives, indicates that as early as the 1970s documentarians and

Amazonian Quichua speakers alike were concerned with the language change and cultural loss

evidenced by transformations in storytelling. Orr and Hudelson write in *Culluirguna*, for

instance, that the collection was inspired by elders' desire to preserve oral narratives, as "the

custom of telling traditional stories has diminished almost to the point of disappearance" (1971,

no page number). Carried out nearly fifty years later, my research in Napo suggests that in some

senses the fears of many of these earlier observers were well-founded. The kinds of canonical,

traditional narratives presented in such texts, and frequently objectified in language revitalization

and academic research projects alike are not told on the daily basis described by elders around

Napo, nor suggested by previous anthropological treatments of the region (e.g. Muratorio 1991;

Uzendoski 2005; Nuckolls 2010). Ofelia Salazar, a midwife in her forties from AMUPAKIN

who fondly remembers the ways her grandfather told many similar stories, summarized the

situation as one in which, "those [stories] are being lost." According to Ofelia, young people are

now occupied with going to school and doing their homework, and thus, the stories are "being

lost" [chingarisha rin] as young people "forget" [kungarinun].

Cultural change and language shift are intimately connected in Napo, as the times of day

when Quichua speakers would usually gather to tell stories have been reconfigured by

commitments to school and wage labor, and the incursion of media like radio[113] and television.

---

[113] Currently, however, media such as radio that were once credited (Muratorio 1991) with disrupting the storytelling space of the early morning *wayusa upina* are now being used to transmit recordings of elders' stories in the early morning hours, when Napo radio is dominated by Quichua-language media.

Muratorio (1991, 7–8) has described that narratives—including "ancient myths" and "interesting experiences"—were transmitted until relatively recently during the *wayusa* tea drinking hours between three and six in the morning. Many older speakers around Napo still report rising during the pre-dawn during their childhoods and listening to the stories left behind their grandparents and parents while people prepared for the day's labor. These events are described alongside other forms of narrative, including *kamachina,* or narrative counseling sessions, in which elders advise younger people using stories drawn from the knowledge of their elders and personal experience. However, the daily importance of storytelling has diminished as increased urbanization has rapidly reorganized the lives of many Upper Napo Quichua people. The sources of such ruptures are multiplex and vary from speaker to speaker, though the role of Catholic missionary schools, interactions with Spanish speakers for trade and wage labor, parents' desire for children to learn Spanish, changing economic conditions, and language ideology and socialization practices contribute in various ways to the linguistic histories of many speakers around Napo.

Shifts in both the contexts of storytelling, speaker population, and the knowledge they hold are having notable effects on narrative forms. As more and more members of the generations of lowland Quichua speakers who regularly shared the stories of their elders left behind have died, many elder speakers now find themselves more isolated, with fewer peers with whom to share their verbal artistry. Mannheim and Van Vleet (1998)have shown that traditional narratives are deeply dialogical for Southern Peruvian Quechua speakers, who often interweave narrative fragments into their daily conversations in ways that emphasize the social logics embedded in their stories. However, as I discovered throughout my research, many older speakers around Napo draw a major distinction in sharing snippets of the stories left behind, and full recounting of them. Though elders I have lived with and interviewed often consider

themselves skillful speakers, fewer consider themselves competent tellers of full narrative

sequences, and often only remember short segments or broad summaries of stories that have

been documented as much longer oral texts. Even in Quichua-dominant contexts when a group

of elder and middle-aged speakers gather around a task such as preparing *aswa* or weaving

baskets or bags, people reflect much more frequently on more recent oral history and personal

experience. While these settings might have once been conducive to the sharing of the narratives

passed down from the elders, produced with the encouragement and input of other

knowledgeable speakers, some adults are unwilling or no longer remember these stories well

enough to tell them. Yet, I also found in my research at AMUPAKIN that such cultural

revitalization organizations provide an important space for an intergenerational group of

speakers to renew their knowledge of these stories, alongside other modes of cultural practice.

Gathered together to prepare to participate in broadcast on *Mushuk Ñampi* the next morning, for

instance, elder members of AMUPAKIN shared stories of *ñawpa uras* [Qu. 'the time before'],

which explained the origins of *amarun* 'boa,' while young volunteers listened intently, and

dialogically participated in the telling of the story.

Research across the Quechua language family indicates that storytelling is a consistently

important aspect of the speakers' expressive culture (Allen 2011; Mannheim 2015; Mannheim

and Van Vleet 1998; Howard-Malverde 1989). In in the Ecuadorian lowlands, Uzendoski and

Calapucha-Tapuy have proposed, "Amazonian Quichua people consider artful expression a

necessary ingredient for quality living" (2012, 3). This is still a dominant maxim for many

Amazonian Quichua speakers, as storytelling and oratory are important aspects of Upper Napo

Quichua politics and cultural presentations, as well as in everyday conversations around Tena

and Archidona. Artful speech incorporating the poetic features of Amazonian Quichua—such as

ideophony, reduplication, semantic couplets, and multivocality—continues to be transmitted in local Quichua-dominant public and private speech events. Yet, the narratives that are regularly being told by elders and middle-aged speakers are for the most part not the "mythical" cycles that dominate many descriptions of the different regional varieties of Amazonian Quichua.

Anthropological accounts, collections of narratives, as well as the self-reports of many adults suggest that such stories were once told with greater frequency, by more speakers. However, as specialized forms of knowledge, often held by powerful *yachakguna* 'ones who know,' it is unlikely that they ever dominated conversations to the extent—or in the fully entextualized forms (Mannheim 1999)—indicated by their prevalence in written collections of stories. Many contemporary elder and middle-aged adults nevertheless report having heard narratives about Iluku and her offspring, Kuyllur and Dusiru, regularly as children. Today, some people continue to share narrative of the beings that inhabit the forest and rivers around them, as well as of the origins of the plants and animals that fill them. However, in speech events like the *wayusa* tea-drinking hour or associated forms of *kamachina* narrative counseling, where these stories were once more widely shared, many elders now most frequently turn to *ruku kawsay* narratives of personal testimony and more recent oral history. This is not to say that *ruku kawsay* stories have completely eclipsed the stories of *ñawpa timpu,* the times before, that they never coexisted in the past, nor that all speakers were once equally competent in telling them.

The reports of many contemporary elders and adults, however, suggest that they were once more widely shared than they are in homes today. However, it is often difficult to elicit them from elders (who frequently disclaim knowledge of these stories), as well as to encounter them in naturally occurring conversations. Rita Tunay—herself experienced in eliciting and recording narratives from elder speakers *Mushuk Ñampi*—suggested that because the elders who

lived in the time before, *ñawpa timpu*, have all died, their narratives have slowly been forgotten. Rather than elders' memories of the more distant past times, speakers today share the narratives passed down by more recent generations or what they experienced themselves.

A shift from emphasizing more contemporary memories over those of the distant elders is not a dramatic rupture, but a subtle move along a long narrative continuum, as Amazonian Quichua narratives externally typified as "myth" have long been documented alongside local oral histories, and personal testimonies. Many other authors (Foletti-Castegnaro 1985; Uzendoski 1999; Muratorio 1998; Kohn 2002) have noted that mythic tales and history are closely linked for Amazonian Quichua speakers with whom they have worked. Today, ruptures in intergenerational transmission often lead speakers to shift along their continuum of collective memory, towards more contemporary narratives about elders' practices (*ruku kawsay*). However such changes in storytelling practices may also reveal the ongoing vitality of Napo Quichua narrative practices, through the remediation of Amazonian social ontologies (Mannheim 2018a, 2015) of personhood and transformation across narrative genres.

5.4 "Idleness" and the transformation of personhood

At the center of the *wayusa upina* programs and narratives produced and broadcast by *Mushuk Ñampi*, is a practice most often called *kamachina*. The verb *kamachina* includes the meanings of 'to counsel, to advice, to scold, to order.' It is frequently used to describe a highly enregistered form of speech common at engagements and weddings, in which speakers transmit their knowledge of social relationships and give advice to the bride and groom. In such speech events, speakers utilize a very fast, scolding style, delivering their advice in short staccato bursts. However, *kamachina* can also take place in the slower rhythms of everyday conversation, as

elders use their own and their elders' voices to counsel young people. Closely associated with

such events are the use of powerful substances such as *uchu* hot peppers to discipline and fortify

the bodies of young people. Such forms of *kamachina* are frequently remediated on *Mushuk*

Ñampi, as well as in other sites of public cultural production. This was the case during the

wayusa upina program live-broadcast from Santa Rita, discussed in Chapter 4. During one

segment, Rita explicitly asked her guest, Olga to demonstrate the way that her elders used

kamachina to counsel her:

Rita	Imara **kamachinuk** akai ruku yayakuna ruku mamakuna kay punzhayanakunai, Mama Olga yallichipay ña?$_1$	*What did [your] grandfathers and grandmothers **counsel** [you] when the dawn was breaking, Mama Olga please demonstrate, ok?$_1$*
Olga	Kay ñawpa punda, ña wasyara upikanchi.$_2$ Ña chiwasha, kay ñukanchi ruku mamauna ñawpa kasna rasha, shigrara awasha, mashti, katusha ganana anmi nisha **kamachixuna** anmi.$_3$	*First, we drank guayusa.$_2$ Then after that, our female elders (would) counsel us, **saying** "first doing it like this, weaving shigra, um, selling [them], [you] have to earn [money]." $_3$*

Table 5.5 Santa Rita wayusa upina, Sept. 13, 2016

Following this segment, a male elder participant turned to the practice of the *uchu churana* 'the

application of hot pepper,' smearing the juice of the capsicum pepper into the eyes of the

adolescent boys and girls seated by the fire before him. These segments are regularly repeated on

the monthly broadcasts of the *wayusa upina*.

Narrative descriptions of the linked practices of the *wayusa upina* and *kamachina* are also

some of the main content in *Mushuk Ñampi*'s archive of recordings of elder community

members, which are played during daily studio broadcasts. Serafina Grefa, for instance, recorded

a *kamachina* narrative of counsel that was played regularly on *Mushuk Ñampi*. In it, she details

the ways she was made to rise to prepare guayusa in the pre-dawn hours to serve to her gathered

family, the practices of subsistence agriculture that shaped the rhythm of her daily life, as well as

the forest-sourced foods that she ate. Such practices, guided by the advice and demonstrations of

elder relatives, shaped Serafina and her siblings in particular ways. Later, as Serafina concluded her reflections on food, Rita asked whether she had received disciplinary treatments with hot pepper, which led Serafina to reanimate the *kamachina* she had received as a child within her contemporary counsel:

55	RT	Ña Serafina, Serafina kanda ñawpa timpu mana cazukpi uchura churakunacha akai?	*Ok Serafina, Serafina before when you didn't pay attention, did they use to apply* uchu t*o you?*
56	SG	Churakuna maka ñuka shunguyangagama churay tukuk mani ñukaga.	*They certainly would apply [it on me] until I matured, I am one who got disciplined with hot pepper.*
57		Mana yanga shina ashami ñuka mamauna kamachisha churashkaunara ñuka churay tukusha kawsak mani.	*Since it is not without purpose, my mothers' counseling with the hot pepper, I live as one who got disciplined with* uchu.

Table 5.6 kamachina and uchu

Serafina then launched into a long, impassioned description—slipping into the scolding style of speech used in vehement *kamachina*—of the ways that she counsels her own children, particularly her sons, on how to interact with their spouses (see Appendix 2 for the full transcript). She then contrasted her own use of *kamachina* and the *uchu churana* in her household with others in which children are no longer raised with these practices. Such children, according to Serafina, are *killa* ['lazy; idle'], particularly prone to theft and subsist by stealing food from their neighbors. After her impassioned narrative about theft, she turned to counseling the listeners of her story, linking her advice directly in line (68) to the words of counsel, *kamachishka shimi* (line 64), passed down to her by her elders.

63		Ñuka payguna uyanuchun nisha rimangarauni.	*I am going to speak because I want them to listen.*
64		'Nakpi kuna ñukanchi ñawpa rukuguna kamachishka shimira ñuka kuna uyashka tupuwara kangunara ringrichini.	*So now I will make you hear a little measure of what was heard of the words of counsel of our elders before.'*
65		tukuy churiguna, tukuy wawaguna uyashkai rimauni.	*I am speaking when all the sons, all the children are listening.*

66	'Nakpi shinallara ima tunu ama chi llaki, ama chi turmindura tupanuchun nishami kayta rimani.	*I say this because I don't want them to encounter hardship or sadness of any kind.*
67	Shinallara kanguna uyak ringri asha uyak umayuk asha, uyasha kawsanunga.	*Like this, all of you as ones with ears that listen, as ones that pay heed, they will live listening.*
68	Ñuka mamagunas shina nishami kamachikuna aka.	*My female relatives also would give advice speaking like this.*
69	Payguna ima tunumandas [kanguna itiashka tupura] may wawagunara kamachikpi uyak wawa ashaga, uyasha kawsanunga nisha rimashkarami, ñuka ansa ansa uyashkara kuna kangunara kanguna tukuy uyaushkai ansawara rimani.	*For [what you all consider] whatever reason, wherever they counseled their children, they said, "being a child that listens and pays heed, listening they will live" and this speech, just a little of what I heard, with all of you listening, I now speak a little.*
70	Chilla mashka ñukawak	*Just that is what I have had to say.*

Table 5.7 Serafina Grefa's kamachina for MÑ

In her narrative, Serafina regularly animates the voices of her elders who emerge as figures within the chronotopic world of her narrative, slipping between her own counsel, and that delivered through the words of her relatives. Her counsel becomes a central site through which she projects their assumptions of the relationship between speech and action, as well as the way things *ought* to be (Urban 1984; P. V. Kroskrity 1993). Her story inscribes a further strand in the semiotic construction of a collective memory grounded in the words her elders left behind, which is oriented towards the future, as she tells listeners, that "they will live listening."

Although Serafina's counsel is grounded in the words she heard from her elders in the past, it is directed towards enacting a particular understanding of personhood among listeners and imagined future audiences. Her counsel thus resonates with other situations of linguistic and cultural revitalization, in which nostalgia for the past is mobilized in order to bring about a change in the future. Debenport (2015), for instance, shows through an examination of pedagogical language revitalization materials that "nostalgic discourses are employed to construct a Bakhtinian chronotope enveloping the entire pueblo at a prior time and, it is implied,

in a projected future." Similarly, Meek's discussion of the personal narratives of Kaska elders regarding the "hard time" of the past, "display a concern that youth will not only be deprived of their cultural heritage but will not be able to survive in the bush should hard times return" (Meek 2010, 32). While the utopic social relationships of the past pueblo inscribed in dictionary entries and described by Debenport's interlocutors, and the "hard time" in the bush of Meek's interlocutors may at first blush seem to index different orientations towards the past, they are both a form of what Svetlana Boym (2007) has called "restorative nostalgia." For Boym, "restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* (home) and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home," although it "does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition" (2007, 13). Such invocations of the past with respect to the present and future are also evident in Serafina Grefa's radio-mediated *kamachina,* as she implores the listeners of her narrative of her childhood experiences that "listening they will live." In each of these cases, a nostalgic vision of the past is invoked to comment both on the present, as well as to imagine future possibilities. But, for what ends is the past brought to life in the present? Attention to speakers' narratives of the habitual embodied practices, alongside the more temporally distant narratives of *ñawpa timpu*, reveals that both serve as sites of collective memory oriented towards the (re)animation of practices and people within the Upper Napo Quichua lived world. In what follows, I draw intertextual connections among the underlying presuppositions of various narratives that circulated in Napo. These are not necessarily connections that my interlocutors explicitly made, and I am careful to note that these analyses are my own. Yet, the connection I draw between *killa,* which roughly translates to 'idleness' or 'laziness,' in more contemporary narratives, and its connection to stories passed down from the elders from before, highlights the centrality of the concept among my interlocutors. Moreover, I am also not the first outside observer to recognize

a connection between socialization practices that focus on making children *shinzhi* 'strong,'

rather than *killa*, and the centrality of *killa* in Upper Napo Quichua narrative.

Serafina's account of the *kamachina* is indicative of the ways that children and young

people are socialized into significant interactional relationship and become recognizable social

persons within social collectivities. These socialization practices likewise emerge in the narrative

of Rukuyaya Alonso, who described his childhood to Blanca Muratorio—or more accurately, to

his son who served as Muratorio's research assistant in eliciting Rukuyaya Alonso's life

history—in very similar terms:

> What I remember most from when I was a small child is that the old men would give us advice;
> they would teach us how to behave with the whites, how we should walk with our loads, and how
> to fight. We were taught this since we were very small. The old and strong men would blow
> *samai* into the crown of our heads, especially if we were kind of lazy and disobedient. *Samai* is
> like our breath, it is a way of conferring strength, of giving courage. […] When I was small, lazy,
> and disrespectful of grown-ups, they would make any powerful person with a strong samai rub
> red pepper on me. Sometimes the Serranos (people from the Highlands) who came to visit would
> rub the red pepper on me and give me advice. It was like a ceremony. They would sit me on a
> bench, scold me harshly, punish me by rubbing my eyes with red pepper, and later blow their
> strength and power into me.[114]

Muratorio analyzes these and associated practices, such as bathing in the river at dawn, as

indicative of an Upper Napo Quichua "work ethic" that condemns laziness. As Muratorio

proposes, "idleness is synonymous with weakness, with lack of strength and ability that make a

man a good hunter, or a woman a diligent tender of the chagra and preparer of huayusa" (1991,

210). Consequently, according to Muratorio, a man or woman who is *killa* 'lazy, idle' does not

---

[114] Muratorio 1991, 55–56

participate in cultural logics of relationality and reciprocity and becomes "anti-Runa," frequently encountering difficulty in finding a spouse (1991, 210).

Muratorio further locates such logics of relationality in what she describes as Napo Runa mythology. She proposes that "in several myths, the idle runa turn into animals, that is, they leave Runa society" (1991, 210), while similarly, "myths also reveal other fundamental values that give meaning to Napo Runa ethnic identity, such as hospitality, reciprocity, and respect for the elders" (1991, 209). Swanson (2009) has also demonstrated a pattern across numerous plant and animal origin stories for Quichua speakers in Pastaza and Napo in which the moral failure of *killa*—encompassing notions of laziness, immaturity, and 'sexual looseness'— leads to the transformation from a human to a plant or animal state (2009, 48). Modifications in habits of consumption and of the body have likewise been shown in mythic stories to be integral to acquiring a new perspective (Reddekop and Swanson 2017; Uzendoski 1999; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012). The transmission of social ontology across such Upper Napo Quichua narratives is thus visible in presuppositions about the formation of personhood and social beings.

Perhaps we academic analysts are so drawn to Upper Napo Quichua storytelling because they make Amazonian ways of being in and interacting with the human and nonhuman world more legible to Euro-American researchers. Modes of thought which are illustrative of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's theory of perspectivism, developed through analysis of Amazonian narratives of predation in which "the world is inhabited by different sorts of subjects or persons, human and non-human, which apprehend reality from distinct points of view" (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 469), are particularly visible in Amazonian Quichua storytelling, both thematically and grammatically. Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy have suggested that "perspectivism […] is congealed within the poetic and musical traditions of the Amazonian world" (2012, 11). Detailed

analyses of the role of Amazonian Quichua poetics, ideophony, and the evidential system (Nuckolls 2008, 2010; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012) indicate that Amazonian Quichua speakers are careful to distinguish among the perspectives held by different voices in their narratives. Moreover, origin stories of plants and animals distinctly illustrate the way that an external covering may change from human to animal (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 471), while a thinking, speaking, subjective self is maintained (Swanson 2009; Nuckolls 2003, 132, 2010b, 355; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012, 11).

Although Upper Napo Quichua social ontologies are often more apparent to non-Quichua speakers in the seemingly "mythic" stories inherited across generations, they also emerge out of habitual stories of daily life. Contemporary narratives told by elder and middle-aged speakers often focus on changes in diet, speech, and social relationships, because these are part of the tacit assumptions that many speakers of Upper Napo Quichua have apprehended the construction of social personhood, and which are currently being used to make narrative sense of social change and transformations of the self. Very similar assumptions emerge in the narratives of the origins of plants and animals, which belong to the stories told by the elders. Specifically, narrative reference to the moral failure of *killa*, ruptures in social relationships, changes in dietary habits and food, and shifts in language (Swanson 2009; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012) are key sites for narrators to transmit their understandings of how social persons are phenomenologically and relationally established. Although these culturally specific logics of social relationality and being may not be as readily visible to external analysts as in the origin stories of plants and animals, it is important to remain attentive to the everyday ways in which the narrativization of elders' practice and personal testimony continue to reflect and shape the social ontologies of contemporary speakers of Upper Napo Quichua.

Mushuk Ñampi's archive of community recordings also contains stories of human-animal transformations, as well as the ways they are indexed in narratives by the moral failure of *killa*, changes in consumption, and shifts in speech. The origin story of the Kukupa Owl drawn from the radio archive and told by Lorenzo Alvarado of Pungarayaku is illustrative of these different narrative themes, and the ways they relate to transformations in social being. The story begins with a husband and wife as they are traveling through the forest on a hunting trip. They next set up a small camp to sleep in. One day, the husband hears shouting from the forest, and thinking that it must be his wife who has brought him *aswa* to drink, goes to investigate.

It is at this point in the story that listeners I consulted with in AMUPAKIN identified a first rupture in social relationships, which set in motion the husband's later transformation into the Kukupa owl. He meets a woman in the woods, understood by the group of listeners to be a *sacha warmi*, a female forest being, who gives him *aswa* to drink. The transfer of game meat from husbands to wives, and a return transfer of fermented manioc chicha from wives to husbands is one of the central ways, according to Uzendoski, through which Amazonian Quichua peoples "organize and enact reproduction" (Uzendoski 2004a, 884). Drinking *aswa* from a forest spirit and not his wife, then, is a kind of *killa*, pointing to moral rupture in assumptions about sexual relations, which had significant consequences for the man.

After drinking the *aswa*, the husband returns home with the forest woman, who continues to give him *aswa* to drink. Drunk from the fermented manioc beer, the man and the forest spirit lay down together, embracing each other, to sleep. Physical contact with a woman other than his wife is a sign of his coming transformation, which occurs first through the transformation of his speech, and then a final transformation in outward form. The narrator describes how in his sleep, the man began to snore, imitating the hooting of the owl. Significantly, this section of the story is

told in the present tense, drawing listeners into a narratively present stative world, in which, it is said, feathers grew on the man's arm:

Runganun nin.	*They snore, it is said.*
Rungashaga kasna nisha rungan nin	*They snore, and they snore like this, it is said.*
"Ku-ku-ku-ku-ku=ku-ku-ku-ku, ku-ku-ku-ku-kuku-ku-ku-ku," nisha rungan nin.	*He snores, saying "ku-ku-ku-ku-ku=ku-ku-ku-ku, ku-ku-ku-ku-ku=ku-ku-ku-ku," it is said.*
Ña ima shina nisha chi runganun.	*How they snore like that!*
Chi rikunushka rikukpiga, chi parijumanda ugllasha, chi shuk! shuk! shuk! ilma iñashka nin, rigrara.	*When what was happening was seen, they were embracing, and feathers—one! another! another!—it is said, grew on his arm.'*

When the husband's wife was later brought to the home to see him, she exclaims:

Chi rikungawa kayanushka, mana pacha, ñuka apa imasna shina kukupa tukusha tiangui nisha nijpi..	*When they called [her] to look, she said "Oh no! How is it that you have turned into a Kukupa owl, my husband?"*

Her husband, sitting on a tree branch with his new wife and an owl child, can only respond by moving his head back and forth. And this, the narrator explains, is how the Kukupa owl came to exist. The small sample of clips from *Mushuk Ñampi*'s archive demonstrate further transformations in bodily form that were tied variously to the moral failure of *killa*—especially marked for my interlocuters in references to sexual looseness and breakdowns in the expectations surrounding social relationships, labor, and subsistence. Transformations in these

237

were further indexed by changes in consumption (eating worms instead of fish), form (becoming a bird), and voice (speaking in the language of a bird).

