ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	BY THE AUTHORITY OF DREAMS: TRUTH AND KNOWLEDGE IN KICHWA *MUSKUY* NARRATIVES
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Dissertation directed by:	Professor Regina L. Harrison, School of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures; Department of Spanish and Portuguese Department of English, Comparative Literature

For Kichwa-speaking Runa of Ecuador's tropical forest region, narratives about muskuy experiences—dreams and visions—are revered sources of knowledge. Muskuy is a real (non-fantasy) experience in which humans communicate with each other and non-human persons that inhabit their environment, acquiring information and powers in the process. Through analysis of video recordings of muskuy narratives told by Kichwa speakers (2014-2016), this dissertation explores how verbal artistry, performance technique, and emotional resonance are central to knowledge acquisition and transmission. Specifically, narratives are deemed truthful and authoritative when they evoke empathy and memory through imagery, gesture, and vocal dynamics. Whereas ethnography and psychoanalysis have been the prevalent models for scholarship of indigenous dream practices, this is among the first scholarly work to use diverse methods of ethnopoetic analysis such as close reading, performance

studies (Bauman, Hymes), linguistic analysis (Mannheim, Nuckolls), and ethnographic contextualization (Galli, Uzendoski) to elucidate the aesthetics of Kichwa muskuy narratives.

Chapter 1 examines muskuy as a source of gender-specific knowledge and authority conveyed in the narrative of a master ceramicist woman's dream interaction with a Clay Master Spirit. Narrative skill is one manifestation of mature womanhood or manhood that is developed partially through muskuy. Through artful storytelling, a narrator demonstrates her feminine strength.

Chapter 2 elucidates the central role of dialogue in articulating authority and credibility. In a narrative of a boy's transformation into an anaconda, implication and allusion induce dialogic resonances (Bakhtin), while quotation and perspective-marking with "evidential" enclitics animate authoritative voices within the narrative. Additionally, interlocutors substantiate narrative information through commentary and story contributions.

Chapter 3 compares a traditional muskuy narrative from the community of Sarayaku, Ecuador, to the same story transformed for digital media platforms that in turn give it the force of prophecy in activist contexts. Thus, strategic and creative modifications allow muskuy narratives to remain an authoritative source of knowledge for Runa as they are recontextualized for non-indigenous audiences.

The truth and authority of muskuy narratives emerge from artistry that engages listeners' imagination, memory and emotion. Affecting and aesthetically complex, these stories are an ancestral form that remains salient for Runa today.

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by

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Dedication

For Claire and the children of Yawari

and

In loving memory of my *ruku yayaguna*:

Johnnie, Eula, Earl and Maxine.

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Note on Orthography

Kichwa (also spelled Quichua) is the name given to Ecuadorian varieties of the Quechua language family that extends North into Columbia and as far South as Northern Argentina. In Ecuador, nearly 150,000 people speak Amazonian Kichwa (Uzendoski and Whitten 1), which Bruce Mannheim classifies as a "Peripheral" Quechua language related to Inca Quechua, rather than "Central" Andean Quechua (*Language* 10). Although a great deal of scholarship on Kichwa language topics employ a system of orthography that follow norms of the Spanish language (such as the use of "qu" and "ua"), I will be following the orthographic norms used by my literate indigenous collaborators, that use "k" instead of "qu," "wa" instead of "gua," and so on. This system is further promoted by the Ecuadorian government, in the official use of Kichwa Unificado (Unified Kichwa). Borrowing from Janis Nuckolls' model (*Lessons* xvii), the following consonant sounds can be pronounced in a way similar to their English language counterparts: b, ch, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, s, sh, t, y, and w. The letter "ñ," sounds like the first "n" in the word "*onion*"; "dzh" sounds like the "j" in "*judge*"; "ll" is similar to the sequence in "*wool yarn*"; and "r" is pronounced as in Spanish "*perro*." Vowel sounds are similar to the Spanish pronunciation of the equivalent: "a" is like the vowel in "*father*," "I" as in "*seek*," "ai" as in "*fight*," "au" as in "*ouch*," "u" as in "*boot*," and "o" as in "*open*."

Throughout this dissertation, I use Kichwa words rather than their English translations, except for purposes of clarification or to avoid repetition. The Spanish-derived spelling of Kichwa words, such as "ayahuasca" instead of "ayawaska" will only appear when I quote other written sources directly. I also use the Kichwa

pluralizing suffix “guna” in most circumstances rather than appending the English plurazing suffix “s”: i.e. whereas “muskuy” is “dream,” “muskuyguna” signifies “dream*s*.” One exception is the word “Runa,” which is used alternately as a countable noun when referring to an individual and as a collective noun when referring to the broad Kichwa-speaking community.

Table of Contents

List of Recordings

Recordings of each of the narratives included in the body of this dissertation are included as supplemental files. They may also be accessed by contacting the author at lisawcarney@gmail.com, or by accessing the videolinks listed below.

Chapter 1

"Apa Mama Clay Request," narrated by Eulodia Dagua, edited by Lisa W. Carney, https://youtu.be/T-l5fWFiMDo.

"Manga allpa muskuy." Narrated by Eulodia Dagua, interview by Tod Swanson and Lisa Warren on 18 June 2014, edited by Lisa W. Carney, https://youtu.be/CX2KjggHQ-k.

Chapter 2

"Chingarishka turi," narrated by Bélgica Dagua, edited by Lisa W. Carney, https://youtu.be/NHrBkb0lQMg.

Chapter 3

"Sarayaku muskuy," narrated by Gerardo Gualinga, edited by Lisa W. Carney, https://youtu.be/ylY1PxJyqYs.

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction: "Having Dreamed, Now I Know…"

Have you ever had a dream that felt so real that you could not shake the feeling that it had actually happened or that you felt compelled to tell someone else about? For the Kichwa-speaking Runa of the tropical forest of Ecuador, all dreams have this effect, because dreams (called *muskuy*) are real. Muskuy is not the result of fantasy or fears made manifest to the conscious mind, but instead are experiences of interpersonal communication that teach important information to the dreamer.

One of the very first muskuy narratives I ever heard was the story a woman told about curing her own grave illness. I was formally studying Tropical Lowland Kichwa for the first time at the Andes-Amazon Field School in Ecuador where, as part of our course work, we took hikes in the forest with Runa women who showed us medicinal plants. One of our teachers was a middle-aged woman who stopped to point out the plant that had cured her disease. A pragmatic woman, she has gone to doctors and pursued their prescribed treatment, but as she explained, her true cure had come to her in a dream. She told us that in her *muskuy* (dream-vision) the plant itself had come to her in its human form, told her how to brew a remedy, and taught her a song to sing as part of the curing process. She had done as she was told and now, she was cured. Having dreamed like this, she said, she now knew the medicinal value of the plant before us.

What struck me most about the woman's story was the depth of emotion and the narrative craftsmanship involved to substantiate her claim that the plant was medicinal. She had not simply said, "this plant cures such-and-such disease: I know because it worked for me." Instead, she had contextualized her assertion with the full

experience of learning the remedy, re-enacting it with her voice and gestures, even singing the song aloud.

During my own fieldwork to record dream narratives, I heard numerous similar tales in which men and women told long, moving and aesthetically crafted stories, particularly when speaking of a very important learning experience. I came to understand that the narrative form was vital to conveying the credibility and authoritativeness of the assertion: in essence, the truthfulness of a speaker's knowledge was confirmed by the recounting of an emotional personal story and re-creating the experience for and with a listening audience.

By contrast, in the Western empirical tradition, truthfulness, credibility and authority (as in expertise) are conveyed differently. Personal experience and anecdote can be compelling, but they are not ultimately judged to be as credible or authoritative as the bland generalizations that come from repeatable, clinical trials, detached from emotion. Poetic language and personal narrative certainly teach empathy and invaluable figurative truths but are not considered necessary to convey the credibility of certain types of information, such as medical advice.

For Runa, dream narratives are one of the most authoritative sources of knowledge because they are emotionally salient and are derived from what is known to be real (not imagined) experience, in which dreamers have vital information revealed to them by other persons (human and otherwise). The aesthetic and performative elements of a storytelling event are precisely what convey the truthfulness and authority of the narrative because they re-create an experience for interlocutors by evoking memory and empathy, and by causing perspectives to mingle

and be shared. Listeners' engagement with these stories is a complex process: narrative choices elicit emotion, draw upon culturally situated common knowledge, and evoke intertextual resonances with origin stories, ancestral tales, and personal memory. Narrators establish their authority by involving other voices and perspectives; whether quoting the words of other speakers, calling to mind the perspective of actors involved in a narrative's events, and eliciting responses from listener-interlocutors, who are expected to engage with the narrative in silent comprehension, active responses and turns at speaking. The narrative event itself is an occasion to create consensus and experience knowing, rather than to pass tokens of reified knowledge: the participants "know together," instead of one person passing knowledge to another.

In this dissertation, I explore the interconnection of aesthetics and knowledge (encompassing truth and authority/expertise) in Kichwa language dream narratives told by skilled narrators that I recorded in Ecuador between 2014 and 2016, during three separate fieldwork sessions of six to eight weeks each.[1] This dissertation is the first comprehensive study of dream narratives specifically as verbal art, rather than as the basis of ethnographic or psychoanalytic analysis. My methodology is interdisciplinary, as I use scholarship on the ethnography of dreaming in Amazonian

[1] I spent eight (non-continuous) months of research on this project. The first three months, in 2012 and 2013, were dedicated to study of Kichwa and narrative in general. The next five months, from 2014-2016 were when I recorded the narratives included in this work, following the IRB procedures documented in Appendices A-D.

Runa culture as well as trends in ethnopoetic analysis of other Kichwa-language oral genres to guide my work. Additionally, I incorporate pragmatic and lexical linguistic analysis along with elements of performance into my "close reading" of the narratives.

The study of the relationship between aesthetic elements and notions of truth and knowledge in an indigenous verbal art genre is significant as part of an overall trend in academia focused on destabilizing the long-standing norms of what is accepted as "true" or "valid"; breaking down the generic boundaries of "literature," "art," and "knowledge." These notions, which emerged from the global North and the Western empirical tradition, have historically marginalized or erased indigenous epistemologies, with their own rich and complex conceptualizations. Attention to the role of emotional resonances in the judgment of truth and authoritativeness is also more relevant than ever, in a world in which the credibility of our most authoritative institutions are called into question, and in which artificial intelligence technology makes it possible to create images and even video of fake events (Sample). When grappling with doubt, people may be forced to rely solely on emotional judgment, personal experience, and local, charismatic authorities, whether in the Amazon basin or anywhere else in the world.

Although muskuy narratives are basically comprehensible to non-Runa without contextualization, they become truly meaningful when considered in the context of the Runa knowledge system, the conceptual framework of how the world exists and operates, which is distinct from a Western, empirical model. In the following pages, I provide an overview of who the Runa are, their notion of muskuy

in relation to their "perspectival" understanding of the world, and the norms of discourse through which they convey truthfulness, certainty, and authority (i.e. expertise).

Runa Ethnicity and Kichwa Language

Muskuy narratives are meaningful within a very specific context, so it is vital to consider who the Runa are if any sense is to be made of the stories that are born of the dream-vision experiences. Variations in muskuy practices and narrative forms correspond to linguistic and cultural differences among the various regions that Runa inhabit. Kichwa (also spelled *Quichua*) is the name given to Ecuadorian varieties of the Quechua language family that extends North into Columbia and as far South as Argentina. There are Highland dialects and Tropical Lowland, or Amazonian, dialects. Speakers call the language *runa simi*, 'human mouth/speech.' In Kichwa, speakers refer to themselves as *Runa*, meaning "human" or "person." In contemporary Ecuador, speakers also use "Kichwa" as an ethnic designation synonymous with "Runa." They identify themselves by community and region of origin, while ethnographers and linguists have generally divided the Amazonian Kichwa speakers into a few major divisions, by dialect or sociocultural grouping. In common parlance, the Napo Runa or Quichuas del Napo comprise two main dialects (Tena, and Loreto-Avila) while the Canelos Quichua, or Pastaza Runa, speak the Bobonaza-Curaray-Puyo dialect (Orr and Wrisley). In the present, there are four main groupings, identified by province and cultural distinctions: the Napo and the Orellana (both Napo Runa), the Pastaza (Canelos or Pastaza), and Sucumbíos (Aguarico, Lago Agrio) (Uzendoski and Whitten 1).

The distinction between Napo Runa and Pastaza Runa is most pertinent for the study of dream narratives because of the ethnic origins and related oneiric practices of these two groupings. The Napo Runa appear to have descended from the Quijos ethnic group, which nearly disappeared following an indigenous revolt of 1578, led by the cacique Jumandy, a cultural icon of contemporary Napo Runa (Uzendoski, *Napo* 145). In my experience, Napo Runa distinguish between types of visionary experience such that the verb *muskuna* is used only to describe hallucinatory or trance experience, while the verb *nuspana* most directly correlates with dream in sleep. The difference in terminology appears to relate to interpretation practices, as well, as Napo Runa often interpret dreams from sleep on the basis of symbolism (discussed below). Meanwhile, the Pastaza Runa, who live in the areas surrounding Puyo in the Pastaza province, are the descendants of Achuar and Zaparoan peoples who adopted Kichwa as a shared trade language when they married across ethnic lines (N. Whitten, *Sacha*). Unlike Napo Runa, Pastaza Runa women are renowned for their fine, coiled pottery with designs often inspired by muskuy experience (D. Whitten). Different from Napo Runa, in my work with Pastaza Runa, I have observed that the term *muskuy* is used regardless of whether the dreamer was asleep or awake.

Despite this, and the subtle dialectal differences and variations in creation stories derived from their respective ancestral traditions, the Napo and Canelos Runa share far more with each other than with the speakers of Highland dialects of Kichwa in Ecuador, who have structurally different system of dream interpretation (Mannheim, "Historicidad" 12). In particular, the practice of dream interpretation is important for Napo and Canelos Runa, as are concepts of personhood and causality

that in turn inform their understanding of knowledge as experiential. For this reason, although I focus on narratives told by Pastaza Runa, I draw from scholarly work about Runa from both sub-regions, with ethnic differences referenced as necessary for clarification purposes.

Dreams, Vision, Trance, Power: Defining "Muskuy"

The Kichwa term "muskuy" means much more than just "dream" or "vision": For Runa, the term relates to vision as well as ability and power. Experiences we might call "dream," "trance," "hallucination," and "vision" are all to some degree expressed in the term "muskuy," to the extent that the word conveys the experience of sight, sound, and other sensations that a human can perceive in a limited number of circumstances. To be as consistent with the Kichwa language as possible, I will use "muskuy" throughout this dissertation, occasionally alternating with "dream" or "dream-vision" to avoid repetition.[2]

During muskuy experience, Runa often explain that they "see" the world around them more clearly. In the traditional perspective,[3] the forest environment is a

[2] Muskuy is also something that can be possessed as an ability, a sort of knowledge-power. Theodore Macdonald documents muskuy associated with different activities like *tarabana muskuy* (working power) and *aichawa apik muskuy* (fishing power) (*Ethnicity* 32).

[3] By "traditional" I mean to indicate that this is explanation has lad a long historical life among Runa, but not that it has been unchanged in all that time. I also mean to clarify that this understanding of the world is not a prerequisite for being Runa: not

sort of thriving metropolis of persons—human and otherwise—who have subjectivity and agency. Humans in their daily, wakeful life perceive the world as made up of distinct plant and animal species and geological elements with their leaves, bark, and flowers; scales, fur, and feathers; deep pools of water and large craggy cliffs. But many of these plants, animals, and topographic features are also *runaguna* (persons) with anthropomorphic bodies and complex lives, which are only occasionally sensible to humans, as in muskuy. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro calls this orientation observed in Amazonian communities "perspectivism," expressing the idea that the outward form of species is "clothing" while internally, beings like animals have perspectives that are "formally identical to human consciousness" (471). As Eduardo Kohn writes in the context of Tropical Lowland Kichwa speakers, "all sentient beings, be they spirit, animal, or human, see themselves as persons…their subjective worldview is identical to the way the Runa see themselves" (*How* 95); the same applies to certain plants and features of the landscape. In addition to sharing cultural patterns, non-human persons have complex emotional lives: just like humans they feel love, sadness, anger and jealousy. Runa are mindful of the personhood of non-humans as they go about their daily lives and try to imagine the emotional perspectives of the other beings by relating their behaviors to examples from their own lives. For instance, once a Runa woman showed me some butterflies feeding on nectar saying, "Look, they drink their own *aswa* [fermented manioc brew] just like us. They are

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all Runa currently maintain this view, and many negotiate more than one seemingly contradictory ontological frameworks, as discussed by Wroblewski.

happy, working and drinking." Her example pointed out that the butterfly has a personal perspective just like hers, from within which it practices the same cultural customs as local humans and could feel emotions.

The personhood of other beings is ascribed to the fact that in the very beginning times, most beings were also human. Specifically, Kichwa origin stories ("myths") often describe the circumstances in which different species came into existence, when men and women took on new outward forms for a variety of underlying reasons such as trauma or estrangement. An account recorded by Theodore Macdonald exemplifies such a transformation:

> Once there was a great fire. No one could escape. One man, trying to avoid the flames took a sifting basket, covered himself, and his underneath [sic]. The flames came and roasted the shell. He became the armadillo. […] Another pulled a brown poncho over his shoulders. He became the deer. While men were trying to escape the fire in this way all of the animals in the forest were formed. They all became what they are now (*Processes* 177).

Despite the difference in appearance, the original human form is not lost but modified, such that these beings can still appear outwardly *as humans, to humans*, under certain circumstances. As Macdonald's narrator continues: "Having done this, in dreams these ancestors can now show up as people. Animals can become humans again." In the concrete speaking style typical of Runa, this man suggests what dreaming is: a means of overcoming the barriers of perspective that were established long ago. This can be described in many different ways, in terms of transformation, of seeing, and of communication.

When experiencing muskuy, Runa explain that they see and perceive other humans and the other beings of the forest in a way that they are not usually able to do in their waking life, as if they are given access to the other person's personal perspective. Instead of providing a representational model of what happens in *muskuy*, when Runa describe their own experiences, they often use the language of visual perception like *rikuna* ("to see"), *rikuchina* ("to show"), and *rikurina* ("to appear"). Runa say that in muskuy experience, they see everything more clearly, in a way that they do not usually do in their waking life. The degree of clarity of vision is related to the type of muskuy being experienced. *Puñuna muskuy,* dreams in sleep, are the least clear, while the next most clear vision, *ayawaska muskuy*, is caused by imbibing a brew made from the ayawaska plant (*Banisteriopsis caapi*). The most clear, totalizing vision is *wanduk muskuy*, induced by ingesting wanduk (*Datura*). As Bélgica Dagua told me, the ayawaska brew "shows you a little bit" ("ansalla rikuchin"), whereas a wanduk brew "shows you everything excellently" ("tukuyta sumakta rikuchin").

Due to the fact that dreamers see other beings as they were in the "beginning times" (*ñawpa huras*), muskuy has been described by scholars as the entry into a "mythic time-space" called *unay*; such is the widely-cited description first articulated by Norman and Dorothea Whitten (*From Myth* 30). Nonetheless, no Runa whom I have spoken with has concretely agreed with this description, instead pointing out that *unay* means "a very long time" or "a very long time ago" while dreaming occurs *kunan* ("now"). While the Whittens' description may not match Runa ones, what it does capture is the way that normal constraints of space and time are removed or

overcome in muskuy experience, as anyone who has dreamed of returning to their own childhood can imagine. It is not that dreamers literally go to the past; instead, everything that has ever been still exists in some form in the present, and only becomes perceptible in a muskuy experience. Furthermore, the physical body does not limit movement in dreaming: several women conceded to me that perhaps their *aya* (spirit substance) or *alma* (from Spanish, "soul") leaves their body while it rests and travels around to interacts with others. Though they did not have first-hand knowledge of such things, this was an explanation that they had heard other people say (being another prevalent explanation that is documented in ethnographies).

Whatever the cause, as a result of muskuy encounters, "dreamers" gain some awareness of what other people are intending to do or how their emotional states will impact other things, like the weather. Thus, dreams help them plan for probable future events. For example, when a woman I visited dreamed of her sister, it was as if she had been given access to her sister's perspective and could perceive her intention to visit. Maybe the sister would change her mind or be deterred on her journey, but the intention was still communicated, so my friend planned to stay near her house for the day.

As this example suggests, muskuy experience is also caused in some way by an outside person or in an encounter. This is even more evident in the verb *muskuchina* (to cause to dream): merely thinking of someone else may be sufficient to cause that person to dream, as when Eulodia Dagua (introduced in Chapter 1) explained to me that my dream of seeing her in an American airport was caused by her conversation about me with her grandson. In other words, by thinking of me, she had made me

dream. In other forms of muskuy, as in ayawaska muskuy and wanduk muskuy, the *muskuyuj* ("dreamer") induces vision during wakefulness by imbibing a beverage brewed from the plant that gives the muskuy type its name: ayawaska (*Banisteriopsis Caapi*) or wanduk (*Datura*). In these forms of muskuy, other, mostly non-human persons and the spirit essence of humans may come to the dreamer. An *ayawaska runa* or *warmi* (ayawaska man or woman), for instance, will be called in a song to teach the dreamer and guide other beings to do the same. Likewise, the *wanduk amu* (*datura* master) comes to the dreamer to guide them in a fully immersive experience, one in which the dreamer's body is completely incapacitated.

The interactions that are inherent to muskuy experience leave humans exposed to powerful forces, particularly of the more immersive vision of ayawaska and especially of wanduk muskuy. As in human communities, there are some non-human persons who are more powerful than others, commonly called *supay* ("spirit being"). Some supay are *amuguna* and *duiñuguna*, masters or keepers of game animals and other resources (with names derived from Spanish, "amo" and "dueño"). If human Runa engage these gamekeeper and resource masters properly through platonic, paternal, or romantic relationships, they may receive gifts from them (Muratorio, *Life* 215; Galli 230). These beings can be generous when treated properly, but when mistreated they can be incredibly stingy, even locking away their herds deep in the forest so that humans can no longer find them. Some beings can transform humans into their likeness (into an anaconda, for example), thereby stealing them away from human community to live as spouses (as discussed in Chapter 2). They can also cause great physical harm, illness, or death to humans.

Seeing everything or sharing a perspective in muskuy entails being vulnerable to the powerful spirit beings. For this reason, the "clearest" forms of muskuy are only induced in times of great need for information or are reserved for a type of spiritual specialist and healer called *yachak* (literally "knower"). A yachak is someone who has undergone an apprenticeship with another yachak as well as spirit beings to carefully form alliances with supay and acquire powers. *Yachakguna* (yachak, plural) are typically male, with some exceptions, while a woman of similar authority may be called *sindzhi muskuk warmi*, ("strong dreamer woman"; my translation) (N. Whitten, *Sicuanga* 168). Even among the specialists, wanduk is used only in the most urgent cases or for once-in-a-lifetime clarity, since it opens the dreamer up the most completely to the powerful forces accessed in muskuy. Bélgica's relative told me, "Kay pamba shina…pakllay rikunaun," ("Like this clearing here…one sees it out in the open"). "Computadorashina" ("Like a computer"), he explained, there is an immediacy and completeness to the information you are able to acquire. People may see all of their life events in wanduk muskuy: births, deaths, major challenges and conflicts.