Similar tacit assumptions about personhood and social being are expressed in narratives about the lifeways of the elders and the linguistic and cultural transformations occurring today. Throughout my fieldwork, a variety of people voiced concerns that children and adolescents no longer want to eat local Amazonian foods, to speak Upper Napo Quichua, or to engage in traditional subsistence practices. In the personal narratives contained in the radio archive, storytellers similarly speak with dismay about the *killa* behavior of contemporary young people. In Serafina's *kamachina* recorded for *Mushuk Ñampi*, for instance, she described how she would awaken at two or three in the morning to prepare *wayusa* tea for her family during her girlhood and complained that today's young people have turned out to be *killa*, or lazy and immature— that greatest of moral failings in traditional Upper Napo Quichua narratives. After describing the practices of *ruku kawsay* in detail, focusing especially on awakening early to work, she addressed contemporary young people:

40	SG	Chita kanguna mana, shinagunara mana apishami, kanguna **killa** yachanguichi, **killa wawauna tukunguichi**	*'You all not grasping those kinds of things are accustomed to **idleness**, you have **turned into lazy children.'***

Significantly here, the verb *tukuna* is often also used when describing the transformations from human to plant or animal state, as when the wife in the narrative of the Kukupa owl asks, "imasna asha shina Kukupa **tukusha** tiangui?" 'How is it that you have **turned into** a Kukupa owl?' During another recorded *kamachina*, while discussing how late children sleep, an elder man similarly wondered, "What will we **become**?" ["imara **tukunchi**?"]. Many speakers expressed similar anxiety around children who no longer want to drink fermented manioc *asa* and who do not value or remember the words of their elders, instead leaving them behind for

Spanish. They contrasted this with narratives of childhoods based around self-subsistence and the consumption of key forest-sourced animals and plants, especially manioc and palm *aswa*. These narratives of daily practice depend upon and transmit similar presuppositions about how social being is made in the contemporary world's complex relational field as the narratives left behind by the elders. As elder speakers narrate their familial histories and personal experiences of the food, the labor, and the social relationships of *ruku kawsay*, they are continuing to develop the kinds of familial narratives transmitted during their own childhoods, which together help to establish an implicit social ontology of how social personhood is maintained or transformed. In more contemporary stories, however, the concern is not that idle children will leave *runa* society and become animals, but that they will leave *runa* society and become *mishu* or *awallta* 'mestizo, Spanish,' shaped by distinct forms of speech, logics of relationality, and practices of production and consumption. Indeed, Rita elicited at least one of these narratives of the practices of *ruku kawsay* by asking about the past, in the context of a present in which young people are "awalltayasha," becoming like Spanish-speaking, culturally white-mestizo Ecuadorians. As forms of counsel against such processes, these stories, then, also become resources for reanimating a collective memory of Upper Napo Quichua personhood in the future.

5.5 (Re)animating social selves through narrative

Across the Ecuadorian Amazon, Lowland Quichua speakers have often been characterized as animist and perspectival thinkers whose relationships with the natural world are comprised of the interplay of human actors and spiritual forces, and which are further mediated by the voice as well as powerful natural substances (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012; Kohn 2013, 2007; Swanson 2009; Reddekop and Swanson 2017; Nuckolls 2010b, 2008;

Mezzenzana 2018b, 2017). Many of my interlocutors have described the ways in which rivers and forests, for instance, are inhabited by powerful beings—called variously *supay* [spirit; demon], *amu* [owner], *apa* [elder], and *sacha/yaku runa* [forest/river being]—who control the wildlife and resources of an area, and with whom men and women may enter into romantic partnerships as a means of acquiring power and knowledge of their domains (see AMUPAKIN 2017). One of the ways this may be accomplished is by ingesting medicinal plants and interacting with their spirit owners in dreams; these owners, if the supplicant completes their requirements, will invest the consumer with the power to utilize the plants.

Personhood is also established relationally, through the interchange of powers and substances, as bodies are animated by the spiritual breath of elders, healers and *yachakguna* ['ones who know,' often translated as "shamans"]. In many households a still widespread practice for healing involves an elder family member or a specially contracted *yachak* blowing their breath, their *samay*, which is a container for their *ushay*, their power, into the person receiving treatment. Muratorio (1998) likewise proposes that adults' bodies are seen to be formed through the accretion of their elders' spiritual breath. Many elder adults today recount receiving disciplinary treatments with hot peppers and stinging nettles as a way to shape the self while allowing them to absorb the "strong" [shinzhi] qualities of the plants, which would make them into *shinzhi* adults—a defining feature of Upper Napo Quichua personhood. Across these practices, the various substances one interacts with and consumes are key ways of animating bodies, selves, and relationships.

In various genres of Upper Napo Quichua narrative practice speech, bodily comportment, and the maintenance of proper social relationships also emerge as integral to the production, animation, and reproduction of fully social, human—*runa*—selves. Amazonian social

240

ontologies, which allow for the intervention and interaction of human and nonhuman agents, are often more apparent to non-Quichua speakers in what have often been described as "mythical" stories of the distant past, in which animals and plants developed their current forms through the transformation of an original, shared human form. However, the underlying presuppositions of their social imaginaries also emerge out of habitual stories of daily life experience. Like their supposedly "mythic" counterparts, narratives of personal and familial experience told by many speakers focus on changes in diet, speech, and social relationships across generations. These thematic elements are now also being used to make narrative of sense (Ochs and Capps 2001) of contemporary social change. In such stories, social personhood is brought to life—made animate—by semiotic practices involving enregistered styles of speech, bodily habits, forms of consumption, and patterns of interaction, which index specific social personae. Quichua speakers, like linguistic anthropologists, often seem to take a phenomenological perspective towards identity and personhood (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), which are continuously emergent through embodied interactions in a complex relational field. Transformations in selfhood, consequently, both becomes possible and is indexed through changes in a person's habitual practices. Rather than seeing anxieties about changes in subsistence, food, and labor in elders' narratives as spurious complaints about lazy kids these days, I suggest that they draw upon similar transformational logics as the narrative origin stories of plants and animals that were once told more widely alongside a complex intertextual web of stories involved in narrative counseling and the transmission of 'what the elders told.'

Among my interlocutors, a variety of stories belong to a genre of narratives judged to be true, and to have been used by elders in counseling young people on how to live properly. For instance, in the narrative of Iluku, a form of *killa*—the inability to tie and carry her skirts

241

properly—leads to her transformation into the bird. The larger narrative also contains more examples of *killa* behavior, as it details an incestuous relationship involving questionable consent between Iluku and her brother, who secretly impregnates her while she sleeps. In some realizations of this story, as well as in daily speech, the verb *killachina* (literally, 'to make lazy') is used to describe a man bothering a woman sexually (see also Swanson 2009, 49). Yet, what was most significant for Serafina, who had forgotten many details of the story, was the way that intertextual reference to Iluku Mama indexed a woman who allowed her skirt to fall open. The story of Iluku, then, served as an important site to socialize Serafina and others like her into the embodied habits of Upper Napo Quichua feminine comportment. However, in the stories which are increasingly being told, elder speakers instead frequently draw upon nostalgic discourses and embodied reanimations of labor, diet, speech, and social relationships in the past as they narrativize the way cultural practices are changing in the urbanizing Ecuadorian Amazon. Even as the narratives once passed down from the elders are told less frequently as part of daily conversations in Upper Napo Quichua, speakers are continuing to authenticate and contest collective memories and transmit social ontologies in their daily communicative spaces. Their narratives continue to give shape to the social imaginary of the Upper Napo Quichua lived world, at least among those that acquiesce to their propositions.

Despite their dominance in written collections, as well as the focus on them in language revitalization projects, "mythic" narratives are told less frequently now than suggested by elders' descriptions, as well as by ethnographic research. At least part of this trend is evidence of the effects of ongoing linguistic and cultural shift, as the interactional spaces and contexts of use in which these stories are shared have become more restricted in many households. I also found many contemporary elders no longer wanted to share their more distant elders' stories with

contemporary generations, who did not take them seriously, as true sources of knowledge about their lived world. Instead, narratives about more recent *ruku kawsay*, or elders' practices and history, are coming to dominate the communicative space once held by narratives of more distant time-spaces. Previous researchers have emphasized the endangerment of traditional narrative practices in Napo, and I share their concern about the long-term vitality of many shifting cultural and linguistic forms. Nevertheless, the stories currently elicited, recorded, and circulated on the air continue to transmit Upper Napo Quichua understandings of the social world. The circulation of many of these narratives today contributes to the formation of a collective memory of the past, which is oriented towards the production of future action. Even in the context of notable language shift and narrative change among competent Quichua-dominant speakers, distinctly Upper Napo Quichua assumptions about the social world continue to be transmitted and reinforced. That is, just as in origin stories of plants and animals that have so fascinated observers of Amazonian Quichua verbal artistry, contemporary storytellers project similar presuppositions about how social personhood is made and maintained. Rather than focusing on the absence of these stories, listening closely to the narrative told today reveals emergent vitalities for their logics among contemporary storytellers.

Among my interlocutors, so-called "mythic" stories and "historical" narratives occupy a similar spatiotemporal reality, as they are part of a continuum of collective memory of the past reanimated across generations. It is the narrative inscription and reanimation across generations that provides authority to these stories, as the past becomes a world that listeners dialogically experience in the present. While analysts often seem to assume that "myths" may be identified through phenomenal elements in which nonhuman agency is emphasized—interactions with spirits, or transformations in being—many of these same elements are taken seriously by Upper

Napo Quichua speakers as evidence and knowledge of their elders' world. Moreover, many of these same "mythic" elements recur in the contemporary lived world. It was not uncommon, for instance, for residents of Napo to seriously—and fearfully—discuss the *yaku runa* 'river people,' who are known to inhabit a stream near their home, or to recount times that they themselves or their family members interacted with spirits, both in the waking world and in their dreams. Narratives seen through external genres of myth and history, are frequently treated as complementary facets of collective memory by the people who tell and retell them. Within the genre of 'what the elders told' various narratives are able to project similar social ontologies for those that acquiesce to their relational logics and presuppositions of the social world.

Upper Napo Quichua peoples, however, are an ideologically and ontologically plural community of practice. According to my interlocutors, not everyone believes these stories. Such listeners may thus no longer acquiesce to the underlying assumptions and implicatures of 'what the elders told.' The ways these stories are told and retold, then, today is complex in ways that I have not explored here. These are issues that I can only gesture to in the present account, but which I plan to expand on in future publications. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the final chapter, the remediation of these stories and related forms of verbal artistry on the radio frequently enlivens communicative spaces in Napo, at the same time that is transforming the regimes of value in which these stories and practices are placed. Careful attention to reception of radio media reveals the ways in which the remediation of Upper Napo Quichua poetics, narrative practices, and musicality in broadcast media contribute to the formation of a dialogic relationships among radio listeners and the mediated voices with which they interact.

Chapter 6
Affective Technologies

6.1 I heard it on the (Quichua) radio

Local, community-produced media in Napo provide an effective, as well as affective, means to counter ongoing language shift towards Spanish and reinforce the sociolinguistic value of the regional communicative norms of Upper Napo Quichua speakers. By taking advantage of the oral and aural affordances of broadcast media, regional speakers are able to increasingly speak alongside, and sometimes against, the norms of Unified Kichwa. In doing so, they take advantage of the affective affordances of broadcast media, contributing to the formation of a dialogic, polyvocal public that interacts not only through stranger sociality (Warner 2002), but the extension of their face-to-face communities of practice and interactional relationships.[115]

Although those unfamiliar with the histories of wide-ranging travel and interaction of Indigenous peoples in the Upper Napo and beyond might imagine that these local, face-to-face relationships are restricted to close kin in isolated settlements, nothing could be further from the truth. Consequently, the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape provides a point of convergence and emergence for existing , far flung, communities of practice. Participating in a geographically dispersed community of practice is nothing new for many, if not most, speakers of Lowland

---

[115] Linguistic anthropologists have been especially attentive to the need to provide more nuanced discussions of community, warning particularly against the tendency to conceive of homogenous speech communities, which are easily defined and bounded, and within which linguistic knowledge is equally distributed (Irvine 2006; J. Gumperz 1968; Hymes 1968). Instead, many have turned to the idea of a community of practice, groups that coalesce around their engagement in a mutual endeavor, in which "ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short, practices—emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992, 464). The ways that radio media are actually created, consumed, and recirculated in Napo reveal some of the ways in which practices come to be shared among a community of practice whose shared endeavor is media—a *mediated* community of practice.

Ecuadorian Quichua, who pride themselves on their history of travel throughout the Amazon and Andes (Muratorio 1991). Many people in the small market town of Archidona are linked to other settlements in the area by a widespread network of kinship relations, to consanguineal king (*ayllu*), their affinal kin (*awya* and *masha*), and to ritual kin established today through godparent (*marca mama, marca yaya*) relationships. While most dense around an individual's natal community and nearby settlements, these networks also reach along river systems, and link the montane communities of Archidona and the Upper Napo region to the tropical Lower Napo. And these networks have been further expanded by people moving to cities in both the highlands and lowlands in search of greater opportunity for education and wage labor. Speakers of Upper Napo Quichua have also fled the expanding colonial frontier towards more remote regions in the lowlands, which are more amenable to traditional life ways such as subsistence gardening and hunting, and which brings them further into contact with speakers of other varieties of Quichua and other Indigenous languages.

Consumers and producers of lowland Quichua media also often find themselves entangled in face-to-face interactions and relationships. The young radio hosts I worked with most closely regularly circulate between urban homes in Archidona and Tena, where they live in order to arrive at their 4 a.m. shifts at the radio, and their more rural natal communities, where their parents still live. As full-time employees of the Municipio de Archidona, the co-hosts of *Mushuk Ñampi* interact regularly with members of their Quichua-speaking audience, who often visit their offices to leave communications and announcements for broadcast. Their work further brings them to rural communities around the larger canton of Archidona, as they carry out community recording sessions, and frequently serve as emcees for local celebrations and cultural

presentations, such as parochial and organizational-level indigenous cultural pageants, and the live-broadcast *wayusa upina* programs.

Radio hosts actively cultivate the links between themselves and the larger community of practice in which they participate. All of the radio hosts I worked with kept small notebooks or planners with them, in which they wrote down the names of the people that they had met as they moved through a face-to-face social world of Quichua speakers, and who had requested a shout out over the radio. By the end of my fieldwork, when I visited Quichua communities or attended cultural events and my interlocutors found out that I spoke Quichua, I was frequently asked if I was in fact "Jordí de la radio," the *rancia* [gringa; foreigner] who sometimes co-hosted *Mushuk Ñampi*.[116] My interlocutors were often quite excited when I affirmed my identity, and I grew accustomed to writing down my own selection of shout out requests from the listeners who asked for early morning greetings directed to their families and communities.

The content of radio programs is also enmeshed with many people's existing face-to-face communicative networks. As I have worked most closely with the nascent media industry in Archidona, in large part supported by the cultural programs of the Municipio de Archidona, I can write with greater detail about the considerable ways that lowland Quichua media production and reception overlap through the radio program Mushuk Ñampi. The producers' enthusiastic embrace of media production as a means to "revalorize" local linguistic and cultural practice has included weekly community visits to record some of the most significant genres of Upper Napo Quichua expressive practice, including stories, jokes, and, occasionally, traditional songs. Around the morning fire in Chawpishungu, listeners occasionally heard a recording of the *ruku*

---

[116] The American English pronunciation of "Georgia" is difficult for many speakers in Ecuador (both Quichua and Spanish). I was often called 'Jordy' by Quichua speakers.

kawsay narrative from their own *ruku mama* Serafina on the radio. The family sometimes also recognized the songs and stories of their extended kin network on the air.

Music is one of the central points where radio production and reception touch in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Indeed, much of the media that circulates on Napo-based radio stations is drawn from communities in Napo. Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy have remarked that in Napo "musicians are not professionals in the sense that any of them make a living playing and performing," nor are they seen as local celebrities with fans (2012, 175). However, the expansion of the Amazonian Quichua mediascape is now changing this to some degree. For instance, in 2015, the widely popular Amazonian Quichua group Kambak 'Yours' from Pastaza had major hits with their songs "Sikwanga" 'Toucan' and "Charapa Shunku" 'Turtle Heart.' In Napo, their long-haired lead singer Nadino Calapucha, was received in local communities and at beauty pageants where Kambak performed with the screaming fanfare of a rock star.

Nevertheless, Quichua-language music production is for the most part still very localized. The majority of the *comunidades* I visited had their own home-grown band, who performed their own arrangements as well as hits from a corpus of popular local songs. In Chawpishungu, Serafina's youngest son Abraham led the *Aires Amázonicos* 'Amazonian Winds'[117] with his brothers, uncles, and nephews. The group performs at major parties (principally baptisms, engagements, weddings) both in their own community and in the communities of their extended kin. Though many parties also had soundtracks of recorded lowland Quichua hits, played alongside Spanish and English language pop music, they were not complete without live performances, with songs tailored to the celebrating families and their named communities.

---

[117] Though their name is in Spanish, it is evocative of the central emphasis among Quichua speakers on the ways in which breath [*samay*] and the wind [*wayra*] may carry the expressive power of the voice (see Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012, 175).

During my fieldwork, the Municipio de Archidona further contributed to the growth of this local music scene through their sponsorship of live musical competitions featuring categories for local bands performing both acoustic *música autoctona* [autochthonous music] and *orquesta*-style arrangements featuring electric keyboards and other amplified instrumentation. The top contestants in these competitions were then invited to professionally record and distribute their music through the Municipio. Many of these songs continue to remediate the cultural poetics I discuss in this chapter and in this dissertation more broadly.

The Municipio also served as a central node of institutional—and sometimes financial—support for participants in Napo's growing cultural industry. Groups like the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo (AMUPAKIN) are frequently called upon to participate in *Mushuk Ñampi*'s live productions. They, other and culturally-focused organizations like them, are focal sites for the (re)socialization of members into significant linguistic and cultural practices. Such groups bring elderly members and their younger family members and other interested novices together in a shared project of linguistic and cultural revitalization.

While Lowland Quichua radio media in Napo certainly may activate the imaginative co-presence of other speakers, it also links listeners to existing face-to-face communicative networks and relationships, extending and amplifying a dispersed community of practice of Amazonian Quichua speakers and other linguistic affiliates. Moreover, the role of radio media in revitalization reverberates through the many off-stage spaces implicated in the production of radio programs, as well as the ways radio media are received and potentially recirculated. The community of practice which emerges through the production and reception of radio media, it turns out, is much more expansive than might be implied by a narrow focus on individual moments of production and transmission.

It is in these tensions between face-to-face and otherwise-mediated forms of interaction, between the intimate and impersonal address of radio media, where I locate the constitution of a community of shared media practices around Napo Quichua radio media. The on-air enregisterment of cultural poetics of affect (Irvine 1990; Agha 2005; Jakobson 1961; Gal 2018), alongside the dialogic extension of radio media, help to constitute a mediated community of practice that emerges through interaction with Upper Napo Quichua radio media. This process is visible in the remediation of songs of sorrow and love (*llakichina; wakashka*) on the air, which embed some of the most significant cultural poetics of kinship and relationality for speakers of Upper apo Quichua interlocutors. This genre is a site where one of the central emotions of Upper Napo Quichua expressive practice becomes visible—the emotion of *llaki* 'sadness, empathy, love.' In turn, this genre responds to lowland Quichua ideologies of the voice (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012; Muratorio 1991; Seitz 1982; Harrison 1989; Swanson 2009; Reddekop and Swanson 2017), which foreground a person's communicative power to sway the emotional state of their interlocutors, either absent or present. This ideology of the voice is particularly evident in songs of lament that circulate sometimes in face-to-face interactions, as well as their reverberations in recorded media broadcast on the radio.

6.2 Animating empathy, or the "magic" of women's song

The contemporary production and recording of Upper Napo Quichua music is a significant emergent vitality for cultural and linguistic practices. Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy have discussed a broader genre of music sometimes called *runa paju* or "Indigenous [Runa] Magic." They propose that "like storytelling and the musical practices of the past, Runa Paju is multimodal mode of expression […] that emphasizes the power of the human voice, the

whole expressive body, and the power of music to elicit social and cosmological action" (2012, 172). That is, in Runa Paju, they find the remediation of significant forms of Upper Napo Quichua musicality in a newly amplified genre, which may include multiple forms of instrumentation. Runa Paju can be described as a complex *bricolage*, as "the music is stylistically eclectic, and groups borrow features of [Highland Quichua] Sanjuanitos, Huaynos, and even [national genres like] Cumbia and Salsa" (2012, 174). They further trace the roots of Runa Paju to Carlos Alvarado Narváez and his group, Los Yumbos Chawamangos, known for using performative media "to create an 'us' that extended beyond people's kinship groups to include multiple Kichwa families" (Erazo 2013, 45). Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy identify the origins of Runa Paju music in Alvarado Narváez's remediation of women's song. Alvarado Narváez has described that his music was inspired by a woman singing in her manioc garden, "as she was singing a *takina*, or magical song, to her manioc plants as she cleaned up the weeds around them" (2012, 177). Alvarado Narváez thus wrote "Lumu Mama" 'Manioc Mother,' which celebrates the hard work of female subsistence agriculturalists in a song redolent with the poetic imagery and sonic tones of traditional Upper Napo Quichua music.

Although contemporary Upper Napo Quichua music has its roots at least in part in genres of song generally associated with women's shamanic power and environmental relationships, the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape is still largely dominated by men. The majority of Runa Paju groups are all-male "orchestras," such as the long-popular Playeros Kichwas 'The Kichwa Beach Boys,' whose director Fernando "Disco" Calapucha is also a popular radio host. A smaller proportion of groups, like Los Jilgüeritos, perform songs sung by both male and female members. Although attentive to women's song in face-to-face interactions, Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy primarily discuss the Runa Paju performed by men. Their analysis reveals that

these songs are shaped by significant poetic features of Upper Napo Quichua verbal artistry, including an interest in expressing "the various subjectivities of the forest" (2012, 179), an emphasis on using semantic couplets and grammatical parallelism (see also 2012, 180–81; Mannheim 1986), and the use of fractal relationships and figure-ground reversals in their imagery (2012, 186–87). Aligned with their suggestion that "Runa Paju songs, through music, elicit the knowledge of the past, older ways of thinking and speaking, as well as the richness and varied experience of living in the Upper Napo world," (2012, 184), my research shows that women's lived social experiences and musical practices are enregistered, remediated on the air, and apprehended by listeners in contemporary Upper Napo Quichua music.

Serafina's reception practices reveal the ways in which women's musicality and song are embedded in both media and the daily interactional and affective practices of Upper Napo Quichua speakers. One morning, around 5 a.m. the low, rough-hewn benches loosely placed around the open fire in Serafina's kitchen house were filled by her family. Like most other mornings in the hours before dawn, Serafina, her daughters and her youngest son's wife were knotting net *shigra* bags accompanied by their toddler-aged children, while her adolescent foster son sat by the fire, holding the family's small battery-powered radio. Like many other mornings, the family was talking and laughing together, the local Quichua-language news and music spilling out from their radio settling into the textured soundscape of their morning routine, interwoven with the crackling of the fire, the occasional clanking of pots and bowls filled with guayusa tea, the crowing of the family's and their neighbor's roosters, and in the interstitial space between talk and the next song, the sound of another program emerging from her eldest son's house next door.

But then a song came on, the high-pitched sawing of the traditional violin and its slow, regular drum beat cutting across and dominating the other sounds of the morning home. Serafina's two-year old grandson Michael was hanging onto his mother's shoulder while she made row after row of knots on the threads tied to a stick set into the floor. As the song began, his mother Marcia took his hands in hers, swaying them back and forth to the beat. The mournful violin was matched by a woman's equally high, clear voice, singing:

Yapa wakak mamawa	*Dear mother, you cry so much*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother,*
Imara rashara wakangui	*Why are you crying?*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*

Table 6.1 Los Jilgüeritos, "Yapa Wakak Mama," excerpt #1

"Listen," Serafina said, pointing at the radio during this first verse. Captured in the recording of this morning from mid-November of 2016, I was typing notes on a small laptop, unaware of the importance of the song, though I half-recognized it from the many pre-dawn hours I had spent in the months before at radio stations. Entitled "Yapa Wakak Mama (Llanto y cariño de mama)" 'The Crying Mother (A Mother's Lament and Love)' by the popular Napo band Los Jilgüeritos, it is a song heard with some frequency on the various Quichua radio programs broadcast from Archidona and Tena. This song belongs to a genre defined by some radio staff as *música autoctona* [autochthonous music], and by others as *runa paju* (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012), but which is characterized by 'traditional,' unamplified instrumentation. Raising her voice over the radio, Serafina tried again. "Georgia!" At my name, I looked up. She said, "We're listening to crying," and though I was confused at the time, I responded, "I'm listening." Serafina returned to weaving her *shigra* bag, using a style of hand knotting passed from mothers to

253

daughters in which, she had taught me, 'daughter' [*ushi*] knots are woven onto 'mother' knots.

The next verse had continued underneath Serafina's comments:

Ñuka nima rikusha	*When my eyes saw [you]*
Ikira taririka	*They found tears*
Imara tukunguiri	*What could happen to you?*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*

Table 6.2 Los Jilgüeritos, "Yapa Wakak Mama," excerpt #2

Serafina paused and shook her head wistfully, "When I hear that it really makes me want to cry, poor thing." I nodded, and she took the invitation to explain, "she's singing about how her mother cared for her." In the background, the female singer continued to describe the way sadness elicits sadness for many women:

Kamba ñawi wakakpi	*When your eyes cry*
Ñuka ñawis wakanga	*My eyes will cry too*
Yapakta llakiwangui	*You love me too much*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*

Table 6.3 Los Jilgüeritos, "Yapa Wakak Mama," excerpt #3

Returning to her weaving, Serafina shook her head, wiping her eyes as she sorted the threads of the *shigra*. The song continued on in the background:

Llullu ashkaiga,	*When I was young*
changawaimi sirikani mamita	*I laid in your lap, dear mother*
Rigrawai marcashaka,	*And carrying me in your arms,*
shimiwai muchakangui	*you kissed me,*
	My dearest mother

254

Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dearest mother*
Ñuka mamitawalla	

Table 6.4 Los Jilgüeritos, "Yapa Wakak Mama," excerpt #4

And as the verse ended, Serafina began crying her own song, singing for the loss of her own mother with a sadness elicited by the song on the radio, which simultaneously drew upon closely related understandings of the cultural poetics of affect. Even after "Yapa Wakak Mama" ended, and the radio changed to a more upbeat song, Serafina continued to cry singing for her mother.

What do speakers of lowland Ecuadorian Quichua like Serafina and her family hear when songs like "Yapa Wakak Mama" are played on the radio? What knowledge of interaction and communication is activated when they hear such songs? And, how might the circulation of such affective poetics contribute to the cohesion of the audience of Quichua-language radio in Napo?

6.2.1 Amazonian technologies of sentiment

The importance of music and musicality in daily life is one of the central threads running through ethnographic research on the expressive practices and verbal artistry of lowland Quichua speakers in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Among speakers of Quichua from Napo, Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy (2012) have described women's songs as a form of feminine shamanic practice. In Upper Napo Quichua, songs are called both *takina* and *kantana* (derived from the Spanish loan *cantar,* 'to sing'), though *takina* may carry stronger associations with largely male-dominated forms of shamanism (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012, 81), especially the genre of songs performed during ayahuasca visions, which often call upon the power (*ushay*) of nearby mountains and rivers. Like other forms of verbal artistry, musical ability is a significant index of a person's *ushay,* their strength and power, which acts on other people through words,

255

song, and breath. Indeed, Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy note that "the Runa view *takina* and *kantana* as *ushay* and believe that shamanic songs allow people to embody power by mimetic association with powerful alters" (2012, 80). They also suggest that women's songs "utilize the energy flows of 'love,' 'desire,' and 'sadness' to influence and transform relations" (2012, 84).

The importance of women's songs for mediating affinity and relationships is not limited to Quichua speakers in Napo province, but rather appears to be part of an aerially-distributed ideology of the power of song to transform interpersonal interactions. In her pan-Andean study of female symbolic practice, Harrison (1989) includes powerful songs sung by lowland Quichua women from Arajuno, located near the border between Napo and Pastaza provinces in a region between Tena and Puyo, in an area that had been settled by Upper Napo Quichua speakers (Macdonald 1999). Barbara Seitz (1982) further provides a detailed discussion of Quichua women's musical practices in and around Puyo, the capital of Pastaza province. Both describe a genre of women's song referred to as *llakichina*, meant to evoke a piercing longing caused by the mixture of love and sorrow felt by the song's recipient, even when the intended recipient of the song is absent. Nuckolls similarly describes that shamanic practices in Pastaza Quichua hinge on the use of *takina* "for it is through songs that they bring about whatever changes are sought" (1996, 120). Such practices are conversant with Brown's (2007) discussion of *anen,* a broader category of magical songs that includes love songs, as a "technology of sentiment" for Chicham-speaking Aguaruna of the Peruvian Amazon. Brown describes that *anen* songs are performed in private at sunset, but nevertheless reach and change the emotions of their intended targets.

The form of singing described as *llakichina* has more to do with the emotional effects of the songs than with a strict metalinguistic categorization of genre. Harrison, for instance, writes that the songs she catalogued "are not categorized and labeled with any one term; however, the

256

motive of singing was attributed to *llakichina*" (1989, 147). Seitz, meanwhile reports that Quichua-speaking women in Puyo designate a wide variety of songs as *llakichina,* and that "the songs described by this verb cause a person to feel overwhelming sorrow and while in this extreme emotional state to experience a change of heart" (1982, 71). The emotion of *llaki* is one of the central emotional categories described in Quechuan languages[118], and in the Ecuadorian lowlands, its dual senses of love and sadness are inseparable (Harrison 1989, 147; Swanson 2009; C. Orr and Wrisley 1981). While the noun *llaki* can describe sadness, a tragedy, or love, the verb *llakina* is generally used to describe love and empathy for another person. Once, when we were discussing a mutual friend with a sometimes-difficult character, Serafina remarked, that nevertheless, "payta ashka llakini," 'I care for her a great deal'. Similarly, radio hosts frequently address their audiences "ashka llakishkawa" 'with great love.' However, when the reflexive suffix *-ri* is added, turning the action back on the speaker, the resulting verb *llakirina* takes on the meaning 'to be sad,' though it can also connote longing. Finally, the addition of the causative suffix *-chi* extends the action to another person, evoking in them the feelings of *llaki*.

Prior work on Amazonian women's *llakichina* songs has emphasized their close association with romantic love and sexuality, though they also note that affective bonds more generally can be mediated through women's song. Harrison (1989) focuses especially on the role of *llakichina* songs as a form of love magic, which can be used to sway the heart of a desired partner or an absent husband. However, she also describes that for her informants such songs of *llakichina* may mediate relationships between the singer and her children. One of Harrison's interlocutors, for instance, directed a song to her children and prefaced it by saying, "'ñuka kunan kantangarawni kanguna churiwna uyak maybi ñuka chingarikpi ñuka wañukpi kanguna

---

[118] See Mannheim (1998b, 269) for a discussion of the pairing of *llakiy* ('to be sad, to feel sorrow') and *waqay* in Southern Peruvian Quechua.

llakisha rikusha charingichi churi' (I'm going to sing, you children [will be] listeners, when I become lost, when I die, you [children] saddened, seeing, will have [the song, my] son)" (1989, 147). Seitz (1982) similarly notes a range of purposes within the broader category of *llakichina* songs. These include songs to make a husband return by accentuating the singer's desirability and seductive powers, as well as songs directed at both the husband and the larger family that "tend to emphasize a dual experience of sorrow and the recollection of memories from the past involving the singer and the recipient" (1982, 81). Other categories of song noted by Seitz include songs sung when serving fermented manioc *aswa* which guide the recipient to a state of altered consciousness; songs to diffuse tense and angry circumstances or provide protection; as well as songs for arrival and departure; and, finally, a very small category of songs directed at a mother by her daughter when she moves to her husband's home which soften her heart (1982, 82–84). While Harrison and Seitz focus most explicitly on the ways that women's songs mediate relationships between the singer and human recipients, especially romantic partners, Swanson (2009) illustrates the ways that women's songs more generally mediate relationships. He analyzes a series of songs sung to plants, which persuade them—through the sung cultural poetics of love and romance—to provide their medicinal powers to the singer.

Despite their importance in the ethnographic record, I encountered relatively few examples of the musical practices described by other ethnographers during my own fieldwork. It is important to note that the various authors I discuss have described that women's *llakichina* songs—particularly powerful love songs—were often produced in private, and that women were secretive about them (Harrison 1989, 147; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012, 81). Like other powerful expressive practices that I discuss here—such as the narratives that are valuable sources of knowledge and strength—there is always the possibility that my interlocutors were

concealing their knowledge from an extractive outsider. However, women also regularly perform

songs publicly today. Moreover, ethnographers and community stakeholders alike have long

noted an ongoing contraction in the practice of women's song. Nearly 30 years ago, Harrison

observed (1989) that such songs were no longer transmitted with the frequency they once were

between mothers and daughters. Seitz (1982) similarly noted that transmission was occurring

less frequently since songs were primarily learned observationally, as young women

accompanied elder female relatives during their days work in the forest or the home. Women's

songs are thus vulnerable to the pressures of language shift described in earlier chapters, as

children and adolescents today spend much of their time in Spanish-dominant classrooms and

with their Spanish-dominant peers. Yet, the cultural poetics and underlying understandings of

such songs of *llakichina* continue to reverberate in some face-to-face contexts and in their

remediation on the radio, such as "Yapa Wakak Mama," which had brought Serafina to tears.

6.2.2 Women's song and collective memory in Napo today

Both my own and prior research suggest that women's verbal artistry is an important site

for the production of personal histories, which inform Upper Napo Quichua women's collective

memories. Muratorio, for instance, argues that "songs are [a] way in which women express their

feelings of closeness to significant female others who were crucial in shaping their social selves"

(1998, 416). Many of these songs are autobiographical, and in them, a woman's reputation as a

hard worker or cultural expert are celebrated by a female singer or her daughters (1998, 412).

The grounding of Upper Napo Quichua women's song in these musical traditions is

evident in songs such as "Waysa Warmi" 'Guayusa Woman.' This song was performed lived by

the group Sacha Waysa to begin a special broadcast of *Mushuk Ñampi*'s *wayusa upina* program

for the annual Peach Palm Festival. The group *Sacha Waysa* 'Wild/Forest Guayusa' is a tourism

and performance cooperative from a *comunidad* in Archidona. During the program, twelve

members were present, including Sonia Yumbo, who sang this song celebrating her realization of

women's daily labor, which began like this:

Waysa warmiga nishkaga,	*Called the* waysa *woman,*
chusku pachai atarini	*I awake at 4 a.m.*
Waysa warmiga nishkaga,	*Called the* waysa *woman,*
chusku pachai atarini	*I awake at 4 a.m.*
Chusku pachai atarishpa, *Table 6.5 Sacha Waysa, "Guayusa Woman"*	*Waking at 4 a.m.,*
waysa yanuna atarini[119]	*I arise to brew* waysa
Chusku pachai atarishpa,	*Waking at 4 a.m.,*
waysa yanuna atarini	*I arise to brew* waysa

As she sang along to a slow drum beat, a group of women danced while they served guayusa to

the political leaders and community members gathered that morning.

Such ways of celebrating women's practices and strength are also visible in songs I have

recorded at AMUPAKIN. Just before she broke into song, the organization's founder María

Antonia told me, "the people before, they just remembered [the songs of the birds], and when the

birds sang, we just followed them, dancing along, wherever we went…" and then she sang a

song that celebrated the power of her strength and vision. As the founder of the Asociación de

Mujeres Parteras Kichwas de Alto Napo [AMUPAKIN], María Antonia is also recognized in

Archidona and the larger region for her accomplishments as a cultural teacher, and for her skills

in public oratory, storytelling, and other significant forms of verbal artistry. Although

AMUPAKIN focuses on providing medical services utilizing natural plant medicines and

---

[119] The singer uses the form "-shpa," in contrast to regional "-sha," in this song. The use of "pacha" to refer to the hour may also be an index of the unified register, as many people commonly use Spanish-derived *ura(s)* (from *hora* to refer to the time). In interviews on the program, some members of *Sacha Waysa* used a number of regionally-inflected forms, while others used a much more standardized register of speech. For instance, as they introduced themselves, the twelve members of the group variously used the forms "kana" and "ana" as they said their names. As in other contexts of radio-mediated speech, regional and standard forms are both drawn on as linguistic resources.

traditional midwifery techniques, María Antonia, Serafina, and its other members are often

called upon to participate in cultural events around Napo.

Although I encountered few other women during my fieldwork in Napo who were willing

or able to sing, María Antonia sang regularly while I was conducting research with her on the

production practices of the cultural groups that participate in programs like *Mushuk Ñampi*. One

afternoon, she had been explaining the uses of a medicinal plant to me, when she turned to the

topic of song, considered to be key to the effective and affective use of plant medicine. María

Antonia then sang a song for me, which celebrated her strength and power:

Urku warmishituka,	*Little mountain woman,*
Dumbikilla versiaushkai,	*When the dear toucan is singing,*
Dumbikilla versiaushkai	*When the dear toucan is singing*
Shinzhi warmi nishkaga	*[I'm] called a strong woman,*
Urku pundai shayasha,	*Standing on the high mountain*
Asawara upisha,	*Drinking sweet asa,*
Chakiwara kuyuchisha,	*Making my feet sway*
Kayma [xxx]	*[Going] here*
Ima [xxx]	*What [xxx]*
Shayangalla mamaga	*A woman who will stand*
Sacha panga upisha,	*Imbibing forest medicine*
Ruku sacha pambabi	*Amidst the old growth forest*
Sumaktami muskuywa	*With a clear vision,*
Kawsashaga shayani	*Living, I stand,*
Hey, hay!	*Hey, hay!*

Table 6.6 María Antonia Shiguango "Little Mountain Woman"

María Antonia's song above, as well as the following song directed to a medicinal tree that we

recorded that same afternoon, draw on similar imagery, rhythms, and relational logics as the

songs described by other ethnographers (Swanson 2009), as well as songs like "Yapa Wakak

Mama" and "Waysa Warmi." This song follows a similar steady rhythm as when she sang of her

accomplishments and strength, but this time she addressed the owner of the Yawati Kaspi tree:

Sacha ayak pallangak	*To gather the bitter forest medicine*
Sachawama riunimi	*I am going to the dear forest*
Kamba apashituka	*Your dear little relation*

Ñukarara rikungui	*You see me*
Kamba karara aspisha	*Scraping your skin/bark*
Upingami shayauni	*I am standing to imbibe*
Ñuka apa kuraga	*My elder leader [of the tree]*
kuragara mañani	*I implore the leader*
Ashangara aparisha	*Carrying an* ashanga *basket*
Ashangabi churangak	*To put [it] in the* ashanga
Ashangabi aparisha,	*Carrying it in the* ashanga
[Tsingawami] shamuni	*I come [to imbibe]*

Table 6.7 María Antonia Shiguango "To Gather Bitter Medicine"

Through her song to the tree, María Antonia sought to produce a relationship with its *apa kuraga* 'elder leader,' whom she addressed directly with her request to carry away the bark of the tree for use in medicine. By singing to him, beautifully, clearly, María Antonia can convince the being that controls the power of the tree to allow her to use some of its power to cure illness. If the relationship is successfully established, the owner may visit María Antonia or her patient in their dreams.

María Antonia similarly uses the power of her songs to attempt to sway human interlocutors and listeners. During an anniversary celebration for AMUPAKIN held in October of 2016, she addressed a large group that included local politicians and other governmental authorities, as well as the friends and family of members of AMUPAKIN, and an assortment of journalists, documentarians, and researchers. She spoke passionately for nearly twenty minutes about the history of the organization, as well as the way that she and the other midwives had suffered, often without support, to create a space for their medicinal and cultural practices. With her body oriented towards the on looking Indigenous authorities and politicians. María Antonia implored them not to forget the mothers of AMUPAKIN, and as she did so, she broke into a tearful song—high and keening—which caused some members of the assembled audience to also cry. Her song was met with resounding applause.

Organizations like AMUPAKIN—as well as the many other cultural foundations and cooperatives emerging in the area—are important sites of cultural and linguistic revitalization in Napo, as they create a space for the ongoing interaction and socialization of both elders and novices. María Antonia often described herself as a teacher of the other elder midwives who participate in AMUPAKIN, many of whom, she has told me, have forgotten the songs and the dances of their elders. She also sometimes provides training to young women on how to sing. During one beauty pageant that we attended together, she grew extremely excited to see a former pupil sing a song that celebrated her accomplishments as a *shinzhi warmi*, 'strong woman.'

Despite the survivance of these practices in public media, they are now much less common in everyday spaces of communication. For María Antonia, the loss of the forest and the growth of towns are of the main reasons that musicality has been lost in daily life. "The people that live today," she said, "they only know the town, they aren't familiar [with life in the forest]. So, when everything is cleared, the birds go far away to the forest, and when the forest game goes far away, the town isn't like it used to be, we aren't within the old growth forest, and we are sad [*llaki*]." In contrast, life in the forest was joyful [*kushi*], shaped by the songs of the parrot, the toucan, and the shouts of the puma, who inspired her elders' songs. As contemporary elder holders of knowledge of a changing environment and material world, which was passed down from their own elders, as well as through experience, María Antonia and women like her help to shape the collective memory constituted for and transmitted through much of Upper Napo Quichua broadcast media.

6.2.3 Songs for the dead

While women's songs for garden and love magic seem to be becoming more restricted in use in Napo today, the emotive sounds of *llakichina* singing continue to circulate in other ways.

Unlike María Antonia and some of the elder midwives with whom she works at AMUPAKIN, Serafina does not sing to medicinal plants when she harvests them (though she does ask permission to use them), nor does she perform songs to welcome guests to large parties like she remembers her mother doing in her childhood. Yet, Serafina's relational world is still deeply, intimately framed by music. And like María Antonia, her songs establish relationships between herself and their intended recipients—both living and dead. Indeed, I first learned about the way that Serafina incorporates music into her expressive practices through the tearful laments she sings at wakes and when she remembers her deceased parents and siblings, as well as when her children and other loved ones are about to embark on a long journey. And like the songs directed to a woman's child described both by Seitz and Harrison, they remind their recipient of the times that they have spent together and attempt to call forth an emotional response—that is, produce *llaki*—which will bind the object of the song to the singer.

Expressions of sorrow and grief through song emerged regularly during the time I spent with Serafina, and the other elder and middle-aged midwives in AMUPAKIN. One of my male interlocutors remarked that women in Napo "kantasha wakan," 'they cry singing,' after I queried him about the way I had seen Serafina lay her body over her godson's casket at his wake while simultaneously crying and singing. Indeed, the expression of grief through song was a distinct point of pride for Serafina, who identified this particular way of relating emotions as a defining aspect of Upper Napo Quichua femininity. She once spoke with great disdain for the ways she had seen *mishu*, Spanish-speaking, women cry in the *telenovelas* her children and grandchildren sometimes watched at night, imitating the women's choked hiccups and unrefined sobs. Using her own voice, she contrasted these with the tearful laments of *runa* women, which address those that have been lost, querying where they have gone, and describing the deep sense of loss and

abandonment of the singer, who has been left behind, alone in the world. However, this expression of grief was not limited to women, though it was most often ideologized as a genre commanded by women. During another wake held for one of Serafina's sisters-in-law, the deceased's son and other male relatives also sang these funerary laments, which can be used to form an emotive dialogue with both the dead, as well as the living. At the same wake, as Serafina and I stood over the casket for her elderly sister-in-law, she invited me to look at the body and to imagine how she—the woman who taken on the role of mothering me in her home—would someday be lying there.

Although there are somewhat oblique references to "feminine ritual wailing" (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012, 78, 97) sprinkled throughout the literature on Quichua women's songs, I have yet to find a thorough discussion of funeral laments among users of lowland Ecuadorian Quichua. Muratorio's (1991) discussion of the oral history of Grandfather Alonso, however, contains a description of wakes that closely matches my own experiences. In this description the mourner's crying takes the shape of a dialogue:

> When a person dies, people get together to hold a wake. When there is liquor they drink all night, they make huayusa and kill a few hens to eat at night with the mourners; they see the dawn with food and drink. […] The family comes and cries over the deceased: those who love him, cry forever, the others cry just a little. Those who cry say: "My son, my compadre, my mother," remembering everything they did in life. They say: "When you were alive, you were generous, and when we came, you fed us." They cry a lot that way.[120]

---

[120] Muratorio 1991, 193

These expressive practices surrounding grief are not limited to the Ecuadorian lowlands. Corr (2010) discusses a similar practice in southern highland Ecuador, although she identifies a clear split between singing and the poetic laments of funeral crying:

> The first time I heard a woman wail at a burial, I thought she was singing, but I later learned that Salasacans do not classify the high pitched, poetic lament as singing but rather as crying. For a man, they might say, "My dear little neighbor. You are gone. Who will weave clothes for your family now? Who will till the fields?" [121]

Similar funerary practices continue today in Napo, among mourners tucked away in neighborhoods in Archidona and in the rural communities that surround the urbanizing town center, who ask their dead where they have gone and how they will live alone. Wakes are large, multi-day events. I attended two with Serafina and her family, the first for her godson—whose death announcement we had first heard on the radio. Some months later, I attended Serafina's sister-in-law's wake in a community a few miles down the road from Chawpishungu. Serafina's 90-year-old mother-in-law in died a few months after I returned from the field, and during my monthly phone call to check in with Chawpishungu, Serafina told me that they had been in the house crying together for two days. And as she told me, she began to cry singing into the phone, drawing me into a shared experience of *llaki*.

Despite the regularity with which Serafina sang crying during our time together, I have few clear recordings of it. However, I was still recording one morning, when the sky was just starting to lighten and Serafina and a number her family members were gathered around their central hearth, when her daughter received a phone call. One of her sisters-in-law was calling to inform the family at home in Chawpishungu that her nephew had died. She had been waiting

---

[121] Corr 2010, 92

with her own natal family in the local hospital in Tena after her nephew had been stabbed in a fight, reportedly over the ownership of a cellphone, the day before. When she heard the news, Serafina crouched down to the floor, wrapped her arms around herself, and rocking back and forth, began to cry for the death of the young man, for a relative—even a somewhat distant one—that had been lost. But Serafina's keening wails were not shapeless, jagged inhalations between sobs. Rather, Serafina sang a song for this *churi,* this son, that linked his death to other deaths in her family, particularly that of her father, whose loss decades before she still felt keenly. Selections from this song reveal similar poetics to both the song on the radio, as well as other forms of women's singing that I have recorded. That morning Serafina sang a lament that began like this:

Hay ñuka yayawa churiuwalla,	*Ay, my little father, my dear little son*
Iriu papa wañukpi,	*When my father Iriu died*
llakinta nisha purik akanguiga.	*You too went around in mourning*
Karu kumpa asu kumpasha rasha,	*Having become a* compadre *from far away,*
wañukpi kambas llakirik akanguiga.	*when [he] died, you also became sad.*
Kunalla mamallara <u>ichurina</u> angui,	*Now, you must <u>abandon</u> [your] dear mother,*
kunalla mamallara <u>sakina</u> angui.	*Now, you must <u>leave behind</u> [your] dear mother*
Kasna tukuna churi wawara anchu	*Has the son ended up this way?*
Kuna chasna wawa sakinara yuyarini	*Now I remember the way a child leaves*
Ñuka washalla riuni churiuna achu,	*May my sons go behind me,*
churiunara nisha llakisha yuyarini.	*Needing, loving [my] sons, I remember*
Ñuka kawsakpuralla llakisha…	*Just among the living, I am saddened…*

Table 6.8 example of wakana

From sonic categories like pitch and rhythm, to bolded grammatical forms such as the use of diminutive markers on kin terms, to the underlined lexical parallelism between the verbal couplet of *ichurina* (to throw away; to abandon) and *sakina* (to leave), as well as a lyrical focus on movement, transformation and memory, Serafina's lament reverberates with the expressive poetics of Quichua musicality and verbal artistry embedded in the song we heard on the radio.

Songs such as this were regularly described by my interlocutors as expressions of *wakana*. In lowland Ecuadorian Quichua, this word is often glossed as "llorar" [to cry, weep] (C. Orr and Wrisley 1981, 23). However, a much broader semantic range is identified by Mannheim in Southern Peruvian Quechua, in which *waqay* is translated as "to cry, crow, or bray, to sound (for a musical instrument), to suffer, to feel sorrow," (1998b, 269). This more extended sense also seems to be at play in the Quichua spoken in the Ecuadorian lowlands, where, for instance, the songs of birds can also be described as *wakana*. Serafina once told me that when the Iluku bird, the Nocturnal Common Pootoo (*Nyctibius griseus*), calls out at night it is to her absent husband the moon, and in her description, she used the verb *wakana*. At least in the Ecuadorian lowlands, treating *wakana* as separate from other forms of musicality encompassed by the metalinguistic categories or *kantana*, *takina,* and *versiana* used by lowland Quichua speakers overlooks the affective practices that inform the kinds of songs discussed by other ethnographers (Harrison 1989; Seitz 1982; Swanson 2009; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012). That is, as my interlocutors seem to, I consider the laments [*wakana*] of women like Serafina and her family members, as part of a continuum of affective practice that works through song. I thus connect the public tearful performances of María Antonia, who sang of her own journey through this world in a setting meant to elicit both the sympathy and action of the audience, to the private expressions of grief in homes, and to their recirculation on the radio. It is in the logic of *llakichina*, in an ideology of the voice as means to sway the sentiments of another, that Serafina was responding to that morning.

6.3 Radio media and the remediation of affect

What do people like Serafina and her family hear when they hear a song like "Yapa Wakak Mama" on the radio? If we return to that morning in Serafina's home now with a greater awareness of the affective and interactional practices at play, there are clear correspondences between the song on the radio, and the sadness and the subsequent tearful lament that were elicited from Serafina. As Serafina told me to listen to the song on the radio, she identified it as *wakana* in her use of the past participle "wakashka," before describing the action of the female voice as producing song (kantan):

SG	Uyay.	*Listen.*
	Georgia	*Georgia!*
GE	Eh?	*Huh?*
SG	Uyaunchi **wakashka**ra	*We are listening to a **lament***
GE	Ari, uyauni.	*Yes, I'm listening*
SG	Chita uyasha ñuka yapa wakañan, pubri.	*When I hear that, I really feel like crying, poor thing*
GE	Chi.	*Yeah?*
SG	Mama pay kwidashkara **kantan**.	*She's **singing** about how her mother cared for her.*

Like my male interlocutor who described that women "kantasha wakan" '[they] cry singing,' Serafina linked the realization of a daughter's *wakana* through the medium of *kantana*, which is further remediated on the radio.