Whether in the commonplace dreams of sleep, the less common ayawaska vision, or the rare cases of wanduk vision, Runa learn vital truths about their own lives, are taught skills or given gifts from spirit beings, and generally come to a greater awareness of the entirety of their world. In this way, muskuy in all forms is a privileged source of valuable information and knowledge that can aid small decisions or radically alter personal paradigms. Expertise in muskuy is acquired through experience, and the greatest dreamers—the ones who have the most and clearest

muskuy—become revered authorities. These are the yachakguna and sindzhi warmiguna who are called upon to intervene in times of trial, to find cures and coordinate with spirits. But anyone may learn to examine their own dreams from sleep, as children listening to their parents in bed before dawn, or young adults listening to their elders while working on communal tasks. Talking about muskuy experience in communal settings is a way of educating future generations. The most salient dreams from an individual's life will be remembered and spoken of from time to time, perhaps to be recalled later by a grandchild, or even an entire community, decades later. Thus, they form part of the body of local knowledge that circulates in a community over generations.

Runa Conceptions of "Authority" and "Truth"

While it is one thing to assert that muskuy narratives are sources of knowledge because muskuy experience is real, it is another to explain how the authoritativeness and truthfulness of these stories are conveyed through narrative choices and linguistic elements. While the body of this dissertation is dedicated to examining the nuanced relationship between verbal artistry and the expression of truth and authority, a summary overview of these concepts will orient the reader.

To understand how authority and truth are expressed in verbal artistry, we must begin with the meaning of these terms in the Runa context. First, in relation to authoritativeness, in the sense of expertise and the right to make assertions, it must be noted that there is no direct Kichwa translation for "authority" or "authoritative." The closest associated terms are the noun "*yachak*" (knower") and the adjective/adverb "*sindzhi"* (strong). The connection between yachak and authority is self-apparent:

none could be more authoritative than a "knower." Yet a person who is sindzhi may not only be strong in the physical sense but is also self-actualized and mature. One of the skills that a sindzhi person will have developed is the ability to speak well (*alli rimana*) which requires that a person use analogies from nature, to evoke memory and emotion in a listener, and generally be precise and truthful (Nuckolls and Swanson "Earthy"; Uzendoski "Beyond"). Verbal skill is so closely associated with being knowledgeable that they are essentially two sides of the same coin: being judged a good speaker will mean one is considered an authoritative source, and vice versa. To be sindzhi is to be the opposite of *killa*, a word used to describe lazy, weak, and immature people. You cannot be both sindzhi and killa; it would be inconsistent to speak well and yet fabricate information. Thus, authoritativeness is indicative of truthfulness.

Despite the importance of speaking truthfully for Runa, there is no single word for "truth" in Kichwa. The closest terms are adverbs or adjectives: a person who speaks honestly is said to speak *alli* ("well" in terms of factual and beautiful) and a statement that is deemed truthful will be called *cirtu* (from Spanish, "cierto" for "true"). By contrast, a statement lacking specificity or a basis in reality will be called *yanga*, meaning "useless" or "without purpose." This is the word Bélgica Dagua uses to describe her younger brother's speech in Chapter 2, saying, "'Yangami nin,' nisha" ("'He's speaking nonsense,' we thought") (B. Dagua). There are, in fact several ways to describe people who fail to tell the truth. It is very important for Runa not to be "a *killa*, 'useless,' a *llulla*, 'liar,' or a *lala*, 'exaggerator'" (Nuckolls and Swanson, "Respectable" 178).

Statements that Kichwa speakers judge to be alli or cirtu are not the same as those that would pass muster as truthful or credible in scholarly discourse, for example. Specifically, as Janis Nuckolls and Tod Swanson observe, statements that generalize or abstract rules and definitions will register as false or improper to Runa because such statements assume that a speaker can be certain about actions that are beyond their own personal experience and perceptual abilities ("Earthy").[4] To illustrate this point, we may consider a conversation I had with Bélgica Dagua about why some supay take humans away from their families while others do not. In response to my question, Bélgica would only posit that perhaps some beings want to do this while others do not, but she was not comfortable expressing any greater certainty or generalizing at all because this is not information that she is privy to. Instead, she responded with a full, concrete example of her own experience with supay abduction, from which I was left to extrapolate the answer to my question (discussed further in Chapter 2). From a scholarly perspective, I am comfortable with the truthfulness of my conclusion that "spirits only take humans who are young or otherwise weakly tied to a community." On the contrary, Bélgica would not say such a thing because it would imply that she has a full knowledge of spirit beings' inner

[4] As discussed in the Literature Review, Michael Wroblewski complicates this assertion, by pointing out that Runa, especially of the formally educated younger generations, will provide abstractions and generalizations without qualms, something Nuckolls and Swanson also recognize ("Earthy"). Nonetheless, the long-term cultural preference most directly relates to the norms of verbal artistry.

reasoning. With Bélgica, this is especially true in relation to topics of ancestral knowledge, because as a formally educated and bilingual woman, she is comfortable providing abstract explanations in other contexts, as Nuckolls and Swanson ("Earthy") and Wroblewski account for.

Nuckolls and Swanson ascribe this overall preference for avoiding generalizations to the Runa perspectival worldview: "if everything has a perspective, then the possibilities for abstract, decontextualized notions of truth become suspect" ("Respectable" 172). Lacking access to another person's perspective, one may only speculate as to the reasoning behind their actions. Therefore, the most truthful statement is the one that acknowledges the limit of one's own perspective: in a sense, expressing uncertainty in one area bolsters the sense of certainty in another. On the whole, Kichwa speakers prefer to voice their uncertainty and carefully contextualize the limits of their knowledge with concrete examples from their own lives.

One important means by which Kichwa speakers demarcate the limits of their own knowledge and imply either the truthfulness or lack of certainty of their statements is through evidential enclitics, a set of suffixes that contextualize the words and statement to which they are attached (Nuckolls and Swanson, "Respectable" 175-178). Found extensively in Quechua languages, evidentials vary by region in the type of information they convey, and the precise meaning of evidentials in the Tropical Lowland Kichwa varieties is subject of continued scholarly inquiry. One point of agreement is that evidentials in Pastaza and Tena Kichwa indicate the speaker's "relative right to know" the information being asserted (a term coined by Stivers et al. 13). In her analysis of Tena Kichwa, Karolina Grzech affirms

that speakers use the evidential "mi" to indicate that they have enough information with which to make an assertion, and that they are relatively more informed than their interlocutor (76). By this logic, the enclitic "mi" marks "epistemic primacy," a speaker's subjective assessment that they have the relative right to know and assert something to another person; "mi" does not, by contrast, communicate that there is direct evidence or certainty, as in other Quechua languages (73). Janis Nuckolls' work on evidential enclitics in Pastaza Kichwa draws slightly different conclusions, arguing that evidentials in that context mark the source of knowledge that is the basis of a statement, thereby indicating the perspective from which a statement is asserted ("Deitic"; "From quotative"). For instance, the "mi" evidential marks the speaker's own perspective, while "shi" indicates that someone else's perspective is responsible for the utterance, and "cha" marks conjecture and lack of certainty (Nuckolls and Swanson, "Relative" 177). In this way, Nuckolls agrees with Grzech's argument that the speaker expresses his or her "right to know" a given assertion. There may not be absolute certainty about the truthfulness of said assertion, but one can be confident of the speaker's relationship to it. If the speaker is deemed to be authoritative, then there will be greater relative certainty or confidence in that speaker's statement.

A concrete example of this is taken from Chapter 1, in which Eulodia Dagua tells the Clay Spirit Mother that she plans to make pottery with the clay she is removing from the ground. When she says, "Awangawa***mi*** nini" ("I intend to coil pots with it"), the "mi" indicates that she herself has the greater relative right to know what she plans to do than anyone else. It is her perspective that is being highlighted, not the perspective of other people like the women whom she says criticize her. Upon

hearing this statement, an interlocutor does not necessarily know beyond an absolute doubt that Eulodia will indeed make pottery, but instead comprehends that this statement represents her own intentions as expressed from her own perspective. No one can be a greater authority on her own intentions that Eulodia herself, so there is little reason to doubt her unless she truly is killa like the other woman say.

As we see here, judgments about truth and authority are inextricably tied up in the ability to access other people's perspectives. This is particularly true in regard to emotion, according to Nuckolls and Swanson, who have observed that Runa display high degrees of confidence in their descriptions of animals' and other beings' emotions ("Respectable" 186). It might seem, for example that a human should not be able to unequivocally assert that a macaw is happy or sad, given that a macaw's perspective is typically closed off to a human. Nonetheless, given the "perspectival" knowledge that macaws have the same emotional lives as humans, Runa are confident in their ability to determine the emotional state of non-humans when they see behaviors that are analogous to human ones. In Chapter 3 of this dissertation, for example, Gerardo Gualinga describes a macaw that was observed flying uncharacteristically alone. When presented with my recording of his description, other Runa commented on the macaw's sadness, which had not been overtly described. Thus, to assess the emotional state of the macaw, they use empathy and analogy as guides: a human in a similar position—alone when typically accompanied by others—would also feel sad. In sum, empathy, as the ability to share the emotions of others, is a mode of acquiring knowledge because it is a means of accessing another perspective.

The importance of perspective as an indicator of truthfulness, combined with the emotional salience of many dream narratives, explains why muskuy are among the rare experiences about which Runa express certainty (171). If muskuy is an experience of shared perspective, as I have asserted, then the dreamer is fully entitled to speak about the intentions and actions that he or she experienced in the dream. But merely speaking of the events is not enough: skilled narrators enact perspective-sharing through their storytelling. A narrator's credibility and authority, and the truth and knowledge of the narrative itself, emerge through the narrator's words, vocal tones, and gestures and in relation to interlocutors who experience them.

By Authority of Dreams: Orientating Questions

In the chapters that follow, I argue that the truth or authoritativeness of the knowledge gained from muskuy is specifically conveyed through aesthetic language (that which is artful and poetic, emotionally resonant, creatively descriptive), as well as in performative aspects of vocal modulation, imitative sound and gesture. To share the knowledge that has been gained in muskuy experience, skilled narrators evoke emotion, deftly shifting among multiple perspectives, and ground their assertions or implications in either their own perceptions or by "animating" the words and actions of other actors. Altogether these qualities and techniques evoke mental imagery, memory, and emotional response in interlocutors, who themselves actively participate in the narrative event, making assessment and connections, as well as voicing their own perspectives.

The follow questions guide my analysis: What role does muskuy play in the acquisition, transmission and validation of knowledge?[5] What are the rhetorical tools and poetic features that convey truth (in terms of a speaker's certainty and credibility), knowledge and embodied power? How does the narrator's relationship to the events described (firsthand experience, secondhand knowledge, or ancestral tale) affect the articulation of truth and authority in a narrative? And finally, how do Runa actively and creatively adapt their discourse to communicate the veracity and authoritativeness of their narratives to fellow Runa and non-Runa alike? To answer these questions, I rely upon Kichwa speakers' expertise and incorporate the interdisciplinary method of ethnopoetic narrative analysis, which spans literary criticism, pragmatic linguistics, lexical analysis, and performance studies. I also endeavor to overcome as much as possible the distorting effect that translation has on the discussion of the complex connections between concepts of truth, beauty, authority, empathy, power, strength, and community that are distinct from one another in modern Western languages but inextricably related in Kichwa.

Literature Review: Approaches to Dream Interpretation and Narrative

Although scholarly attention has been paid to both dream interpretation practices and Kichwa verbal art separately, this dissertation bridges the gap between two approaches to focus on muskuy narrative as verbal art. Most work on dream interpretation has focused on general symbolic and interpretive frameworks: through

[5] This is a question asked by Michael F. Brown: "What role do dreams play in the acquisition, validation, modification, and transmission of knowledge?" (156).

catalogues of symbols, description of how dreams have been interpreted in specific contexts, or explanation of dream content through Western models of interpretation, (especially the psychoanalytic tradition). Rarely does this work require more than a snippet or summary of a narrative, much less analysis of aesthetic elements. On the other hand, Kichwa song and narrative have received significant treatment from a few scholars, even though narratives regarding muskuy experience have not figured prominently in narrative analysis. Nevertheless, the significant scholarship on dream interpretation and on Kichwa verbal art, when taken together, show that there is great potential for close textual analysis of dream narrative. Thus, I review the most significant contributions to three areas that this dissertation brings together: ethnographic study of Kichwa dream practices, broader studies of indigenous dream traditions (including psychoanalytic ethnography), and Kichwa language discourse analysis. In situating my work in relation to these foundational texts, I articulate an approach to muskuy narratives that centers on Runa modes of interpretation.

Ethnographic Approaches to Dream Narratives

Nearly every significant ethnography[6] of Kichwa lifeways incorporates dream and visionary experience in some way, though few works are dedicated solely to muskuy. The most significant of ethnographic work to date that foreground Kichwa-

[6] Among this are the works by: Andy et al., Galli, Guzmán Gallegos, Harrison, Kohn, Macdonald, Mannheim, Mezzenzana, Muratorio, Nuckolls, Oberem, Reeve, Seitz, Swanson, Uzendoski, Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy, N. Whitten, and Whitten and Whitten.

language muskuy narrative in some fashion are Theodore Macdonald's *Ethnicity and Culture amidst New "Neighbors"* and Elisa Galli's *Migrar transformándose*. Bruce Mannheim's body of work on Southern Peruvian Quechua dreams, linguistically related to Kichwa narratives, is also pertinent and influential. Elsewhere, significant work on dream, vision, and related narratives is found in comparable traditions throughout the indigenous Americas. As a whole, whether studies of Runa practices or other indigenous interpretive system, the following works provide a point of departure for the present study.

Theodore Macdonald provides important observations on Kichwa dream experience and narrative in his 1979 dissertation*, Processes of Change in Amazonian Ecuador*, in the chapter titled "Dreams" and in the book, *Ethnicity and Culture amidst New "Neighbors*" (1999). In addition to identifying common themes of dreams and the relationship between dream experience and shamanism, Macdonald notably emphasizes full narratives and *Runa* dream interpretive frameworks (as opposed to Western ones). His stated goal is to "let the Runa offer their own commentary on dream interpretation," rather than imposing concepts developed by Sigmund Freud or Carl Jung, among others (*Processes* 171). This is an important point, since Runa understand dreaming to be "an actual social event where the dreamer confronts other individuals as true persons, not configurations in his mind" (171). Although discourse analysis is not his primary concern, Macdonald lets Runa speak for themselves by offering their interpretations of what dreams do and what narratives mean. A noteworthy example is Macdonald's own dream narrative that he shared with two different Runa men, each of whom provide a distinct analysis of the dream's events.

With this example, Macdonald observes that dream interpretation is not always standardized and that it in fact depends on personal interaction. While many dream motifs are common knowledge— for example, "if one dreams of pulling an overturned canoe to shore, some form of large game will be killed" (174)—there are other dream accounts that are more elaborate, content-specific, and personally salient, as with dreams related to grave illness. These are the dreams that the present study focuses on: dreams with personal and private imagery that involve interpretation and explanation in concert with other people (177-178).

Elisa Galli's *Migrar transformándose* (2012) is a more recent volume on oneiric experience among Amazonian Kichwa speakers that is both an ethnography of gender and of dreaming. Much of the work brings prior ethnographic accounts of dream vision and experiences of female gender into dialogue with the realities of the twenty-first century. It also foregrounds the interpretation of dream narratives by women in contexts both rural and urban, in relation to feminine events and topics, such as pregnancy, childbirth, heterosexual relationships, domestic violence, and standards of feminine beauty. The dream narratives that are included in Galli's volume are enhanced by the descriptions of women's life experiences that form the basis of their interpretation. There is no analysis of narrative for aesthetic qualities, and all narratives are presented in Spanish. Nonetheless, context, content and interpretation are important for her investigation. This is particularly true in her content analysis of a set of dream narratives related to *supay runa* (powerful spirit beings) that court humans. She notes that women who are estranged from family or in precarious relationships often have dreams of this nature. Galli's work emphasizes the

dream narrative's role in providing women with information about their social relationships and a context in which to articulate their sense of marginality.

Though dream interpretation is just one facet of his larger body of work, Bruce Mannheim's ethno-linguistic analysis of Quechua language discourse is foundational for the study of dream interpretation systems of the Andes and Western Amazon. In Mannheim's study of the dream interpretation system of Southern Peruvian Quechua speakers, "La historicidad de imágenes oníricas quechuas sudperuanas" (2015), he makes an important distinction between symbol and narrative based interpretation methodologies. Specifically, he notes that in Southern Peruvian Quechua, speakers identify individual elements from dreams and interpret them symbolically in isolation from other dream elements. For example, a dreamer might pick out the image of a rope in a dream, in order to consider the symbolic meaning of that rope as a sign of something else, rather than relate the rope to other elements of the dream, such as how it was used or by whom. Mannheim argues that this mode of symbol-based interpretation leads to long-term instability of symbolism, meaning that symbol-interpretation of a sign documented during one historic period diverges greatly from the symbolic interpretation of that very same sign, in the same region, at a different time (12). By contrast, he observes far greater stability of interpretation systems in narratives and rituals over time, because the relationships between elements are central to interpretation and comprehension overall (11). Specifically, he compares a number of narratives on a similar topic from different time periods to one another. Each contains the same sequence of events, in which a lake appears as punishment of a community that has rejected a stranger during

festivities. Through his analysis, Mannheim directly attributes the stability of meaning in these narratives to an interpretation system that emphasizes relationships between elements.

Additionally, Mannheim specifically notes that Amazonian Kichwa speakers, unlike the Southern Peruvian Quechua, predominantly use the latter, narrative-based method of exegetic interpretation for their dream narratives and other material art forms (12 fn8, 35). The implications of this are two-fold: first, for Amazonian Kichwa dream interpretation, we may expect to find more stability in the way people interpret dreams across time and within a region, as is the case in Southern Peruvian narratives and rituals (not dreams), which implies that there will be consistency in how narrators and listeners make meaning of stories. Furthermore, the similarities between Southern Peruvian Quechua non-dream narratives and Amazonian Kichwa dream narrative supports the idea that ethnopoetic analysis that is used for the former would be appropriate for the latter. Analysis of relationships between elements is one of the most basic tasks of literary, poetic, and verbal art study.

Finally, Mannheim models the self-awareness required of an ethnographer to avoid allowing cultural bias to color interpretation, by describing how he himself was tempted to interpret the dream of his collaborator in light of the "cultural anxieties" that he could see, but that were not relevant to the collaborator herself (17). By emphasizing the indigenous interpretive model over his own, he avoids subsuming indigenous epistemologies to a Western conception.

Beyond specific Kichwa and Quechua language traditions, there is significant ethnographic research on dream and vision practices by indigenous peoples

worldwide, and especially in the Americas. The most influential ethnographic text on dream traditions to date is *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations* (1987) a compendium of articles by Ellen Basso, Michael Brown, Gilbert Herdt, John Homiak, Benjamin Kilborne, Waud Kracke, Bruce Mannheim, William Merrill, Douglass Price-Williams, and Barbara Tedlock (editor). This prominent text has become a *de facto* guide to ethnographic study of dream traditions. Drawing on dream traditions that span the globe, the chapters as a whole consider the meaning that is given to dream experience in distinct Non-Western cultural contexts, articulating an intellectual turn that views dream interpretation as a "complex communicative process," with an emphasis on "the description of alternative meaning and knowledge systems in their own terms" (*x*). In this way, the authors reject the prior reductive approach to dreams that viewed them as little more than fantasy or "primitive" modes of thinking.

The insights of the volume's authors are numerous: one area of particular value is the concern shared by many authors about the distorting impact of translation. For example, words like "dream" or "soul" fail to convey an adequate approximation of indigenous terminology. In particular, the authors use the word "dream" in the spirit of synecdoche: the English concept of dreaming as a visual experience during sleep is just one small part of the larger range of visual-perceptional experiences that also encompasses hallucination and trance, called "waking dreams" by Price-Williams (250). The term "soul" is similarly employed to describe an essential aspect of a person that communicates in "dreams," though Basso

suggests “wandering self” as an alternative that avoids the Judeo-Christian associations related to the prior term (“Implications” 92).

Another major point by these authors is that dreams in these cultures (as with Kichwa muskuy) belong to the realm of the real rather than the imagined. Michael Brown demonstrates that for Aguaruna of Peru, dreams reveal “emergent possibilities” or events in development. Barbara Tedlock outlines views among Zuni and Quiché that dreams are “actions in themselves” that are not fully realized until something happens in waking life (“Zuni” 119). Much the same can be said of Amazonian Kichwa dreams.

The articles in *Dreaming* foreground the importance of dream narratives for indigenous communities although the scope of their project does not typically include textual analysis: the primary interest is dream content or communicative act in a cultural context. Still, many of the articles acknowledge that the narration and interpretation of dreams is a performative process and a source of authoritative knowledge. For instance, Brown argues that for Aguaruna, a speaker’s authority comes from prior experience, from sharing stories, in addition to practical competence, rhetorical skill, and ritual knowledge (167). Kracke, for his part, observes that for the Kagwahiv, the telling of dream stories is multimedia and multi-sensorial: “like poetry, [these stories] communicate their message by depicting (albeit verbally) vivid visual, acoustic, and even tactile images….the image evoked in the mind of the listener is more powerful and personal than any offered ready-made” (37). These assertions bolster the case for studying dream narratives as verbal and performative art.

The observations from *Dreaming* permeate subsequent ethnographic scholarship on dream traditions (such as Galli, Groark). Drawing from the insights of her previous co-authors, Barbara Tedlock herself distinguishes Western interpretive models from indigenous ones, by noting that English and other moder Western language speakers tend to reduce dreams to their elements for referential meaning ("Sharing"). In these contexts, dreams may be reduced to a list of symbols that are included in, or interpreted according to, dream symbol dictionaries. In contrast, indigenous methods of dream interpretation can be divided into three general approaches: "intratextual," which involves breaking a narrative into isolated elements that are read symbolically or literally; "contextual," wherein the "immediate social and personal environment of the dreamer" is key to interpretation, such that if a dreamer is ill, the dream will be interpreted as cause and cure (90); and finally, "intertextual," in which content and context are both examined, so that dream is compared to other dreams and mythology, such that a dream element could be interpreted based on what a myth tells about the nature of a character or object (90-91). The second and third categories are especially ripe for textual analysis.

As a whole, the ethnographic approaches to dreams and their interpretation provides important insights about how Runa and other indigenous people understand and share their dream experiences. Whether focused specifically on *muskuy* or on related practices, the authors that I have discussed in this section articulate the framing structures that give particular meaning to dream and vision experiences.

Psychoanalytic Ethnography

Thus far, the works I have described have largely been ethnographic studies, but there is also a significant body of research that analyzes indigenous dream narrative traditions through a psychoanalytic lens, known as psychoanalytic ethnography. As Aaron Denham indicates in his review of this approach, there is currently no central, definitive orientation to psychoanalytic ethnography. Nevertheless, the work of Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung provide the foundational theories and terminology for this area of study. Since I specifically reject this interpretive model in this dissertation, it is important to clarify what its methods and finding entail.

For the present work, the most significant assertion of Freud's theory is that dreams are one mechanism by which the unconscious mind allows repressed desires, anxieties, or trauma to be known to the conscious mind. Since these desires and preoccupations would be deeply disturbing if displayed plainly, they are disguised to protect the conscious mind (Storr 40-56). Thus, the manifest content of a dream (the content that is remembered upon awakening) encodes and obscures the latent (hidden) content of desires and fears. Freud identifies several processes by which the manifest dream content is made less disturbing, including condensation (fusion of different ideas into one image); displacement (one idea replaced by a less disturbing one); representation (thoughts converted into images); and symbolization (an objects signifies something else, usually related to sexuality) (Freud *XV*). To interpret a dream, one must decipher its parts to make the latent (concealed) content knowable. Dream interpretation is thus one way to make the "self" known to itself, to bring the

hidden aspects of a person's being into consciousness so it can be processed. Thus, Freud's famous formulation: "the interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of unconscious activities of the mind" (Freud *V*, 608). In this regard, individual elements of dreams are vitally important for interpretation, while the creative and artistic components are merely part of sublimation; in other words, artistry is ornamentation that makes the unacceptable fears and desires into socially acceptable imagery.