The lyrics of "Yapa Wakak Mama" resonate with the poetics of *llakichina*. The singer references a relationship of *llakichina* with her mother, first describing how seeing her mother's tears caused her to cry, as well as the physical intimacy between mothers and children (I laid in your lap, mother/You held me in your arms/You kissed my face, my dear mother). While Serafina was notably saddened by these words, it was when the song turned to the mother's

269

death that she was truly overcome with emotion and began her own song. In the following lines, the singer addresses the loss of her mother, as well as the way that the garden and river—key locations for the socialization of young women—will remind her of her absent mother:

Parijumi kawsashun	*"Let us live together"*
nishachu yuyakangui	*Was what you thought*
Kan wañushka punzhaka	*But on your dying day*
Imara tukusharí	*What will become of me?*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dear little mother,*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dear little mother,*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dear little mother*
	(verse repeats)
Yaku [nima] rikusha	*When my eyes see the river*
Chagra [nima] rikusha	*When my eyes see the garden*
Wakay ninga mamita	*[They] will want to cry, my dear mother*
Maytara rikanguirí	*Where could you have gone?*
Mana rikuringuiga	*You are not found anywhere*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dear little mother,*
ñuka mamitawalla	*My dear little mother,*
Ñuka mamitawalla	*My dear little mother*
	(verse repeats)

Table 6.9 Mother-daughter relationships in "Yapa Wakak Mama"

As Serafina listened she began to cry and broke into her own performance of a *llakichina* song addressed to her mother, which further evoked sadness from her daughters, as well as me. In responding to the affective power of the *llakichina* song and the singer's mournful lament, Serafina demonstrated the ways that affective practices are enregistered—are socially recognizable (Agha 2005)—on the air, as well as ways that the radio-mediated voice still has the power to elicit powerful emotions from listeners.

The poetics of such songs reverberate in their remediation on the radio, and in turn interpellate listeners like Serafina and her family into a mediated community of practice that emerges around radio reception. It is this power of the mediated voice to elicit emotions from listeners that helps to give shape to Upper Napo Quichua speakers as a receptive community for local radio media programming. That transforms them from a public organized by stranger

270

sociality into a community of practice organized by their recognition of and emotive response to the cultural poetics embedded within local radio media. And it is one of the main reasons that radio media has proved to be so well-suited for Upper Napo Quichua language revitalization projects, as the spoken and sung voice continues to circulate and imbue both rural and urban homes with the affective sounds of intimate expressive and interactional practices.

6.4 Short-wave dialogism

Upper Napo Quichua community media affords the remediation and reanimation of the affective poetics of culturally significant genres of verbal artistry across sites of production, as the case of women's song on and off the airwaves has shown. Other forms of discourse similarly provide dialogic points of departure for listeners, grounded in their own daily linguistic habits. In Chawpishungu, the ways listeners comment on radio programs dialogically extends these programs reach into face-to-face interactions. One of the most important ways that Upper Napo Quichua radio media contributes to the revitalization of significant forms of verbal artistry is by extending the reach of these forms and practices amongst their younger listening audience, while also amplifying the voices of those speakers already socially tasked with transmitting knowledge to future generations—elderly and adult speakers.

Stories drawn from *Mushuk Ñampi*'s narrative archive were of the most popular segments on their morning program. In the homes where I studied reception in Chawpishungu, these segments frequently drew the attention of younger listeners. Serafina's two youngest foster children, who were eleven and sixteen at the time, would often draw closer to the radio when elders' narratives were on the air, sometimes sitting with their ear close to the receiver. Often, adults paid less attention to the stories that were playing. Yet, they also often stopped their

ongoing conversations to comment on a particularly interesting or surprising element of a story, sometimes contesting the account, oftentimes confirming the narrative based on their own familial knowledge and personal experience. Consequently, in Chawpishungu, the aural reception of Upper Napo Quichua radio programs both shapes and reinvigorates the guayusa tea-drinking hours. Such programming makes more knowledgeable, often elderly, speakers available to listeners for dialogic commentary, frequently leading to new narrative events, grounded in the individual knowledge of a present elder or adult. Reception practices drawn from another morning in Chawpishungu illustrates how this occurs, as well as the ways that these mediated, dialogic narrative events reinforce the poetic practices of Amazonian Quichua verbal artistry.

One morning, Serafina and a number of her family members were gathered by the fire in their kitchen, weaving *shigra* bags, chatting, and drinking *wayusa*, while the radio played in the background. Serafina was joined by two of her adult daughters (Marcia and Corina, both in their late twenties), as well as a foster daughter (in her late-teens) and son (in his mid-teens), her youngest *kachun* 'daughter-in-law' (in her early twenties), and one of her grandsons, Michael, who was about two years old at the time. I was also present, taking notes and occasionally asking questions. I was also video recording during these particular *wayusa*-drinking hours, providing both audio and video data regarding the interactions surrounding the radio that morning.

Like many other mornings, Serafina's teenaged foster son was sitting next to the radio, occasionally flipping through stations and modulating the volume based on his interest in the content. When a community recording came on *Mushuk Ñampi*, he raised the volume, and we both paused to pay attention to it. However, Serafina and her adult daughters continued their conversation. Nevertheless, Serafina seems to have been paying at least partial attention to the ongoing narrative on the radio, as she paused to repeat a surprising line from the story playing

272

out in the background. She reported, "he said, '[the man] became a boa,'" and she directed her

two-year old grandson to listen, "uyiy." I include lines from the transcript for analysis below,

although it is fragmented at times due to the complex soundscape of the morning home, which

included multiple, relatively quiet conversations, the louder audio from the radio, the frequent

crowing of the family's roosters outside, the crackling of the fire, as well as the clanking of

various pots and cups as the family served and drank *wayusa* together. Transcript lines reflect the

edited version presented here, rather than the fuller version I have segmented and transcribed.

1	**Radio text**	…amarun pay [*xxx*] amarun tukushaga mashtisha purik ashka kay shuk yaku [tian], amarun yaku nishka.	*...boa, he [unintelligible] [when] he was becoming a boa, he would have gone, here [there's a river], called Boa River*
2		Chi [*xxx*] sikii [kasarashka] amarun tukusha	*There/That [???] at the base [he would have married?] when he was becoming a boa*
3	**Serafina**	Amarun tukun nin	*"[The man] became a boa," he says.*
4	**Marcia**	Imara [*xxx*]	*What [xxx]*
5	**Serafina**	<*Michaelra rikun*> Amarun nin, chi runa tukushka [xxx] kuchai.	<turns to Michael> *The boa, he says, that man would have become [xxx] in the deep pool.*
6		Uyiy, <*points at radio*> rimaun.	*Listen,* <points at radio> *he's speaking.*
7	**Marcia**	[*xxx*]	*[xxx]*

Table 6.10 Dialogic radio reception, excerpt #1

The following lines of conversation are almost entirely unintelligible as Serafina and her

daughters talk over the radio. Talk came to a lull, however, as the speaker on the radio continued

to narrate a story that now involved a mother boa, and her child, who made a distinctive sound as

it called out. In line 8, the radio speaker introduces an ideophone used to voice the boa child

chiaw, which becomes a central focus of the ongoing discussion. Nuckolls (1996) has described

ideophones as "sound symbolic expressions," which draw upon both symbolic and iconic sign

relationships to poetically mark grammatical aspect. She argues, in particular, that "a speaker's

performative foregrounding of a sound-symbolic form simulates the salient qualities of an action,

273

event, or process and thereby invites a listener to project into an experience" (1996, 13).

Consequently, such sound-symbolic words can also be seen as a significant means of

chronotopic calibration, which bring listeners into the narrated event. Although Nuckolls bases

her analysis on data from Quichua speakers in Pastaza province, such forms are also significant

parts of Upper Napo Quichua narrative practices, as seen in the following transcript. In line 10,

Serafina repeats the ideophone *chiaw* soon after hearing it on the radio. During this period, the

family is largely attentive to the story, except for Serafina's young grandson, Michael, who

comments in line 13 on one of the family's mouser cats and continued to talk to himself after

receiving no response. However, in line 18, he spontaneously shouted "chiaw!" mimicking the

ideophone earlier used on the radio, and repeated by Serafina:

8	**Radio text**	…chi wawa, umaymanda *chi-ii-yaw*, *chi-ii-aw*, *chiaw chiaw*.	*… that child, from [its] head "chi-ii-yaw, chi-ii-aw, chiaw chiaw."*
9		{Chimanda mamaga….	*{Then the mother…*
10	**Serafina**	{ña *chiaw*	*{Ah,* chiaw
11	**Radio text**	{[xxx] shinallara kaparishka nin	*{ [xxx] just like that (she) would have cried out, it is said.*
12		Mama shinallara kaparishka. Playai sirishka nin	*The mother just like that would have cried out. She would have laid on the bank, it is said.*
13	**Michael**	{Mama, misi.	*{Mom, the cat.*
14	**Radio text**	Yakumallara, chi kuchamayallara sirishka nin	*Near the water, next to that deep pool she would have laid, it is said.*
15		Chigama chi kariga ña…	*Then, that man, now…*
16	**Michael**	{[xxx]	*{[xxx]*
17	**Radio text**	…llakirisha sakirshka [ñankarta] ishki killa tupura pay llakirisha sakirishka {chi [*xxx*]	*… would have stayed behind feeling said [just for a little while] about two months' time, he stayed feeling sad, {that….*
18	**Michael**	{*chiaaww*! [*xxx*]	*{Chiaaww! [xxx]*
19		*Chiaaaw*! *Chiiaaw*!	*Chiaaaw! Chiiaaw!*

Table 6.11 Dialogic radio reception, excerpt #2

First repeated by Serafina, and then picked up by Michael, the sound symbolic *chiaw* became a

central feature of the following conversation regarding the reported, as well as personally

274

experienced, knowledge surrounding the behavior of forest and river boas. Such use of ideophony to animate a narrated event was later repeated in Serafina's own discussion of the behavior of *amarun*. Specifically, in line 50 below, she also uses the sound-symbolic word *TU-PUun!* to animate the sound of the boa diving into the pool of water (see Nuckolls 1996, 103).

Following Michael's outburst with the call of the boa child, his mother and grandmother turned to talk to him. In doing so, Serafina used the ideophones *chiaw* and *tupun* to narratively animate the actions of the boa:

20	**Marcia**	Shinara wakan amarun.	*That's how the boa cries out.*
21	**Michael**	*Chiaww*!	Chiaww*!*
22	**Serafina**	Amarun, <*Michaelra rikun*> shina wakan kay amarun.	*The boa,* <turns to Michael> *that's how that boa cries out.*
23		Shina wakan yaku kuchama ikungarausha *yaaaw chiaw* wakasha, chi yaku kuchama ikusha kay amarun.	*That's how it cries out when it's entering the deep pool, crying out "yaaaw chiaw," when it's entering the deep pool, that boa.*
24		[Shina wakan [*xxx*] ñukanchi [*xxx*] kay amarun.]	*[That's how it cries out [xxx] we [xxx] that boa.]*
25		Warmis shinallara kaparin.	*The female (boa) too calls out like that.*
26		Warmis.	*The female (boa) too.*
27		Amarun warmi shinallara kaparin.	*The female boa calls out just like that.*
28		*Yaaaww* [*xxx*] yakui ikunun [chibi]	Yaaaww *[xxx] they enter into the river [there].*
29		Hehe!	<laughter>
30		Ña kunaga ña churiga shina ikungaraun, amarun churi.	*So now, now the son like that is going to enter, the boa son.*
31		Ña kimsapura ikungaraunun ña yaku kuchama.	*Now all three together are going to enter the deep pool.*
32		Ña miranun shu amarun.	*Now they've grown (by) one boa.*
33		Heheheha! <*shigrara rikun*>	*Heheheha!* <returns to shigra weaving>
34		Payllara kapariun *chiaw chiaw,* kaparin shina [ikunun nin chi]	*Just to himself he is shouting* chiaw, chiaw*, he shouts like that, [they go in, it is said, that]*
35	**Michael**	*Chiaw*!	Chiaw*!*
36	**Serafina**	*Chiaw*! Shina kaparisha ikun nin yaku kuchama	Chiaw*! Calling out like that (the boa), it is said, enters the deep pool*
37	**Marcia**	[*xxx*]	*[unintelligible cross-talk; questions]*

		/Corina	
38	**Serafina**	Ari.	*Yes.*
39	**Michael**	*Chiaw*!	Chiaw*!*
40	**Corina**	[xxx]	*[xxx]*
41	**Corina**	[Amarun shina kaparin nin]	*[It is said that's how the boa cries out]*
42	**Serafina**	Ah?	*Huh?*
43	**Corina**	Amarun shina kaparin nin	*It is said that's how the boa cries out.*
44	**Serafina**	Shinara kaparika, {shinami… [xxx]	*That is what is called out, {like that…[xxx]*
46	**Corina**	{[xxx] sacha amarun shina kaparika]	*{[[xxx] the forest boa cried out like that]*
47	**Serafina**	{ari, sacha amarun	*{yes, the forest boa…*
48	**Corina**	{[xxx]	*{[xxx]*
49	**Serafina**	{[yaku amarun shina kaparinun [nin]	*{[the river boas call out like that [it is said]*
50		Kaparisha, [kapariasha] ukumandami, awamanda, kasna yura patai tiashkamanda *TU-PUun!* yakui [ikunun nin	*Calling out, calling out from inside, from above, like that perched in a tree,* TU-PUun! *[they enter] into the water, [it is said].*
51		Awai mikiy pasasha, playai sirisha [xxx] sirishka [ukumanda] saltasha {xxx-manda yakuma	*Above, after eating, laying on the shore [xxx], it would have laid, diving [from inside] {into the water.*
52	**Michael**	{*tum*!	{tum*!*
53	**Serafina**	[*xxx*] <*wayusara upin*>	*[xxx]* <drinks wayusa>

Table 6.12 Dialogic radio reception, excerpt #3

Although Serafina seems to be teasing Michael in lines 22-32, concluding with her laughter in line 33, *amarun* and the deep bends and pools in the river nearby Chawpishungu where they are said to live were oftentimes serious topics of conversation. Indeed, when foraging in the nearby river for small *carachama* and freshwater shellfish, Serafina and her family would always move quietly and cautiously past the deep river bend known to be an *amarun wasi*—a home for the boa and their owners, the *yaku runa* 'river beings.' In line 38, the conversation turns from teasing to informative, as Serafina's adult children inquired about the behavior of the boa. As the conversation continued, Serafina further described the various *sasi* 'prohibitions' associated with

killing boas—abstinence from sex, salt, and spice—as well as the dire consequences—madness and rage—that await those who kill a boa without observing them.

Significantly, in both the story, as well as the face-to-face narrative event that emerged from it, speakers employed ideophones. Nuckolls has shown that these sound symbolic words are an important poetic and grammatical feature of Amazonian Quichua conversational narrative, as "sound-symbolic images allow the Pastaza Quichua to share moments of focused attention on the salient qualities of an action, event, or process as it unfolds in time" (1996, 101). Despite their centrality in Amazonian Quichua verbal artistry, sound symbolic expressions have nevertheless been vulnerable to the pressures of language shift and ideological change. Although pervasive in the speech of the relatively isolated community where Nuckolls conducted her fieldwork, her comparative analyses suggest that in other areas, speakers are coming to associate these forms with both a regionally authentic register and women's speech, a confluence of linguistic and gender ideologies not uncommon in other contexts of linguistic and cultural shift (French 2010; Weismantel 2001; J. H. Hill and Hill 1986). Nuckolls thus suggests that "literacy, in conjunction with social, political, and economic change is affecting the sound-symbolic style of Quechua speakers in eastern Amazonian Ecuador" (1996, 102).

As a central narrative device and grammatical form, sound symbolic expressions like *chiaw* and *tupun* invite listeners to focus their attention on a salient action or event in the unfolding participation frameworks and intertextual relationships of conversational narrative. Consequently, changes to these poetic practices in Amazonian Quichua due to both language shift and linguistic unification represent not merely the loss of some specific grammatical shibboleths, nor the loss of a distinctive local identity, but the loss of a form of social engagement with other people and with the natural world. The continued oral transmission of

such aurally evocative linguistic practices is thus one of the most significant affordances of Upper Napo Quichua radio media.

6.5 Radio and the remediation of elders' knowledge

Intergenerational transmission is one of the most important ways that a collective memory of the past is ideologically authenticated among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua. Across various contexts, my interlocuters referenced "the words/speech our elders left," as a central source of knowledge and guidance for their contemporary (re)animations of *runa* lifeways in Napo. Radio programs like *Mushuk Ñampi*, however, amplify and extend the reach of such familial knowledge, making it available to listeners who otherwise might not have regular or easy access to such narratives or embodied interactions within their own families. In the prior example, for instance, Serafina and her family used the radio narrative as a dialogic point of departure to discuss their own knowledge and experiences, accompanied by their children who listened quietly. If the adolescents and young adults who were also gathered there were to retell the narratives transmitted during this morning in years to come, they very likely would also utilize the "-shka" stative aspect of reported narrative, and the quotative form "nin" or "ninun."[122]

However, such authoritative framing of narrative in the intergenerational transmission of knowledge may also be absent for listeners like Serafina, who responded with some skepticism about the validity of the stories she had heard on the radio that day. Later in the morning, when most of the family had separated to eat and get ready for school or work, I asked her what she

---

[122] Although I have gathered comparative elicitation data on the narrative practices of children and adults, they remain to be analyzed for future publications.

thought of these kinds of stories. We had just finished listening to another community narrative, which was introduced by the female teller as a story her grandfather had told her, about the importance of generosity with food and the avoidance of stinginess. I then asked, "what do you think of that story?" Her reply demonstrates the complexities involved in the remediation of such stories on the radio. Although Serafina and others have emphasized the truth of the stories they have told me (e.g. AMUPAKIN 2017), she also responded with some skepticism to the stories broadcast on the radio. Like the other transcript from that morning, the audio from this segment has been difficult to analyze and transcribe due to the ongoing activity of the morning household. I present only short excerpts here, as I continue to revise and analyze the transcript with my Quichua-speaking research colleagues in Napo:

1	GE	Chi kwintana… imara ningui?	*That story… what do you think?*
2	SG	[chi [xxx], chi wañushka rukuuna kwintashka] payguna chi kwinturami kwintanchi nisha kwintanun, payguna ñawpa timpumi kwintakuna aka nisha.	*[That [???], that story told by the deceased elders], they say "we're telling those stories" when they converse, saying "they would tell those stories in the time before."*
3		Chitami kwintarianun, chiga, payguna yanga imasna rimashkara uyakuna [xxx], chi kwintura apinchi nisha apinun shina.	*That's what they are always telling, but then they (could have) heard all kinds of baseless talk [xxx], they grasped/learned those stories like that, saying "we grasp/learn that story."*
4		Shina kwintanun.	*That's how they tell stories.*
5		Siertu, llulla, imaras kwintanun.	*True, false, they tell all sorts of things.*
6	GE	Imarai?	*What could it be?*
7	SG	Llullachu, siertu shimichari, mana uyashkani shina shimigunara.	*Is it false? Maybe it's true speech, I have not heard speech like that.*
8		Ñawpakguna shinallara {kwintakuna	*The ones before just the same {would tell…*
9	GE	{Kamba rukuguna mana…	*{your elders didn't….*
10	SG	Mana uyashkani, [chi uyangak uyak manchi.]	*I haven't heard [it], [to hear that we must listen/pay attention.]*
11		[Uyashkara] kungarishkani	*I have forgotten [what was heard]*
12		Ari, kungarishkani chi shimi kwintanara	*Yes, I have forgotten those spoken stories.*
13		Siertu ashka, llulla ashka, yangachu, kuna timpu rimashkarachu riman, ñawpamandaktachu riman, imachari	*What was true, what was false. Was it idle talk? Does [he/she] speak what is spoken*

			now, does [he/she] speak what was from before? What could it be?
14	**GE**	Ah, chi	*Oh, (like) that.*
15	**SG**	Ari.	*Yes.*

Table 6.13 Serafina comments on radio-mediated narratives

Serafina is frequently proud of the way that she "remembers" the speech and practices of her elders. Yet, as with the story of Iluku, she admits to forgetting at least some of what she had heard as a child. In this case, as in others, she attributed her forgetting to the loss of the social settings where such narratives were told and retold. In the next line, I pressed on with my own inquiry into her radio listening preferences, asking Serafina if she liked the stories. However, her answer emphasized not the stories that she had heard on the radio, but their connection to the interactional relationships and settings where they were transmitted:

16	**GE**	Kan gustangui chi ñawpa urasmanda kwintanaguna?	*Do you like those stories from before?*
17	**SG**	Ñawpakmandak urasgunara, ñuka mama kwintashkarami kungarini nini, mana kasna kwintanusha tiasha.	*I told (you), I forget what was from the time before, what my mother told, since I didn't sit conversing like this with others.*
18		Ñawpaunaga, ñuka mama atarisha, kasna waysa upisha tiasha, kwintasha, wakak aka.	*But those before, my mother got up, sitting and drinking* waysa*, and telling stories, she would lament.*
19	**GE**	Ah.	*Oh.*
20	**SG**	Ari, kwintasha wakan. {Paywa..	*Yes, telling stories she laments. {Her..*
21	**GE**	{Ñawpa urasmanda	*{About the time before?*
22	**SG**	Ñawpa urasmanda shimira ñuka mamaga mas ali yachak aka.	*My mother knew the speech from the time before better.*
23		Rukumanda pachakunami, paygunaga ña llakta illashkamanda, llaktamanda tukushkamanda.	*Those from the old world, now they [told] about the absence of towns, about how it became a town.*

Table 6.14 Serafina comments on 'forgetting'

In line 17, Serafina indicates that I had misunderstood her point, quoting herself: "I told (you), I forget what was from the time before, what my mother told, not sitting conversing like this with others." Rather than an issue of preference, her answer suggests the importance of ongoing intergenerational transmission through conversation. As she said "not sitting conversing like this

280

with others" [mana kasna kwintanusha tiasha], she paused in her ongoing weaving of a *shigra* bag to raise her hand and turning her open palm back and forth, using the gesture that indicates absence or lack. In other conversations with both Serafina and other elderly and adult members of AMUPAKIN, speakers highlighted the importance of repeatedly telling and refining one's stories in a dialogic setting. Narratives are preferably told among attentive audiences, and well-known traditional narratives will receive both phatic encouragement when told fluently, as well as spontaneous corrections in the event of memory failure. Although Serafina did not remember the stories that we had heard on the radio from her own childhood, as our conversation continued, she turned to describe the stories of the old days that she remembered her mother telling more clearly during her childhood. These were stories of the time before towns, about her known, named relatives who carried cargo, and people, by foot to Quito.

Serafina's attitudes regarding the intergenerational and interactional transmission of knowledge are somewhat akin to what Gershon (2010) has called *media ideologies*. Drawing upon linguistic anthropological theories of linguistic ideology, Gershon defines media ideologies as "the metalanguage that emphasizes the technology or bodies through which we communicate" (2010, 283). Consequently, she proposes that "*media ideologies* as a term can sharpen a focus on how people understand both the communicative possibilities and the material limitations of a specific channel, and how they conceive of channels in general" (2010, 283). For Serafina, radio-mediated knowledge, in this case, does not hold the same level of authority and authenticity as knowledge gained through face-to-face mediation among close family members. The assemblage of linguistic and media ideologies of familial knowledge and narrative—*ñukanchi rukuguna sakishka shimi*—is thus different for Serafina when compared with others' inherited stories that are remediated on the radio. As the women at AMUPAKIN explained, knowledge is

281

individualized in different families. As one woman said, "we each tell what our particular grandparents told," which is connected to their individual *iyay*, intelligence or knowledge. By expanding the public of such inherited knowledge and narrative from the private sphere of the family, radio media can also reconfigure the ways in which such stories are received.

Radio host Rita Tunay raised a related issue, when she reported that many community members demanded payment in order to record their stories, or claimed, "My knowledge is my own, I don't want to share it." Consequently, the introduction of these technologies has also involved a shift in ideologies of language surrounding the public and private nature of such knowledge. As Rita said, she used *kamachina* to change people's minds, and convince them to share their stories with the radio archive. The remediation of the stories told by the elders on Upper Napo Quichua radio consequently also entails the reorganization of existing assemblages of linguistic and media ideologies. While such media hold considerable promise for the ongoing transmission of the poetic structures, stylistic practices, and musicality of Upper Napo Quichua verbal artistry, they may also remediate new, external ideologies of media and language.

In spite of these challenges and contradictions, many members of a densely interacting, ideologically-plural Upper Napo Quichua community of practice are turning to radio media as a modality of survivance for the words their elders left behind, alongside other significant forms of verbal artistry, and habitual practice. Today in Napo, younger speakers and elderly activists increasingly utilize audio and visual media (see also Bermúdez and Uzendoski 2018), as ways to inscribe a collective memory of the past. On programs like *Mushuk Ñampi*, multimodal media are used to reconstitute contexts of use and interactional practices within new regimes of value, as well as complex ideological assemblages, so that the voices of contemporary elders are not forgotten but amplified.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

Although community-produced media are often cited as means to strengthen Indigenous linguistic and cultural practices and articulate sovereignty, many of the on-the-ground effects of these media remain unclear. Attending to both the production and reception of Upper Napo Quichua radio media, however, demonstrates that community media have emerged as a powerful means through which cultural activists and other community members are able to reclaim language as a living code. Where linguistic unification and formal education have provided dominant models for political empowerment through language revitalization in Ecuador, many of these methods are quite removed from the ways that contemporary speakers conceptualize language in use, as well as their relationship to different codes. It is thus fundamental to explore the methods and media of language revitalization within the complex ecologies of language and assemblages of linguistic ideologies where language use takes place.

For many speakers of Upper Napo Quichua, standardized Unified Kichwa is simply not 'our spoken Quichua,' leading to significant ideological complexity in language revitalization. The remediation—or transposition—of regional codes on the airwaves and into new contexts of use and regimes of value is a significant way in which contemporary speakers are establishing emergent vitalities for regional varieties. More significantly, perhaps, they are also bringing language to life within contexts of use and interactional relationships, oriented towards a hopeful future. This is a process I have called *reanimation*, in which the framework for revitalization is extended to include multiple semiotic modalities (including linguistic codes, embodied habits,

283

and material forms), which are chronotopically brought to life in the present and a hopeful future. Reanimation creates emergent vitalities for linguistic and cultural practices that are often associated with tradition and the knowledge of the elders, while it also opens the possibility to incorporate innovative linguistic practices (such as media production itself). The remediation and reanimation of significant linguistic and cultural practices in broadcast media, then, are significant way in which regional speakers are establishing alternative modalities for linguistic revitalization, which go beyond the adoption of a standardized code. The effects of Upper Napo Quichua radio media reverberate in Napo outside isolated moments of production and transmission by drawing diverse participants together into a mediated community of shared practices that converges around the production, reception, and (re)circulation of media.

7.1 Production and reception in a multimodal mediascape

On a cool morning in mid-November 2016, the members and volunteers of the Association of Kichwa Midwives of Upper Napo (AMUPAKIN) awoke well before 2 a.m.—many had not really slept the night before—to prepare for a special broadcast of *Mushuk Ñampi*'s live *wayusa upina*. Such an early morning wakeup call was not unusual for them. After all, the members of AMUPAKIN are recognized throughout Napo for their medicinal skills and cultural knowledge, and are regular guests on *Mushuk Ñampi*, as well as at the numerous cultural presentations and competitions in the regions. Although they were not paid for this particular event, their involvement in the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape sometimes also brings a modest income for the organization and its members.

The previous evening, many of the *ruku mamaguna* 'elder mothers' and *malta mamaguna* 'adult mothers' who made up AMUPAKIN's 11 active members had gathered with

their children and grandchildren at the small property AMUPAKIN owns on the outskirts of Archidona. AMUPAKIN's installations include a number of small concrete houses for patients and other visitors, a meeting house, and a large infirmary shared with doctors from the Ministry of Public of Health, all built with past funding from the international Red Cross. The midwifery center also includes a *runa*-style house, built from large palm trunks and pounded bamboo siding, though it is also roofed with more cost-effective zinc sheeting. This house is the preferred gathering space for the members of AMUPAKIN, where they first meet with many patients, as well as the site of cultural presentations for tourists and students. The walls are hung with a number of different kinds of baskets, and in one corner, two bamboo *gaytu* sleeping platforms sit next to a *tulpa*, the hearth formed by placing three stones into the ground. The building's open eaves allow smoke from the near constant open fire to escape. The pressed dirt floor is maintained with daily sweeping and watering. Low plank benches surround the room, though there are also a number of Western-style wooden tables and some plastic chairs. Within this space, AMUPAKIN hosted *Mushuk Ñampi*'s very first *wayusa upina* broadcast in March 2016. A few months later they would carefully reanimate the morning routines of the *wayusa upina* as part of their celebrations for their organization's anniversary.

That evening in November, however, the association's founder, María Antonia Shiguango, as well as elder members Catalina Aguinda, Serafina Grefa, Angelina Grefa, María Narváez, and María Tapuy, alongside adult members Marilin Salazar (association president and daughter of María Antonia), Olga Chongo, and Adela Alvarado, as well as a number of affiliates, filled the room, weaving tender shoots of *lisan panga* 'palm leaf' into crowns and other ornaments, preparing medicinal items such as tobacco, hot pepper, and stinging nettle for their presentation of the *kamachina*, and rolling bundles of green *wayusa* leaves. Throughout the

evening, as elder members were involved in different tasks, they chatted with each other in Quichua. Younger affiliates in their teens and twenties joined in, putting effort into speaking in Quichua with their elders, though they often talked to each other in Spanish. Roy Shiguango, son of Olga Chongo, for instance, had been spending increasing time at AMUPAKIN in order to improve his linguistic abilities. He explained that today Quichua and Spanish are both economically viable languages, as "in order to work one needs knowledge of two languages, *runa shimi* and *mishu shimi*."[123]

The evening was also a major site of Quichua-language interaction. Although it can often be difficult to elicit their familial narratives from elders, that night gathered among their close friends, some of the elder women of AMUPAKIN engaged in spontaneous moments of conversational narrative production (Mannheim and Van Vleet 1998). Catalina Aguinda, for instance, co-told the story of the origin of *amarun* [Qu. 'boa'] in a named, nearby region, with the authoritative confirmation of María Tapuy.[124] Both Roy and María engaged in the dialogic routines of Upper Napo Quichua narrative, responding "ári" 'yes' when Catalina would say "manzhu?" 'isn't it so?' during the story. Dialogically affirming, for instance, "ñawpa uraska mana churanauk anushka manzhu llushti?"—isn't it so that they, in the past, did not wear [clothes] [and went] naked? Meanwhile, Roy, listened intently to understand Catalina's fluent speech, and he briefly interrupted her to ask:

RS	Chimanda amarun [xxx]?	'*That's where* amarun [*unintelligible*]?' (baby cries in background)
CA	Ari, chimanda miran amarun.	'*Yes, that's where the amarun multiply.*'
	Chimanda miran ninundá.	'*That's where [they] multiply, that's what they say.*'

---

[123] Quichua original: "Kuna tarabangawa minishtin ishki shimi yachana, runa shimi, mishu shimi"

[124] Although I have analyzed a recording of this narrative, I do not reproduce it here as I continue to evaluate the ways that elders' familial knowledge is remediated into other languages and spaces of transmission. I thus wish to discuss the recording, transcript, and its publication with the authors of the story before making it public.

In the conclusion of her narrative, Catalina described the ways that her grandparents [*rukuguna*] had used the story as a form of *kamachina* around prohibitions related to the river. In contrast, she said, young people [*kuna uras wawauna*] no longer believe such stories, animating their voices in saying that those things are "pasado" [Sp. 'past']. However, when the stories were told to her, she said, they were to be taken seriously. Likewise, in the flow of the narrative, her reduplicated answer to Roy provides a double affirmation, told in both her voice, and the voices of her elders who had told her these stories, underscored by the use of the affirmative morpheme -dá on the quotative *ninun* [Qu. 'they say'], which marks the words the elders left behind.[125] Catalina's commentary points to the ways in which the relational world of intergenerational transmission has been ruptured from the point of view of contemporary elders, who find their narratives to be the subject of doubt from both external, white-mestizo sources, as well as from many contemporary *runa* young people.

Roy, however, listened attentively, affirming Catalina's story at multiple points in the telling. Later, however, when I asked him how much he thought he understood of the story, he evaluated that he had only got "chawpi chawpi" [Qu. 'half']. Nevertheless, the importance of these sorts of events and organizational spaces cannot be emphasized enough. They demonstrate ways in which the ongoing development of the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape also helps to draw together intergenerational communities of practice, which are focused on nurturing and reclaiming their linguistic and cultural practices, even in the context of significant material and social change. Moreover, the production and circulation of these sorts of narratives explicitly for the radio, as well as in off-stage moments of production and reception, suggest they may help to

---

[125] Grzech discusses this as an enclitic (marked with the = symbol), *=tá/=dá* as a marker of "verum focus," or "focus on the truth value of the proposition" (2016a, 243), with a semantic value of resolving a question under discussion. Given the difficult audio here, it is difficult to carry out a further analysis of what question Catalina is resolving. From my own observations, this form often underscores responses to questions, or provides emphasis on the assertion. Interestingly, in nearby Pastaza, the word for "yes" is not *ari* as in Upper Napo Quichua and most other varieties, but *ndá*.

revalorize and reconnect speakers with both a social imaginary and collective memory grounded in the words the elders left behind. It is important to remember that elder's words and knowledge have been repeatedly derided as false and even heretical within the settler-colonial, missionary overlay (cf. Mannheim 2017) that has become increasingly dominant in Napo over the last century. In contrast, these sites of synthesis and renewal increasingly establish an explicitly *runa* overlay on the settler-colonial, missionary system that has been imposed upon them at various points in history.

During the evening, Napo radio also served as a significant focus of linguistic activity. While the members of AMUPAKIN prepared, they listened to a mix of Spanish, Chicham, and highland and lowland Quichua-language songs played on Radio Olímpica, often laughing and commenting on the songs, as well as discussing their ongoing work. When a song in Chicham came on, for instance, Adela looked up and commented that even though they were missing the Fiestas de Tena to prepare, they would still dance, while her husband began to stamp his feet to the rhythm, imitating Shuar (Chicham) dancing. This mediascape is thus an important way that knowledge of different linguistic and cultural practices is remediated across publics and various spaces of production and reception.

That night everyone but the two midwives who were on their *turno* [Sp. 'shift'] wore Western-style street clothes, as we crouched on the ground together to eat plates full of steamed manioc and plantain, and spicy *patas uchu*, a mash of white cacao [Qu. *patas*], smoked fish, and *uchu* pepper. The pre-dawn, however, would see these women and men dressed in t-shirts, jeans, and leggings transformed, adorned with jewelry made from red and black seeds or rainbow-colored glass beads, with their faces painted with red *manduru* 'achiote' and black grease

288

pencils.[126] Women donned *pilluna,* a blue wrapped skirt and *makikutuna,* tunic-like blouses with gathered sleeves, often in polka-dotted fabrics and adorned with ribbons around their square neckline, or dark blue one-shouldered *pacha*. Men, meanwhile, wore dark blue *kushm*a, a light shirt modeled on the poncho, and *kuru balun* ['short pants' from Sp. *pantalón corto*]. While these are not clothes that they wear in their everyday labors as rural agriculturalists, some of the elder members like Serafina and María Antonia remember them as the clothing of their own elders, as well as the ways their own mothers once painted their faces for celebrations or to plant manioc. Today, such forms are part of the broad semiotic system that residents of Napo may draw upon to animate—and reanimate—socially recognizable, or enregistered, selves. In bringing them into public spaces in this way, they are "carried forward" into a new modality and animated through the semiotic lamination of a chronotope of the past within the present. Such multimodal chronotopic animations in the present subsequently shapes the ways various publics imagine the people that once, and still, live in Napo.

Meanwhile, the municipal producers of *Mushuk Ñampi* also drew upon enregistered but non-discursive signs to reanimate a chronotope of *ruku kawsay*, the lifeways of the elders. Using supportive planks, they had constructed the ground for a temporary earthen-floored *wasi* [Qu. 'house structure'], which had been covered with rows of palm leaves as well as a large tarp in case of rain. In the ground they had placed two *tulpa* hearths, where large pots of *wayusa* bubbled. Vendors at the *Chunta Kuru Wasi* [Qu. 'The Palm Grub House'] food court, which also sat next to the municipal building, danced while they served *wayusa* to audience members and other participants. Over more than two hours, program participants played music and danced

---

[126] Some people in Napo are reclaiming the use of *ituk*, the semi-permanent black dye still used in Pastaza to draw intricate patterns on people's faces, as well as to dye their hair. Most people, however, use black pencils. When questioned about her own mother's practices, Serafina said that she had likewise used black pencil and *manduru*.

with audience members, drank *aswa* and *wayusa* together, listened to jokes, history, and political discourse, and witnessed what members of AMUPAKIN described on the air as *rikuchina* [Qu. 'to demonstrate; to teach' literally 'to make (someone) see/watch/observe'] of the *kamachina* and *uchu churana.* Throughout the program, participants spoke variously in regional codes of Upper Napo Quichua, as well as the more standardized register. As the dawn broke and birds began to sing in the plaza, Adela Alvarado squeezed the juice of capsicum peppers into the eyes of a young man affiliated with AMUPAKIN, while she blew her own *ushay* 'strength' into the top of his head with tobacco, before she brushed his skin with stinging nettles. Other participants and audience members—including some *mishu* municipal employees—then clambered to receive the medicinal treatment. Their participation expanded the *kamachina* provided by Adela to include the instruction that a *mishu* employee, for instance, "escucha la voz del pueblo" [Sp. 'listen to the voice of the people']. As the program ended, radio listeners would have heard participants from another group discussing the ways that their elders had taught them to weave baskets, traps, and nets, an embodied process of animation they carried out without further explanation on the air.

The program concluded off the air with a large traditional meal among the participants. Gender-segregated groups of men and women crouched to eat steamed manioc and plantain piled high on banana leaves placed on the ground, which they used to scoop up a spicy fish stew. Such events reverberated with the practices realized in AMUPAKIN the evening before, as groups of elder women helped their younger counterparts to weave palm leaves, and—though this time not separated by gender—the midwives of AMUPAKIN and their affiliates crouched together to eat from the floor. These practices for eating and sharing food might also reverberate in Chawpishungu, as Serafina's family gathered together in her kitchen to eat plantain *katu* [Qu. 'stew'], squatting together on the floor or seated on low benches. Likewise, different forms of

kamachina and the medicinal treatments associated with it might be carried out in Chawpishungu, as well as the demonstration [*rikuchina*] of different forms of weaving between parents and young people.

Mayor Jaime Shiguango explained during the program "that we want to demonstrate our lifeways, what has made us *runa*'[127] *Mushuk Ñampi*'s radio programs, then, are sites in which cultural practices, which are deeply ideologized in relation to social identity, become tangible and demonstrable. In doing so, participants collapse the chronotopic space-time between the past—and its iconic semiotic systems—and the indexical world of the present, therein hoping to project a complex, interlinked semiotic system of language, alimentation, medicinal practice, and social habitus grounded in the authority of their elders into the future. Indeed, in lines 13-16 of the following transcript, Adela Alvarado counseled a young man not to forget language, food, forest medicine, and "our" clothing. As she did so, she grounded her own *kamachina* in the authority and knowledge of the female elders that had come before, and left their knowledge behind in the women of AMUPAKIN:

1	**AA**	Shuk kuti mas alli tutamanda nisha maki**ta**[128] kuni, kay ñukanchi ñawpakma apu (.) **Mashi** Jaime Shiguango, shinallara tukuy kuchumanda shamuuk kuragaguna, turiguna, ñañaguna, kayma pasiamukguna, ashkara pagarachuni kangunara. Imaraygu?	*Once again saying "good morning," I give my hand, here our head leader (pause), Mashi Jaime Shiguango, just the same, all the leaders who have come from every corner, brothers, sisters, those that are passing through here, I greatly thank you all. Why?*
2		Kay ñukanchi, ñukanchi churashka apu, kay ñukanchi yuyayra ashka balichisha apaushka	*Here, our, our chosen [placed] leader, has valorized and carried our wisdom.*
3		chiraygu ñukanchi AMUPAKIN mamaguna gustu kushiwa shamushkanchi.	*That's why, we the mothers of AMUPAKIN have come with beautiful happiness.*
4		Ñukanchi ruku mamaguna kawsayra, siertu, ñukanchi wawamandara, payguna yuyayra kushkara ñawpakma apaushkanchi.	*Our grandmother's lifeways, it's true, from the time we were children, the wisdom they gave us we have been carrying forward.*

---

[127] Qu. original: "Ñukanchi runa ashkamanda, ñukanchi kawsayra riksichina munanchi."

[128] Aside from neologisms such as *mashi*, and forms like *apu* and *kuraka* common across pan-Kichwa political discourse, Adela only incorporates a standardized form here, with the use of the object marker *-ta*, where the allophonic variant *-ra* would be expected. Significantly, line 1 this is also the most explicitly political discourse in her speech.

5	Chiraygu, kuna kay tutamandai, tukuy aylluguna rikushkai, ñuka ruku mama kamachisha sakishka shina, yuyayra kusha sakishka shina, ushayra kusha sakishka shina, kay ruku mama ashkamanda, kay shuk wambra churira pay kuna timpu wawaguna nikpi ashka pandayra aparianushka	*That's why, today this morning, in the view of all family members, like what my grandmother counseled and left behind, like the intelligence given and left behind, like the strength given and left behind, from what this grandmother was, this young son, he—those called contemporary children have been carrying many mistakes.*
6	Chiraygumi payta kikin ñukanchi ushayra kamachisha, kay ñambira ñawpakma apachu nisha kamachisha kamangak raushkani kanguna rikushkai.	*That's why, I am going to counsel him in all of your view, counseling with our same strength/power, desiring that he take this path.*
7	Ruku Uchu, kuna kay, kay tutamandai imasna rimaushka shina kanda ansa kamachingak raushkani.	*Ruku Uchu,[129] now this morning, the way it has been spoken, I am going to counsel you a little.*
8	Uyangui Ruku Uchu	*Listen Ruku Uchu.*
9	Ñukanchi ruku mama kawsayra kanma chimbachingak raushkani	*I am going to transmit [lit. 'to cross a bridge'] the lifeways of our grandmothers to you.*
10	Ima shina kuna rikungui, ñawpa uraska kasna tutaunai atarisha, kimsa pachai atarisha, ruku mama nina sikiwama risha, waysawara upichisha, aswara upichisha nina sikima atachishka wawagunara apamushaga, kamachisha tiak rukumamaguna	*Just how you see today, in the time before, like that getting up during the nights, getting up at 3 a.m., the grandmother going to the hearth, giving dear guayusa to drink, giving* aswa *to drink, bringing the awoken children, the grandmothers sat and counseled.*
11	Chi yuyayra kanda ansa chimbachingak raushkani Ruku Uchu.	*This wisdom I am going to transmit a little to you, Ruku Uchu.*
12	Kuna kan ña shunguyuk angui. Yuyayuk angui	*Now, you are* shungukuy *[mature]. You have intelligence.*
13	Kanma kuna ima ura punzha shunguyasha, imasna rimaushka shina kay ñukanchi shimira ama kungaringuichu	*Now, to you, whenever you are becoming mature, do not forget our language, the way it has been spoken.*
14	Ñukanchi mikunara ama kungaringuichu	*Do not forget our food.*
15	Kay ñukanchi kikin churarinara ama sakinguichu	*Do not leave this, our own clothing.*
16	Kay ñukanchi sacha ayak pangaguna chigunara balichingui. ama aytanguichu.	*Do not step upon these our bitter forest leaves, [but] value them.*
17	Chigunarami kanda ansa ringrichini.	*These things I make you listen to a little.*
18	Shinallara kay ñukanchi kawsay, kay waysa upina, asa upina, uchu mikuna, chigunaras balichingui	*So, this our life, this drinking of* waysa*, drinking of* asa*, eating of* uchu*, these too you must value.*

[…] further *kamachina* speech focusing on spousal relationships, as well as respect for one's elders

---

[129] Throughout the *kamachina*, Adela addresses the young man named Itolo by the *burla shuti*, Ruku Uchu 'Elder Hot Pepper.'

39	**AA**	Kunaga chita kamachishkani kanda Ruku Uchu shinakpi kaybi apumushkani uchuwaunara, kan kay kamachishkara uyanguichu Ruku Uchu?	*So now, this is what I have counseled you, Ruku Uchu. And I have brought here some little* uchu. *Do you hear what has been counseled, Ruku Uchu?*
40	**RU**	Ari, Achi Mama[130] uyanimi. Tukuy kan kamachishkara paktachishami ñuka	*Yes, Achi Mama, I really understand. All of what you have counseled I will fulfill.*
41		Ashka pagarachu	*Thank you.*

Table 7.1 Jumandi Yuyay kamachina excerpt

Unlike the *wayusa upina* in Santa Rita discussed in Chapter 4, the young man appropriately responded using the enregistered routines of the *kamachina* to acknowledge Adela's counsel. Together, Adela and Itolo brought to life the social figures of the "Achi Mama" and "Ruku Uchu" to re-animate enregistered routines of *kamachina*, projecting a space-time in which past (*ñawpa uras*) and present (*kuna*) are laminated and carried forward (*ñawpakma apana*) through their ongoing transmission.

Later that day in Chawpishungu, while harvesting peach palm grubs (*chunda kuru*) the family had grown in a fallen tree, Serafina and I found out that her family had listened to the broadcast. Her youngest son Abraham, in his mid-twenties at the time, commented on the broadcast, saying "Jumandi yuyaymanda kwintaushka alli uyashka nini" [Qu. 'I think that what was told about Jumandi's wisdom sounded good']. Serafina, however, had been struck more by an *uchu shimi* joke than discussions of Jumandi's wisdom. Somewhat disapprovingly, but also seeming to relish the telling, she recounted a joke that dealt with midwifery and a young female apprentice who did not understand how to help guide a baby out, with comical results. While her sons used their machetes to open the trunk and expose the mature grubs, she laughed about the *nuspa* [Qu. 'crazy'] speech she had heard during the broadcast. In later days, the joke—like all good *uchu shimi* jokes—continued to circulate in Chawpishungu, intertextually remediating the

---

[130] Like the *burla shuti* Ruku Uchu, Itolo's address of "Achi Mama" [Wise Mother] uses interactional routines still quite common among many Upper Napo Quichua speakers in which the preferred forms of address were nicknames and honorifics.

broadcast into everyday spaces of interaction, just as other forms of radio-mediated speech circulated among residents of Archidona.

To think of events like Mushuk Ñampi's *wayusa upina* as solely forms of "folklorization," or mere "play acting" of culture, would be to erase their importance as sites for synthesis and renewal, where diverse semiotic connections are established, or re-established, among their participants and publics. Likewise, to focus solely on the what might seem like a decontextualized production event—in this case, the on-air broadcast of *Mushuk Ñampi*'s *wayusa upina*—would be to miss the ways that the production of this event spans both the preparations that various groups undertook to participate in it, as well as the ways that it was received and further remediated and recirculated in daily conversations.

7.2 The remediation of endangerment through the reanimation of collective memory

To conclude, I wish return to the questions with which I began the exploration of *Mushuk Ñampi*'s *wayusa upina* in Chapter 2. I then reflect more generally on the ways that broadcast media have been able to contribute to linguistic and cultural vitality in Napo, which have further implications for linguistic reclamation and revitalization elsewhere.

First, why do these lowland Quichua radio producers, cultural performers, and community members invest so much energy in live productions that most of their audiences will only experience aurally? As might be evident from the description above, as well as other radio programs discussed in this text, producers and participants of *Mushuk Ñampi* invest a great deal of time and effort into material aspects of the show's production, which only a relatively small portion of their audience will see. Indeed, Adela's speech, which focused on carrying out a *kamachina* "in the view" of the gathered audience who were hailed as members of an extended

family or *ayllu*, suggests that one of the primary channels of communication involved in the program is the visual, a channel which is nonetheless removed for radio listeners. Large portions of the show, then, remain inaccessible to their listeners. For instance, while Adela carried out the *uchu churana* and other practices, the audio channel from the radio was largely taken up by Quichua-language background music. Host James broke in once in Spanish to explain that Adela was carrying out the application of hot pepper, while Adela later explained that she was about to apply tobacco. Yet, the many pauses and silences of *rikuchina* segments might invite listeners to project themselves into the semiotic space-time of the broadcast, drawing upon their own intertextual connections. At least this seemed to be the expectation of program hosts like Rita, who once told me that listening audience members would be able to imagine what was happening during the broadcast based on their past experiences with such practices and media.

These programs reveal a particular ideology of radio and media production, which likely draws on the ways that speech and interaction are ideologized among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua. Rather than decontextualized, purely oral and aural performances of the *wayusa upina,* which could easily be accomplished through a fully scripted program, individual participants bring to life the interactional spaces where those practices have been, and sometimes still are, transmitted. Nuckolls and Swanson have highlighted a preference for what they call "earthy concreteness" among speakers of Lowland Quichua, which they define as an orientation "which privileges the contextualization of utterances, thoughts, and ideas to such an extent that statements about typical behaviors and generalizations are perceived to be both morally and aesthetically objectionable" (2014, 48). Across various sites of production, I have found a similar preference for the contextualization of knowledge within the relationships and experiences that produced that knowledge. Moreover, among a population where print literacy practices are

relatively recent, the transposition of semi-improvised embodied productions into aural and oral media draws upon the somatic poetics (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012) of Upper Napo Quichua verbal artistry and narrative practice. Significantly, these media events become sites where speakers of both regional varieties animate enregistered voices received from the past in the present, and they hope, in the future. However, they are also sites where proponents of linguistic unification may enregister their own voices within the authoritative frame of the 'words of the elders.' While *Mushuk Ñampi* is most explicitly oriented towards reestablishing connections between regional forms and contexts of use, the oral affordances of radio media ultimately create the possibility for a polyphonic and multivocal public sphere.

Another partial answer might be found in the ways that these events are connected to ongoing efforts to develop a tourist industry in Archidona. As these shows are predominantly broadcast in Quichua, they are largely directed towards members of their Quichua-speaking public. Nevertheless, these programs are also intended as events that can reveal the "wealth" [Sp. *riqueza*] of Upper Napo Quichua cultural practice to potential outside observers. With some framing in Spanish, and regular reference to such potential observers (as in Adela's invocation of "kayma pasiamukguna" 'those that are passing through here'), these programs also speak to tourists. They thus serve as sites of exposition for community members' various artistic and cultural projects in Napo for both internal and external audiences, as well as sites in which ratified participants—those who can access the various semiotic codes deployed in them— experience daily, habitual routines in a simultaneously glamorous and nostalgic light.