This notion of dream as an expression of something buried in the dreamer's mind is carried through into the otherwise divergent theory of C.G. Jung, a former disciple of Freud's. For Jung, dreams convey repressed wishes and traumatic memory, just as Freud had posited, but they also connect to the "collective unconscious," the common ancestral memory and experience of all humankind that is preprogramed in the human mind (Stevens 102-119). In Jung's view, there is an inherent human predisposition to have certain types of experiences, which accounts for the recurrence of certain images and motifs, called archetypes, in myths and legends from all over the world (Jung *Two Essays*). Dreams, he argues, have a biological function that serves the best interests of the individual, promoting balance and personal development. Rather than "interpretation" of dreams, Jung advocates for a method of "amplification": to immerse oneself in the world of the dream in order to understand it on several levels (*Nature*). Through amplification, the personal, cultural, and archetypal contexts of the dream are explored in turn.

Whereas Freud viewed dreams as obscuring content, for Jung, dreams were revelatory. But in both cases, as in psychoanalysis in general, the content of dreams

comes from within the dreamer her- or himself. If dreaming is communication, it is only communication between two aspects of the same person. Although subsequent approaches to dream analysis frequently diverge from these foundational models, one core tenet is maintained; that by interpreting dream narratives, we gain insight into the inner workings of either an individual's mind (as with Freud) or a collective unconsciousness (Jung).

In the context of Amazonian dream narrative, psychoanalytic ethnography is a prevalent methodology, found in the works of Phillipe Descola and Waud Kracke, two foremost scholars of Amazonian indigenous dream traditions, as well as in Kevin Groark's recent work on Tzotzil Maya dream narratives. Since the Achuar and Kagwahiv traditions that Descola and Kracke work with, respectively, are very similar to Kichwa dream practices, their studies are the most relevant works for comparison with my analysis. Groark's work, also discussed below, provides a unique psychoanalytic approach.

To begin, Philippe Descola's article, "Headshrinkers or Shrinks" (1989) on Achuar dream theory is an influential text that fuses a Freudian orientation with Lévi-Strauss' structuralism, linking myth and dream as metaphorical expressions of "unresolved emotional conflict" (448). His work is especially pertinent to my own study since the Achuar and Pastaza Runa are closely related. Descola describes dream categories among the Achuar and identifies general principles of interpretation. Achuar principally interpret dreams through a metaphorical lens, by considering how elements relate to one another. Conclusions about meaning are drawn by inverting relationships (i.e. a giver becomes a receiver) or finding homology and symmetry in

dream and waking life and between animal or spirit and human life. He observes that Achuar avoid a "fixed set of correspondences between stereotyped symbols and augural meaning," of the type that are found in dream dictionaries (447). Some dreams require no decipherment at all because they are taken at face value as direct dialogue with physically separate acquaintances or "ontologically distant" beings (448). Although Descola pays some attention to the Achuar's conceptualization of dreaming, his psychoanalytical-structural focus is predicated on the assumption that dreams are inner preoccupations made manifest to the conscious mind. Therefore, he is less concerned with the internal logic of dreams as the Achuar understand them.

Waud Kracke's work on the Kagwahiv dream culture is based on similar suppositions; namely, that dreaming is a form of thinking by way of the symbolic expression of desires and fears ("Myths"). As a methodology, he is not interested in "pathologizing" cultures or individuals, however. Instead, in his body of scholarship, Kracke frequently uses narrative and linguistic analysis of dream accounts to demonstrate that dreams encode unconscious desires or preoccupations in ways that are culturally patterned. As he articulates with Gilbert Herdt in the "Introduction" to an edition of *Ethnos* dedicated to "Interpretation in Psychoanalytic Anthropology" (1987), Kracke proposes a methodology that distinguishes between personal fantasy and "culturally patterned social form" while also studying the relationship between the two, such as how personal fantasy is informed by cultural patterns (4). In this approach, often the dream narrative is analyzed to support psychoanalytic suppositions. For example, in "A Language of Dreaming" (1999), Kracke concludes that his "informant" Gabriela's dreams about flooding (following a conversation on

the same topic) provides evidence of "day residue" (261), Freud's term for the appearance of memories from daily life in dreams. Kracke also uses Gabriela's story as evidence that narration is a mode of wish fulfillment (268). Even though she is not his "patient," he concludes that Gabriela reworks prior conflicts and feels better overall by telling her dreams experiences to him. Through his body of work, Kracke takes care to acknowledge that the Kagwahiv have a different understanding of what dreams are and how they operate than he does (as in "Dreams of Deceit," "To Dream"). Nonetheless, he always returns to psychoanalysis as the *de facto* explanatory model.

In a more recent approach, Kevin Groark's work, "Discourse of the Soul" (2009), on Tzotzil Maya dream narratives joins psychoanalytic ethnography with discourse analysis through detailed linguistic study that he uses to outline the experience of agency and volition in dreams. Like Kracke, his study uses exegetic translation to emphasize elements of speech such as reportative language, framing devices, and perspectival shifts. These elements serve to mitigate a speaker's personal responsibility for dream content, since, for Tzotzil Maya like Runa, dreams are externally caused and are not thought to reflect a person's own fears or desires. The speech elements emphasize the lack of responsibility of the dreamer. Uniquely, Groark proposes the creation of a "cultural psychodynamic approach" which merges cultural anthropology with linguistics and psychoanalysis. In his words, "such an approach emphasizes the ways in which local beliefs, social structure, symbolic resources, and the practices of everyday life serve to structuralize the psychic field, encouraging certain culturally specific psychodynamic configurations while

discouraging others" (716). As this quote shows, the focus remains on the psychoanalytic, but work in this field is now increasingly shown through and shaped by narrative and cultural ontologies. Furthermore, he recognizes that all cultural ontologies are real "insofar as people believe in them" and therefore are "effective constituents of thought, feeling and action" (716). From this orientation, his analysis elucidates the communicative mechanisms of dream narratives with greater concern for the Tzotil Mayas' culturally specific understanding of dream experience.

As we see, the tenets of psychoanalysis and the methods of psychoanalytic ethnography are prevalent approaches to indigenous dream practices. Although scholars who adopt these methods analyze narrative, I do not believe the psychoanalytic approach to dream interpretation to be the optimal methodology for study of indigenous dream narratives, as I will explain in the Analytical Methods section. Nonetheless, as I have shown here, the language from Freud and Jung as adopted and adapted by their many followers has provided a clear framework for approaching dream narratives from indigenous communities. It is possible that the dominance of the psychoanalytic approach to dreams is the reason that dream narratives have not been broadly studied as verbal art until now.

Ethnopoetic Approaches to Indigenous Verbal Art

Ethnopoetic analysis may be defined as critical study of the features and relationships of oral language in order to reveal the poetic aspects of oral discourse and its performance, such as figurative language, sound patterning (like rhyme, rhythm, alliteration), word choice, and syntax, among others. The approach in founded on the assumption that no artistic tradition is superior to another; rather,

special care may be required to appreciate the communicative and aesthetic practices belonging to the world's diverse communities. My own research methods are especially informed by the groundbreaking works of Richard Bauman and Dell Hymes, as well as a handful of scholars that specifically work with Kichwa discourse: namely, Regina Harrison, Michael Uzendoski, Janis Nuckolls, Eduardo Kohn, Tod Swanson, and Michael Wroblewski.

To begin, ethnopoetic analysis bridges the gap between the literary tradition and traditional anthropology. As Richard Bauman argues in *Story, Performance, and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative* (1986), traditional disciplinary divisions created circumstances in which verbal art was only partially considered. On the one hand, literary critics looked for the analogies to and sources of "more cultivated literature" in oral traditions, disregarding the social and vernacular elements that interest anthropologists. On the other hand, anthropologists would often overlook poetic form, treating oral literature as the "raw material" for other analysis, instead (*Story* 2, 5). To give oral traditions a complete treatment, Bauman conceives of verbal art as performance, an "indissoluble unity of text, narrated event, and narrative event" (7). In this formulation, "text" is the story of a narrative, while "narrated event" describes the details and ordering of the story; lastly, "narrative event" refers to conditions of place, time, and participants of a given telling of a story. No single element—the story, its ordering or the presentation—can be understood separate from the others.

Another important goal of Bauman's is to elucidate the artfulness of verbal performance by considering how speakers display skill and order events, and how the

specific details of any given performance shape the narrative's meaning. Central to his argument is the concept of emergence, which he uses to describe the uniqueness of each performance due to the "interplay between communicative resources, individual competence, and the goals of the participants, within the context of particular situations" (*Verbal* 38). Essentially, the structure of the text, the narrative event, and the social relationships of participants imbue an individual performance with meaning. These may be deeply tied to local knowledge systems and custom; thus, the first task in the study of performance, he argues, is to identify elements "in ways consistent with local understandings and relevant to the analytical problems at hand" (*Story* 3). In sum, all of these elements – textual, metatextual, and situational—must be considered in the analysis of verbal art. As Bauman sustains, attention to aspects of performance leads to more developed thinking about pattern, prosody (pattern of sound and rhythm), paralanguage (metacommunication that adds nuanced meaning, as through intonation, hesitation, facial expression) and dialogic construction (as composed in dialogue between speaker and interlocutor).

Similarly, Dell Hyme's influential body of writing provides many tools with which to analyze verbal art. His early work in sociolinguistics identifies the many elements that comprise oral narratives such as form and content, setting, scene, speaker, addresser and addressee, goals, outcomes, and norms of interpretation (*Foundations*, 54-62). These elements become important to his work on ethnopoetics, which Hymes argues should be descriptive of the features and relationship of a language and the many texts composed in that language. A scholar should ask, "How does the text in question work? What gives it form?" ("Helen" 48). To answer these

questions, one must consider grammar rules and forms of repetition, as well as performative elements such as pause, intonation, and turn taking, or aspects of a full text, like cohesion. To aid analysis and to make it easier to refer to specific passages, Hymes formats the transcriptions of oral texts by breaking utterances into units like line, stanza, scenes and acts ("Language"). While not all scholars of ethnopoetics have adopted Hymes' verse analysis method and formatting, they must take into account his observations that there are formal structures to orally presented discourse. Any time that an oral text is represented in a written format, many aspects will be erased, added, or distorted in the process.

The insights provided by Bauman, Hymes, and other like-minded scholars are too numerous to convey comprehensively here, yet they represent a valuable orientation to verbal art that permeates the scholarship of Kichwa discourse. The scholars whose work is surveyed below following the methodological footsteps of Bauman and Hymes, to trace the contours of Kichwa aesthetic expression in creation stories ('myths'), personal experience narratives and song. Though not all scholars of Kichwa verbal art describe their methodology as ethnopoetics, their contributions to areas of literature, linguistics, and anthropology also reveal the artistry of Kichwa oral discourse, which is the broad purpose of ethnopoetic analysis. While the focus of their individual studies varies by topic and scope, all of these scholars strive to articulate local Runa conceptions of aesthetic expression.

Ethnopoetic Elucidation of Kichwa Verbal Artistry

Of the earliest work on Kichwa verbal art, Regina Harrison's approach to Kichwa women's songs in *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the* Andes (1989) stresses

that to translate oral verse and prose is a linguistic and cultural task that requires decoding both words and cultural competencies of a speaker. A translator will be concerned with semantic equivalence, but also must translate for a non-native audience "a realm of unfamiliar cultural values" (*Signs* 28). This relates to both content and form of verbal art. To translate content requires situating the reader with the aid of contextualizing information about the internal logic, local knowledge, and community-specific presuppositions. Commentary must elucidate the text but also contend with misrepresentations of meaning that inevitably accompany translation. One example is the set of defining characteristics and values associated with gender in Andean-Amazonian indigenous societies that only partially overlap with Western notions of 'female' and 'male.'

As for form, Harrison describes the distinct poetic elements of Quechua verse. As she indicates, there is "an internal rhythm [that] marks the poetry of the song; Quechua [including Kichwa] discourse and poetry are laden with repetitions of words which are exactly the same or show evidence of slight change in syntactic and semantic structure in the many affixes of the language" (20). Seemingly minor differences in word choice are, in fact, subtle poetic features of discourse. Additionally, as a technique to communicate the untranslatable aspects of the Quechua language, Harrison adopts a previously underutilized but pragmatic method of placing the Quechua-language transcription next to its English translation in the body of her work, rather than not at all or as an appendix. This model grants the non-Quechua speaker access to a visual representation of the sounds of the language that

create internal rhyme and rhythm. It also conveys dignity to the original Quechua text by not subordinating it to the English translation or another language of literacy.

Of special note in Harrison's work is a chapter that she dedicates to a Kichwa woman's song that was learned in a wanduk muskuy (*datura* vision), "The Metaphysics of Sex: Quichua Songs from the Tropical Forest" (144-171). It is a unique example of a muskuy narrative reprinted in Kichwa as well as English, which is included to provide context for the song that a woman called Sisa learned. In Sisa's muskuy vision, the wanduk woman heals her, and an *ukumbi* snake woman commiserates with her, teaching her the song that Harrison ultimately recorded. In addition to her exegesis of the poetic and culturally situated elements of the song, Harrison demonstrates that muskuy vision is a source of power for Runa women. She establishes that women's songs are understood to have power upon other people, and that some of the most private and powerful songs come through the muskuy that humans induce (with ayawaska or wanduk) during a time of crisis. In the case of Sisa, the ukumbi snake woman's song is used to bind her family members to her. The song is so powerful, in fact, that while Sisa may sing it, she does not explain it in detail for fear of losing some of its power.

Another important observation of Harrison's is that the muskuy experience was a special opportunity for Sisa to see and learn. Without wanduk, the woman says, "mana yacharin mana rikun" ("nothing is fully understood, nothing appears") (166). In short, the vision was essential for the woman to learn her powerful song and understand her present circumstances. As an example of song and power being

acquired in muskuy, this chapter by Harrison is a significant work related to aesthetics, knowledge, and power in dream.

With a similar concern as Harrison for semantic and extratextual elements, Michael Uzendoski elucidates aspects of verbal artistry in Kichwa narrative and song. Of the many themes in his body of work related to ethnopoetic analysis are the representation of oral texts, the dialogic creation of these texts, and the embodied power of what he terms "somatic poetry." Beginning with written representations of oral texts, Uzendoski follows the method of verse analysis formulated by Dell Hymes in his studies of myth narrative, like "Twins and Becoming Jaguars" (1999) in order to examine verbal artistry as much from the perspective of the native language as possible. Following Hyme's model, Uzendoski formats text by separating utterances into lines, and groups them as verse and stanza according to natural breaks created by pause in speech. He also identifies scene and act divisions based on commonality of events and topics. All of these features are labeled in some way in his transcription. He notes a general rhetorical logic of *onset*, *ongoing*, and *outcome* in the narratives (Hymes, "Language" 409), as well as prominent poetic features of text, like semantic couplets, repetition, grammatical parallelism, syllabic patterning, rhetorical initial words and ending words. Furthermore, in the book *The Ecology of the Spoken Word* (2012) co-authored with Edith Calapucha-Tapuy, Uzendoski fortifies his translation and transcriptions with line drawings of the major gestures that correspond to the text

of storytelling events.[7] He and Calapucha-Tapuy also provide audio and video files of the transcribed performances on a website that accompanies the book. By doing so, the authors demonstrate that the narrative's meaning and beauty comes from much more than words that can be transcribed on a page.

Another major theme in Uzendoski's works is the inter-subjective quality of poetic Kichwa expression. Intersubjectivity is seen in many ways, such as the fact that many texts are "co-authored" with non-human beings, as in dreams and visions when these beings are interacting with the dreamer ("Beyond"; "Somatic"). Additionally, when one person tells a story, others expect to reciprocate with their own accounts ("Somatic" 22). These stories are meaningful as they intersect with other accounts and personal memories. Each narrative helps create webs of associations with personal experience as well as pan-Kichwa myths and "micro-myths" related to family and community-based stories ("Beyond" 52). Many narratives speak of or engage with the persons who comprise the landscape—forest features, beings both animate and inanimate, all of whom are literally alive in Runa thinking. For this reason, it can be said that texts are "'read' in the landscape via experience" (61). Just the sight of an ayawaska vine on a given tract of land, for example, can call to mind the image of the particular ayawaska spirit person that is known to occupy that tangible space, who is an actor in contemporary muskuy experiences as well as beginning-time stories.

[7] Nuckolls' article "Spoken in the Spirit of a Gesture" (2000) similarly uses images to enhance descriptions of narration.

Of Uzendoski's most significant contributions is his designation of Kichwa verbal art as "somatic poetry," a poetry of all the senses ("Somatic"): rather than a *thing*, somatic poetry describes, "what Amazonian Quichua people do in creating multi-modal works of art that draw upon the body's interconnectedness with the larger world…" (*Ecology* 24). In speaking and singing, the energy/soul-substance of *samai* (literally "breath") moves between people and places, and acts on the body to empower (or weaken) it. The body makes and becomes the text through the circulation of power. Uzendoski illustrates this with an account of *puma yuyu*, a plant that, when regularly ingested, is understood to turn humans into a jaguar upon their deaths. Having taken puma yuyu, and then hearing a story related to mythic jaguars, Fermin Shiguango told Uzendoski, "You see, these stories aren't just tales. They are real sources of power for us" ("Twins" 435). In his view, stories transform the body, the body shapes stories, and power circulates between human body and living landscape. In sum, Uzendoski articulates the complexity and beauty of storytelling as a shared experience.

From the disciplinary lens of linguistic anthropology, Janis Nuckolls' body of work elucidates the complex linguistic elements of Kichwa poetics as they relate to Runa values, preferences, and cultural concepts. On a theoretical level, Nuckolls argues that Kichwa narrative operates dialogically, in the sense that meaning emerges from the intersections of multiple voices and perspectives (*Lessons* 50-52). This builds on Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, which is based on his observation that the genre of novel is distinguished by a diversity of voice, language, and form. Nuckolls extends the concept to Runa oral discourse to describe "ecological

dialogism," a term is meant to "capture the insight that meaning is the result of dialogues, situations, and subsequent interpretations of what has been said, what has been done, and what has happened" (*Lessons* 52). Runa track the many perspectives and voices that make up their discourse in a variety of ways: through quoted dialogue, ideophones (symbolic words that depict concrete experiences through sound), and markers of perspective that demonstrate who is responsible for an assertion, whether the narrator or someone else. In *Lessons of a Quechua Strongwoman* (2010), Nuckolls shows these elements in the narratives told by the titular woman, Luisa Cadena, a Kichwa woman from Puka Yaku, a community in the tropical forest of Ecuador. Nuckolls' careful translations and explanation successfully convey the Runa woman's vast knowledge and wisdom.

Cadena, the strongwoman (*sindzhi warmi*), illustrates her own strength and knowledge in these narratives, using her own personal experiences to teach Nuckolls the Kichwa language. As Nuckolls explains, a sindzhi warmi is one who is "an active force in her own destiny and exercises her agency" (10). Cadena demonstrates her agency most clearly in her biographic narratives. Not only does she describe overcoming hardship in these stories, she also demonstrates great skill in using her voice and accumulated knowledge—derived from others and even dreams – to impact the course of her life. Nuckolls shows that Runa define strength in relationship to agency, and that agency requires learning. She explains that muskuy is one of the most important sources of knowledge since it reveals information about problems and concerns.

Additional linguistic insights into Kichwa verbal discourse come from the

scholarship of Eduardo Kohn, whose uses Piercean semiotics to argue that Runa narratives are acts that create an experience of 'knowing' rather than tokens of 'knowledge' ("Runa Realism"). According to Kohn, there is a fundamental difference between 'knowing' as a process and the reified concept of 'knowledge,' an encapsulation or object derived from knowing. Kohn explains this in terms of Pierce's categories of experience: 'firstness' relates to the qualities of feeling, like the experiences of smell, color, or other senses, while 'secondness' relates to events, how one thing affects another. 'Firstness' (potentiality) and 'secondness' (actuality) are both categories of *knowing*. 'Thirdness,' on the other hand, which encompasses habits and predictions built from patterns in qualities and events ('firstness' and 'secondness'), qualifies as 'knowledge.' In Kohn's analysis of a hunting narrative, he demonstrates the centrality of knowing rather than knowledge in Kichwa narration, arguing that various elements like sound symbolism and ideophones (as documented by Nuckolls) *simulate* the qualities and events of experience. This, he argues, is the function of language for Runa: "rather than to describe [qualities and events] more abstractly or to derive conclusions from them" ("Runa Realism" 172). This observation—that narrators enact experience rather than describing or drawing conclusions—extends far beyond nature stories to encompass a whole host of Kichwa narrative.

Complementary to Kohn's commentary on Kichwa discourse is Janis Nuckolls and Tod Swanson's theory of Runa speech ethics that is based on linguistic and performance analysis articulated in "Earthy Concreteness and Anti-Hypotheticalism in Amazon Quichua Discourse" (2014) and "Respectable

Uncertainty and Pathetic Truth in Amazonian Quichua-Speaking Culture" (2018). They observe that Runa generally prefer to avoid making generalizations and abstract assertions (like definitions), as well as hypothetical statements. Instead, Runa tend to respond to questions with detailed and heavily contextualized stories. Nuckolls and Swanson argue that this tendency is due to an overall anti-hypothetical orientation among Runa, and a preference for concrete examples based on personal experience ("Earthy"). Related to this, uncertainty is highly tolerated by Runa, even preferred to the possibility of overreaching with one's speech. Lacking the certainty of first-hand experience, a person risks being labeled a liar or exaggerator ("Respectable" 178). Thus, an important recourse for speakers is to refer to the source of information whenever possible, which is accomplished through evidential markers that indicate the perspective to which a statement is attributed, as well as sound symbolism and gesture. Discourse that uses these elements is described as *alli rimana,* "to speak well/beautifully." As the authors explain, "to speak beautifully is to speak with skillful analogies to nature using the sounds and movements of forest species to evoke concrete memories for interlocutors that, in their turn, give rise to memories of key life experiences" ("Earthy" 49). Thus, aesthetic qualities of speech are inextricably entwined with concerns for speaking truthfully.

Another important argument by Nuckolls and Swanson is that when certainty is expressed by Runa, as with dream and vision experience, this certainty is based on emotional truth that is accessed through empathy and emotional salience ("Respectable" 172). Given the "animistic perspectivism" of Runa thinking (the knowledge that humans and nonhumans alike experience life the same way from

within their own perspectives), humans can be confident about nonhumans' emotional states when they observe parallels to human behavior in their activity. Runa express confidence in their statements about the emotional lives of nonhumans on the basis of the perspective that they share.

Or, at least, this is what has been the case for most of the time that Kichwa discourse has been studied. Yet, as Michael Wroblewski substantiates in "Performing Pluralism" (2019) at present there is no singular orientation shared by all Runa or used in all circumstances with regard to verbal discourse. Wroblewski agrees that the "earthly concreteness" and anti-hypothetical modes have a long history and remain pervasive, but also argues that Kichwa speakers in the present are masters of many different modes of speaking and ways of knowing that they choose to employ strategically depending on context and their goals. A given speaker may be well versed in Western rhetoric and epistemology, for example, and yet intentionally choose a "traditional" mode of speech for expressed political purposes. This "discursive pluralism," is characteristic of Kichwa and indigenous modernity in general (183). While adoption of non-Runa orientations is most certainly part of an adaptive strategy for self-preservation, Wroblewski agrees with Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy that alternative discourses may be a source of counterpower (199). In line with Wroblewski's findings, it is important for scholars of Kichwa language to lend critical attention to the multiple and various modes of Kichwa discourse.