Why, though, do these programs look so frequently to the past when they imagine possibilities for the future? As explicit sites for revalorization and didactic revitalization, these programs are also oriented towards a future in which children do not "forget" the language and

other practices of their elders. Yet, they are grounded in a frequently nostalgic past, the semiotic

contours of which are sometimes quite different from those of today. Moreover, it is a nostalgic

past that may be very difficult for many to apprehend within their current material conditions.

Wage labor and formal education in the Spanish-language sphere are significant draws on the

time of many Quichua people in Napo. The forests around Tena and Archidona generally do not

contain the large game animals that once sustained the extended families of Upper Napo Quichua

hunters, nor are the shrinking agricultural parcels divided out among subsequent generations able

to go through the long periods of fallowing needed to regenerate them. Many women complain,

then, that their manioc does not grow like it used to. Why, then, focus so much energy on

lifeways that many people can only access intermittently, if at all? Is this a simple case of self-

essentialization for cultural performance? I have argued repeatedly that it is not. Rather, these

programs are immensely creative and hopeful ways in which participants draw upon a diversity

of semiotic signs to create an Upper Napo Quichua *hyperreal* (Biddle and Lea 2018), in which a

collective memory of the past is defined and mobilized for future action, as participants in this

mediated community of practice seek to use media to re-establish indexical connections across

space and time, while also creating new domains of use.[131]

These practices also evidence a strong preference for what I have called *reanimation* of

the past in the present. Elder speakers of Upper Napo Quichua emphasize the ways that they

continue to remember—by not forgetting—the lifeways of their own elders. In many cases, the

seemingly essentialized practices that are being reclaimed in these programs are aesthetic

forms—dress, adornment—or otherwise related to *habitus*—food, drink—which have long been

---

[131] While I have focused here on the ways new domains of use are created for "old" practices, *Mushuk Ñampi* also establishes new broadcast genres for Quichua, such as their popular community sports segment, which focuses on local soccer news. I plan to address these emergent genres, as well as with other programs in Upper Napo Quichua, in my future publications.

297

sites of discrimination and social differentiation between whites and Quichua peoples. They have thus also been forms that many people have increasingly abandoned or minimized in order to better fit within the encroaching settler colonial society that has increasingly come to shape the social and economic structures of Napo since the 1960s. By grounding production of the *wayusa upina* in these iconic signs of Upper Napo Quichua cultural practice, these programs are ways of revalorizing a complex assemblage of semiotic forms. While some might be "inventions"— better thought of as the creative aesthetic activity of contemporary activists and media makers— they are important ways that Upper Napo Quichua people can affirm both the survivance of and emergent vitalities for linguistic and cultural practices even in a very different social world.

How, then, do they make this past come alive in their present? In large part, on *Mushuk Ñampi,* the past comes alive in the present through the layering of different modalities of semiotic practice. With speech, gesture, as well as otherwise material forms of communication, producers and participants in these programs remediate and reanimate the contexts of use and interactional relationships where language as a living code has had meaning. Participants seek to bring these practices to life—even in newly enregistered formulations, such as community tourism or cultural pageantry—as a part of their daily lives, and also to carry them into the future.

Another way, however, in which the past is brought to life in the present is through the ideological erasure or minimization of some forms of social change. The midwives of AMUPAKIN, for instance, recognize that their own labor at the midwifery center and in cultural activism draws them into forms of public labor that might have largely been unimaginable for their mothers and grandmothers. Yet, as they reanimate enregistered selves through participation in various forms of broadcast media, they bring the intimate familial spheres of women's social

interactions into public view. These reanimations, then, also require the ideological suppression of many of the differences that might be found between their contemporary remediations, and the ways they were carried out in the past. It is not that an unchanging past comes to life perfectly in the present. Rather, participants are able to meaningfully trace the indexical connections between their contemporary worlds and practices and those of their elders, knowledge of which is gained both through direct experience in the past, as well as far-ranging oral histories, which remind Upper Napo Quichua speakers of the ways that their strong elders suffered [Qu. *turmindarina*, from Sp. atormentar 'to torture'] to live and transmit their knowledge.

Only future work will be able to reveal the ways that the young people and adults of today might apprehend their own practices as reanimations of the memories of their elders, through the words they left for them. It seems very likely though that their involvement in these didactic spaces and emergent forms of linguistic and cultural vitality will similarly serve to bolster their authority as those that have seen and know the past, which allows them to meaningfully "live" [*kawsana*] the lifeways [*kawsay*] of their elders, even in a changing social and material world.

Finally, how are Mushuk Ñampi's various audiences interpellated into the space-time of the radio broadcast? This question can only be answered by exploring interlinked processes of production and reception among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua. From the ways that radio media are apprehended in Chawpishungu, one answer is to be found in the linguistic codes chosen by speakers on air. When elder listeners like Serafina heard highly standardized codes on other programs, she often commented upon the speaker's "other" variety. In contrast, programs like *Mushuk Ñampi*, which remediated the regional voices of community residents often became dialogic points of departure in Chawpishungu. One morning, when Serafina discussed a narrative

299

on the radio with me, she explained that she had not "sat talking like that with others," gesturing towards the fireside, seemingly projecting herself into a narrative space-time of social interaction. Her children and grandchildren would also often look to her for authoritative confirmation and commentary on the practices and stories they interacted with through various forms of media, including the radio, further extending the reach of narrative events.

Upper Napo Quichua radio media also interpellate their audiences into an experience of sociality which is grounded in intimate familial relationships and extended notions of kinship. Audiences are addressed variously as *aylluguna* '[extended] family members,' as well as *mamaguna* 'mothers,' *yayaguna* 'fathers,' *ñañaguna* 'sisters [of a woman]' or *paniguna* 'sisters [of a man],' and *turiguna* 'brothers [of a woman]' or *wawkiguna* 'brothers [of a man].' Moreover, while this might seem at first to be an extension of the stranger sociality traditionally associated with publics and imagined communities (Warner 2002; Anderson 1983), radio media also amplify and extend face-to-face interactional relationships. Together, the transmission of individualized greetings and messages are one of the most significant and widespread genres of radio-mediated speech in Napo. Listeners comment excitedly when they hear media directed towards themselves or their close intimates, as well as people they know more distantly. While radio media do extend a public kinship to unknown others, careful attention to their production and reception also reveals the ways in which they are embedded in local, real-time face-to-face communicative networks.

These programs, however, also hail publics beyond Upper Napo Quichua speakers, including members of other Indigenous groups, as well as white-mestizos and other foreigners. An important direction for future work will be to examine the ways that the Upper Napo Quichua

mediascape is remediated across platforms—as many programs, for instance, now circulate

digitally on social media—as well as across multilingual Amazonian mediascapes.

By looking closely at the semiotic processes and modalities—discursive, embodied, and

otherwise material—of different forms of Napo Quichua storytelling and verbal artistry, as well

as the ways they are remediated on the radio, I have provided a linguistically and

ethnographically grounded confirmation of what Indigenous activists and allies across different

corners of the globe have already proposed, namely, that community media are an important

method in what must be a multi-faceted approach to addressing contemporary processes of

language shift (Wilson and Stewart 2008; Camp and Portalewska 2013). While no one I

interacted with—except perhaps myself—became a more fluent speaker of Upper Napo Quichua

exclusively by listening to the radio, community radio stations are significant sites of interaction,

transmission, and revitalization in a number of ways. Perhaps one of the most important is the

ways that producers and participants experience these programs as sites where they can be

proud—and are encouraged—to speak Quichua, including regional varieties of Quichua, in

public settings. However, Upper Napo Quichua revitalization media evidence a number of more

specific effects of community media production, which may be helpful for participants in other

language revitalization projects.

7.3 Media and method in language revitalization

Ongoing processes and practices of language revitalization in Ecuador raise difficult

issues regarding language planning in Indigenous and other languages undergoing shift.

Linguistic unification and the development of the written standard of Kichwa Unificado have

been undeniably important for establishing the symbolic legitimacy of Ecuadorian Quichua in

comparison to colonial Spanish, a legitimacy underscored by its formal inclusion in the

Ecuadorian constitution (as *Kichwa*) as an official language of intercultural communication. A

significant ideological shift is still underway in Ecuador, in which speakers increasingly see a

language that they were recently discouraged from speaking elevated to the symbolic level of

Spanish. However, the elevation of one regional code—or at least what is seen as the elevation of

a Highland code—has raised debates over just what is being revitalized in these projects. As Rita

Tunay told me, "in each community we visited we talked [with the residents]. They said, these

days it is written and ordered by the government to study Quichua. However, the order says to

study that language from the highlands (*sierramanda*), what we call Kichwa Unificado."

Despite the diverse and now well-established efforts to correct linguistic shift through

formal education—often seen as the site through which Spanish has been inculcated—ongoing

processes of shift towards Spanish raise difficult questions about the efficacy and effects of these

projects. Indeed, an unacknowledged irony of the use of standard language and formal education

for language revitalization in Ecuador is that these methods continue to separate novice

speakers—children—from the contexts of use and relationships of close intergenerational

transmission through which linguistic and cultural knowledge were once more robustly

transmitted.[132] Unified Kichwa is also often regimented towards the norms of Spanish-language

interactional spaces, layering an explicitly Kichwa-code onto Spanish-language lexical and

grammatical loans. Additionally, widely-held literacy ideologies which emphasize the

transparent relationship between written and oral codes—expressed in statements among my

---

[132] Nevertheless, the right to access formal education is a significant political achievement and ongoing site of activism in Napo, as well as Ecuador more broadly. I do not mean to discount the importance of formal education, nor bilingual programs, for Quichua speakers, but rather to point out ways in which formal education can be supplemented by other forms of linguistic and cultural socialization, facilitated by community media. This suggestion is also tied to the practices of my interlocutors in AMUPAKIN, who dream of someday establishing an immersive educational center for *runa* young people, which focuses on the practices of *ruku kawsay* within the rainforest.

interlocutors such as 'Quichua is pronounced just as it is written'—have produced a situation in which written standardization is often extended to oral standardization. In this view, Unified Kichwa becomes the de-facto standard for written and oral communication, though the ways this standard code is actually deployed by speakers may be quite heterogeneous. Consequently, such forms may sometimes be quite foreign or unintelligible to regional speakers in Napo, lines of differentiation undergirded by the ways they already ideologize dialectal variation and belonging. The complex ways that people relate to and evaluate different varieties can also provoke considerable anxiety in speakers, frequently hindering language use.

Language planners in Ecuador are not unaware of these debates. Luis Montaluisa—one of the main academic and political proponents of linguistic unification—includes radio media as a way in which speakers may be socialized into dialectal differences. In his view, the diffusion of systematic training regarding regional differences could be aided by radios, allowing for the development of "polydialectal" speakers (2018, 209). However, Montaluisa also regularly references the development of "formal" and "informal" varieties of Quichua (2018, 306), suggesting that the standard may continue to be treated as the "formal" prestige form in a case of emergent diglossia. Language standardization is also emerging as a form of linguistic shift in Napo, where some young people are exclusively learning the standardized code. While certainly also a form of linguistic vitality and survivance, such reclamation practices often fit uneasily alongside the ways that many contemporary regional speakers conceive of language as the oral speech left to them by their elders.

The complex assemblages of external and internal linguistic ideologies surrounding Unified and regional varieties are thus one answer to a question that began this dissertation—*why do speakers of minority languages, despite many well-established programs aimed at*

reinvigorating or reawakening heritage languages, continue to shift to dominant, colonial languages, such as Spanish, and English? Text-based approaches to language revitalization focusing on standardization, literacy, and formal education have been some of the predominant methods for language revitalization in Ecuador, as they have been in many other contexts (K. A. King 2001; McCarty 2008; Grenoble and Whaley 2006). Significantly, many language activists see their efforts as circumscribed by an unsupportive state apparatus. Yet, the uneven acceptance of these methodologies also points to their awkward methodological fit among many of the communities they are meant to serve. This is not to say that there is no room for text-based methods in language revitalization, but that other forms of mediation also have the potential to amplify linguistic and cultural practices and respond more effectively to speakers' diverse needs.

Ideological complexity, however, is not the only answer. Although many of the parents and adults I spoke with placed a high value on bilingualism, the language they often explicitly taught to young children was Spanish. Despite ongoing efforts at multiple scales to change the economic and ideological regimes of value in which Quichua is located, Spanish remains a politically, economically, and socially dominant code in many spaces. Addressing linguistic shift towards Spanish, then, is truly not about just the reconstitution or shoring up of a linguistic code, but also reconstituting and revaluing the contexts of use where that code had meaning, as well as creating new contexts and forms of use.

In Napo, radio media production emerges as an important way to support the ongoing transmission of linguistic and cultural forms, in part because the broader Napo mediascape increasingly places Quichua in new regimes of economic and linguistic value. Both top-down and bottom-up efforts seek to make Quichua a language of economic opportunity for elders and young people alike, in which they can speak both to an Upper Napo Quichua public, as well as

304

interested outsiders. While media production is not the only answer, it is an important method to extend and amplify the abilities of existing speakers, as well as to draw participants together into situations where Quichua is the dominant and expected code of interaction.

Community media production has thus become a central, focal site for a broader community of practice to reclaim practices and generate linguistic vitalities. Local and community radio programs and broadcasts integrate speakers of various abilities, establishing mediated communities of practice, and contributing to the formation of various publics, as different listeners are hailed in distinct ways. Some people participate more actively, while others interact on a more limited or passive basis. Radio programs, particularly those like *Mushuk Ñampi*, which focus on the inclusion of local cultural organizations and community members, create significant opportunities for the transmission of knowledge among participants both onstage and behind the scenes, as well as to their various audience members.

In turn, these programs are a significant way to amplify the voices and knowledge of speakers of languages that are undergoing shift. Particularly in contexts like Napo where a relatively large number of fluent speakers are still present, community-produced media also provide various dialogic points of departure for listeners. As I showed in the final chapter, for listeners like Serafina, such points of departure can be grounded in the affective poetics of Napo Quichua musicality, as well as in the familial and personal narratives remediated on the radio. Language revitalization, then, can be as much about amplifying the abilities and reinvigorating the practices of the elderly members of a discursive community (Rouvier 2017; Meek 2010), as it is about producing young and otherwise novice speakers.

Additionally, radio and other forms of media have emerged as particularly important sites to amplify the voices of Upper Napo Quichua women, as elder women's life histories are

frequently remediated and reanimated on the radio. Participation in the Upper Napo Quichua mediascape may also serve as a vehicle for young women to enter into the political sphere. In March of 2019, Rita Tunay, co-host of *Mushuk Ñampi*, was elected Vice-Prefect of Napo, in part facilitated by her widespread popularity and recognizability from her work on the radio. A number of other young women have used their experience in the world of Upper Napo Quichua cultural pageants and media production as a springboard for regional and national political careers. The media that young women like Rita are involved in making show that rather than a public sphere grounded in "public" forms of interaction (e.g. Habermas 1989; Warner 2002; Anderson 1983), the public sphere of Upper Napo Quichua revitalization media is often grounded in the remediation of intimate private sphere interactions into public contexts.

Nevertheless, the introduction of new forms of mediation often, or perhaps always, entails a concomitant shift in associated ideologies of language and media. Much like the ways that Unified Kichwa has remediated hegemonic standard language ideologies at odds with ideologies of regional belonging, media production has sometimes been at odds with significant ideologies of secrecy, value, and authority. In particular, the remediation of oral narratives and other modalities of cultural practice on *Mushuk Ñampi* has entailed a reorganization of ideologies of secrecy around familial knowledge. Where value once hinged upon control of the circulation of knowledge, increasingly, the valorization of Upper Napo Quichua knowledge and cultural practice involves its public circulation. While bringing these stories onto the airwaves places them into new regimes of public value, it can also separate them from the authoritative relationships of familial transmission, leading listeners like Serafina to question their truth. The ways that these contemporary media will shape social imaginaries and collective memories among speakers of Upper Napo Quichua in the future remain to be explored. Nonetheless, such

media also point the way to a more hopeful future, in which language and culture are remembered, rather than forgotten, albeit in new modalities and regimes of value.

Finally, community media have a complicated, but important role to play in the mediation of diversity. Broadcast media are sometimes credited with transmitting a standard register of speech—think, for instance, of the register of the nightly news in the United States. This has been proposed to also be the case for Napo, where Wroblewski (2012) argues that media is dominated by the register of an "intercultural code," which mixes regional and standardized forms of speech. While I also found the use of this register on *Mushuk Ñampi* and other programs, I also found that participatory and community-based media frequently afford the transmission of regional registers and styles of speech. Moreover, the use of the standardized register did not always index a simple acquiescence to the ideologies and goals of standardization, but a complex negotiation of the expectations of different audience members. Simultaneously, through what Bakhtin (1981 [1935], 272) called the centripetal and centrifugal processes of language—forces that push towards and against centralization and unification— emerge the potential affordances of such community media. Even as these programs allow for the emergence of regional forms of speech and the knowledge of community members, they also help to consolidate and regiment a collective memory of the past, though one that is still polyvocal and plural. As such knowledge becomes increasingly mediated in the public sphere, it also shapes the ways that various publics apprehend and imagine both the past, present, and future of the Upper Napo Quichua social world. The interlinked processes of production and reception of Upper Napo Quichua media thus provide an ethnographic confirmation of the complex and complicated role community media may play in mediating linguistic and cultural diversity and vitality.

Appendices

Appendix 1
Guide to orthographic conventions and morpheme glosses

Orthographic practices for Quichua (Kichwa) are complex. In this text, I have adopted some of the norms of Unified Kichwa (including many uses of the use of *k* instead of Spanish-derived orthographic *qu* and *c*, but not for *g* when used by speakers), while also attempting to represent significant regional variations in phonological processes. This approach, at times, produces a somewhat heterogeneous text, which attempts to capture language in use. Some of the significant differences between Unified Kichwa conventions and the orthography utilized in transcriptions are the following:

Form	Unified Kichwa	UNQ practical orthography
Locative	-pi	-i / -bi / -ibi / -pi
Plural	-kuna	-una / -guna / -kuna
Same subject	-shpa	-sha[133]
Near future ('going to')	-kri-	-nga(k) rau-
Second person singular	-nki	-ngui[134]
Agentive	-k	-k [-x]
Durative	-ku-	-u-[135]
Accusative	-ta	- ra / -da / -ta
Purposive	-nkapak	-ngak
		-ngawa
Copula	kana	ana[136]

---

[133] Unified Kichwa uses -*sha* for the first person singular future; this is one of the two future tenses in use in Napo.
[134] I have maintained the common Spanish-derived spelling "-ngui" for a form pronounced [-ŋgi] as it is one of the more common spellings in Napo and avoids confusion about the pronunciation of *g* for Spanish speakers.
[135] Durative -u- is commonly realized as a diphthong, as in [rawni] 'I am doing' or as vowel lengthening [mikuuni] 'I am eating.'
[136] When -*mi* or -*chu* precede the copula, they are often reduced and appended to the beginning of the word; e.g. [mani] 'I am' and [chani] 'I am not.'

Morpheme glosses are based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules, and further adapted from Adelaar

and Muysken (2004) as needed.

Morpheme code	Gloss	Form
1.S	1st person singular subject	-ni
2.S	2nd person singular subject	-ngui [-ŋgi]
3.S	3rd person singular subject	-n
1.PL	1st person plural subject	-nchi
2.PL	2nd person plural subject	-nguichi
3.PL	3rd person plural subject	-nun
ABL	ablative case	-manda
ADV	adverb	-ra / -da / -ta
AC	accusative case	-ra / -da /-ta
AG	agentive nominalizer	-k [-x]
CIS	cislocative (toward subject)	-mu-
COP	copula	a-
CAUS	causative	-chi
CONJ	conjunction	shinakpi
		shinallara
DAT	dative	-ma
D.DOM	distal demonstrative	chi
P.DEM	proximate demonstrative	kay
DL	delimitative case ('just, only')	-lla
DS	different subject (switch reference)	-kpi
DUR	Durative	-u-
		-hu-
EPST	epistemic marker	-mi
		-dá
IMP	imperative	-ychi (plural)
		-y (singular)
LOC	locative	-i
		-ibi
		-bi
		-pi
NOM	nominalizer	-na
		-shka
PA	past	-ka-
PL	plural	-guna
		-una
		-kuna
PRF	perfect	-shka
PURP	purposive	-ngak
		-ngawa

Q	question marker	-chu
SS	same subject	-sha
TOP	topicalizer	-ga
		-ka

Appendix 2
Rukuguna kamachishka shimimanda

Transcript of Serafina Grefa's narrative interview and *kamachina* from *Mushuk Ñampi*'s archive of community recordings.

1	**SG**	Alli punzha nisha kangunara saludani	*I wish you all good day.*
2		Shinallara ñukawak an sesenta y ocho nin ñukawak.	*So, they say that I am sixty-eight years old.*
3	**RT**	Ña.	*Ok.*
4	**SG**	Ari, shinamanda ñuka kangunara rimangaraushkani ñuka mamaguna ñawpa timpu ñukanchira ruku uraspi atachikuna aka.	*That's right, because of that, I am going to tell you all how my mothers, before, in the old days would make us get up.*
5		Las tres punto, las dos atarik anchi.	*We got up at three on the dot, two on the dot.*
6		Atarisha, waysa yanunga mandakpi, waysa yanusha, tuta las tresta upichik anchi.	*We got up, and being sent to prepare guayusa, we made guayusa, and at night, at three, we would serve it.*
7		Upichisha chi manda washa shinallara aswara upichinai shinallara, las cuatro punto ña upichikanchi aswara.	*After we gave it to drink, it was time to serve* aswa*, at four on the dot we served* aswa*.*
8		Shina rasha upichisha, chimanda washa shinallara las seis tukukpi 'nallara kuti shu tapu upina ninuk aka.	*And after we served it, when it was around six a.m., they asked for another cup.*
9		'Na ninukpi, 'nallara punzhayashkai kutillara shuk tapura upichisha ña chagrama tarabangawa llukshik anchi.	*So, when they said that, when it was daybreak, we served another bowl, and then we went off to work in the* chagra *[agroforestry garden].*
10		Ña llukshisha, tarabasha, las deiz oncegama tarabak anchi.	*So, we went, we worked, and we worked until ten or eleven.*
11		Tarabasha chimanda washa shinallara, wasima ña doce tukukpi, lumura pilasha chagramanda, tarabay pasashka washa shamuk anchi.	*We worked, then, home when it was noon, we peeled the manioc from the garden, and after we finished work we would come [back].*

12	Ña shamusha, wasibi lumura yanusha, ñawpa timpu nikpiga mikuna illak aka.	*So, coming back, we cooked the manioc at home. In what's called* ñawpa timpu *'the time before' there wasn't any food.*
13	'Na rakpi, illakpi, may alla akpi, may yuyu akpi, may lisan yuyu garabatu yuyu, pallasha apamusha, uchura takasha karak anchi.	*So, when it was like this, when it was lacking, if there was any wild mushroom, any tender shoot, any palm heart* [lisan yuyu]*, or fern tip* [garabatu yuyu]*, we gathered it and carried it back, and mixing in hot pepper* [uchu]*, we would give it to eat.*
14	Karakpi uchura mikukuna aka tukuy ñuka yayagunas mamagunas tukuy taula risha, shugllai muntunarisha mikuk anchi.	*When we gave it to eat, they would all eat the spicy [dish], all of them, my male elders and my female elders going to the table, piling it all up in just one we would eat.*
15	Pangamanda asha lumura churasha uchura shinallara [lava-] mashti kallanaibi takak anchi.	*We ate manioc from a leaf, but the spicy dish, we mixed up in a shallow earthenware plate* [kallana]*.*
16	Kallanai takasha chiwa mikuk anchi.	*We mashed it on the plate, and we ate that.*
17	Mikukshka washa shinallara aswaras shinallara upichik anchi.	*Then after eating we would also serve* aswa*.*
18	Upichisha, ñawpa timpu rukuguna shinara karakuna aka.	*Giving to drink, in the time before, the elders would give that to eat.*
19	Shina karashkara mikuk ani.	*I am someone who grew up being given that kind of food to eat.*
20	Y...Shinamanda kuna, kuna kay tapai nikpiga kuna mushuk iñak wawaguna, mushuk iñak ushishiuna, churiguna imarangas mana valinun, tuta atarinaras, tuta asa rasha upichinaras, waysa yanunaras, mana upichinun.	*And... From then on, now, now in this time, the newly raised children, the newly raised daughters and sons, no matter what, they don't respect getting up at night, or making* aswa *at night and serving it, or preparing guayusa to serve.*
21	Shina rakpi, ñukaga ñawpamanda upichiushkara mana kungarini kuna punzhagama.	*But to this day I have not forgetting this way of giving to drink from before.*
22	Chi washaga ñukanchi tarabak anchi, shigra awangak, inshinga awangak, shinallara tukuy shigragunara pitara cauchuna, pita turkana, tukuy rasha, cauchusha, tiashami, shigra, ishinga, awak ani.	*After that, we worked, to weave* shigra *bags, to weave* ishinga *nets, and like that, to [make] all of the* shigra*, to twist the* pitak *fiber, to spin* pitak *into thread,*

			doing all of it, twisting, spinning, sitting there, I'm a weaver of shigra, ishinga.
23		Kuna punzhagama mana kungarini shuk chita. Shinarasha tarabasha kawsani.	*To this day I don't forget that. I live doing that work.*
24	**RT**	Serafina ... ciertu?	*Serafina, is it true?*
25	**SG**	Ciertumi. Ari, ciertumi. Ñuka rukik mani chitas	*It is true! Yes, it is true! I have seen it with my own eyes*
26		Shinallara, shuk wasi rasha, karan kuchuwai gaytu nikuna aka ñawpa timpu.	*Just like that, building one house, in each little corner was what they called* gaytu *[bamboo sleeping platform] before.*
27	**RT**	Ña	*Yes?*
28	**SG**	Gaytu nisha rimashka, kaywama shuk gaytu, kaybi nina, kayma shuk gaytu, chiway nina, chima shuk gaytu, karan dueño shinarasha chariushka maka	*What was called* gaytu, *over here a* gaytu *and here a fire, here a* gaytu *and just there a fire, there a* gaytu, *each had their own like that.*[9]
29	**RT**	Ña.	*Yes?*
30	**SG**	Shina rashkara ñuka rikuk mani.	*I have seen that kind of thing with my own eyes.*
31		'Na rasha, chibimi atarishaga tukuy warmiuna atarisha, waysara yanusha, karan kuchura waysa waysa rikuchiushkami.	*So, doing that, in there, getting up, all of the women getting up, preparing guayusa, in each corner [calling] "waysa, waysa" was to be seen*
32	**RT**	Vela illak?	*Without light?*
33	**SG**	Vela illak, vela illak, nina pakiwalla kuyuchisha, kasna rasha waktasha purik manchi.	*Without light, without light, waving around just a little piece broken off of the fire, doing like that, cutting a bit off, we would walk.*
34		'Na rasha tiaushkarami, kunaga luz tiakllara tukuy punzhaklla sirikllara punzhayangama, las seisgama puñunun.	*So that's how it was, but now even though there is light, even though everything is laid out clear as day until the day breaks, they sleep until six!*
35		Shinakpi ñukaga ama chita rikuk nisha kunaga tutara atarisha tiani.	*Being that way, I don't want to see that, and even now I get up when it's dark.*
36		Ñuka ansa uyashkai itian.	*I remember a little of what I heard.*
37		Ñuka papaguna kamachisha kwintakuna aka.	*My male relatives used to counsel and converse.*
38		Tutauna atarishaga, kari wawa ashas, warmi wawa ashas, atarisha mamaunara yanapana anmi nisha, tuta atarisha churi wawaunas mana kungailla puñuk sirikuna.	*Getting up at night, both the boys and the girls, getting up thinking "the mothers must be helped," and the boys too, didn't just lay peacefully sleeping.*
39		Tuta atarisha may pukunawa alliñakpi, illapawa alliñakpi chigunara atarisha	*Getting up at night, when they serviced a blowgun, or a rifle, they would get*

314

	kangunaga, mashti pukunaraga allichisha viritusha, kanguna tiana manguichi nisha, chimi ñawpa rukuguna rikuchisha sakikuna aka.	*them up, saying "now all of you must be here repairing the blow guns and making arrows," there the elders before showed [us] and left [their words].*
40	Chita kanguna mana, shinagunara mana apishami, kanguna killa yachanguichi, killa wawauna tukunguichi.	*All of you, not grasping those things, you are accustomed to idleness, you are becoming lazy children.*
41	Chimanda tuta atarishami chi virutira virutina y illaparas allichina tukuyra allichisha, churasha, punzhayashkawaga ña las cinco tukukpiga rina sachama puringawa.	*Then they got up at night, they got everything ready, made arrows and serviced the rifle and put it together, and then when the dawn was breaking, when it was around 5 a.m., it was time to go for a walk in the forest [hunt].*
42	Purishami, imashiturawaras tupasha, apamusha mamagunara y warmigunara karana chiwakmi kanguna valirina anguichi, [ukulla] puñuk sirikpiga warmigunas sikillai sirikpi imasna rasha mikuna tuparinga nisha rukuguna rimakuna aka.	*They elders used to speak saying, "When you go out walking [hunting], whatever little thing you find, you bring to your mothers, to your women to give, you must value them, but if you just sleep deeply, or women too, just laying on their butts, how will you find food?"*
43	Shina nisha rimakpi ñukanchi uyak anchi.	*We used to hear things like that when they talked.*
44	'Na nisha mana, mana warmiunas sikillai sirisha, [warmiunara siringak apina yachanguichi.]	*Like that, saying "no, women also [shouldn't] lay on their butts, [but you all are accustomed to choosing women to lay with."]*
45	Kangunaga tukuywak paktana asha, apina tukun mana charakllara apisha kanguna mana riparanguichi, warmiuna imara mikungaraunun nisha.	*Saying, "[You all should arrive with all of this, so you end up catching [meat], when you still haven't caught you aren't aware,] what will the women eat?"*
46	Ñawpa timpu mana kay llakta mikuna mana tiak aka.	*In the time before, there wasn't this city food.*
47	Shinakpi sacha mikunawa ñukanchi iñak anchi.	*Like that, we grew up with food from the forest.*
48	Sacha mikunara maskasha karakuna aka.	*They used to go looking and give us forest food to eat.*
49	Yakuma risha, may chiktishkana, may yakura [xxx-una] ambina, chigunara maskay rishami karakuna aka.	*They went to the river, they made temporary dams, and used [barbasco] [to stun the fish], so going out with these things to look, they used to give us [this] to eat.*
50	Ñukanchi chiwa mikusha iñak manchi.	*We grew up eating those things.*
51	Mana yanga yanga shina ashami ñuka kuna timpu nikpiga llakta mikunara, atalba mikuna	*It's not for just any reason that now, city food, chicken, eggs from town, or*

		llakta llullun mikuna may mashti ñukallaramanda guayaquil pescado ninun, chitas, mana tan ushani mikunara.	*what they call Guayaquil fish, all of those, I can't really eat.*
52		Shinallara wagra aychara mana ushani mikunara.	*Like that, I can't eat beef.*
53		Shina ashami ñuka mana munani.	*So, I don't want [to eat that].*
54		'Namanda mana munasha ñuka sacha mikunallawa tiak wawa ashami, ñuka kuna tiempu mikunara rikuchinukpi, ansa killara mikuni	*I don't want [it] because I grew up only with forest food, and so when they show me food from today, I eat without enthusiasm.*
55	**RT**	Ña Serafina, Serafina kanda ñawpa timpu mana cazukpi uchura churakunacha akai?	*Ok Serafina, Serafina before when you didn't pay attention, did they use to apply* uchu t*o you?*
56	**SG**	Churakuna maka ñuka shunguyangagama churay tukuk mani ñukaga.	*They certainly would apply [it on me] until I matured, I am one who got disciplined with hot pepper.*
57		Mana yanga shina ashami ñuka mamauna kamachisha churashkaunara ñuka churay tukusha kawsak mani.	*Since it is not without purpose, my mothers' counseling with the hot pepper, I live as one who got disciplined with* uchu.
58		Shina asha ñuka wawagunaras shinallara uchu churasha nishkaunami ñuka churiguna, tukuy churigunara uchu churasha, kamachisha may warmiunara apisha, llakis charinapuramanda mana makasha charinapuramanda.	*Like that, my children too also need to be disciplined with* uchu. *[I] apply* uchu *to all my sons, counseling them, when they take a wife, about keeping [her] with love, about keeping [her] without violence.*
59		'Na rasha kunaga uchu churana nishkawa, niy [pullulla angami], niy mana rikungachu, [killkariy] kuna mana ushanungachu, kanguna yangami, kanguna uchura churasha [ninguichi] nisha rimanun.	*Doing that, now with what is called the application of* uchu, *they speak saying "say '[???],' say '[it won't be seen],' [write] 'now they cannot [apply* uchu*],' all of you for no reason want to apply the* uchu.*"*
60		'Nakpi kuna timpu uyakpiga uchu mana churasha iñachishka wawaguna, imas mana churasha iñachishka wawaguna mana kamachina iñachikpi paygunaga shuwanapuramanda imaras apinapuramanda, apisha mikusha kawsanun.	*So, these days it is known that children who have been raised without the application of uchu, who have been raised without any kind of treatment, when they aren't counseled, they subsist by taking, from theft among themselves, from taking anything among themselves.*
61		Shinamandami ñukaga piñasha, kamachisha, uchura churak ani,	*Because of that I get angry, and counsel with the application of* uchu.
62		ña churakpi "ñukallamandaga ñuka iñashka punzhamanda, ñuka kariyuk tukushka	*When the* uchu *is applied, I have spoken like this: "From myself, from the day I*

316

punzhamanda, ñuka mama [iñachishka punzhamanda, ñuka mana piwak chagramanda, mana [xxx lumuwallas, mana [xxx] guiñuwallas, mana [xxx] palandawallas apamusha ñuka mana mikusha [kachani.] Ñuka munasha randina munashaga, kumariuna akpi, y kachunguna akpi, "katuway cumari, kamba lumuwara, y kamba guiñuwara, kamba palandawara katuway' chita rimashkani ñuka, chillami ñuka culpara charini, yaya diospa akpis, awais paktasha" shinallarami kwintasha nisha ñuka rimakani.	*grew up, from the day I took a husband, from the day my mother raised me, I have not taken from anyone's garden, not taking just a little manioc, or just a little banana, or just a little plantain, [I command] not to eat. If I want [them], I want to buy [them], whether she's a comadre or a daughter-in-law, [I say], 'sell to me, comadre, sell me your little manioc, your little banana, your little plantain,' that is what I have said, that is the only sin I have, when I arrive in heaven in the Lord's house."*

63	Ñuka payguna uyanuchun nisha rimangarauni.	*I am going to speak because I want them to listen.*
64	'Nakpi kuna ñukanchi ñawpa rukuguna kamachishka shimira ñuka kuna uyashka tupuwara kangunara ringrichini.	*So now I will make you hear a little measure of what was heard of the words of counsel of our elders before.'*
65	tukuy churiguna, tukuy wawaguna uyashkai rimauni.	*I am speaking when all the sons, all the children are listening.*
66	'Nakpi shinallara ima tunu ama chi llaki, ama chi turmindura tupanuchun nishami kayta rimani.	*I say this because I don't want them to encounter hardship or sadness of any kind.*
67	Shinallara kanguna uyak ringri asha uyak umayuk asha, uyasha kawsanunga.	*Like this, all of you as ones with ears that listen, as ones that pay heed, they will live listening.*
68	Ñuka mamagunas shina nishami kamachikuna aka.	*My female relatives also would give advice speaking like this.*
69	Payguna ima tunumandas [kanguna itiashka tupura] may wawagunara kamachikpi uyak wawa ashaga, uyasha kawsanunga nisha rimashkarami, ñuka ansa ansa uyashkara kuna kangunara kanguna tukuy uyaushkai ansawara rimani.	*For [what you all consider] whatever reason, wherever they counseled their children, they said, "being a child that listens and pays heed, listening they will live" and this speech, just a little of what I heard, with all of you listening, I now speak a little.*
70	Chilla mashka ñukawak	*Just that is what I have had to say.*

Bibliography

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 2004. *Dramas of Nationhood*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 2013. "Quechua I y Quechua II: En defensa de una distinción establecida." *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Antropológica* 5 (1): 45–65.

Adelaar, Willem F. H., and Pieter Muysken. 2004. *The Languages of the Andes*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Agha, Asif. 2005. "Voice, Footing, Enregisterment." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15 (1): 38–59.

———. 2007a. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2007b. "Recombinant Selves in Mass Mediated Spacetime." *Language & Communication*, Temporalities in Text, 27 (3): 320–35.

———. 2011. "Commodity Registers." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21 (1): 22–53.

Alfred, Taiaiake, and Jeff Corntassel. 2005. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism." *Government and Opposition* 40 (4): 597–614.

Allen, Catherine J. 2011. *Foxboy: Intimacy and Aesthetics in Andean Stories*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Alvarado, Carlos. 1994. *Historia de una cultura a la que quiere matar*. Quito: Editorial Quipus.

AMUPAKIN. 2017. *Ñukanchi sacha kawsaywa aylluchishkamanda/Relaciones con nuestra selva/Relating to our forest*. Edited by Georgia Ennis. Quito, Ecuador: Ministerio de Cultura y Patrimonio.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andi Aguinda, Bartolo Bolívar. 2012. *Desviaciones de la norma estándar en el habla kichwa de las comunidades indígenas del cantón Tena*. Cuenca, Ecuador: Universidad de Cuenca.

Andronis, Mary Antonia. 2004. "Iconization, Fractal Recursivity, and Erasure: Linguistic Ideologies and Standardization in Quichua-Speaking Ecuador." *Texas Linguistic Forum* 47: 263–69.

Aschmann, Richard. 2011. "Ecuadorpi Rimaj Quichua Shimicunami/Idiomas Quichuas Hablados En Ecuador." https://quichua.net/Q/Ec/.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981 [1935]. "Discourse in the Novel." In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 259–75. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1981 [1938]. "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel." In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, 84–279. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ball, Christopher. 2014. "On Dicentization." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 24 (2): 151–73.

Barker, Meghanne. 2017. "Framing the Fantastic: Animating Childhood in Contemporary Kazakhstan."

———. 2019. "Dancing Dolls: Animating Childhood in a Contemporary Kazakhstani Institution." *Anthropological Quarterly* in press.

Basso, Keith H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bauman, R, and Charles L. Briggs. 1990. "Poetics And Performance As Critical Perspectives On Language And Social Life." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1): 59–88.

Bauman, Richard., and Charles L. Briggs. 2003. *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Becker, Marc. 2010. *Pachakutik Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Critical Currents in Latin American Perspectives. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Becker, Marc, and Silvia. Tutillo. 2009. *Historia Agraria y Social de Cayambe*. Quito, Ecuador: FLASCO Ecuador.

Bermúdez, Patricia, and Michael Uzendoski. 2018. "Kukama Runa: Polyphonic Aesthetics in Cine Comunitario Among the Napo Runa of Amazonian Ecuador." *Anthropology and Humanism* 43 (1): 74–89.

Biddle, Jennifer L., and Tess Lea. 2018. "Hyperrealism and Other Indigenous Forms of 'Faking It with the Truth.'" *Visual Anthropology Review* 34 (1): 5–14.

Boas, Franz. 1889. "On Alternating Sounds." *American Anthropologist* 2 (1): 47–54.

Bolter, J. David, 1951-. 2001. *Writing Space : Computers, Hypertext, and the Remediation of Print / Jay David Bolter*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bolter, J. David, and Richard. Grusin. 1999. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Translated by John B. Thompson. Ce Que Parler Veut Dire.English. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Boym, Svetlana. 2007. "Nostalgia and Its Discontents." *The Hedgehog Review* 9 (2): 7–18.

Briggs, Charles L. 1988. *Competence in Performance: The Creativity of Tradition in Mexicano Verbal Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Brown, Michael F. 2007. *Tsewa's Gift Magic and Meaning in an Amazonian Society*. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press.

Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall. 2005. "Identity and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach." *Discourse Studies* 7 (4–5): 585–614.

Camp, Mark, and Agnes Portalewska. 2013. "The Electronic Drum: Community Radio's Role in Reversing Indigenous Language Decline." *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, March 2013.

Carpenter, Lawrence K. 1982. "Ecuadorian Quichua: Descriptive Sketch and Variation." Thesis, University of Florida.

Choksi, Nishaant. 2018. "Script as Constellation among Munda Speakers: The Case of Santali." *South Asian History and Culture* 9 (1): 92–115.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Climo, Jacob, and Maria Cattell. 2002. *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Rowman Altamira.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Coronel-Molina, Serafín M., editor., and T. L. McCarty editor. 2016. *Indigenous Language Revitalization in the Americas*. New York: Routledge.

Coronel-Molina, Serafín M., and Megan Solon. 2011. "Bilingual Education in Latin America." In *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*, edited by Manuel Díaz-Campos, 686–703. Wiley-Blackwell.

Corr, Rachel. 2010. *Ritual and Remembrance in the Ecuadorian Andes*. First Peoples. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Coulthard, Glen Sean. 2014. *Indigenous Americas: Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Crowley, Tony. 1997. "Uniform, Excellent, Common: Reflections on Standards in Language." *Language Sciences* 19: 15–21.

Davis, Jenny L. 2017. "Resisting Rhetorics of Language Endangerment: Reclamation through Indigenous Language Survivance." Edited by Wesley Leonard and Haley De Korne. *Language Documentation and Description* 14: 37–58.

———. 2018. *Talking Indian: Identity and Language Revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance*. University of Arizona Press.

De Korne, Haley, and Wesley Leonard. 2017. "Reclaiming Languages: Contesting and Decolonising 'Language Endangerment' from the Ground Up." Edited by Wesley Leonard and Haley De Korne. *Language Documentation and Description* 14: 5–14.

Debenport, Erin. 2015. *Fixing the Books: Secrecy, Literacy, and Perfectibility in Indigenous New Mexico*. SAR Press.

———. 2017. "Perfecting Publics: Future Audiences and the Aesthetics of Refinement." In *Engaging Native American Publics: Linguistic Anthropology in a Collaborative Key*, edited by Paul V. Kroskrity and Barbra A. Meek, 130–45. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Descola, Philippe. 2014. "Modes of Being and Forms of Predication." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (1): 271–80.

Dick, Hilary Parsons. 2010. "Imagined Lives and Modernist Chronotopes in Mexican Nonmigrant Discourse." *American Ethnologist* 37 (2): 275–90.

Dorian, Nancy. 1977. "The Problem of the Semi-Speaker in Language Death." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1977 (12).

Durston, Alan, and Bruce Mannheim, eds. 2018. *Indigenous Languages, Politics, and Authority in Latin America : Historical and Ethnographic Perspectives*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Eckert, Penelope, and Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1992. "Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community- Based Practice." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 461–90.

Eisenlohr, Patrick. 2015. "Mediating Disjunctures of Time: Ancestral Chronotopes in Ritual and Media Practices." *Anthropological Quarterly; Washington* 88 (2): 281–304.

Emlen, Nicholas Q., and Willem F. H. Adelaar. 2017. "Proto-Quechua and Proto-Aymara Agropastoral Terms." In *Language Dispersal Beyond Farming*, edited by Martine Robbeets and Alexander Savelyev, 25–45. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Ennis, Georgia. 2019. "Multimodal Chronotopes: Embodying Ancestral Time on Quichua Morning Radio." *Signs and Society* 7 (1): 6–36.

Erazo, Juliet S. 2013. *Governing Indigenous Territories: Enacting Sovereignty in the Ecuadorian Amazon*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Errington, Joseph. 1998. "Indonesian('s) Development: On the State of a Language of State." In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, edited by Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity. New York: Oxford University Press.

Faller, Martina. 2004. "The Deictic Core of 'Non-Experienced Past' in Cuzco Quechua." *Journal of Semantics* 21 (1): 45–85.

Faudree, Paja. 2013. *Singing for the Dead: The Politics of Indigenous Revival in Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Fausto, Carlos., and Michael. Heckenberger. 2007. *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Fisher, Daniel. 2016. *The Voice and Its Doubles Media and Music in Northern Australia*. Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 2019. "To Sing with Another's Voice." *American Ethnologist* 46 (1): 34–46.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Fitzgerald, Colleen M. 2017. "Understanding Language Vitality and Reclamation as Resilience: A Framework for Language Endangerment and 'loss' (Commentary on Mufwene)." *Language* 93 (4): e280–97.

Flores, Nelson, and Jonathan Rosa. 2015. "Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education." *Harvard Educational Review; Cambridge* 85 (2): 149-171,300-301.

Floyd, Simeon. 2008. "The Pirate Media Economy and the Emergence of Quichua Language Media Spaces in Ecuador." *Anthropology of Work Review* 29 (2): 34–41.

Foletti-Castegnaro, Alessandra. 1985. *Tradición oral de los quichuas amazónicos del Aguarico y San Miguel: Jatun Comuna Runa*. Quito, Ecuador: Abya-Yala.

Frawley, William, Kenneth C. Hill, and Pamela. Munro. 2002. *Making Dictionaries : Preserving Indigenous Languages of the Americas*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

French, Brigittine M. 2003. "The Politics of Mayan Linguistics in Guatemala: Native Speakers, Expert Analysts, and the Nation." *Pragmatics* 13 (4): 483–98.

———. 2010. *Maya Ethnolinguistic Identity Violence, Cultural Rights, and Modernity in Highland Guatemala*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 2012. "The Semiotics of Collective Memories." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 337–53.

Gal, Susan. 1979. *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*. Language, Thought, and Culture. New York: Academic Press.

———. 2018. "Registers in Circulation: The Social Organization of Interdiscursivity." *Signs and Society* 6 (1): 1–24.

Gal, Susan, and Kathryn A. Woolard, eds. 2001. *Languages and Publics: The Making of Authority*. St Jerome Publishing.

Garrett, Paul B. 2005. "What a Language Is Good for: Language Socialization, Language Shift, and the Persistence of Code-Specific Genres in St. Lucia." *Language in Society* 34 (3): 327–61.

———. 2007. "'Say It like You See It': Radio Broadcasting and the Mass Mediation of Creole Nationhood in St. Lucia." *Identities* 14 (1–2): 135–60.

Gershon, Ilana. 2010. "Media Ideologies: An Introduction: Media Ideologies: An Introduction." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20 (2): 283–93.

———. 2015. "What Do We Talk about When We Talk About Animation." *Social Media + Society* 1 (1).

Ginsburg, Faye. 1997. "From Little Things, Big Things Grow: Indigenous Media and Cultural Activism." In *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest*, edited by Richard Fox and Orin Start, 118–44. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Ginsburg, Faye, Lila. Abu-Lughod, and Brian. Larkin. 2002. *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

———. 1974. *Frame Analysis : An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row.

———. 1981a. "Footing." In *Forms of Talk*, 124–59. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1981b. "Replies and Responses." In *Forms of Talk*, 5–77. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Google. 2019. "Provincia de Napo, Ecuador."

Gow, Peter. 2001. *An Amazonian Myth and Its History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Graham, Laura R. 2002. "How Should an Indian Speak? Amazonian Indians and the Symbolic Politics of Langauge in the Global Public Sphere." In *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*, edited by Kay B. Warren and Jean Jackson, 181–228. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Grenoble, Lenore A., and Lindsay J. Whaley. 1998. *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grzech, Karolina. 2016a. "Discourse Enclitics in Tena Kichwa: A Corpus-Based Account of Information Structure and Epistemic Meaning."

———. 2016b. "The Non-Evidential Meaning of the Tena Kichwa 'Direct Evidential,'" June.

———. 2017. "¿Es necesario elegir entre la estandarización de las lenguas minoritarias y la vitalidad de sus variedades? Estudio de caso del kichwa de Alto Napo." *Onomázein Revista de Lingüística Filología y Traducción*, no. amerindias: 16–34.

Grzech, Karolina, Anne Schwarz, and Georgia Ennis. 2019. "Divided We Stand, Unified We Fall? The Impact of Standardisation on Oral Language Varieties: A Case Study of Amazonian Kichwa." *Revista de Llengua i Dret* forthcoming.

Gumperz, John. 1968. "The Speech Community." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.*, edited by David L. Sills, 9:381–86. New York: Macmillan.

Gumperz, John J. 1989. "Conversational Code-Switching." In *Discourse Strategies*, 59–99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Haboud, Marleen, and Nicholas Limerick. 2017. "Language Policy and Education in the Andes." In *Language Policy and Political Issues in Education*, 435–47. Encyclopedia of Language and Education. Springer, Cham.

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1980 [1950]. *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper & Row.

———. 1992 [1925]. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hale, Ken. 1998. "On Endangered Languages and the Importance of Linguistic Diversity." In *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*, edited by Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley, 192–216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, Regina. 1989. *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes: Translating Quechua Language and Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hartikainen, Elina I. 2017. "Chronotopic Realignments and the Shifting Semiotics and Politics of Visibility in Brazilian Candomblé Activism." *Signs and Society* 5 (2): 356–89.

Haugen, Einar. 1953. *The Norwegian Language in America; a Study in Bilingual Behavior*. Philadelphia,: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1966. "Dialect, Language, Nation." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 68 (4): 922–35.

———. 1972. *The Ecology of Language*. Stanford University Press.

Heggarty, Paul, and David Beresford-Jones. 2010. "Agriculture and Language Dispersals: Limitations, Refinements, and an Andean Exception?" *Current Anthropology* 51 (2): 163–91.

Hill, Jane H. 2002. "'Expert Rhetorics' in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who Is Listening, and What Do They Hear?" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12 (2): 119–33.

Hill, Jane H., and Kenneth C. Hill. 1986. *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of a Syncretic Language in Central Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hill, Jonathan D. 1988. *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Hinton, Leanne. 1997. "Survival of Endangered Languages: The California Master-Apprentice Program." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 123 (1): 177–191.

Hinton, Leanne, and Ken Hale, eds. 2001. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Hinton, Leanne, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche. 2018. *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*. New York: Routledge.

Hinton, Leanne, and Barbra A. Meek. 2018. "Language Revitalization in Indigenous North America." In *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, edited by Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, 375–83. New York: Routledge Handbooks Online.