Analytical Methods

Like many of the authors of the previous section, my approach to muskuy narratives is part of an interdisciplinary mode of ethnopoetics. As part of this work, I

rely on ethnographic information to contextualize my narrative analysis. Doing so, I must consider attitudes, emotions and behaviors of Runa narrators and the actors in their stories. Specifically, I elucidate local conceptions of mental and emotional categories by explaining what it means for Runa to feel or express a particular emotion, such as anger (*pinay*). This is an important act of translation without which a great deal of meaning would be lost, since individuals' expressions of emotion follow (or break) social norms. For example, to leave a conversation in anger, as a young boy is described doing in Chapter 2, is understood by Runa to have far reaching consequences. Such an outburst could cause illness or result in losing one's human form. Without the type of "ethnographic psychoanalysis" that provides context for this emotional response, a non-Runa reader will fail to perceive the narrator's foreshadowing of the boy's transformation into a water spirit being: something that Runa pick up on immediately.

However, while psychoanalytic ethnography sometimes communicates indigenous concepts effectively, it often distorts or erases them instead. In this dissertation, I specifically depart from the trend in psychoanalytic ethnography that reads dream narratives as manifestations of the unconscious mind. This is because, in my assessment, this type of psychoanalytic ethnography often continues a colonizing relationship between Western scholarship and indigenous knowledge systems. Meanwhile, ethnopoetic methods that contextual narrative performance better elucidate indigenous epistemologies and artistic practices.

Although psychoanalytic ethnography and ethnopoetics were not developed in direct opposition to each other, they have fundamentally different assumptions about

indigenous knowledge systems. Many indigenous communities like the Runa understand dreams to be a form of communication between distinct persons that does not require physical or temporal proximity (Tedlock et al., *Dreaming*). Meanwhile, psychoanalytic models assume that dreams are products of a human mind, the manifestations of unconscious preoccupations. Although scholars of psychoanalytic ethnography may recognize the variation among conceptualizations of dream theory, such that they take care to describe the indigenous understanding of how dreams work, they ultimately tend to subsume indigenous orientations into the psychoanalytic framework. This mindset is illustrated by Henrietta Moore's explanation that, "just because people do not speak of having an unconscious and do not discursively or practically recognise the existence and functioning of the unconsciousness does not mean that they do not have an unconscious or that unconscious processes do not influence their developmental psychology" (31). The logic of this statement is partially sound: processes and entities can and often do exist without our awareness of them. Nonetheless, Moore presumes psychoanalytical theory is universally applicable, and fails to consider its historical and cultural basis.

Certainly, if we judge the Runa conceptualization of dreams on the basis of empirical verifiability, there is no compelling evidence that suggests that their conception of dreaming is correct. However, when the psychoanalytic view of dreams is put to the same level of scrutiny, it also fairs poorly. Most basically, there is a degree of circular reasoning in this approach, using the psychoanalytic framework for drawing conclusions about dreams, then using these conclusions to support the psychoanalytic framework. In fact, the most widely accepted, scientifically sound

theory of dreaming simply correlates dream experience with memory consolidation and learning; evidence indicates that dream experience is a product of physiological processes, when different parts of the brain are activated or inhibited during the sleep cycle (Hobson). While psychoanalytical concepts like the "unconscious" or "collective unconscious" may be compelling and provocative in contexts ranging from therapy to literary criticism, their value must be recognized as being socially situated, rather than empirically verifiable.

All of which is to say that the preference for psychoanalytic methodology in the study of dream practices is just that: a preference. Moreover, it is a culturally situated preference from within a Western tradition that has deemed psychoanalytic study of dreams as an appropriate approach to non-Western dream traditions. In this way, it is a preference that is part and parcel of a legacy of power relations in which a "unitary body of theory ...would filter, hierarchize, and order [subjugated knowledges] in the name of some true knowledge" (Foucault 83). In effect, the categorization of other knowledge systems as inferior to the Western system ("true knowledge") ultimately negates their classification as any kind of knowledge at all.

It is not necessary for scholars to share the knowledge system of the artist whose work they study; admittedly, I myself do not conceive of dreams as interpersonal communication as my Runa collaborators do. Nonetheless, even as we work within the Western scholarly tradition, it is necessary to challenge the assumptions we hold about truth and knowledge because to do otherwise perpetuates colonial relationships. In the language of Walter Mignolo's discussion of global hegemonic processes, the attitude that we must resist is the "modern, universal view

of knowledge and epistemology, where concepts are not related to local histories but to global designs [which] are always controlled by certain kinds of local histories" (66). In this case, he refers to the local histories of European heritage that since the Enlightenment have established the boundaries of knowledge around the scholarly traditions of science and the humanities. Rather than further silencing and delegitimizing a subaltern subjectivity, in this study I aspire to emulate Catherine Walsh's example by seeking "new loci of enunciation that depart from the knowledge experience and understanding of those who are living and thinking from colonial and postcolonial legacies" (506). By taking the local knowledge system as the guiding framework of my study, I strive to elucidate the Runa experience of dreaming and narrative performance.

Importantly, this stance is also typical among Runa themselves: Kichwa speakers expect local variation in knowledge systems even though they expect to find analogous behaviors. Different places will have different operational rules. I experienced such openness to difference while conducting my research, when my collaborators would take a moment to ask me what my "old people" say about dreams. They assumed that in my culture like theirs, elders would also hold a special place of esteem and authority, but they did not presume to know what their specialized knowledge would be. They were open to the possibility that my dreams might function differently than theirs do.

To illustrate the significance that methodology makes in limiting or opening interpretation, I will now provide a comparison of a psychoanalytic reading to a local Kichwa interpretation of the same dream story. On a purely practical level, by taking

an analytical approach that emerges from indigenous conceptualization of dreaming, we acquire a more nuanced understanding of the formal and aesthetic elements of verbal art. By contrast, the psychoanalytic mode nearly precludes narrative analysis by forcing a reading that focuses uniquely on personal preoccupations or cultural patterns.

Consider a common muskuy experience reported by Runa women: the *Chagra Mama*, a female spirit being who is a masterful gardener, either teaches the dreamer how to cultivate plants or gives her a gift that makes the human a better gardener. A Freudian approach to a narrative about such an experience might focus on the wish-fulfillment aspect of the dream: the dreamer desires to be a better gardener and therefore her subconscious reveals this to her. Jungians, on the other hand, might focus on the Chagra Mama, considering her to be the archetypal 'Mother,' a figure of fecundity. A psychoanalytic ethnographer like Kracke, might, as he does elsewhere, examine the linguistic elements of narrative that indicate the speaker's assessment of the validity of the experience overall, but ultimately re-categorizes the indigenous explanation through psychoanalytic descriptive language. So, if the dreamer believes that the Chagra Mama was communicating with her in a dream, Kracke would say that this *is* communication, but from one part of the dreamer's self to another (as he similarly argues in "Dreams as Deceit"). To the extent that the local socio-cultural understanding of dream elements is considered in any of these approaches, it mainly serves as evidence to validate the approach itself. The elements of the narrative such as characters and objects are taken as the most important part of the dream analysis, but as detached from the narrative form. This focus thereby leaves little room for the

artistic aspects of the story, such as descriptive language and intertextual resonances.

In contrast, by approaching the narrative with the tools of ethnopoetic analysis, we begin with the Runa understanding that the dream is a real, lived experience of communication that comes from outside the individual dreamer's mind. By emphasizing the Runa view of dreaming in my study, a fuller comprehension of the narrative structure and aesthetic elements is possible than with the psychoanalytic approach that limits the range of interpretations. When we recall that dream experience is part of reality for Runa, not fantasy but instead a special means of communicating and accessing information, we become oriented to the narrative form that does the work of conveying truth, credibility, and authoritative knowledge. The focus is no longer on the processes of the mind that created an experience in the first place, but on the processes of communicating and recreating an experience in aesthetically pleasing and authoritative manner. As interlocutors, we shift our focus from the emotion expressed through dreams to the emotion evoked in dream stories; away from the imagery "seen" internally, to the imagery "created" externally in the narrative event. And while the tools of narrative analysis and linguistics come from a Western scholarly tradition, they do not require a rejection of indigenous worldviews. As a result, we are more open to considering how verbal skill and emotional evocation create a sense of confidence about the truth and authority of information.

In my analysis of three muskuy narratives, therefore, I consider literary and linguistic elements (words, meaning, contexts of language use) as well as ethnographic context (emotional, social, cultural, historical, and political) in order to translate and approximate the fuller meaning of the narratives in their rich culturally

embedded context. In addition to the scholars described in the literature review, I also draw from insights of many other scholars within the disciplinary fields of socio- and pragmatic linguistics, literary criticism and anthropology, whose major contributions will be described in the chapters in which they appear (these include Mikhail Bakhtin, Bruce Mannheim and Krista Van Vleet, Erving Goffman, Harvey Sacks, Beth Conklin, Frank Hutchins, and Laura Graham). The contributions of these scholars draw our attention to the interpersonal aspect of narratives, whether with regard to the roles that speaker and listeners adopt in the performance of a narrative, or in relation to the large-scale sociopolitical implications of using one form of discourse rather than another. As will become apparent, I also rely on the interpretations and explanations of several Runa collaborators to elucidate the meaning of textual elements. The contributions from this last set of indigenous experts are undoubtedly the most valuable, as they are uniquely able to elucidate the associations evoked by muskuy narratives.

Another major concern of ethnopoetic analysis is the translation and formatting of text, since these may have deeply distorting effects, even rendering some aspects imperceptible, such as pause and volume. A keen translation of an oral narrative will prioritize the elements of speaking that convey meaning extra-linguistically while maintaining the accessibility of the message of the text. Hymes' and Dennis Tedlock's models of transcription and translation are the most influential models for this work: both strive to re-code as much information as possible from oral performance into a written form, using font size and position alongside careful, literary translation (D. Tedlock "Translation") as well as formatting oral texts as

written verse, placing line breaks where there are pauses in speech or when there is a change in topic (Hymes "Use"). Unlike Tedlock and Hymes, I prefer a very simple formatting that breaks lines where there are pauses and other implicit phases markers. For other aspects of speech, I direct the reader to the video recordings that accompany this dissertation. Even though the viewer may not understand the Kichwa words, the combination of subtitles with the speaker's intonation and performance better convey meaning than written transcript alone might. This is consistent with other recent trends, in which scholars enhanced their textual translation with images depicting gestures (rather than words describing them) (Nuckolls "Spoken"), as well as with video and audio files (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy). Considering the ubiquity of internet video platforms, these tools overcome some of the barriers that readers of oral narrative in transcription often face. Nevertheless, transcription, translation, and even video files of a given performance remain merely tools for approximating a single utterance of a narrative in a specific setting. In each chapter, I give as many of the details as possible of the setting and circumstances in which each narrative was recorded, especially in regard to the narrators themselves, and provide subtitled video clips to directly show gesture and sound from the narrative event. These performative elements are as meaningful as the words being uttered and I consider their impact on meaning-making in turn.

Narrative Sources

The muskuy narratives that I include in each chapter are just a few of more than two dozen accounts that I recorded over the course of several stays in Ecuador from 2014-2016. While the recordings were conducted in the past few years, this

project was born of experiences from over a decade ago. In 2006, while an undergraduate at Dartmouth College, I spent 10 weeks living in the Comunidad Yawari, outside of Archidona, Ecuador. As an English teacher for a summer program that prepared students for *colegio* entry exams, I spent all my spare time with my Runa hosts and students who were equally intent on teaching me their language and stories. During that time, I heard several women tell long dream narratives to each other, the details and beauty of which I could catch only glimpses of through the translations that their children made for me. In 2011, after studying Peruvian Quechua from Ayacucho at the Ohio State University, I returned to Ecuador to study Kichwa at the Andes-Amazon Field School, some 30 kilometers away from the home of my former hosts. There, I became intrigued by the narratives related to the events before, during, and following muskuy experiences that Kichwa speakers from Napo and Pastaza provinces would share with students.

As part of my fieldwork, I formally interviewed eight different Runa individuals, most of them on several occasions over a few years, in June and July of 2014 to 2016. I also discussed dreams and visions with dozens of other people during that time: especially with the many members of the Shiguango family of Yawari, the Andi family of Venecia del Norte, the Dagua family living in Canelos, and the Cadena sisters who live outside Puyo and are from Montalvo. I quickly learned that asking someone directly to tell me about muskuy was not always sufficient to evoke a narrative. Instead, my procedure generally consisted of spending time with Runa while they were otherwise occupied with work, waiting for narratives to naturally arise. I found that Runa mentioned their muskuy experiences when in the company of

other Kichwa speakers, or when teaching students and professors about the plants and animal species. On several occasions, I asked Runa to tell me about the muskuy that they had mentioned earlier in the day. And on a few, fortuitous occasions, I was able to record the spontaneous narration of a story.

Most of the stories that I recorded spoke to some deeply meaningful event in a Runa woman's or man's life. They weren't typically told during our first conversation: in fact, I had to earn the trust of people who have grown accustomed to outsiders coming and going, rarely to return. I was very fortunate to earn trust by extension from scholars like Tod Swanson and Janis Nuckolls, whose collaborators were generous with me as a student of these respected figures. Likewise, my friends from Yawari bolstered confidence in new acquaintances by taking time during introductions to describe how often I returned to visit and what gifts I have given them, which is a common way to express positive relations with non-kin in indigenous communities (Conklin *"*For Love"). These scholars and friends validated my work before it had begun. Then, over the course of several annual visits, I developed stronger bonds with a few of my collaborators, especially Eulodia and Bélgica Dagua whose narratives are the basis of two chapters here. First as a student of Kichwa, then as Teaching Assistant for an Amazonian Arts course, I spent long periods each day sitting and talking to these women while they made pottery. On only one occasion was it unnecessary to earn the confidence from my indigenous interlocutor that had been so necessary with the others: when interviewing Gerardo Gualinga of Sarayaku. This was because I had arranged for myself and three other scholars to interview Gerardo and other community members prior to my paid tourist

visit to this remote but highly visible community. Possible other reasons for Gualinga's forthcomingness are explored further in Chapter 3.

With a few dozen recordings, I had a wealth of narratives to choose from for my textual analysis. After choosing a narrative to be included, I completed a full transcription of the recording, translated this text into Spanish for consultation with bilingual native speakers, and then referred to these notes to complete a separate translation from Kichwa into English. This time-consuming process led me to choose only a few narratives, though most of my recordings were as moving and provocative as the ones I have chosen for the present work. I chose the specific narratives included here because they illustrate different aspects of Kichwa muskuy discourse, and were stories that had been told on multiple occasions, indicating to me that they were the exact type of dream narrative I was interested in: dreams that have continued saliency for individuals and communities. These are dreams that are remembered and told time and again.

Each narrative relates to slightly different circumstances of muskuy, from a dream during sleep, to a combination of sleep and waking dreams, and an ancestral ayawaska vision. They also speak to the increasingly larger circles of Runa inter-personal relationships: from the one-to-one interactions with a clay owner spirit, to a family's collective visions of their son and brother, to a seven-town community's relation to a specific territory in a global context. In addition to these three primary narratives, I draw from other interviews that I conducted and from published accounts of narratives in ethnographies and collected volumes of origin (myth) stories.

The chapters are structured to provide as much information about the participants and conditions of narration as possible to account for the meaning that emerges from the unique circumstances as is typical of ethnopoetic analysis. A full transcription of each narrative is provided in the text of the chapter itself instead of being appended to the dissertation as a whole. There is precedence for this formatting choice in work on indigenous verbal art (see Ellen B. Basso's *The Last Cannibals* or Catherine Allen's *Foxboy*); additionally, this practice should be considered in the spirit of a Runa methodology in which detailed, heavily contextualized stories are given in response for outside scholars' questions. The reader will feel uncertainty and contend with ambiguity, but can also make personal associations and feel emotional resonances before being guided through a detailed analysis of the narrative performance and aesthetic elements.

Chapter 1 begins with an ethnographic account of how knowledge and authority are part of the maturation process for Kichwa speakers, to argue that muskuy is a source of knowledge and authority that has a gendered and "gendering" quality. Muskuy is one of several means by which a child acquires skills, and becomes a woman, and muskuy narrative is a way of sharing feminine knowledge and demonstrating feminine skill and authority. In the chapter, I examine a narrative that I recorded of Eulodia Dagua regarding her own dream foretelling the discovery of clay that she uses to make ceramics to support her family. First, I explicate the narrative following the modes of Kichwa muskuy interpretation that I have learned from my conversations with Runa, by looking for associations from other stories and common experiences from a tropical forest environment. Next, I examine Eulodia's narrative

technique in relation to gesture, vocal qualities, and sound symbolism that are equally important as the events described in conveying Eulodia's profound skill as dreamer, potter, and narrator.

In Chapter 2, I expand my frame of reference to consider the role of voice and perspective in the narrative process, specifically discussing the way that multiple voices, perspectives, and dialogical resonances are fundamental to conveying credible and authoritative knowledge in muskuy narrative. Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism accounts for the way that meaning emerges in the nexus between speaker and interlocutor, through the former's implied meaning and the latter's interpretation. Dialogue in a more literal sense is also considered in two ways. First, by examining how Kichwa speakers distinguish their own and other perspectives in narration, we see that the authority is built on the foundation of other people's experiences. Second, the interlocutors in a narrative performance are expected to interject with their own comments and stories that validate the original story, making a storytelling event a communal act. The chapter is centered on a narrative event in which Bélgica Dagua recounts to her own sister, another Runa man, and me the events leading up to and following her brother's transformation into a yaku runa (water spirit person). Our presumed knowledge and comprehension are shown to inform the narrative choices that Bélgica makes, and our participation co-creates an authoritative, credible story.

Where Chapter 2 examined the central relationship of narrator and interlocutor in the meaning-making process in which all parties share a local paradigm and/or knowledge base, Chapter 3 explores the variations of narrative form that emerge when narrator and interlocutor have very distinct worldviews. For indigenous

communities seeking support for their own social and political agendas from international donors, local knowledge and narratives may be a source of authority that outsiders respond to in tourist, philanthropic and social media forums. While the modifications that indigenous actors make has been viewed with some suspicion as potentially commodifying culture or distorting of "authentic" forms, the reality is that indigenous peoples today, including Kichwa speakers, are adept at engaging different linguistic codes and knowledge systems in varying contexts. Selective incorporation of non-indigenous references and language is strategic and creative. In this chapter, I argue that the Kichwa concern for conveying credibility and authority remains at the forefront of narrative choices in performances of an ancestral story of muskuy vision, even when that performance is in an atypical context. I compare the long-form narrative of a traditional style muskuy narrative to social media posts and quotes about the same story that are directed to non-local audiences. A story of dream vision is strategically reframed as "prophecy" to convey a sense of ancestral, indigenous truth and authority to non-Runa.

Whether deeply personal or belonging to an entire community, dream narratives are a valuable source of knowledge for Kichwa speakers. Through imagery, sound, and gesture, emotionally evocative performances convey depth of truth and authority, while also constituting an aesthetically complex verbal art form.

Chapter 1: *Warmi Muskuy* / Women's Dreams

On a sunny June morning, Eulodia Dagua stands knee-deep in a cloudy stream, pulling pale grey clay from the water. She smiles shyly at the students and scholars that surround her on the property of the Iyarina Lodge outside Tena, Ecuador, where she assists in the teaching of Kichwa and ceramics for the Andes-Amazon Field School. Focused on her work, she takes a pinch of the clay to her lips, hoping to taste the sweet flavor of high-quality ceramic clay. Satisfied, she then swiftly picks away the twigs and pebbles that are stuck to its surface before handing chunks the size of newborn babies over to her aunt. The older woman crouches on the bank nearby, bundling the clay in leaves and plastic bags for transport. From their comments, it is clear that the women are pleased with their find. At first, they speak quietly, but soon their laughs rise above the steady drone of insects that keeps the forest buzzing with life. Eulodia tells her aunt that last night she was arrested by a police officer in her dream. In response, her aunt suggests that Eulodia is the one to take a prisoner today. To them, the connection is clear: the officer was actually the clay keeper spirit, and in a role-reversal, instead of him taking Eulodia away, she is now taking something of his.

Later that afternoon, during the Advanced Kichwa class held at the Andes-Amazonian Field School at Iyarina, I ask Eulodia to tell us more about her dream. Looking from the students to Dr. Tod Swanson, the school director who is helping me conduct my first interview, she begins to speak with great animation, raising and lowering the pitch of her voice and gesturing with her hands. The story that she recounts consists of two episodes: the first features a boa with long black hair that

Eulodia's husband briefly captures, and the second includes an argument with a local woman that escalates into a police encounter, resulting in Eulodia being locked in a holding pen, where she is fed a generous meal of steamed fish by an officer in uniform. In Eulodia's expert understanding, these dream experiences were real interactions that she had with a *Manga Allpa Amu*, a spirit being that controls reserves of clay. What Eulodia had perceived as a police officer giving her fish was, in fact, the spirit being giving her some of its clay.

A dream encounter like this one is auspicious for a woman like Eulodia, for whom pottery making is a source of pride and valuable income. In Runa thinking, only a woman would have such a dream because pottery making belongs to the feminine domain; furthermore, to have earned a generous gift from a spirit being, a woman necessarily would be mature, hardworking, and highly skilled. For Eulodia, this dream experience validates her diligent efforts and feminine power. To reach the point of being sought out by a Manga Allpa Amu in a dream, Eulodia must have proven herself to be a *sindzhi warmi*, a term meaning "strong woman" that connotes perseverance, diligence, self-actualization, clear vision, strong relationships with others, and significant artistic ability (Nuckolls *Lessons*). By composing and performing a narrative from her dream, Eulodia further proves her strength by creatively employing a host of narrative, vocal, and gestural techniques that serve to recreate the experience for her listeners, while simultaneously convincing them of her credibility as narrator and her authority (expertise) as a woman.

In this chapter, I examine the Runa conceptualization of femininity and feminine power that are vital to comprehending the local significance of Eulodia's

narrative, as well as the interpretive and narrative techniques by which Eulodia conveys that she has feminine knowledge and power. I begin with the gendered knowledge that is understood to act upon and be expressed through the human body; I then address the way that this knowledge may be used to interpret Eulodia's *muskuy* narrative. Finally, I examine the poetic features of narrative performance that recreate a dream experience for listeners and bolster the distinctly feminine authority of the narrator.

Runa Conceptions of Gender and Femininity

Before examining the interpretation and narrative technique of Eulodia's narrative, it is first necessary to outline Runa conceptions of gender. For Kichwa speakers, to be *warmi* (woman/female) or *kari* (man/male) is to embody gender-specific characteristics, defined by the convergence of body, behaviors, and the circulation of powers. The Kichwa language does not distinguish between sex, gender, or sexual orientation in its terminology. Instead, the word "warmi" is used as both noun and adjective in contexts that roughly correspond to the English categories of "woman," "female," and "feminine." The same is true of the word "kari" to denote "man," "male," and "masculine." In Runa thinking, warmi and kari are binary oppositions: gender identity, gender traits, and sexual orientation are expected to align with biological sex, with some exceptions.[8] Furthermore, to be truly warmi or

[8] As in other languages, Kichwa categories and social norms do not fully account for the reality experienced by individuals. Although gender in Tropical Lowland Kichwa languages is described through binary terms, in the broader Quechua language sphere,

kari is to be fully sexually and emotionally mature, a woman or man instead of a girl or boy.

As in all communities, ideas about what constitutes femininity or masculinity are informed by dominant discourses that are gradually but constantly changing. What it means for Runa to be feminine or masculine varies slightly from one generation to the next, but there are many consistencies. At present, *warmiguna* (women) care for domestic responsibilities of child rearing, cultivating gardens, making *aswa* (fermented manioc brew) and pottery, and so on. In contrast, *kariguna* (men) are still expected to be the primary providers for the family. Hunting and fishing, construction, and weaving are all traditionally male activities, even if not all men engage in them. To induce an *ayawaska muskuy* or *wanduk muskuy*[9] is also a man's specialty, although women are not prohibited from doing so. Traditionally, female and male tasks have been complementary, each sex providing half of a household's needs. Although there have been many lifestyle changes in Runa culture

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non-binary gender and sexuality have been noted. For example, Michael J. Horswell documents a "third-gender" in the figure of the *ipas*, ritual specialists that mediated between feminine and masculine spaces in the indigenous Andes at the time of first contact with European peoples.

[9] The experiences caused by *ayawaska* ("ayahuasca" in English; *Banisteriopsis caapi*) and *wanduk* (*Datura*) are typically called "hallucinations" in English, but "muskuy" in these contexts is more accurately translated as "waking dreams" (Price-Williams 250).

due to the demands of working away from home, women's traditional roles are stable, since women are still expected to take charge of childcare and food preparation.

While younger generations and town-dwelling Kichwa women have adopted many of the practices and dress of mainstream *mestizo* society, women like Eulodia, who are rural-living and over 40 years old, are especially likely to maintain more traditional expressions of femininity. Among the demographic of Kichwa women that comprise older generations and rural-living women, femininity is expressed through the wearing of skirts or dresses and a style of long hair tinted a dark black by applying *wituk* stain. Short hairstyles, and the use of make-up and pants are increasingly common, but these are signs that a woman participates in mainstream society. Runa in general avoid overt conflict and expressions of anger, but women in particular are promoters of positive social relationships. They are responsible for providing ample food and drink to their family and guests. They may drink alcoholic beverages, but not to the extent that they lose control or are unable to care for their family. These women also have a unique pattern of laughter that slides up the musical scale at opportune moments, especially to dissipate tension or sadness. While they tend to defer to men in a variety of settings, they are also vocal defenders of their children and active participants in all aspects of civic life.

In many societies the ability to complete a gender-aligned task does not necessarily correspond to the embodiment of gendered characteristics: for example, a very "feminine" woman might complete "male" work. But for Runa, work is a cause of gendered characteristics. In other words, physical labor literally creates a gendered body (Gúzman Gallegos 56-63). Children's gender identities are expected to conform

to their biological sex but being born female or male is not sufficient to eventually mature into a woman or man in the fullest sense. Instead, Runa would take Simone de Beauvoir's famous phrase literally, "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (301). For Runa, a child becomes warmi or kari after years of gradual transformation from malleable youth to solidified adult. The change is as much about conscientious action on the part of a young person as it is about purposeful interventions by the mature adults in their lives (Gúzman Gallegos 62).

The Transformational Power of Work

Runa believe that sex is determined at conception, but they also believe that babies are highly susceptible to external forces, such that characteristics of people and animals can "rub off" on them. During pregnancy, parents are careful about what they eat and do for fear that their child will be impacted. Babies may absorb the attributes of food as if through osmosis; parents avoid eating the meat from nocturnal animals, for example, so that their child will not stay awake all night. Similarly, an expectant parent might avoid killing snakes for fear that the fetus will wriggle and die in the same manner. In the first few years of life, children are like soft, fresh clay, easily modeled or misshapen. It is no coincident that babies are called *llullu*, meaning tender and soft.

In early childhood, parents and elders "mold" their offspring carefully, teaching them to complete tasks that are divided along gender lines. Work is meant to be complementary and reciprocal, such that a household requires both male and female labor to be successful. For Runa, physical labor is not just determined *by* gender but is also a determinant *of* gender because it is believed to imbue the body

with a gendered quality (Guzmán Gallegos).[10] In this way, feminine activities like cultivating gardens, child rearing, and making aswa (chicha) and pottery are understood to cause the body and character of a child to be female. The same is true of masculine activities, like hunting, fishing and heavy labor, which contribute to the body becoming male.

[10] María Guzmán Gallegos explores the connections between work and gender in *Para que la yuca beba nuestra sangre: trabajo, género y parentesco en una comunidad quichua de la Amazonía ecuatoriana* (1997).

Fig. 1. Eulodia Dagua applying resin to pottery, photograph by Lisa Carney, 15 July 2016.

Gender and labor are part of a positive feedback loop, one reinforcing the other. As María Guzmán Gallegos (1997) argues, labor is a means by which gender is internalized; once gender is part of the body, it is subsequently manifested through the production of certain objects. As she explains, by making certain objects, it is as if "la mujer o el hombre se crearan a sí mismos y al género de sus cuerpos" ("a woman or a man created themselves as well as the gender of their bodies"; 61). A child is taught to make pottery because she has the external form of a girl, but she makes her body truly "female" by creating pottery. Francesca Mezzenzana furthers this point by arguing that women's work, more so than men's, has a visible manifestation in the form of manioc, aswa, and pottery ("Difference").

This being the case, it is also true that participating in the activities of the opposite gender is thought to have an impact on the gender constitution of the body. While the physical body will not substantially change from an external perspective, the very being of a person will be affected. For example, men who engage in sexual activity with other men may be called warmi, or *warmishina*, as a result. Likewise, a woman who hunts may call herself kari or *karishina*.[11] As these examples suggest, sometimes the crossing of gender-based binaries is due to intrinsic characteristics,

[11] This type of language is not always meant derogatorily, though the term warmishina tends to have a more negative connotation for men than the corresponding term for women.

like sexuality and gender identity (to use Western terms), and at other times it is a necessity of circumstance. Women whose husbands have died, traveled away from home for work, or are poor providers due to unemployment, disability, or substance abuse may find themselves in a position that requires them to complete work typically done by men. One woman interviewed by Guzmán Gallegos lamented her husband's "ineptitud," saying that now that she was the sole provider for her family, she had become "mitad-hombre y mitad-mujer" (60). As in this circumstance, women often take on men's work because there is no other option.

While a woman would not want to find herself in this position, she may not feel that her womanhood is diminished by the masculine work, either. This is illustrated by a song that Regina Harrison recorded of a Runa woman from the eastern slopes of the Andes. The woman described herself as part man, part woman, expressing her physical strength in terms of gender fluidity. In her song, she expresses the connection between work and body, passed down to her by her womenfolk, the women of the Andi family: "Andi warmi supayga / kari warmi maniri / imara tarabasha / wañungalla sirisha / kunanmari atarik" ("Andi woman's strength. / I am, perhaps, man-woman. / I will do all kinds of work. / I'll only lie down to die. / Now, for sure, I'm on my feet") (139). Later commenting on her song, this woman explains that she is a good worker who hunts and fishes like a man, even though, as a photo of her shows, she dresses as a woman (141). Her use of the term "supay" in this context denotes a personal strength that is handed down from women of one generation to the next: for this woman, becoming man-like is part of the feminine strength of her Andi foremothers.

It is not necessarily frowned upon for a person to complete the work of the opposite gender: the worst-case scenario would be for a child to fail to become a mature adult from the lack or misuse of labor. This is a sign of moral failing described as being *killa* (also "quilla"), a word that signifies lack of effort, the misdirected use of a person's energies and even sexual promiscuity, thereby connoting immaturity (Swanson, "Singing" 48).[12] When an adult (in terms of age) cannot perform the proper tasks of her gender, she effectively remains as a child, much like a woman from long ago who was "como un infante, pues no podia hacer nada con sus manos" ("like a child, since she could not do anything with her hands"; Guzmán Gallegos 62). Such a woman, as in the case of the story recorded by Guzmán Gallegos, is often isolated from any female relatives who should have taught her the proper feminine tasks when she was younger.

On Interpersonal Transfer of Gendered Power

Despite the centrality of physical labor in the process of becoming warmi, it is just one of several elements in a complex gender equation. Certainly, children watch and imitate their elders, who in turn guide their efforts with direct instruction. But purposeful interventions by elders on younger people also have a gendering effect. Mature adults pass along gendered attributes, specifically by attending to a young

[12] In all cases—as laziness, immaturity, or sexual promiscuity-- killa is the quality of lacking self-control and limited self-reflection. Other related categories are described in Nuckolls and Swanson, "Respectable," 178.

person's diet and by passing special talents via breath and touch.[13] In the specific case of would-be ceramicists, a young woman usually attains her basic ability to make pottery by observing and imitating her adult female relatives during her childhood or her husband's female relatives upon marriage.

A woman increases her skill through practice, but special talent is acquired through contact with other gifted persons, human or otherwise. Called *paju* by Pastaza Runa, this special talent or skill is a highly prized commodity that may be purchased, exchanged, and even stolen. In the consensual exchange of paju, often between a mother and her daughter, an adult woman shares her paju through her hands. Harrison describes the passing of *lumu paju*, the ability to grow abundant manioc, as a process in which a mother grasps and tugs on her daughter's fingers in a "motion similar to milking" (137). She notes that the process is not necessarily ritualistic, but rather a very practical interaction. In other circumstances, paju may be taken without consent. For example, one woman told me that her paju had been stolen by a local rival through muskuy: in an ayawaska muskuy experience of her own, she determined who had taken it before she retrieved her paju and condemned the thief to a lifetime of failed crops.

Although paju for making pottery is often transferred from one woman to another, non-human beings give paju as well. The animal kingdom has its own master potters, such as the cicada that molds a smooth protrusion with a narrow opening at

[13] Examples of this may be found in Harrison, Muratorio "Indigenous" and Uzendoski *Napo Runa*.

its center as it burrows into the ground. I witnessed Eulodia Dagua as she used this type of cicada "pottery" to give her youngest daughter its special power, methodically rubbing the girl's fingers along its contours. Following a procedure like this, it is expected that the spirit owner of a paju, like the cicada woman, will visit the young girl in her muskuy to complete the transfer process.

Runa women acquire paju as well as knowledge from a host of non-human persons, but the main source of feminine power is a female spirit being who is associated with the soil and fecundity, known by such names as Nunguli, Nunghuí, Allpa Mama (Earth Mother), and Manga Allpa Mama (Pottery Clay Mother) (Whitten, *Sacha* 37).[14] This spirit woman is a master gardener and/or ceramicist who has existed since *ñawpa huras* (the before times). She is the primary *allpa amu* (earth master or keeper), meaning that she controls the circulation of earth, such as gardening soil and clay. She is also linked to the origin story of the *iluku* (potoo bird), who was once a woman in an incestuous relationship with her brother. When their taboo relationship was discovered, the brother fled to the sky to become the moon ("*Killa,*" in Kichwa). In her attempt to follow him, the woman named Iluku fell from a vine and her pottery making tools and the squash in her stomach scattered throughout the forest. In the present, the iluku bird still calls out when she sees her

[14] The word *allpa* refers to earth or soil, as a resource for production. When modified by the word *manga*, meaning pot, the term refers to the type of soil known as clay that is used to make pottery. It must be distinguished from *pacha*, which is often translated as earth in the sense of place, a spatial-temporal category.

husband at the full moon, her cry an indication to human women that ceramic-quality clay (what had been squash) is nearby.[15] Contemporary women now explain that she left these gifts for them, thinking of them as her children. As an account recorded by Alessandra Foletti-Castegnaro records, the Clay Spirit mother sees human women as her children, and has left clay explicitly for them to find:

> …manga paqui, chiga ñucanchi—'ricuchu'—nisha, chai huarmi saquishca! Huasha huiñajcuna callari rucu ahuashcata yachanauchu nisha. Callari Mama, Mangallpa Mama mara, chasna ajjpi huahuacunata, ñucanchita yuyarij mara (44).
>
> That woman left clay there for us to see… So that we later generations would learn the beginning times ways of coiling pottery.[16] The beginning times

[15] There are many variations of this story. Iluku is also the mother of the twins Cuillor and Docero, the trickster protagonists of many other beginning times stories (See also: Orr and Hudelson, Foletti Castegnaro, Jarrett et al.). Michael Uzendoski and Edith Calapucha-Tapuy share another version of this story as Verna Grefa narrated it to them in 2005. The existence of so many variations of this myth in published form demonstrates both the centrality of these stories to Runa and the life that these stories have taken on in the minds of the storytellers.

[16] The verb *ahuana* (also "*awana*") is used to describe the process of making woven baskets, knitting or weaving textiles, and crafting pottery. I have chosen to translate this word as "to coil" here, since this is the technical terminology used in English to describe the type of hand-formed pottery that Kichwa women make.

> mother, she was the potting clay mother, she did all that thinking of us, her children (my trans.).

As keeper of the soil and clay, it is the Allpa Mama's prerogative to determine whether women ought to receive high quality earth that will allow them to better fulfill their feminine duties. Stories of her giving clay or helping women developing pottery skills abound. Often, she appears in women's dreams, or in *muskuyshina* (dreamlike) encounters of waking life. As Eulodia explains, becoming a good potter is contingent on a dream visit by the Manga Allpa Mama: "Pay Apa Mama muskuchikpi, alli awakta tukun. … dinoga, mana ushana awanataga." ("When that grandmother makes a woman dream, she becomes a good potter…otherwise, she cannot make pottery.") (Dagua, 14 July 2016). In Eulodia's own dream of the woman, the spirit woman passed paju directly to her through her hands, while spitting clay out of her mouth. In other dream accounts, the Clay Mother appears as a little old woman with long black or white hair (Galli 289). She is discerning and generous, giving women her gifts when they prove themselves worthy or pitiable, but she is also reproachful, prone to rescind her gifts of skill or even ruin good clay when she is offended.

The stories about encounters with the Allpa Mama often share a common plot structure, even though some stories come from mythic times and other are autobiographical accounts. The basic sequence of events is as follows: a recently married woman lacks the ability to make pottery, despite her best efforts. This puts her at odds with her husband, mother-in-law, or the women in her community. She is a *wakcha* (an orphan), meaning that she lacks a social safety net in her immediate

community. Becoming desperate, she goes off alone to lament her lack of skill and support network. Out in the remote forest, she encounters the Manga Allpa Mama, who hears her, feels for the woman, and reveals herself in order to teach the woman how to make pottery.

For example, in one story, a woman who did not know how to make pottery was ridiculed by other women in her community, until a little old woman (the Clay Mother), took pity on her (Andy et al. 370-371). In addition to teaching the human woman how to identify clay and to form it properly into serving vessels, the old woman sweeps her with a collection of leaves from *wiwishku*, a calabash plant whose gourd is used to smooth the sides of pottery. The following day, the young woman discovers that she has acquired the ability to make the finest ceramics in the entire community. Other women recognize and marvel at her new talent. Variations on this plotline exist, in which the human woman acquires paju for cultivating manioc instead. In some cases, the human woman ultimately fails to heed the Allpa Mama's advice, thereby losing her new ability.

Having heard stories like this throughout their youth, Kichwa women make efforts to curry favor with the Manga Allpa Mama (or similar locally known figure) by open demonstrations of their feminine virtues. Whenever Runa harvest any resource from the forest environment, they speak kindly to the *amuguna* (keepers or masters) to ask permission and express their intention to use the resource well. It is no less important for women to speak to the Manga Allpa Mama before taking her clay. Runa women also seek out relationships with other feminine forces of the forest by speaking and singing in ways that will induce empathy—by mentioning their skill and

strength or their helplessness and sorrow— in the hope of receiving special gifts or privileges. A woman of any age will present herself as an *ushushi* ("daughter") to one of these spirits.

Eulodia herself asks the Manga Allpa Mama, whom she refers to as "Apa Mama" ("Grandmother"), for grand-motherly empathy when she gathers clay out in the forest, as we can see in the following transcription of her formal request for clay from June 2015, a year after she told the story of the dream that opened this chapter:

Apa Mama	Grandmother,
Ñukata kamba manga allpata wawata kuway.	Give me a little bit of your potting clay.
Awangawami nini, apa mama.	I intend to coil pots with it, grandmother.
Mana yangachu nini.	I do not intend to waste it.
Kamba yapa ismatagama,	Even your abundant poop,[17]
kuwanguichu.	Give it to me.

[17] Of the possible translations for *isma*, I have chosen "poop" rather than the more formal excrement, because the former captures the relaxed attitude that Runa have toward bodily functions like defecation. They do not share puritanical compunctions about foul odors; on the contrary, even mature, respected elders find hilarity in jokes about flatulence and defecation.

Alli manga allpa wawata kuwanga	Give me a little bit of your good potting clay,
Apa Mama.	Grandmother.
Hasta isma apa mamaga, ñuka awangawa.	Even poop, grandmother, for me to coil ceramics with.
Mana yanga chapauni.	I am not waiting in vain.
Ñukata payna iridzata,	The other [women] give me their dirty clay,
killa nisha.	calling me lazy.
Ñukawatas mana awak an nisha payna ñukata rimawan aukpi nini.	And even though they say that I too am not a potter, when they talk with me, I tell you.
Kanda yuyarisha shamusha	I come remembering you,
tapusha apauni Apa Mama.	asking your permission, I take it, Grandmother.
Ama mitzauwanguichu.	Don’t be stingy with me.
Kuway.	Give me some.
Kamba isma wawata,	A little bit of your poop,
Apa mama (E. Dagua “Apa Mama”).	Grandmother (my trans.).

In this petition, Eulodia takes the position of a sympathetic figure upon whom Manga Allpa Mama ought to take pity. Calling her *apa mama*, she emphasizes the familial bond that requires generosity. Like the helpless woman of beginning times, when Eulodia spoke to the Clay Mother, she refers to other women who might criticize her or else withhold their own fine clay from her out of envy. This strategy is mainly rhetorical: Eulodia is not truly lazy or unskilled, and therefore perhaps is more deserving of clay than the young woman from the story might have been. By repudiating the claim that she is killa, Eulodia is asserting that she will use the clay for the proper purposes, without wasting it. She is also saying that she is not lazy in social relationships either, because she has come to dig the clay with the Apa Mama present in her mind. She asks for permission from the Clay Mother in the way a woman ought to, unlike a truly lazy woman, who would take the clay without any concern for the gift-giver herself.

Eulodia's request resonates with other stories of women's encounters with the Clay Mother, particularly through her reference to the clay as *wawa*, which means "baby" and also suggests a small amount. From the context in which the word was used, it is clear that Eulodia is referring to a small amount of clay, but her word choice is significant. She does not use the word *ansa*, which is more commonly used to denote a small amount of something, but which lacks a similar double connotation. The idea of the clay as a baby resonates with a beginning-times story, in which the Gardening Soil Mother gives a young woman a baby to take home with her to help grow manioc (Foletti Castegnaro 35-41). In the case of the Manga Allpa Mama, the

idea that the potting clay was once the contents of her stomach primes us to accept the clay as both excrement and as a precious baby-like gift.

Eulodia does not need to wait for signs of the Clay Mother's approval: to treat the spirit being properly is sufficient. Furthermore, Eulodia has good reason to expect that her request will be immediately fulfilled because she has a long history of positive relationships with the Manga Allpa Mama and other ceramicists of human, animal, and spirit form. Like most master ceramicists, Eulodia has been visited in her dreams by the Clay Mother. Similar experiences are common among Runa women, who view such muskuy visits as a culminating moment in their feminine development. It is a sort of rite of passage to be recognized by the Manga Allpa Mama, one that can occur at any age. Eulodia herself experienced such a dream after she began learning to make pottery as an adult from her Aunt Esthela, an esteemed ceramicist in her own right.[18] Although Eulodia's dream in this chapter is with a Clay Amu, rather than the Clay Mother, it is still indicative of her maturity and strength as a woman. Only a woman who has acquired great skill, who demonstrates her abilities through diligent efforts, and who maintains congenial relationships with humans and spirits alike would attract this attention.

Strength as Maturity

At the apex of mature, gendered adulthood, a person will be described as *sindzhi,* which means "strong" in terms of character as well as physical ability

[18] This is Esthela Dagua, one of Norman and Dorothea Whitten's principal collaborators.

(Nuckolls, *Lessons* 10). Sindzhi women and men are those who do their work well and have acquired great skill and special abilities. Such individuals also always have clear muskuy experiences from which they derive power and enact change. Moreover, people who are sindzhi will prove their capabilities in some tangible way, as through the production of ceramics (Whitten and Whitten, *Puyo* 59-60). Thus, it is no coincidence that master potters are often described as *sindzhi muskuj warmi*, strong dream-having women.[19] These women use muskuy in many ways: to acquire special abilities, to communicate with other master potters, and to find inspiration for designs. A sindzhi warmi also synthesizes her vision and experiences into compelling songs or stories that evoke and engage other peoples' cultural knowledge; for this, she is a "paradigm builder" (Whitten and Whitten, *Puyo* 63), guiding others with her knowledge derived from muskuy experience. Her speaking skill is displayed in her use of prosody, plot, imagery, and gesture (Uzendoski, "Beyond" 62).

In consideration of all of this, when Eulodia tells the story of her dream encounter, anyone with familiarity with Runa knowledge and paradigms would infer that she, too, is a sindzhi warmi, for all that this entails. To have experienced such a

[19] The strength of the connection is indicated by the way Norman and Dorothea Whitten translate the term "sindzhi muskuj warmi" in their foundational ethnographies. Rather than "strong, dream-having woman," the literal translation, they translate this term as "master potter" (ex, *Puyo* 64). Other scholarly work on "sindzhi warmi" may be found in Harrison, Nuckolls *Lessons*, Macdonald *Ethnicity*, and Whitten *Sacha*.

dream, she must have first become warmi through her own labor and the purposeful interventions of others. As a strong woman, she will continue to demonstrate her feminine virtues through her interactions with other people and through the outward manifestations of her skills of creation. When she sings, makes aswa, crafts pottery, or tells stories, she is demonstrating her hard-earned feminine strength and well-deserved authority as a woman.

The Interpretation of Muskuy

For Runa, maturation into warmi or kari is not an end but a beginning: having acquired the attributes of mature femininity, a woman like Eulodia goes on to continuously increase her skill and knowledge while she does her daily work, creating ceramics, working in her garden, singing, and telling stories. A hallmark of mature adulthood for both men and women is the ability to dream well, to interpret dreams, and to tell the story of dreams in emotionally resonant ways. The women and men who do this best, the *yachakguna* (knowers) and *sindzhi warmiguna* (strong women) are highly revered: their advice is sought and heeded. Being able to interpret muskuy experiences, then, is a sure marker that a woman or man strongly embodies either feminine or masculine characteristics.

The dreamer's gender is a determining factor in the types of encounters that person will experience, and therefore has an impact on the interpretation process itself. For example, a dream of a female spirit being must be considered in relation the gender of the dreamer; Runa men tend to have sexual-romantic relationships with *sacha warmi*, forest spirit women who give the men gifts of game animals when they hunt. A Runa woman, on the other hand, socializes with feminine spirits like the

Manga Allpa Mama in familial relationships. To properly comprehend a dream narrative about a feminine being, then, it is necessary to also know the gender of the dreamer.

Even so, there is nothing inherently gendered about the act of *puñuna muskuy* (sleep dreams) or the practice of interpretation: women and men both use the same basic methods. Interpretation is not about deciphering hidden codes or symbols, but about properly identifying identities and actions that are obscured or distorted. For Runa, muskuy is enhanced perception, but it is also difficult to comprehend. This seeming contradiction can be explained by thinking of analogous visual activity. For example, when we look through binoculars or a microscope, our bare eyes can see the world in greater detail than normal. Nonetheless, we must allow ourselves a moment of adjustment to re-orient ourselves to the change in scale, to find recognizable contours and forms. Likewise, in dreaming, Runa understand that they have enhanced perception, but this does not mean that the imagery is automatically comprehensible. They look to the most basic contours first to orient themselves for meaning. To this end, Runa consider the events of their waking life, the major actions of dream events, and the attributes of dream actors, while also recognizing that these actors have their own motivations that they may attempt to hide from the dreamer.

To illustrate the interpretation process, I now turn to Eulodia's narrative. Here as in subsequent chapters, it is vital to keep in mind that this is just one narrative event; the transcript should not be mistaken for an immutable text, or the utmost authoritative version of this story, which has been recounted at different times and in different contexts subsequent to my recording.