Hirschkind, Charles. 2006. *The Ethical Soundscape: (Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics)*. Cultures of History. New York: Columbia University Press.

Holmes, Janet, and Miriam Meyerhoff. 1999. "The Community of Practice: Theories and Methodologies in Language and Gender Research." *Language in Society* 28 (2): 173–83.

Hornberger, Nancy, and Serafín M. Coronel-Molina. 2004. "Quechua Language Shift, Maintenance, and Revitalization in the Andes: The Case for Language Planning." *Journal of the Sociology of Language* 167: 9–67.

Hornberger, Nancy, and Kendall A. King. 1996. "Language Revitilisation in the Andes: Can Schools Reverse Language Shift?" *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 17 (6): 427–41.

———. 1998. "Authenticity and Unification in Quechua Language Planning." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 11 (3): 390–410.

Hornborg, Alf. 2005. "Ethnogenesis, Regional Integration, and Ecology in Prehistoric Amazonia: Toward a System Perspective." *Current Anthropology* 46 (4): 589–620.

Howard, Rosaleen. 2007. *Por Los Linderos de La Lengua*. Lima: Institut français d'études andines.

Howard, Rosaleen. 2012. "Shifting Voices, Shifting Worlds: Evidentiality, Epistemic Modality and Speaker Perspective in Quechua Oral Narrative." *Pragmatics and Society* 3 (2): 243–69.

Howard-Malverde, Rosaleen. 1989. "Storytelling Strategies in Quechua Narrative Performance." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 15 (1): 3–71.

Huarcaya, Sergio Miguel. 2018. "Land Reform, Historical Consciousness and Indigenous Activism in Late Twentieth-Century Ecuador." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 50 (2): 411–40.

Hudelson, John Edwin. 1981. "The Expansion and Development of Quichua Transitional Culture in the Upper Amazon Basin." Columbia University.

Hymes, Dell H. 1968. "Linguistic Problems in Defining the Concept of 'Tribe.'" In *Essays on the Problem of Tribe: Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, edited by June Helm, 23–48. Seattle: The Society : Distributed by University of Washington Press.

———. 1981. *"In Vain I Tried to Tell You": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ingebretson, Britta. 2017. "The Tuhao and the Bureaucrat: The Qualia of 'Quality' in Rural China." *Signs and Society* 5 (2): 243–68.

Inoue, Miyako. 2004. "What Does Language Remember?: Indexical Inversion and the Naturalized History of Japanese Women." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 14 (1): 39–56.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos. n.d. "Resultados Del Censo 2010 de Población y Vivienda En El Ecuador." http://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/wp-content/descargas/Manu-lateral/Resultados-provinciales/napo.pdf.

Irvine, Judith. 1989. "When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy." *American Ethnologist* 16 (2): 248–67.

———. 1990. "Registering Affect: Heteroglossia in the Linguistic Expression of Emotion." In *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, 126–61. New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1996. "Shadow Conversations: The Indeterminancy of Participant Roles." In *Natural Histories of Discourse*, edited by Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2006. "Speech and Language Community." In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, edited by Keith Brown, 2nd ed., 689–98. Oxford: Elsevier.

Irvine, Judith, and Susan Gal. 2000. "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation." In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, edited by Paul V. Kroskrity, 35–83. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research.

Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999a. *Ideologies in Action: Language Politics on Corsica*. Berlin: New York : Mouton de Gruyter.

———. 1999b. "Locating Power: Corsican Translators and Their Critics." In *Language Ideological Debates*, 39–66. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Jakobson, Roman. 1961. "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics." In *Style in Language*, edited by Thomas Sebeok, 350–77. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press.

Jarrett, Christopher. 2019. "The Social Life of Guayusa from Amazonian Ecuador: An Examination of Livelihoods, Landscapes, and Politics." San Antonio: University of Texas.

Johnson, Sally A. 2005. *Spelling Trouble?: Language, Ideology and the Reform of German Orthography*. Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters.

Keane, Webb. 2005. "Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things." In *Materiality*, edited by Daniel Miller. Durham: Duke University Press.

King, Jeanette. 2001. "Te Kohanga Reo: Maori Language Revitalization." *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, 119–31.

King, Kendall A. 2001. *Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kohlberger, Martin. 2010. "Cotopaxi Quichua: A Phonological Description and an Analysis of Stops and Affricates in Central Highland Ecuadorian Quichua."

Kohn, Eduardo. 2002. "Infidels, Virgins, and the Black-Robed Priest: A Backwoods History of Ecuador's Montana Region." *Ethnohistory* 49 (3): 545–82.

———. 2007. "Animal Masters and the Ecological Embedding of History among the Ávila Runa of Ecuador." In *Time and Memory in Indigenous Amazonia: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Carlos. Fausto and Michael. Heckenberger. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

———. 2013. *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*. 1 edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Krauss, Michael. 2007. "Classification and Terminology for Degrees of Language Endangerment." In *Language Diversity Endangered: Language Diversity Endangered*, edited by Matthias Brenzinger, 1–8. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter.

Kroskrity, Paul V. 1993. *Language, History, and Identity: Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 2000. *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

———. 2007. "Language Ideologies." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, 496–517. Wiley-Blackwell.

———. 2011. "Facing the Rhetoric of Language Endangerment: Voicing the Consequences of Linguistic Racism." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21 (2): 179–92.

———. 2018. "On Recognizing Persistence in the Indigenous Language Ideologies of Multilingualism in Two Native American Communities." *Language & Communication*, Indigenous multilingualisms, 62 (September): 133–44.

Kroskrity, Paul V., and Margaret C. Field. 2009. *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Kulick, Don. 1992. *Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction: Socialization, Self, and Syncretism in a Papua New Guinean Village*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

LaPoe, Victoria L, and Benjamin Rex LaPoe. 2017. *Indian Country*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Lemon, Alaina. 2009. "Sympathy for the Weary State?: Cold War Chronotopes and Moscow Others." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 (4): 832–64.

Lempert, Michael, and Sabina Perrino. 2007. "Entextualization and the Ends of Temporality." *Language & Communication*, Temporalities in Text, 27 (3): 205–11.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Limerick, Nicholas. 2017. "Kichwa or Quichua? Competing Alphabets, Political Histories, and Complicated Reading in Indigenous Languages." *Comparative Education Review* 62 (1): 103–24.

Lucy, John Arthur. 1993. *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Luykx, Aurolyn. 2001. "Across the Andean Airwaves: Satellite Radio Broadcasting in Quechua." In *Endangered Languages and the Media: Proceedings of the Fifth Foundation for Endangered Languages Conference, Agadir, Morocco 20 - 23 September 2001*, edited by Christoper Moseley, Nicholas Ostler, and Hassan Ouzzate, 115–19. Bath: FEL.

Macdonald, Theodore. 1979. "Processes of Change in Amazonian Ecuador: Quijos Quichua Indians Become Cattlemen." Ph.D., United States -- Illinois: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

———. 1999. *Ethnicity and Culture Amidst New "Neighbors": The Runa of Ecuador's Amazon Region*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Mannheim, Bruce. 1986. "Popular Song and Popular Grammar, Poetry and Metalanguage." *Word* 37 (1–2): 45–74.

———. 1991. *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1998a. "A Nation Surrounded." In *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 2nd through 4th October 1992*, edited by Elizabeth Hill. Boone and Tom. Cummins, 383–420. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

———. 1998b. ""Time, Not the Syllables, Must Be Counted": Quechua Parallelism, Word Meaning, and Cultural Analysis." *Michigan Discussions in Anthropology* 13 (1): 238–81.

———. 1999. "Hacia Una Mitografía Andina." In *Tradición Oral Andina y Amazónica: Métodos de Análisis e Interpretación de Textos*, edited by Juan Carlos. Godenzzi, 57–96. Cuzco, Perú; Cochabamba, Bolivia: CBC, Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de Las Casas" : PROEIB-ANDES, Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos.

———. 2015. "The Social Imaginary, Unspoken in Verbal Art." In *The Routledge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Nancy Bonvillain, 44–61. Routledge.

———. 2017. "Three Axes of Variability in Quechua: Regional Diversification, Contact with Other Indigenous Languages, and Social Enregisterment." In *The Andean World*, edited by Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen Fine-Dare. Milton Park: Routledge.

———. 2018a. "Ontological Foundations for Inka Archaeology." In *Andean Ontologies: New Perspectives from Archaeology, Ethnohistory and Bioarchaeology*, edited by María Cecilia Lozada and Tantaleán Henry, Ch. 9 [in press]. Gainesville: University of Florida press.

———. 2018b. "Preliminary Disciplines." *Signs and Society* 6 (1): 111–19.

Mannheim, Bruce, and Krista Van Vleet. 1998. "The Dialogics of Southern Quechua Narrative." *American Anthropologist* 100: 326–46.

Manning, Paul, and Ilana Gershon. 2013. "Animating Interaction." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (3): 107–37.

Marcus, George E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (January): 95–117.

McCarty, Teresa. 2008. "Language Education Planning and Policies by and for Indigenous Peoples." *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* 1: 150.

Meek, Barbra. 2010. *We Are Our Language*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 2017. "Native American Languages and Linguistic Anthropology: From the Legacy of Salvage Anthropology to the Promise of Linguistic Self-Determination." In *Engaging*

Native American Publics: Linguistic Anthropology in a Collaborative Key, edited by Paul Kroskrity and Barbra Meek, 3–24. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Meek, Barbra, and Jacqueline Messing. 2007. "Framing Indigenous Languages as Secondary to Matrix Languages." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 38 (2): 99–118.

Messing, Jacqueline. 2016. "Language Acquisition, Shift, and Revitalization Processes in Latin America and the Caribbean." In *Indigenous Language Revitalization in the Americas*, edited by Serafín Coronel-Molina and Teresa McCarty, 76–96. New York: Routledge.

Mezzenzana, Francesca. 2017. "Difference Revised: Gender and Transformation among the Amazonian Runa." *Ethnos* 83 (5): 1–20.

———. 2018a. "Moving Alike: Movement and Human–Nonhuman Relationships among the Runa (Ecuadorian Amazon)." *Social Anthropology* 26 (2): 238–52.

———. 2018b. "Encountering Supai: An Ecology of Spiritual Perception in the Ecuadorian Amazon." *Ethos* 46 (2): 275–95.

Milroy, James. 2001. "Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5 (4): 530–55.

Milroy, Lesley. 2000. "Britain and the United States: Two Nations Divided by the Same Language (and Different Language Ideologies)." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10 (1): 56–89.

Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador. 2009. *RUNAKAY KAMUKUNA: Yachakukkunapa Shimiyuk Kamu*.

———. 2010a. *Kichwata Yachamanta Grámatica Pedagógica*. Quito.

———. 2010b. *Manual de Metodología de Enseñanza de Lenguas*. Quito.

———. 2013. *Modelo Del Sistema de Eduación Intercultural Bilingüe*.

Moll, Yasmin. 2018. "Television Is Not Radio: Theologies of Mediation in the Egyptian Islamic Revival." *Cultural Anthropology* 33 (2): 233–65.

Montaluisa, Luis. 2018. "La estandarización ortográfica del quichua ecuatoriano: consideraciones históricas, dialectológicas y sociolingüísticas." San Miguel: Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú.

Moore, Robert. 2016. "Rebranding Belfast: Chromatopes of (Post-)Conflict." *Signs and Society* 4 (S1): S138–62.

Moseley, Christoper. 2010. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*. 3rd ed. Paris: UNESCO Publishing. Online version: http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2017. "Language Vitality: The Weak Theoretical Underpinnings of What Can Be an Exciting Research Area." *Language* 93 (4): e202–23.

Mühlhausler, Peter. 2002. "Why One Cannot Preserve Languages (but Can Preserve Language Ecologies)." In *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance: An Active Approach*, edited by David Bradley and Maya Bradley, 34–39. London: Routledge.

Muratorio, Blanca. 1991. *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso, Culture and History in the Upper Amazon*. Rucuyaya Alonso y La Historia Social y Económica Del Alto Napo, 1850-1950. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

———. 1995. "Amazonian Windows to the Past: Recovering Women's Histories of the Ecuadorean Amazon." In *Articulating Hidden Histories: Exploring the Influence of Eric R. Wolf*, edited by Rayna Rapp and Jane Schneider, 322–35. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1998. "Indigenous Women's Identities and the Politics of Cultural Reproduction in the Ecuadorian Amazon." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 100 (2): 409–20.

Muysken, Pieter. 2000. "Semantic Transparency in Lowland Ecuadorian Quechua Morphosyntax." *Linguistics* 38 (5): 973.

———. 2011. "Change, Contact, and Ethnogenesis in Northern Quechua." In *Ethnicity in Ancient Amazonia*, edited by Alf Hornborg and Jonathan D. Hill, 237–56. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Nettle, Daniel, and Suzanne Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nevins, M. Eleanor. 2004. "Learning to Listen: Confronting Two Meanings of Language Loss in the Contemporary White Mountain Apache Speech Community." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 14 (2): 269–88.

Nevins, M. Eleanor. 2013. *Lessons from Fort Apache beyond Language Endangerment and Maintenance*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26: 7–24.

Nozawa, Shunsuke. 2013. "Characterization." *Semiotic Review* 3 (November).

———. 2016. "Ensoulment and Effacement in Japanese Voice Acting." In *Media Convergence in Japan*, edited by Patrick W. Galbraith, 169–99. Kinema Club.

Nuckolls, Janis. 1996. *Sounds like Life: Sound-Symbolic Grammar, Performance, and Cognition in Pastaza Quechua*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2003. "Immortality and Incest in a Quechua Myth." *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* 19 (2): 131–51.

———. 2008. "Deictic Selves and Others in Pastaza Quichua Evidential Usage." *Anthropological Linguistics* 50 (1): 67–89.

———. 2010a. *Lessons from a Quechua Strongwoman: Ideophony, Dialogue, and Perspective*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 2010b. "The Sound-Symbolic Expression of Animacy in Amazonian Ecuador." *Diversity* 2 (3): 353–69.

Nuckolls, Janis, and Tod Swanson. n.d. "Pastaza and Upper Napo Quichua Grammar and Conversation."

———. 2014. "Earthy Concreteness and Anti-Hypotheticalism in Amazonian Quichua Discourse." *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 12 (1): 48–60.

Oberem, Udo. 1980. *Los Quijos: Historia de La Transculturación de Un Grupo Indígena En El Oriente Ecuatoriano*. Otavalo, Ecuador: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología.

O'Brien, Jean M. 2010. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ochs, Elinor., and Lisa. Capps. 2001. *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

O'Rourke, Erin, and Tod D. Swanson. 2013. "Tena Quichua." *International Phonetic Association. Journal of the International Phonetic Association; Cambridge* 43 (1): 107–20.

Orr, Carolina D., and Juan E. Hudelson. 1971. *Cuillurguna: cuentos de los Quichuas del Oriente Ecuatoriano*. Houser.

Orr, Carolyn. 1978. *Dialectos Quichuas Del Ecuador: Con Respecto a Lectores Principiantes*. Quito: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Orr, Carolyn, and Betsy Wrisley. 1981. *Vocabulario Quichua Del Oriente Del Ecuador*. 2nd ed. Quito: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Oxford English Dictionary. n.d. "'remediation, n.'." http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/162121?redirectedFrom=remediation.

Palmer, Gus. 2017. "There's No Easy Way to Talk about Langauge Change or Language Loss: The Difficulties and Rewards of Linguistic Collaboration." In *Engaging Native American Publics: Linguistic Anthropology in a Collaborative Key*, edited by Paul V. Kroskrity and Barbra Meek, 27–40. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Peirce, Charles S. 1955. *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*. Edited by Justus Buchler. Philosophy of Peirce. New York: Dover Publications.

Perley, Bernard. 2012. "Zombie Linguistics: Experts, Endangered Languages and the Curse of Undead Voices." *Anthropological Forum* 22: 133–49.

Perreault, Thomas. 2000. "Shifting Ground: Agrarian Change, Political Mobilization, and Identity Construction among Quichua of the Alto Napo, Ecuadorian Amazonia." Ph.D., Colorado: University of Colorado at Boulder.

———. 2005. "Why Chacras (Swidden Gardens) Persist: Agrobiodiversity, Food Security, and Cultural Identity in the Ecuadorian Amazon." *Human Organization; Oklahoma City* 64 (4): 327–39.

Peterson, Leighton C. 1997. "Tuning In to Navajo The Role of Radio in Native Language Maintenance." In *Teaching Indigenous Languages*, edited by Jon Reyhner, 214–21. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

———. 2017. "Reflections on Navajo Publics, 'New' Media, and Documentary Futures." In *Engaging Native American Publics: Linguistic Anthropology in a Collaborative Key*, edited by Paul V. Kroskrity and Barbra A. Meek, 169–83. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Powdermaker, Hortense. 1962. *Copper Town: Changing Africa; the Human Situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt.* New York: Harper & Row.

Reddekop, Jarrad, and Tod D. Swanson. 2017. "Looking Like the Land: Beauty and Aesthetics in Amazonian Quichua Philosophy and Practice." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 1–27.

Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. 1988. "Caucha Uras: Lowland Quichua Histories of the Amazon Rubber Boom." In *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*, edited by Jonathan D. Hill, 19–34.

Renard-Casevitz, France-Marie, Thierry Saignes, and Anne Christine Taylor. 1988. *Al Este de Los Andes: Relaciones Entre Las Sociedades Amazónicas y Andinas Entre Los Siglos XV y XVII*. Quito; Lima: Ediciones Abya-Yala; Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.

Rogers, Mark. 1996. "Beyond Authenticity: Conservation, Tourism, and the Politics of Representation in the Ecuadorian Amazon." *Identities-Global Studies in Culture and Power* 3 (1–2): 73–125.

———. 1998. "Spectacular Bodies: Folklorization and the Politics of Identity in Ecuadorian Beauty Pageants." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 3 (2): 54–85.

Rouvier, Ruth. 2017. "The Role of Elder Speakers in Language Revitalisation." *Language Documentation and Description* 14: 88–110.

Salomon, Frank. 1983. "El Quichua de Los Andes Ecuatoriales: Algunos Aportes Recientes." *Revista Andina* 2: 393–405.

Sawyer, Suzana, 1961-. 2004. *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*. Duke University Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi, and Rachelle Doucet. 1998. "The 'real' Haitian Creole: Ideology, Metalinguistics, and Orthographic Choice." In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, edited by Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity, 285–316. New York: Oxford University Press.

Seitz, Barbara. 1982. "Llaquichina Songs of the Sachua Huarmi (Jungle Woman) and Their Role in Transformational Communication Events in the Ecuadorian Oriente." PhD dissertation, Indiana: Indiana University.

Shah, Sheena, and Matthias Brenzinger. 2018. "The Role of Teaching in Language Revival and Revitalization Movements." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 38 (September): 201–8.

Shryock, Andrew, ed. 2004. *Off Stage/On Display: Intimacy and Ethnography in the Age of Public Culture*. Stanford University Press.

Shulist, Sarah. 2018. *Transforming Indigeneity: Urbanization and Language Revitalization in the Brazilian Amazon*. University of Toronto Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1979. "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology." In *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, edited by Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks, and Carol L. Hofbauer, 193–247. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

———. 1981. "The Limits of Awareness." In *Sociolinguistic Working Papers*, 84:1–30. Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

———. 1993. "Metapragmatic Discourse and Metapragmatic Function." In *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*, edited by John Lucy, 33–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1996a. "Monoglot 'Standard' in America: Standardization and Metaphors of Linguistic Hegemony." In *The Matrix of Language—Contemporary Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by Donald Brenneis and Ronald K. S. Macaulay, 284–306. Westview Press.

———. 1996b. "Encountering Language and Languages of Encounter in North American Ethnohistory." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 6 (2): 126–44.

———. 2005. "Axes of Evals." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15 (1): 6–22.

Silvio, Teri. 2007. "Remediation and Local Globalizations: How Taiwan's 'Digital Video Knights-Errant Puppetry' Writes the History of the New Media in Chinese." *Cultural Anthropology* 22 (2): 285–313.

———. 2010. "Animation: The New Performance?" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 20 (2): 422–38.

Simons, Gary F., and Charles D. Fennig, eds. 2018. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twenty-First Edition*. Dallas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.

Simpson, Audra. 2007. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, no. 9 (January): 67.

Spiller, Maximilliano. 1979. *Historia de La Misión Josefina Del Napo 1922-1974*. Artes graficas Equinoccio.

Spitulnik, Debra. 1997. "The Social Circulation of Media Discourse and the Mediation of Communities." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 6 (2): 161–87.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary. Nelson and Lawrence. Grossberg, 271–313. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Steward, Julian Haynes, 1902-1972. 1946. *Handbook of South American Indians*.

Steward, Julian, and Alfred Metraux. 1948. "Tribes of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Montaña." In *Handbook of South American Indians*, 535–656. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Stewart, Jesse. 2018. "Vowel Perception by Native Media Lengua, Quichua, and Spanish Speakers." *Journal of Phonetics* 71: 177–93.

Swanson, Tod D. 2009. "Singing to Estranged Lovers: Runa Relations to Plants in the Ecuadorian Amazon." *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 3 (1): 36–65.

Tedlock, Dennis, and Bruce. Mannheim. 1995. *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Torero, Alfredo. 1964. "Los Dialectes Quechuas." *Anales Científicos* 2 (4): 446–78.

Urban, Greg. 1984. "Speech about Speech in Speech about Action." *The Journal of American Folklore* 97 (385): 310–28.

Urla, Jacqueline. 2001. "Outlaw Language: Creating Alternative Public Spheres in Basque Free Radio." In *Languages and Publics: The Making of Authority*, edited by Susan Gal and Kathryn A. Woolard. St Jerome Publishing.

———. 2012. *Reclaiming Basque Language, Nation, and Cultural Activism*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

Uzendoski, Michael. 1999. "Twins and Becoming Jaguars: Verse Analysis of a Napo Quichua Myth Narrative." *Anthropological Linguistics* 41 (4): 431–61.

———. 2004a. "Manioc Beer and Meat: Value, Reproduction and Cosmic Substance among the Napo Runa of the Ecuadorian Amazon." *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* 10: 883–902.

———. 2004b. "The Horizontal Archipelago: The Quijos/Upper Napo Regional System." *Ethnohistory* 51 (2): 317–57.

———. 2005. *The Napo Runa of Amazonian Ecuador*. Interpretations of Culture in the New Millennium. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2009. "La textualidad oral Napo Kichwa y las paradojas de la educación bilingüe intercultural en la Amazonia." In *Repensando Los Movimientos Indígenas*, edited by Carmen Martínez Novo, 147–71. Quito, Ecuador: FLACSO.

———. 2018. "Amazonia and the Cultural Politics of Extractivism: Sumak Kawsay and Block 20 of Ecuador." *Cultural Studies* 32 (3): 364–88.

Uzendoski, Michael, and Edith Felicia. Calapucha-Tapuy. 2012. *The Ecology of the Spoken Word: Amazonian Storytelling and Shamanism among the Napo Runa*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Uzendoski, Michael, and Norman Whitten. 2014. "From 'Acculturated Indians' to "Dynamic Amazonian Quichua-Speaking Peoples." *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 12 (1): 1–13.

Vicariato Apostólico de Napo. 1995. *Devocionario Quichua*. Napo: Vicariato Apostólico de Napo.

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo. 1998. "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* n.s. (4): 469–88.

Vizenor, Gerald Robert. 1994. *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: University Press of New England.

———. 2009. *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Warner, Michael. 2002. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone Books.

Webster, Anthony. 2009. *Explorations in Navajo Poetry and Poetics*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 2017. "'I Don't Write Navajo Poetry, I Just Speak the Poetry in Navajo' Ethical Listeners, Poetic Communion, and the Imagined Future Publics of Navajo Poetry." In *Engaging Native American Publics: Linguistic Anthropology in a Collaborative Key*, edited by Paul V. Kroskrity and Barbra A. Meek, 150–68. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Weismantel, Mary. 2001. *Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. University of Chicago Press.

Whaley, Lindsay J. 2011. "Some Ways to Endanger an Endangered Language Project." *Language and Education* 25 (4): 339–48.

Whitten, Norman E. 1976. *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Quichua*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Whitten, Norman E., and Dorothea S. Whitten. 2008. *Puyo Runa: Imagery and Power in Modern Amazonia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

———. 2011. *Histories of the Present: People and Power in Ecuador*. University of Illinois Press.

Wilson, Pamela, and Michelle Stewart. 2008. *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wirtz, Kristina. 2016. "The Living, the Dead, and the Immanent: Dialogue across Chronotopes." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6 (1): 343–69.

Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998a. "Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry." In *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, edited by Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, 3–47. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1998b. "Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8 (1): 3–29.

Wortham, Erica Cusi. 2013. *Indigenous Media in Mexico: Culture, Community, and the State*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wroblewski, Michael. 2012. "Amazonian Kichwa Proper: Ethnolinguistic Domain in Pan-Indian Ecuador." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 22 (1): 64–86.

———. 2014. "Public Indigeneity, Language Revitalization, and Intercultural Planning in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant." *American Anthropologist* 116 (1): 65–80.

Yánez, Consuelo. 1991. "The Implementation of Language Policy: The Case of Ecuador." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 37 (1): 53–66.