Ñawpa muskurani kasna. Punda muskuy.	First, I dreamed like this. In the first dream.
Muskuybi ñuka kari amarunda kasnamami rukuta apishkara.	In the dream my husband had caught a large anaconda, like this big.
Chi chupamantas kasna. Kay kiruwan kasna tak watashkara amarunda ñuka kari. Kay takwa amarun rukuta.	My husband tied up that anaconda *tak* the tail to the head. That *tak* anaconda was this big.
Chi niushkara nin. “Kay amarunda ima ña mana ushaushallatachu.”	[My husband said] “The anaconda, oh, I just almost couldn't [manage it].”
“Yakuybi anzuelu kay amarun aisashanullaita, aisashanullaita binsisha kasna watani,” niura pay. “Karata lluchungawa,” nisha.	“Fishing in the river with a hook I pulled and pulled the anaconda until I beat it and managed to tie it up,” he said. “To skin it,” he said.
“Chimanda pay umata apangawa,” nishami, “kasa watasha churarani,” nira.	“Then to take its head,” he said. “I put that anaconda down and tied it up,” he said.
Chiga ña llushpirina, “uktalla wañuchingui! Kanba amarunlla	Suddenly it got loose, and [I said], "Quick, kill it! Your anaconda is getting loose!” I said, afraid.

llushpiringami riun," nisha ñuka mandzhasha.	
Chi amarunga kayma ña shinkishina akchay uma ashkara.	That anaconda had a head of hair as black as coals.[20]
Ña shundushina akchaybi shundu kay, kay kuskata killu mara, kayta killu. Kayta yana, kayta yana mara.	Just as black as a beetle[21], its hair, beetle black, and here, here, on its neck it was yellow, here on the other side of the neck it was yellow. Here it was black [on the side], here it was black [on the other side].
Kay imasna yana yana mara. Kay. Paywa pichutaga killu mashka.	Here, oh how black it was, black. Here. Its chest was yellow.
Chita rikusha mashti chita muskuk llikcharirani.	That's what I saw, um, when I woke up from the dream.

[20] "*Shinki*" refers to the element of carbon and the wood charcoals that are a byproduct of fire. It should not to be confused with commercial charcoal. As the color black, the term connotes a matte, rather than shiny, surface.

[21] By contrast to the matte black of *shinki*, the black of "*shundushina*," ("beetle-like") connotes a shiny, even iridescent appearance.

Chi likcharik mashti puñuranchi puñui chi kuti puñuk an.	So, waking from the dream, um, we went to sleep, we went back to sleep.
Ñuka—chi Canelos llaktaymi, ñuka mikia Bettywa shinan piñanakushkarani ñuka.	My—in the town of Canelos, I've been fighting with my aunt Betty.
Piñanakushkaybimi policiaguna shamukunaga,	When we were fighting, the policemen came.
“Ña *señora* ña,” ma nishaga tak tak makilla apikuna autu undachina.	“That's enough, ma'am,” they said and *tak tak* [of handcuffs] they took my hands, put me in the car.
Autu undachikpimi ñukaga ña riusha mana—manzharisha rishkarani.	When we were in the car, going, I wasn’t—I was scared, going.
Chiña mashti kasna liu alambriwan kasna atun patio liu alambrewan kinzhaskay kachariwak rinaura.	There, well, like [you see] here there was wired *liu* [shining], in a big area walled-off with wire, *liu*, they let me go.
Chi kacharik rikpi, *rabia* rishkarani. “Ima jota ñukallata ñuka mana *borracha* imas mana akchagarani.”	When they let me loose, I went around, furious. "What the heck!" [I said to myself], "I wasn't drunk!

What the—? That wouldn't have been me."

"*No me puedo creer*, policiaguna uyarungaranun ñuka rimashkata ña ñuka," piñariushka chasnay.

"I can't believe it, the policemen are going to hear me just what I have to say," I was so angry.

Policiaguna shamukuna, ña chibi chariukguna apakguna riwanara kasnata shuk wasitashina apasha riunara.

The policemen came, that got me and took me to a little house-like building, they went taking me.

Apasha rikuna kay tupu pescado maituta mashti, "*toma, señora para que come*," nik ara kushka nura.

I was taken to see a fish bundle about this big, um, "*Here, ma´am, for you to eat*," said the one that gave it to me.

Chi niushkarani, "¿*Y para qué me cogieron preso*?" ña kasna castellanoi rimashkarani ñuka tiaukpi.

So, then I was saying, "*And what have they taken me prisoner for*?" then like that I spoke in Spanish, being there.

"¿Y para qué me cogieron preso?" ña niushkarani. "*¿Y cuándo he andado borracha?"* Nisha niurani.

"*And why did they arrest me?"* I said. "*When on earth have I gone around drunk*?' I said.

“Los que andan borracha a ellos no saben coger. A mí, ¿para qué...¿y a la señora Bettytami también ¿para qué no llevaron?”

“You don't usually get the ones who go around drunk, so why me? And Señora Betty? Why didn't you take her, too?”

“Ambos eran de llevar para, para llevar preso.” Ña kasna ñuka piñarisha chi policiaguna tariwaskarani.

“Both should have been taken, should have been arrested.” I was mad, meeting with the police.

Chiga, “*a ver, esta gente que es de Canelos, Canelos de estos, a cada uno estarán preguntando*,” nirani.

Then [I said], "*Let's see, the people from Canelos, those people, you should be asking all of them*," I said.

“¿Dónde ha tomado la señora Eulodia?” “¿Dónde anda tomando?”

“*Where has the Señora Eulodia been drinking? Where does she go around drinking?*”

“De cierto estarán preguntando,” niurani. Imamanda tomando nisha niurani. “*Para qué me metan cárcel,”* nishami rimaushkarani.

“*Really you should be asking them*,” I said. “*Drinking*…” I was saying, “*so they can throw me in jail?*” I was saying.

“Los que anda tomando no saben meter al cárcel,” nisha niushkarani.

“*You don't usually put the people who drink in jail*,” I said.

"*¿Y para qué no me metieron a ambos con la señora Betty?"* nira kasna.	"*And why didn't you arrest both of us, the Señora Betty, too*," I said, like that.
Chi chasnai ni--hoo! Lichakta tukuranimi. Chigaña piñarishkanilla likcharishka aranimi.	Just like that I—*hoo*! I woke up. Just like that, angry, I woke up.
Chasna muskurani, chitaga.	That's how I dreamed; I woke up like that.
SWANSON: Nakpi, chita imara ningui kan?	SWANSON: Given all that, what you do you say?
DAGUA: Ñuka manga allpata apaukpita presota apikwanguna ña asiurani ñuka.	DAGUA: Because I was taking the clay, they took me captive, I was laughing.
SWANSON: Manga, manga allpa amu…	SWANSON: The clay, the clay owner spirit…
DAGUA: Manga allpata, manga allpa amucha chasna muskuk charak chi pescadota kurak kay tupu kay chi policia.	DAGUA: Pottery clay, the pottery clay owner was the police officer that gave me the fish that was this big.
Chi pero apikuna kacharikwanaura ñukata.	But after they took me, they let me go.

Amu, chari chasna muskuchin.	The owner, maybe, made me dream that.
[…]	[…conversation]
Chasna muskurani. Mandzharisha muskurani. (E. Dagua, "Manga Allpa Muskuy").	That's how I dreamed. I was afraid while I dreamed (my trans.).

Placing Dreams in Context

For a Runa woman like Eulodia, the first step in the interpretation of her dream is to consider the events of her waking life. Runa always consider the circumstances proceeding or following muskuy because any significant event, auspicious or ominous, will have been indicated in advance through muskuy. In practice, this means that muskuy may either be interpreted proactively, thinking about what a dream portends for the day ahead, or retroactively, reflecting back on dreams when presented with a noteworthy event in waking life. Numerous times on my arrival to a Runa friend's home, for example, I was greeting by a host who suddenly recalled her previous night's dream that informed her of my intention to visit. At other times, following unexpected events, like accidents or illness, women would wonder aloud to themselves what they had forgotten from their own dreams that had forewarned them of impending strife.

Likewise, we infer from the fact that Eulodia speaks of her dream while she harvests clay from a forest stream that she deems the dream events to be causally related to her discovery (an inference she confirmed explicitly in a later conversation). When she realizes the quality of clay that she has come across, Eulodia

reflects on her recent dreams and immediately seizes upon an experience that accounts for this gift. Her dream was, in essence, an encounter in her sleeping life that culminated in the beginning of the amu's act of giving her clay.

Dream Elements, Examined

To make the more specific connections between muskuy experience and events of the day, Runa will carefully consider the actors and actions of their dream-visions, taken episode by episode. In her first dream, Eulodia says that her husband had tied up an anaconda that he had fished out of the river. When she is present, he fights to contain it, and when the dangerous serpent does get loose, Eulodia shouts at her husband to kill it. Despite the flurry of events, she notices the anaconda's long, black hair, as well as the yellow and white markings on its face and neck.

There are many different elements of this first episode that, taken together, help Eulodia find a causal connection between the anaconda struggle and her discovery of clay. Runa look to analogies between dreams and waking events, particularly if dreams and actual events have similar relationships or outcomes.[22] In Eulodia's dream, her husband's physically taxing struggle with an anaconda in the river has a direct correlation with Eulodia's labor over clay in the stream. As two halves of a marriage unit, Eulodia and her husband are responsible for providing different material goods for the family. So, while Eulodia makes pottery and

[22] This tendency towards interpretation by analogy and homologous effects has also been observed by Theodore Macdonald among the Napo Runa, and Phillippe Descola among the Achuar.

completes myriad other female tasks, one of her husband's responsibilities is to catch fish, standing in the shallows of the river. There, bent over as he struggles with the anaconda on his line, he is very much like Eulodia, when in her waking life she reaches down into the small forest stream to heave chunks of clay out of the ground. In his parallel gender-sphere, her husband, too, has found an object of great value. Every part of an anaconda, from skin to teeth to oil, is a valuable commodity (Whitten, *Sacha* 80). By thinking about parallel gender roles, we see how Eulodia's dream of her husband's capture of a snake corresponds to her own clay discovery. A Runa woman would not be surprised to have a dream like this and then to find something valuable on the following day.

It should be recalled that in the Runa model of interpretation, the anaconda is not a direct symbol of clay as it might have been in Highland practices (Mannheim "Historicidad") or in a psychoanalytic model. Instead, the description by Eulodia of the anaconda's *hair* elevates the snake to the role of actor in the story, as an outward sign of the snake's *personhood*. For Runa, the serpent form of the anaconda is just the outward manifestation that humans typically see of the *yaku runa* (water people), powerful persons who inhabit the water domain (Whitten and Whitten, *Puyo* 33; Uzendoski, *Napo* 127). There are countless stories from beginning times to present days that recount the perilous interactions between humans and these beings, who are as infamous for their capacity to kill as for their seductive beauty, manifested in mesmerizing eyes and shiny black hair.[23] The yaku runa live like humans in the deep water of river pools, where they have large homes and plentiful material goods. For

[23] See Nuckolls, "Anacondas" for a compilation of examples.

this reason, anacondas are also known to be *amus*—masters or keepers of resources—just like Sungui, the spirit master of the water domain that is spoken of in stories of beginning times (Whitten, *Sacha* 38-39). Whether controlling the fish that live in the river or controlling a clay deposit, anacondas as amuguna control the distribution of game and goods to humans. Although the Manga Allpa Mama is not usually described as an anaconda, Whitten reports that she takes the form of a "harmless brown snake" wearing a dress of "shimmering or iridescent black" (37). In Kichwa, the term for this type of black is "*shundushina*" (like the *shundu* beetle), precisely the word that Eulodia uses to describe the anaconda's hair. Although Eulodia never makes the connection explicit, it would be clear to another Kichwa speaker that the anaconda of her muskuy could actually be an amu of clay.

As if to clarify and emphasize Eulodia's first dream, she has another that is longer and more emotionally complex one. Like the first dream, this one points to spirit owners, danger, and capture, while also including conflict, misunderstandings, anger, and self-justification. As Eulodia explains, the second dream begins in *medias res*, as police officers appear in the aftermath of a fight Eulodia has been having with a woman she calls *mikia* ("aunt") Betty. Much to her surprise and chagrin, the police officers decide to arrest Eulodia, but not Betty. In the same way that her husband had tied up the anaconda, the police bind Eulodia's wrists, "*tak tak*," then drive her away to a holding area. She is released into a large patio bound by shining wire, where she walks around angrily talking to herself. The police then take her to a little house, where she is given a meal of fish to eat. She takes the opportunity to deny the implication that she is a drunkard, saying that people from Canelos could vouch for

her. She points out to the police that that plenty of other people have been drunk and disorderly without any police intervention and goes as far as to claim that Betty also should have been arrested. Recounting the events of her dream, Eulodia lets out a hoot of laughter, drawing us back out of the story. She then states that she woke up and continues to chuckle at herself and at the situation.

In this episode, the main actors are Mikia Betty, Eulodia, and the police officer; and the action includes a fight, an arrest, and the gift of a meal. Taken together, these details again point toward the interaction of Eulodia with a spirit being. Each element is not considered separately, but in relation to other elements (Mannheim, "Historicidad" 29). To begin, there is an argument that leads to the intervention of an authority figure. Although the character of Mikia Betty and her quarrel with Eulodia receive very little narrative attention, they are important because they resonate with other stories of human interactions with powerful beings. Like the previously mentioned stories in which human women meet the Manga Allpa Mama after fighting with their female relatives, in this narrative there is also strife between women who should have had a kinship relationship. Although Eulodia is not a blood relative of Betty's, she does call the woman "mikia" out of respect, which shows that they normally have an amicable relationship. But like the women of ancestral stories, the breakdown in the women's relationship is a fissure in social relations that provides an opening for a spirit being to intervene. As brief as Eulodia's mention of the fight is, the fact that a quarrel occurred is a strong indicator that her subsequent encounter with a police officer is something more.

Like the anaconda of her previous dream, the police officer is one form that the powerful amu beings are known to take, particularly in muskuy. The authoritative spirit beings of the forest often dress the part when they make appearances in their human form, wearing uniforms and presenting themselves as police officers or military officials. Also, like human authority figures, amuguna use holding spaces to detain others, like the wire-bound corral where Eulodia is detained in her dream. Some amuguna are owners of game animals, keeping these creatures as livestock or pets locked away in corrals or cages. They let them out to be hunted when they feel favorable toward their human neighbors but lock them away or move them deeper into the forest when they are offended (Uzendoski 127; Swanson "Relatives," 126). The holding cell that Eulodia describes, a large patio area enclosed with wire, is evocative of a simple corral that humans might use to contain cattle, or that the forest amuguna might use to contain peccaries. It is not much of a leap to conclude that the holding cell where Eulodia is taken is in fact a corral in which a powerful spirit being keeps its prized possession safely locked away.

The icing on the cake—the final narrative elements that lend to Eulodia's interpretation of the dream—is the gift that this police officer gives Eulodia during their dream encounter. Although Eulodia is still angrily defending herself at the time, the officer hands her a *maitu*, fish steam-cooked in leaves. This is a very fine meal, indeed, not at all one to be expected in a police setting. Beyond this, the wrapping of the leaves around the fish also bears a strong resemblance to the packaging that Runa women use to protect their clay when they prepare to transport it (see figure 2). The fish in the maitu is wrapped like Eulodia's clay, in large leaves that completely

envelop their contents. Just as the maitu is a gift from the police officer, so too is the clay a gift from a powerful authority. As Eulodia's aunt suggested at the first recounting of the dreamer, whereas the police officer took Eulodia prisoner in her dream, in her waking life, it is Eulodia who takes the clay master "prisoner" in the form of the clay that she pulls from the stream.

Fig. 2. Clay wrapped in leaves, photograph by Lisa Carney, 9 June 2015.

Taken all together—and departing from the position that muskuy is real experience, not figurative or imaginary—a series of events becomes clear. Eulodia's husband captures a powerful creature that is probably a spirit being, if not the very same one that captures Eulodia after her fight. This being, Eulodia believes, is probably the Manga Allpa Amu, who either takes pity on her or judges her to be worthy: either way, giving her a gift. When Eulodia wakes up, she goes on to find this gift in the forest stream, and because she is a knowledgeable woman, she can see how her dream foretold this discovery. Now she is one to take the clay owner captive, but with the Clay Owner's approval.

Implicit Interpretation

Although I have taken several pages to make this interpretation explicit, when Eulodia first mentioned this dream to her aunt she did not ponder the events at all because the meaning was immediately clear to both of them, given the circumstances. The women's ability to immediately grasp the reality of Eulodia's dream is a clear indicator of their vast knowledge of the processes involved in women's work and social relationships. Even later, when Eulodia performed her narrative to a small audience of Americans who most certainly would not know how to interpret the events fully, she did not draw straightforward connections between dream events and her waking life. Instead, she gave brief, equivocal statements at the end of her narrative that offered possibilities rather than definitive answers. For example, Eulodia leaves room for her listeners to draw their own conclusions by saying, "Amu, chari chasna muskuchin" ("The owner, maybe, made me dream that"); and later, "Chiga manga allpama ringaraushachu muskuranimi rani" ("Perhaps I dreamed this because we were going to get the pottery clay").

This lack of explication is typical among traditional Kichwa speakers, for whom making stronger assertions would be yet another behavior classified as killa: lazy speech bordering on outright falsehood. This is because while Eulodia can assert her own experience, she cannot speak for the intentions of the other actors involved whose perspectives are not fully accessible to her (Nuckolls and Swanson "Respectable"). So instead, the truth of her story and the proper interpretation of her muskuy must be judged within the minds of her listening audience. Her listeners may not have any certainty of their own but will judge her story on the basis of their own

experiences. Therefore, the better that Eulodia is able to evoke memory and feeling within her listener, the more she will be judged as authoritative, and her story judged as true.

Narrative Technique

It takes years of accumulated experience for Runa women and men to learn how to properly disentangle the images and events of their dreams, but most develop a basic ability to do so. However, to be able to narrate a muskuy story in a way that conveys the credibility and authority of the speaker while also evoking clear imagery and emotion is a much more specialized skill, something that only the most practiced and knowledgeable men and women are able to do (Muratorio, *Life* 207). Masterful narrators, like Eulodia, draw from a lifetime of personal observations about their physical and social environment, as well as the stories they have heard from others. Skillfully drawing from their experiences and observations, these narrators also use gesture and vocal dynamics to create affecting narratives. In this way, the telling of a muskuy narrative is a clear example of the Runa discourse that Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy call "somatic poetry," which is language meant to create something of beauty that is deeply tied to the body through "the power of the human voice and the body's presence" (5). There are numerous techniques that contribute to this experience, but several are unique to oral performance: in particular, framing devices of pause and repetition, vocal dynamics, and referential gesture all contribute to the real-time process of enacting experience for the purpose of knowing (Kohn "Runa Realism"). Whereas the interpretation of muskuy is a skill that dreamers use to discern information and make decisions in their personal lives, the narration of

muskuy experiences, by contrast, re-creates and re-enacts the experience of acquiring knowledge *for* and *with* the audience-interlocutors.

Framing Oral Narrative

The first (and last) narrative technique employed by Eulodia is that of framing discourse: utterances that mark the beginning and end of a narrative through reiterated topic statements and extended pauses. These utterances are figurative bookends to verbal performance, whether story or song, that cue the interlocutor to interpret the message being communicated in a special way (Bauman, *Verbal* 15). The framing discourse both announces a topic and distinguishes narrative or song from other types of discourse (like conversation or exposition), while also emphasizing the significance of the performance itself and the authority of the speaker. There are cultural-specific conventions for achieving this: one prominent technique in Kichwa is the use of parallelism.

In Eulodia's narrative, parallel utterances are used at the beginning and end of each dream episode. For example, at the beginning of her narrative, she uses parallel lines that repeat and rephrase the same idea: "Ñawpa muskurani kasna. Punda muskuy" ("First I dreamed like this. In the first dream"). This redundancy is a narrative tool that can allow for the expansion of a narrative and also cues the listener into similarities with other elements of a story (Bauman, *Story* 97). For example, there is similar parallelism at the end of the first dream and beginning of the second, when Eulodia says, "Chita rikusha mashti chita muskuk llicharirani. Chi likcharik mashti puñuranchi puñui chi kuti puñuk an." ("That's what I saw, um, when I woke up from the dream. So waking from the dream, um, we went to sleep, we went back

to sleep"). The repetition is like a line drawn on a page, a notable signpost of beginning and end. Unsurprisingly, the end of the second dream episode (and entire narrative) also is recounted through parallel phrasing, "Chasna muskurani. Mandzharisha muskurani." ("That's how I dreamed. I was afraid while I dreamed."). The language employed in these instances is disconnected from the rest of the narrative, stating straightforwardly that she dreamed, but leaving any implications of this fact for the listener to decipher.

Yet whether singing a song, telling a story of historical or mythical significance, or delivering a personal muskuy narrative, Kichwa speakers typically demarcate these discourse types in just this way: by pausing, stating and restating the topic of their performance, then pausing again before continuing with the main event. Many purposes are served by these pauses: by including slightly longer silences than are expected in regular conversation, a speaker breaks the rhythm of a back and forth exchange, thereby claiming an extended turn at speaking. Pausing also allows the speaker to recall details and the order of events that are important for narrative flow. Most importantly, pauses indicate a formality of the subsequent or prior discourse, as distinguish from other utterances. Use of pause is one of many narrative features that indicates a Kichwa speaker's poetic skill and linguistic competency (Uzendoski, "Beyond" 62).

Pause and framing language also demarcate speech and song that encode important knowledge. In her study of Kichwa women's song, Harrison observed that framing language used prior to the performance of a song served as an "entitlement procedure of preliterate society" (147). With speakers as with singers, framing

language opens a space for claiming the authority to speak of an event or to sing a song that is imbued with power. Women's songs are understood to have a real physical and emotional impact on their designated target, so repeating the topic of the song demonstrates that the woman knows how to properly use it as a tool.

With a dream narrative like Eulodia's, framing language emphasizes that the dreamer is telling the story of a muskuy experience, which is to say that she is expressing knowledge that she gained from a privileged mode of experience. In essence, she is telling her listeners that this is first-hand, eyewitness testimony that should not be confused with other, mundane experiences. By reiterating a topic statement, the speaker both indicates a change in the formality of discourse and requests special attention from a listening interlocutor. A person with less regard for the special quality of muskuy experience or for the expected norms of narrative discourse might not use this same framing language; but whether a story is recorded for analysis or simply is told in the course of informal conversation, the formal repetition of a topic to mark the beginning and end of a narrative is common practice.

Beyond the Spoken Word

Within these formal narrative markers, there are also performative choices made by Eulodia that imbue her story with significance beyond the bare meaning of the words in her individual utterances. More specifically, beyond the web of associative meaning that each utterance inspires in the minds of speaker and listener, part of each utterance's meaning is encoded in a speaker's vocal modulations and gestures. By vocal modulations, I refer to qualities of musical sound that speakers employ to different effect: pitch, timbre, intensity, and duration. Pitch is the

vibrational frequency of sound, from high to low; timber is the quality or color of sound; intensity is loudness; and duration is length of time. These qualities always occur together, and with the human voice as instrument drawing on different muscle groups for controlling breath and shaping sound. As Dell Hymes notes, qualities such as pause, intonation and pace encode rhetorical information, so ought to be conveyed to the reader in some manner ("Use" 38). In combining these qualities, a speaker creates rhythms and places stress, which in turn convey numerous ideas like urgency or calmness and force or ease. For instance, high pitch serves many unique functions in Quechua-language discourse communities. The high-pitched, piercing timbre used in singing throughout the indigenous Andes is a distinguishing characteristic of female voices (Romero 43). In Pastaza Quichua, high pitch also seems to be used to foreground certain utterances, as with many ideophones (Nuckolls, et al., "Systematic" 98N7).

Within such narrative performances, facial expressions, hand gestures, or other body movements often accompany these auditory qualities. Given the limitless combinations that are possible, it is useful to look at specific utterances of Eulodia's narrative to observe how she uses sound and gesture together. Early in her first dream narrative, Eulodia uses her voice and body to create a more complex description of the anaconda that her husband had captured. While saying "muskuybi ñuka kari amarunda kasnamami rukuta apishkara" ("in the dream my husband had caught a large anaconda, like this big"), she raises her pitch to a squeak as she slides up an octave on the first syllable of the word "***ka****snamami*" ("like this big, [I tell you]"; emphasis to indicate pitch). Meanwhile, she extends her arms out in front of her to

demonstrate the girth of the snake. Here, pitch works with gesture to convey great size. In fact, it is almost unbelievable how big the snake is, but the "-mi" suffix at the end of her phrase marks this estimation of size as her personal perspective (Nuckolls, *Lessons* 55-56), making hers an eyewitness account that listeners should not disregard.

Fig. 3. Mucawa featuring anaconda by Eulodia Dagua, photograph by Lisa Carney, 25 Feb. 2020.

Similarly, when Eulodia later describes the anaconda as having black hair, her pitch raises again to emphasize the color of coal black: "Chi amarunga kaima ña **shink**ishina akchay uma askara" ("That anaconda had a head of hair as black **as coals**"; emphasis added to mark pitch). The duration and raised pitch of "*shinkishina*" ("coal-like") expresses an extreme, as well as asserts the truth of her statement.

Immediately following this high-pitched assertion, Eulodia lowers her pitch and volume significantly to say, “kay kuskata killu mara, kayta killu. Kayta yana, kayta yana mara” (“On its neck it was yellow, here [on the other side] it was yellow. Here [on the side] it was black, here it was black [on the other side]”). The timbre of her voice becomes breathy and dark. Again, vowel sounds of the words for colors (*killu* for yellow; *yana* for black) are held out a moment longer than usual. Eulodia indicates her experience-based perspective through the word “*mara*”: a colloquial English rendering of this phrase is, “Oh how black it was here, I tell you.” The lower pitch of her speech gives the phrase gravity by expressing a seriousness that makes it clear she is not exaggerating.

Elsewhere in the narrative, Eulodia’s emotional response to events is similarly emphasized by her vocal modulations and facial expressions. First, when the anaconda of her first dream escapes, she speaks rapidly by shortening the duration of each syllable. “Uktalla wañuchingi! Kamba amarunlla llushpiringami riun” (“Quick, kill it! Your anaconda is getting loose!”). Her words are louder and faster than before, but there is a breathy quality to her words that indicates that she is quoting herself rather than commanding her listeners in the moment of narration. Her face is serious and stern, her brows furrowed slightly. She makes a similar expression later and uses the same vocal qualities to express the anger she felt when arrested in the second dream sequence. Quoting herself in Spanish, she emphasizes the interrogatives in a high-pitched, breathy voice, producing a crescendo that peaks on the word “qué” in

the phase "y para *qué* me cogieron preso?!"[24] From this emphatic vocal modulation, the listener receives the message that Eulodia uttered these words out of frustration, expressing irony rather than calm inquiry.

A final example of the combination of sound quality and gesture is Eulodia's employment of ideophones to convey the idea of capture. Ideophones, which have been studied in great detail by Janis Nuckolls, are words that use sound qualities to evoke ideas or imitate experiences (Nuckolls, *Sounds*; Nuckolls and Swanson "Respectable" 173). Onomatopoeic words—words that mimic the sounds associated with them, like "woof" for the bark of a dog—are a common subset of ideophones. Not all ideophones are onomatopoeic, meaning that they are not all imitations of other sounds. In Kichwa, ideophones convey a wide range of concepts, such as "ongoingness, repetition, resonance and reverberation, movement through pliable substances, various types of deformative actions and events, instantaneousness, duration, and termination" (Nuckolls, *Lessons* 33). One example is the word *liu*, which conveys the idea of bright shining material (similar to the English word "bling"), even though shining material does not necessarily make a sound. To use the word "liu" is to evoke a specific mental image and to enhance a description

[24] As the reader will see in the transcription, I attempted to convey the incredulity and anger encoded in this pitch change by italicizing the work "qué" and punctuating the sentence with interrogative ("?") and exclamation markers ("!"). The fact that such options are available to me underlines the fact that written language in some ways remains subordinate to oral language in its expressive power.

accordingly. Wire that is bright and shining, for example, when related to an animal corral, could signify the newness or quality of the wire. As a listener, we might infer that the corral Eulodia is describing belongs to an individual who is financially prosperous, an idea that is consistent with the Runa idea of what spirit owners are like.

Another ideophone from Eulodia's narrative similarly creates descriptive depth, particularly when coupled with gestures. At two different moments, Eulodia uses the word "tak" to evoke the sound of sudden and firm binding, as in arrest or detention. In general, tak is the sound of contact between two surfaces, like a tapping or banging; likewise, Eulodia uses the word when one object comes in contact with other. In the first case, Eulodia first uses this ideophone to describe how her husband tied up his anaconda. From her description, it appears that the serpent was made to bite itself, as Eulodia demonstrates her hand moving from her own teeth down toward her lap, "Kay kiruwan kasna tak watashkara amarunda ñuka kari" ("My husband tied up that anaconda *tak* the tail to the head"). Here, "tak" imitates the fast and hard contact between two parts of the serpent's body.

In her second dream, Eulodia again uses the ideophone "tak," this time to imitate the sound of handcuffs going on her wrists. "Tak tak makilla apikuna autu undachina" ("*Tak tak* [of handcuffs] they took my hands, put me in the car"), she states. Looking briefly at her hands, she pushes them out in front of her, imitating the police putting her in a car. Through the parallel usage of this ideophone, Eulodia likens herself to the anaconda, caught in captivity, struggling to get free. In the context of the full story, the word "tak" reiterates the sudden contact used to restrain

movement, to capture or bind, reinforcing the relationship that Eulodia herself has inferred between the capture of an anaconda and her own arrest.

In a final example, the repetition of a specific hand gesture creates yet another set of parallels between different narrative events. First, when Eulodia describes the bound anaconda, she holds her arms out in front of her roughly two feet apart. Later, when describing the maitu, she indicates the same general size with her fingers. Within the interpretive framework of her narrative, both the snake and the fish are valued objects that are related to powerful beings. The size of these "bundles" links them together, and to a third bundle, the clay that Eulodia ultimately removes from the river. Her clay bundles are also roughly the size she indicates with her hands: small enough to carry but large enough to make efficient use of the leaves that she wraps them with. Remembering that the dream is not meant to be taken symbolically, we can infer that the similarity in size could indicate that the boa and the fish were just different forms of the clay itself: not symbolic representations of the clay, but just the clay in a different external form.

The similarities in the word choice and gestures that are part of Eulodia's narrative performance emphasize common themes; pauses and vocal dynamics likewise direct listeners' attention to the elements of her story that are central to its interpretation. Altogether, her creative choices enhance the drama of the events, evoking vivid imagery and powerful emotion. Watching her speak and listening to her words, her audiences gets as close to reliving the events as possible. First, an anaconda with all its markings is demonstrated for them, then the emotional turmoil of a trip to jail is acted out. The skill taken to act out these elements of the story out,

from a Runa way of thinking, demonstrates the authority and knowledge of the speaker. Eulodia's skill as a storyteller is just another marking of her mature womanhood, a clear indication that she has vast knowledge and strong interpersonal connections and is a hardworking person.

On Feminine Narrative Style

Having heard a number of men and women tell stories of muskuy experiences, I find nothing in Eulodia's narrative technique that is definitively feminine, *per se*. Men of a similar age and background also use vocal qualities and gestures while relying on listeners to make connections between narrative content and other oral texts. It is possible that women use more gestures and ideophones, but that remains to be demonstrated. Nonetheless, I do believe that certain patterns of narrative speech will someday soon be deemed "feminine speech." This is due to larger societal shifts that have been taking place in Ecuador and other countries with Amerindian populations for quite some time. Since indigenous men are more likely to be immersed in non-indigenous society and to assume leadership roles, they are often the first to change their discursive models. As Janis Nuckolls writes, the perception among some men that the use of Kichwa ideophones is characteristic of "women's talk" is likely due to the fact that men's roles are changing in society in ways that require them to adapt to different modes of speaking (*Lessons*, 44). Language styles that were once unisex may come to survive most strongly among women, who become *de facto* guardians of ancestral knowledge.

Although there is nothing inherently feminine about the syntax of her narration, Eulodia's narrative decisions are indicative of Kichwa norms of speaking

that are increasingly being relegated to female spheres of discourse. There, they are in the company of discourse that is in fact gender-specific, such as women's song. Regina Harrison found in her study of women's songs of enchantment that Kichwa oral discourse can maintain a shroud of secrecy from all but a few privileged individuals, because "communication in these songs is distinct from everyday syntax and semantics" (147). She was told that men would be able to understand the content of the songs if it were stated plainly like everyday speech, but not if it were presented as song. Barbara Seitz, too, identified specific themes, such as personal substance, vision, invincibility, and loyalty, which articulate a distinctly feminine perspective in women's songs (177-187). In song as in pottery, generally comprehensible content can express information about a woman's personal knowledge in ways that other Runa women are best able to understand.

Conclusion

A puñuna muskuy narrative is always partially a story of revelation in which a dreamer learns new information, receives a message or gift, or determines the cause of an illness or conflict. For Eulodia Dagua, her dream of an anaconda and her arrest by the police communicated to her the impending discovery of clay. In addition to this, when she tells the story of her dream, she also reveals information about her own intrinsic qualities: her strength and skill, artistic and verbal ability. Her narrative resonates with a range of cultural knowledge about what it means to be warmi, such as the process of becoming a mature adult male or female, the special feminine or masculine powers that have been acquired and honed, and the interpersonal relationships that further bolster gender-related power. As a result, the very existence

of Eulodia's dream reflects her embodied feminine strength. By properly interpreting her dream and sharing it with others, she further demonstrates this power while also passing on information to the young women in her life who will themselves incorporate her story into their own personal corpus of narratives and songs. In her narrative and performative techniques, Eulodia creates an opportunity for her listeners to experience an emotional journey and to engage those elements of the story that have special cultural relevance.

Having considered the role of the narrator in this chapter, in Chapter 2 I take a wider lens to analyze the role of other interlocutors in the narrative process. Dialogue in many forms is central to the emergence of a sense of truth and authority from a storytelling event. With a shared body of local knowledge, narrators foreground references to common stories and experiences that call up memories for listeners, who in turn contribute directly to the narrative process by acknowledging their agreement or even by developing narrative themes with their own stories. In this way, the intermingling voices and perspectives are part of what make muskuy narratives revered sources of knowledge.

Chapter 2: Narrating Together: Knowledge and Credibility from Converging Voices

There is a rhythm to the way the Dagua sisters, Eulodia and Bélgica, tell stories in front of each other. Whether huddled together around a small blaze where their pottery is firing or sitting comfortably at a table while painting, I notice that one of them always takes the lead, while the other chimes up from time to time without taking her eyes from her work, to offer an opinion or tell her own story. There is no sense that this is inappropriate; instead, her comments feel welcomed, as if they are offered in the spirit of validation of the other sister's experience.

In practice, dialogue and discussion are important components of Kichwa storytelling, especially in *muskuy* narratives that are typically discussed right away with a spouse or close relation to clarify content and make decisions. Even when muskuy stories are shared at a much later date, after the content and meaning have become solidified in the mind of the narrator, dialogue is crucial to the experience of sharing knowledge. On an overt level, dialogue is present when a single narrator represents conversations between the actors in the story. It also takes place when the listening audience members speak up throughout the narrative event to demonstrate attention, ask questions, or tell their own stories that substantiate the implicit assertions made by the initial narrator. Additionally, dialogue is present in the sense of Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, resulting from the interaction of implied meaning of a speaker and interpretation of an interlocutor. As Bakhtin's editor, Michael Holquist, summarizes, dialogism describes the idea that "everything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole—there is a constant interaction between

meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others" (426). A Kichwa story about a boa, for example, may resonant to some degree with other people's experiences with boas, with ancestral stories about snakes, with the Biblical story of the serpent tempting Eve in the Garden of Eden, and so on, each one creating new meanings and possibilities for interpretation of the others.

Thus, in Kichwa narratives, multiple voices, perspectives, and dialogical resonances are fundamental to conveying credible and authoritative knowledge. Storytelling has been described as highly dialogic in both the local context of Lowland Kichwa (Nuckolls *Lessons*) and the broader Quechua language areas (Mannheim and Van Vleet). This is especially important in stories about muskuy experiences that are held in esteem as privileged sources of information, precisely because they so often have to do with topics of high importance and urgency. For instance, when Bélgica and Eulodia Dagua's younger brother disappeared along a riverbank some two decades ago, yachakguna determined the boy's whereabouts through muskuy. Their visions, as well as the dreams of Bélgica's sister-in-law, led to the conclusion that the boy, whom I call Marcos, had been stolen away by a *supay* (spirit being) to live among the *yaku runa* (water people). To this day he thrives there, they say, having matured to manhood and made a home with a wife and children.

In my recording, as Bélgica recounts her story of the boy's strange behavior leading up to his disappearance and the several muskuy visions of the boy following it, dialogue (in its many forms) creates for her listeners a sense that this is a credible and authoritative accounting of what may happen when powerful forest beings lure humans away from their communities. In the following pages, I analyze three

different modes of dialogue that lend Bélgica's narrative its credibility, authority, and emotional resonance. First, in the Bakhtinian sense of dialogism, I explore the narrative choices that Bélgica makes, how she subtly evokes ideas that resonate with a shared Runa knowledge base so that her interlocutors can draw their own conclusions. Then, I look to the voices that she represents in her narrative: the secondhand stories and quotations of others' speech that she relies upon to construct her tale. In particular, I consider the way different perspectives are emphasized and distinguished from one another in a vocal performance to bolster the overall credibility of the story. Finally, I examine the active response patterns of Bélgica's Kichwa-speaking interlocutors to argue that their various questions and comments validate and substantiate the inherent claims of her story. In her muskuy narrative, we observe a complex event that is not composed by a single authoritative narrator, but instead is framed by a primary narrator who relies on collaborating perspectives or "voices" to share in the production and transmission of knowledge. In this way, the "special kind of relationship" that storytelling creates between narrator and interlocutor (Bauman, "Verbal" 64) is expressed in the Runa context, in which a communal act of creating authoritative knowledge emerges from a story about estrangement from the human domain.

Narrative Context

Bélgica Dagua's narrative about her brother's disappearance came up during the course of an otherwise typical conversation about the previous night's dreams. It was early July 2016, and Bélgica, her older sister, Eulodia (of the previous chapter), and I were responsible for an undergraduate class about Amazonian Arts at the

Andes-Amazon Field School outside Tena, Ecuador. The women had come from the Pastaza province to serve as ceramics instructors while I was acting as teaching assistant and interpreter. Despite being much younger than her older sister, Bélgica (then 33 years old) is similar to Eulodia in that both maintain the beliefs and practices of her parent's generation. Unlike her sister, Bélgica received a formal education in the Ecuadorian public schools and therefore is literate in Spanish and Kichwa. She has always thought of Eulodia as a second mother and their bond is obviously strong. Recently, Bélgica has been improving her ceramics techniques under the tutelage of her master potter sister.

Fig. 4. Bélgica Dagua tending pottery as it is fired, photograph by Lisa Carney, 15 July 2016.

On the morning of Bélgica's story, two American undergraduate students and I accompanied the women into the forest in order to dig clay from a nearby stream, along with a Runa man named Pedro Andi from the local community, who brought a wheelbarrow for transporting the clay. Older than both women, he has a friendly relationship with them born from their interactions at the field school. Even though they speak slightly different dialects of Kichwa, they understand each other well and often compare the stories and practices of their ancestors. All three clearly respect and like one another.

As we approached the stream, Eulodia asked me what I had dreamed about the night before that would have indicated something about our trek that day. Since I did not recall anything, she told me she had dreamed of a man that was pestering her by saying that he was her former lover. She did not recognize him, but soon realized that he was probably a supay looking to seduce her sister, with whom he had her confused. The previous year, after a hike into the forest surrounds in this same region, Bélgica had been visited in a dream by a supay woman who offered her adult son to Bélgica as a potential spouse, and suggested that they all go live together *ukui*, "inside" the forest landscape.[25] Bélgica would have been a desirable match because she embodies many feminine traits that are valued by Runa—she is skilled,

[25] The term *ukui* ("inside") is mean to convey an inner world beyond the normal reach of humans, often inside of large trees, hills, or river pools.

hardworking, and attractive. Nonetheless, she resisted the woman's proposal, unwilling to leave behind her young son or the rest of her human community. So now, a year later, it seemed that the man had decided to try to entice Bélgica into marriage himself but had contacted the wrong sister by mistake.

We paused our conversation when we reached the stream and the women began to remove the clay. After they had enough to fill the wheelbarrow, they rested, at which time the conversation returned to supay. I had been thinking about the differences between the supay man from Eulodia's dream and the *Manga Allpa Amu* (Clay Spirit Master), so I asked the women why certain spirit beings attempt to take human spouses while others do not. In response, Bélgica spoke up, explaining simply that some spirits want to, while others do not. In illustration of this point, she commented that her own younger brother had been taken by a supay many years ago. Correctly anticipating that she was about to tell the story, I prepared my camera to record her.

In my recording, although Bélgica primarily positions her body toward me and my digital camera, she also directs her words to Eulodia, who had witnessed the events being described, and to Pedro, who is hearing the story for the first time. In turn, the other two speak on multiple occasions to clarify and confirm, ask questions, or tell their own stories. Whether because of the spontaneity of the storytelling event or because of the predominance of Runa participants, I observed a higher degree of listener-participation in this narrative than in many other narrative elicitation sessions that I have witnessed or conducted. By contrast, the event felt more like the casual storytelling contexts I have experienced when simply spending time with my Kichwa

compadres from a different community, without a camera. The speakers seemed relaxed and their voices overlapped in a conversational way, almost as if my camera were not present at all.

The following is a transcript and translation of Bélgica's story and the responses from Eulodia, Pedro, and me, with some inaudible passages and additional stories omitted. She begins by describing the events leading up to disappearance of the boy (whom I have given the psuedonum "Marcos"), before going on to describe two types of muskuy that gave the family insight regarding his fate.

BÉLGICA: Ñuka turitas apashka.	BÉLGICA: My brother, too, was taken
LISA: Kamba turi?	LISA: Your brother?
BÉLGICA: Enda. Ñuka kikin turita.	BÉLGICA: Uh-huh, my very own brother.
LISA: Ima shuti an?	LISA: What was his name?
BÉLGICA: Kipata. Imasna watata charishka angalla?	BÉLGICA: My younger brother. Just how old would he have been?
EULODIA: Sukta watata.	EULODIA: Six years old.
BÉLGICA: Sukta wata charikta apashka an ñuka turita.	BÉLGICA: He was six when he was taken, my brother.
Ña pero ñawpata…	Yes, but earlier…
Ñawpata pay chara mana apakllaita, shu killa ñawpa chashka anga?	Before, when he hadn't been taken yet—Would it have been a month before that?
EULODIA: Um-hmm.	EULODIA: Um-hmm.

BÉLGICA: Shu killa ñawpakta, payga ña rikushka mara.

“Shuk runa mara,” nirami. Pay shutiga Mishu nishka, shuti runami shamura nira payta.

“‘Aku,’ nirami,” nira. “Kay yaku ñambita rira,” nira.

Kay yaku kasnamanda shamuk, shuk shuk ñambi kaita, shuk, shuk ñambi kaymanda.

Yaku, yaku pura mara [*partially inaudible*].

Shu ñambi mas urai shinamanda, shuklla más anak shinata rina. Ñambi tiak ara ñukanchi.

Chi, kaymanda shamunira kay uraimanda shamuk. “Payba ñawiga manzhanaita mara,” nira, kasna hatun ñabiyuk.

“Chi payta rikushaga, ‘shamui,’ nikpi, manzhasha ñuka wakarani,” nik ak ara ñuka turi.

BÉLGICA: One month earlier, he had already been seen [by the supay].

It was a person [male], he said. He said his name was “Mishu,” a person [man] with this name came to him, said [ ].

"'Come,' he said," said [Marcos]. “He came along that riverway,” he said.

Coming to that place in the river, there were waterways over here, waterways coming from over there.

It was just all water, water, [coming together] [*partially inaudible*].

There was a waterway from down river, one went from upriver, and we lived where the waterway went.

He came up from there, from downriver. “His eyes were frighteningly large,” my brother said.

He had big eyes like this.

“When he appeared saying, ‘come,’ I was afraid so I cried,” my brother would say.

Ña hatun asha pay kwintak ara, winda.	Now as a big kid he would tell stories, *win* [everything]. [26]
Chiga, “imata chasna rikushkanga?”	So, now, “What would he have seen?” [We wondered]
Ña kungailla. Asik.	Just out of nowhere. Jokester.
Ima shutita ara pay? “Amu,” kwintaunmi ña. Imashti, chasna sukta wataiwa asha payga kasnalla kwintak ara.	What was his name? "Amu [master]," he told us. Umm, when he was six, he would tell stories like that.
Nik ara. “Ñukata ‘aku’ niurami,” nik ara.	He’d said, “He [Mishu] told me 'come',” said [Marcos].
“Kutiwas shamushami kanda rikungawa,” niukara. Payba shuti mara ‘*Mishu*’ nik ara.	"And again, I’ll come here to see you," he would say. "His name was 'Mishu,'" he said.
“Ñuka amigo Mishu manmi,” nik ara.	“He is my friend ‘Mishu,’” he said.
Pay, pay amu.	That master [spirit being].

[26] Win or wing: “Any group or collection of entities, or expanse, considered as a whole” (Nuckolls et. al). In the text, this is “win” marked with the direct object marker “da.” In context, it appears that Bélgica is suggesting that nothing her brother said was reliable.

Chiga, chasna nikpi, ñukanchi kungailla mana, mana kirikcha aranchi.	So, when he said that, we weren't worried about it, we didn't believe.
“Yangami nin,” nisha.	“He’s speaking nonsense,” we thought.
Chasnaybi, ña kuti rayguga ña… Chi wawaga ña chibi chasna nishkamanda…Ña yapa nuspashina mak ara. Yakuma rin, kaparik ak ara ña, “Wah hay!” kaparik.	So, like that, it happened again… That child, after he said all that… He was just very crazy [wild]. When he went to the river, he'd yell, "Wah hay!" He'd yell out.
Chara ichillata chasna. Sukta watayukllata, kaparik, asik, ña tukuy.	When he was still little like that. Just six years old, he'd yell, laugh, just everything.
“Ñukaga rina mani,” nik ara, “rina mani. Ñuka- ñuka amigo ñukata rikuwak shamungaraun,” chasna rimakllara chi ñukanchi mana kirikchakgaranchi. Yanga chari rimari, nisha.	"I have to go," he'd say, "I have to go. My- my friend is going to come to see me," he'd say, but we weren't about to believe it. We thought that he was probably making it up.
Chasnai, ña kungaimanda…	So then suddenly…

Tutamanda pagarik, chi wawa mana tunta chi pagara. Kasna pay *siempre* asishka kushiyak. Pay tiara rikusha, nina kuchui.	At dawn, that boy, *tun*[27] he didn't make a sound, that morning. He normally always was laughing, cheerful. He sat there straight up, looking into the campfire.
Chasnaibi imata chari wawapura pukushkata kusashami mikushkai, mitzanakusha piñanakanuara.	Like that, maybe among all the kids when they ate the *maduro* plantains that had been cooked, among themselves they didn't share, so they got angry at each other.
PEDRO: Pai chi ringarauwan…	PEDRO: There when he about to leave…
BÉLGICA: Ringarauwan.	BÉLGICA: [Yes] when he was about to leave.
Chi piñanakushapimi, ñuka mamaga apisha. Ñuka mama *siempre*, ña, apisha shukray piñana munak mak ara ñuka mama. Chiga piñara chi ringarauta. Chiga piñashkawan,	So, with them quarreling, who but my mother would grab him, my mom, every time he got angry she'd come grab him right away, my mom. So getting angry, he was going to go. So

[27] Ton or tun: "(2)[…] an idea of the sound, heard from a distance, of forceful contact between hard surfaces" (Nuckolls, *Sounds* 268). In this phrase, *tun* is marked by the direct object marker "ta". The suggestion is that the boy didn't make a sound.

kuchilluta apik, payba [Eulodia] churiwan.	being angry, he took the knife and with her [Elodía's] son.
Chi hatunlla runata. Chi paywan parejo an. Chi tupu ashka anma kunan pay kawsak ña kai uraita washa.	The one who is big [now]. They were inseparable. It was like that, but now, after all that he [Elodía's son] is alive, just down river.
Chi, chasna asha paywan, rimanaguna. Wakashka washa, mama piñashka wakashka washa….	So that's how it was, they would talk together, after crying, after crying because my mom got angry…
Atarik, riranmi.	He got up, and he left.
Kuchilluta apashka.	He took the knife.
Chiga chi ñuka ñañawa churiwandi rikunun, kuchunrai yaku ashkata shumura kasna.	And then Marcos went with my sister's son to look, to cut down trees. Then water came up like this. “Lots and lots of water,” they say,
“Ashka, ashka,” nisha, puskuk yakui ña shamushkai.	coming with lots of foam in it.
[...] [Eulodia speaks]	[...] [*Here, Eulodia speaks at length about her own memories of the time*.]
BÉLGICA: Urai nik shina ima kasna urku, kay santu urku niungui?	BÉLGICA: Down river they say, like what is that mountain, Santo Urku, is that what you [are] call[ing] it?

Chasna kwinta ninlla yaku shimiwan parejuta kay urkuga kasna ña lluchuk urku ninlla.	Like that one, there is a mountain right up next to the mouth of the river, that mountain is called the naked mountain.
Hatun, hatun urku.	It is a large, large mountain.
Chaibi, chaibimi kawsan, nik anaun.	Over there, that's where he lives, they say.
PEDRO: [*Inaudible*]	PEDRO: [*Inaudible*]
BÉLGICA: Chibi	BÉLGICA: There
Chishi shamusha	Later coming,
“Wakamayu wibak ima kwintata charin,” nisha, wandukta upisha rikushka ninun.	“He raises macaws [as pets]. Oh, how many he has,” they say, the people who took wanduk [to see] say.
PEDRO: Payguna?	PEDRO: They do?
BÉLGICA: Ah-ah chi shamushai	BÉLGICA: Uh-huh, having come there
Kasna kinzha washata	There, behind the corral fence,
Kasna kinzhashka ukui, wibana ninun.	there, inside of the corral, [That's where] he raises them, they say.
Pay amu kawsashkaibiga, mana llukshinta ushanchu kaymanda.	In living where the master does, he’s not able to get out of there.
	It has a lot of locks there, perhaps, he's the master, they say, that's what the

Yapa ashka kandado an, chari an, pay amu nishami rimara nik anaura wandukta upisha rikusha.	people who drank wanduk and [thereby] saw him said.
Chasna.	So, like that
Wandukta upishkabi kawsakmi tuparin.	Drinking the wanduk, they happened upon him, discovered him to be alive.
Ña kunanga warmiyuk man nik anaura wandukta upisha.	And now he is married, they say, [they] having taken wanduk [to see].
PEDRO: Kayma, payguna sachama apasha dueño warmima apan ninun?	PEDRO: They say [someone] took him to the spirit owner woman?
BÉLGICA: Uh-ow, dueño warmi apak ak ashka.	BÉLGICA: Uh-huh, he's been taken by an owner woman.
[…] [Pedro speaks]	[…] [*Here, Pedro speaks at length about a boy who went missing in the area several decades ago*] [28]

[28] The following is a difficult section to translate, largely because there is no gender distinction in Quichua third person pronouns (ex, he or she), which makes it difficult to determine exactly who the source of information is in any given utterance. Relying on another native speaker's intuition on the passage as a whole and some helpful guidance from Janis Nuckolls in a few specific cases, I have pieced together the most likely translation. In summary, this passage says that Bélgica's sister-in-law had a dream encounter with the now-grown Marcos when went down river on a trip. Near a

BÉLGICA: Ñuka, ñuka ma- chi ñuka, ñuka wañuk kachun… ñuka turi Davidba warmi--	BÉLGICA: My, my "ma…", um, my, my deceased sister-in-law… my brother David's wife--
Payga uraita riushka pasiangak, chi ñukanchi tiashkamanda uraimi shinaimi…	She went downriver on a visit, from where we live downriver, like that…
Shuk yaku ña kasna kucha	In a river, just in a river pool
Kunan kasna,	Now, like that,
Mashti, adzaklla urku.	Um, at "Adzak"[29] Mountain.
Chi urku, urku kuskata payguna canoanga. pulan rishkauna.	There in front of the mountain they went in a canoe, going on the water *polang*[30] [gliding sound across water].

place called Adzak Urku, she turned and saw him carrying a baby. When he spotted her, he dropped back down into the water. *Yachaks* took *wanduk* to find out more. They discovered that the Marcos has been looking out for his mother, who was actually still in Canelos.

[29] *Adzak* is not a Quichua word: it may be that Bélgica was referencing an Achuar-Shiwiar word *atsáp* (mite) or *atsau* (fishing hook) (Wise 103).

[30] "Polang": "It simulates a gliding movement from underwater to the surface or across water. Repetitions simulate bobbing movements" (Nuckolls, et al. "Lexicography"; Nuckolls, et al. "Polang"). See also Nuckolls, *Sounds* 155-158.

Chiga rikukpi, pai “imashina?” ajpi, chi kasna vultiarika mana rikushka.	When he looked at her, she thought, "what was that?" and turning around didn't see anything.
“Rikukpi kaywan, pariuk kasna wawata kasna awata, markashkami rikusha ashka,” nin.	“Looking this way, he was there with a baby, like this, up straight [out of the water] carrying a baby, he was looking,” she said.
“Kay yaku… yaku kikimbi. Rikusha shayaushka,” nin.	“There in that very river. He stood there looking,” she said.
“Pai alli rikushkawan wawandi ling--uraiku,” nin. “Yaku ukuma tun.”	“Having looked really well, he went down into the river *ling*[31] [entering abruptly] with the baby,” she said. “Into the water *tun* [32] [completely/slapping sound of water].”

[31] Ideophone “ling”: “To insert into an enclosed space; to enter a physically bounded space or cross an obvious boundary; to move back and forth rapidly” (Nuckolls, et. al.). See also Nuckolls, *Sounds* 196-201.

[32]“*Tun* or “ton”: “(1) To fill or be filled to utmost capacity; to cover or be covered, drenched with, or otherwise characterizeable by some attribute as completely as is possible. (2) […] an idea of the sound, heard from a distance, of forceful contact between hard surfaces” (Nuckolls, *Sounds* 268). “Tong”: “The sound of slapping water’s surface” (Nuckolls, “Tong”).

PEDRO: [partially inaudible] Familia akpi rikushara... imara ... ima tukunaun...yakui, wañunga…	PEDRO: [partially inaudible] Seeing the family being there, he…what…what happened, in the water…going to die…
BÉLGICA: Chiga mashti, paytaga…muskuybi nishka…	BÉLGICA: So, um, to her**…**in a dream-vision, she said…
Ñukaga ñuka mama chari riura nishami rikuk aran nishka. Payga ñuka mamata maskashka. Chi ñuka mama kay Canelosmi tiaukpi.	He was thinking perhaps that my mother was going [traveling], in order to see [him]. He looked for my mother. [But] my mother was in Canelos.
“Ñuka mama shamusha kasna uraita riun,” nisha, payga rikushka.	“My mother comes she went down river,” [He was] thinking, to see him.
Chasnami imashti chi-- ayakta upichisha rikukpiga--	So like that, um, there-- When they took a drink of the bitter [wanduk] to see [they determined that]--
Mana piwas tiyashka, pay mama chari an nishami rikushka nishami. Niwanaura nin.	There wasn't anyone there, wondering, “Is it my mother?” he looked, wondering. They [the yachaks] told me he said.[33]

[33] Special thanks to Janis Nuckolls who helped me sort out the different subjects of this section. Any mistakes are my own.

Pay muskushka kwintan. Kwintaunimi.	She told what she dreamed, [which is what] I'm telling [you].
Chi, imashti, yachakguna, chasna, "kunan kawsakmi wawayukmi," ninaun.	They, um, the yachaks, say, "He lives and he has children," they say.
Chasna ñuka turita apashka. Kawsan. Payga. Shu partima.	So that's how my brother was taken. He's alive. He is. In another place.
(B. Dagua, "Chingarishka turi").	(my trans.).

Closing with the assertion that her brother still lives, Bélgica and the rest of us fell silent. I summarized the story for the undergraduate students while we returned to the main buildings of the Field School. That afternoon and for days to come, Bélgica, Eulodia, and I would return to the story many times, as they clarified and reiterated points, or added details. In this way, the narrative event was the catalyst for many subsequent dialogues as well.

Speaking Evocatively for an Audience

Using the concept of dialogue in its many forms to guide this narrative analysis, I begin with the most fundamental part of the narrative—Bélgica's own utterances and gestures—to identity the dialogic resonances that she is most likely to evoke in her interlocutors' minds, with special focus on the part of her narrative that recounts the time prior to Marcos' transformation and disappearance. Although her story is comprehensible to non-Runa, many of the subtle poetic qualities of the story would be lost on a listener who does not share common cultural knowledge.

We can ascertain what Bélgica means to evoke by analyzing both what she

says and how she says it: called *presupposition* and *implicature*, respectively, in the field of Pragmatic Linguistics (Mannheim "Social"). The ideas, memories and imagery that are evoked in oral narrative are part of what Bruce Mannheim calls the "social imaginary," which is "a set of interpretive images, figures, and forms that project an implicit social ontology" (44). Narratives engage the social imaginary as a means by which storytellers transmit their understanding about social life and the workings of the world. Therefore, by analyzing presupposition, the tacit assumptions embedding in an utterance, we can discern the type of information that speaker and hearer take for granted as part of their shared interpretive framework. For example, the statement that a boy was taken by a supay presupposes a worldview in which non-human beings have agency and humans are able to shape-shift. Next, by analyzing implicature, in which meaning is implicated by the speaker and inferred by a listener, we can determine meaning that is not directly stated but would be understood through the implied connections among multiple statements. For example, when Bélgica says her brother was taken and then says that one month earlier he had met a stranger, the implication is that the stranger played an important role in the abduction. Since Runa are careful to avoid over-generalization or making hypothetical assertions (Nuckolls and Swanson "Earthy"), implicature is an especially important element of the Kichwa speech aesthetic because it allows information to speak for itself and places greater responsibility of interpretation on the hearer. Both presupposition and implicature are related to dialogism, in that all varieties of experience and elements of the shared social imaginary may influence the understanding of a story by a listener. In this section, I access the implicit meaning in Bélgica's narrative by looking at what is

presupposed and implicated by the physical location of the events, the identity markers of Marcos' mysterious friend, and the strange behavior of the young boy, three topics that foreshadow the impending transformation of Marcos.

Supay Geography

Although Bélgica confidently states that her brother was taken by supay, this was by no means a foregone conclusion at the time, nor would her listeners automatically make such an assumption. However, it is a possibility accepted by them all, and thus she is able to lead them to the same conclusion by emphasizing certain clues, such as her description of the landscape. For someone unaccustomed to the tropical landscape, it is difficult to see the forest as more than a tangle of trees and vines cut through by streams and rivers. As a result, one can easily assume that the setting of a story will always be the same and would therefore bear little relation to the turn of events. This is not actually the case, however. For the indigenous people who live in the tropical forest, the environment is like a vast city with many neighborhoods, each with a slightly different population and set of characteristics. These "neighborhoods" are distinguishable by natural features and geographic landmarks, many of which indicate the type of inhabitants that live in the area.

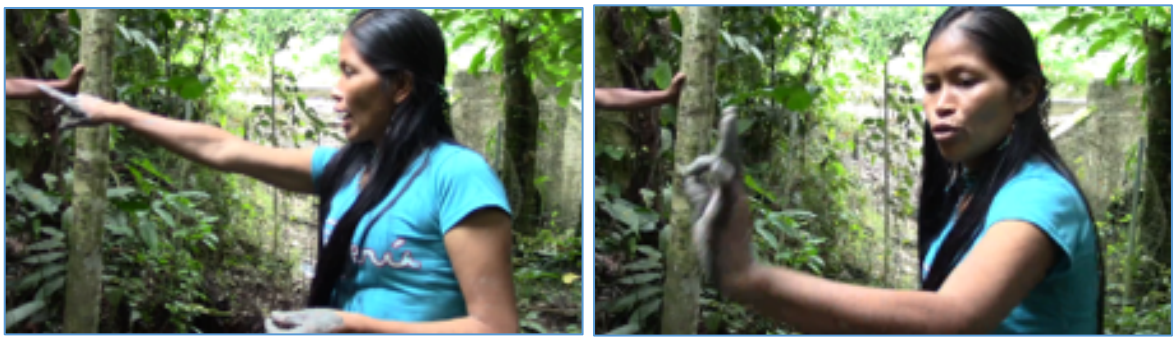
For this reason, the setting of a Runa oral narrative is very important indeed because it informs us about the character of the actors in the story. In the perspectival logic of traditional Amazonian thinking, plant, animal, and spirit souls perceive themselves as human, even as they appear to human beings in a disguised form, cloaked in their plant and animal clothing (Viveiros de Castro). The homes of these beings are also concealed in major geographic features. For Runa, these spirit

settlements called *supay llakta* are found in hills, riverside cliffs, and deep pools of water (Macdonald, *Ethnicity* 34). *Yaku supay runaguna*, the water spirit people, are known to dwell in the river and manifest themselves to humans as anacondas (Muratorio, *Life* 182).

Bélgica's description of the setting of her brother's disappearance strongly emphasizes the nearby bodies of water through her words and gestures as we see in the excerpt that begins as follows:

> Kay yaku ñambita rira nira, kay yaku, kasnamanda shamuk shuk shuk ñambi kaita, shuk, shuk ñambi kaimanda ("Chingarishka").
>
> (Coming to that place in the river, there were waterways over here, waterways coming from over there [my trans.]).

Here and in her following statements, Bélgica reiterates that the location of events was a confluence, the geographical name for a place where bodies of water come together. Such a place indicates the presence of spirit beings to Runa. Specifically, she describes an area in which several waterways called *yaku ñambi* ("river paths") come together. As the Kichwa name suggests, these rivers and streams are means of travel for humans in canoe, but also for supay, who from their own perspective see the rivers as roads and highways. In the supay world, an area in which many river trails converge would look like a highway junction and would only exist in high traffic areas.



Figs. 5 and 6. Stills of Bégica Dagua indicating directions of waterways from "Chingarishka turi" (0:36, 0:37).

In light of this information, we can see how the river setting that Bélgica describes might evoke thoughts of a *supay llakta*. By gesturing with her hands, Bélgica lays out a visual image of the setting while explaining that many waterways came together in the location where her family lived at the time (see figs. 5 and 6). In addition to her gestures, Bélgica also restates her description three times in a row, slightly modifying her language each time. Like other types of repetition in verbal discourse, this repeated description is meant to foreground the content it contains (Nuckolls, *Sounds* 65), such that the listener cannot help but note that this is significant information to the speaker. Given the description of an area that was I*yaku, yaku pura*" ("just all water, water"), a logical inference for Runa is that such a significant geographic feature could be the home of a water supay being. Considering that the stranger that Marcos met came from downriver, which on the eastern slopes of the Andes tends to lead deeper into the tropical forest and further away from human settlement, it is difficult to imagine a more plausible explanation, from the Runa perspective, for the identity of the stranger.

The final reference to the river location of Marcos' disappearance is another indication of what the Dagua family would later have verified through muskuy: that the boy was indeed taken by water spirit people. Bélgica states that on his last morning with the family, her brother went to the riverside to cut trees, at which time foamy water began to rise. It is possible, then, that by returning to the river, Marcos may have decided to leave voluntarily with his new friend, directly into the water. The flood of foamy water indicates the presence of supay, who are able to cause the rivers to flood and whose power is transferred to humans through the foam called *pusku*. As Regina Harrison demonstrates in an analysis of a Runa woman's song, such foam can be also associated with a "unloosening" of social bonds related to wandering off with a spirit being (163). So here, although Bélgica does not make an explicit connection between the water and the supay abduction, in the context of the narrative these elements are indicators of supay interference that a knowing listener would have little trouble understanding.

My Friend, Mishu

Another indication that Marcos was indeed taken by a supay is implicitly conveyed in the briefly noted detail of the name of the stranger he had met. According to Bélgica, the stranger's name was "Mishu," which is the Kichwa word for "mestizo" (of indigenous and European heritage). Given this fact, it would seem logical to assume that such a person might actually be another human being rather than a supay, as there is ample historic precedence of whites and mestizos forcing the removal of indigenous peoples as part of compulsory labor, as well as contemporary documentation of indigenous women and children being targeted for human

trafficking (Maloney).[34] Nonetheless, "Mishu" would be a strange choice for a given name. Instead, it sounds more like a *burla shuti*, the type of jocular nickname first given to a man on the eve of his wedding in Runa communities (Muratorio, *Life* 260). Such nicknames are meant to convey fondness as they tease, by describing some aspect of a person's character in a humorous fashion: for example, a man called *Kushillu* (the kinkajou) because, like the animal, he has a good sense of humor and is fun to be around (Uzendoski, *Napo* 61). Similarly, such a name may be used to criticize someone who looks or behaves differently. Several women I know tease their daughters and nieces by calling them "gringas" for wearing make-up, cutting their hair short and wearing jeans, when traditional beauty norms would call for a Runa girl to paint her face with *wituk* (black vegetable stain), keep her hair long, and wear skirts or dresses. In this case, the teasing is meant in good fun, but sometimes it veils harsher criticism of family members who have moved away and stopped carrying out traditional practices like maintaining a garden or drinking chicha. As these examples indicate, however, skin tone is not a prerequisite for a given ethnic identity. A person called "Mishu" might not actually be mestizo, but instead may

[34] One Runa man I spoke with reports that as a child he was taken away from his parents under false pretenses by a mestizo woman and given to a white family in Quito. He later ran away and reunited with his parents. Whether or not this has ever been a widespread practice remains uncertain, but even a rumor of the practice might lead Runa to consider that a missing child was taken by a mestizo person rather than a supay.

share some qualities of non-indigenous humans, such as lighter complexion and certain habits or material possessions.

Although we are given no other description of this person other than that he had eyes that frightened the boy, the association that the name bears with non-indigeneity—whether mestizo or white—is meaningful because it is consistent with other known descriptions of supay spirit beings. For example, *sacha supay runa* (forest spirit people) are typically described as white, while *yaku supay runa* (water spirit people) tend to look indigenous (Galli 460, 466); although there are also descriptions of water people looking like *gringos* (Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 34). In my own conversations with Kichwa speakers about *sacha runa*, they have often teasingly used me as an example of what the female beings look like: pale skin, light hair and eyes, like an *extranjera* (foreigner) or *gringa* (North American).

In the context of Ecuador at large and of spirit beings specifically, terminology of whiteness, mestizaje and indigeneity do not have the same connotations as they might elsewhere. Concepts of race or ethnicity are always fraught with contradictions as they are based on webs of associations between phenotypical characteristics and sociocultural or behavioral traits. Furthermore, the list of characteristics ascribed to one ethnic group or another will always vary depending on who is describing them, whether an outsider or a member of the group. For this reason, although the Kichwa words *blancu* ('white') and *mishu* are indeed generally associated with lighter skin tone, the color of a person's complexion by itself is not a clear indicator of that person's ethnic identity. Christine Taylor writes that in Ecuador, racial terms are often used pragmatically to refer to practices and

self-identification rather than heritage or skin tone. Indigeneity is associated with rural living, while "whiteness" (or non-indigeneity) is associated with urbanity, such that, "the defining characteristic of *blancos* is that they live in an urban environment, in *ciudades* (cities)" (136). In the particular case of racial markers in the spirit world, Eduardo Kohn argues that these spirit beings "…are not 'white' in a racial sense; [rather] they are powerful and they occupy a certain place in a hierarchical organization, and this status, in part, has come to be associated with the authority that white attributes confer" ("Animal" 111-112). Among these attributes are the possession of material goods that urban Ecuadorians and supay are known to possess, like cell phones, computers, trucks and even airplanes (108).

As Kohn further notes, throughout Amazonian indigenous thinking, there are many non-human beings that "exert control over the forest" (106), commonly referred to in English as 'masters.' These are beings that live *ukuta* or *ukui*, "inside" the forest in a hidden sense, rather than *pakllai*, out in the open or in plain sight. They have influence over entire species of plants and animals or control resources like pottery clay. From their own perspective, they live like traditional Runa—drinking chicha, hunting wild game, and so on. Additionally, these beings sometimes appear to humans in dreams as authority figures, dressed as police or soldiers (such as the *Manga Allpa Amu* who appeared in a dream to Eulodia as a police officer). The stranger named "Mishu," Bélgica reveals, is among the type of powerful spirit beings that are masters of forest resources (being, as she later describes, a *wakamayu wibak*, 'macaw breeder'). These beings are described using Spanish terms of authority,

through loan words like *amu* and *duiñu* (master or keeper and owner, respectively) which make the association with non-indigeneity quite pronounced.

Given the web of overlapping associations between the characteristics of non-indigenous human beings (whether white or mestizo), and those of spirit beings, the name "Mishu" serves as yet another clue that hints at the true identity of Marcos Dagua's strange new friend. As a matter of note, Pedro, the Napo Runa man who was present for this narrative recording, essentially confirms the inherent presuppositions related to racial cues and supay beings, when he interjects with his own account of a relative who was taken by a European-looking spirit woman several decades ago. [35] To describe the spirit woman, he uses the term *rancia,* from the Spanish word "Francia" (France), that is used to describe pale skinned foreigners of all origins. Udo Oberum asserts that such usages possibly harken back to the 1730s and 40s French Geodesic expedition to Quito and the Equator (Vol 1. 28). Pedro's narrative contribution thereby supports the notion that even a fleeting reference to a person's name might evoke a concrete memory in the mind of a narrative's listener; here, a pale stranger who may indeed be a spirit being.

Anti-Social Behavior

A final indication of Marcos' actual contact with a supay is suggested in the references to his wild and anti-social behavior, which indicate both a vulnerability to

[35] Further information about Pedro's story may be found in Tod Swanson's 2018 article, "Relatives of the Living Forest." Pedro Andi is a relative of Swanson's spouse and a frequent collaborator for his research.

supay abduction and the consequences of being pulled away from the human domain. In Bélgica's words, young Marcos was *yapa nushpashina* ("very crazy"). To a certain extent, the behavior that she describes is age-appropriate for a six year old and under normal circumstances would not have signaled his imminent disappearance: at such an age, after all, it is a rare child who does not tell wild stories or yell out inappropriately. Hearing a description of the boy, we might imagine a normal, happy-go-lucky child.

In part, Bélgica's word choice indicates that these were aspects of the boy's character rather than isolated incidents of wild behavior. For example, Bélgica calls her brother a *kwintak*—"a storyteller"—implying that he tended to exaggerate or invent stories. He was also an *asik* ("a laugher or jokester") as well as a *kaparik* ("a yeller"). In each of these descriptions, she uses the habitual verb structure that is formed with the agentivizing suffix, "-k". This structure suggests that a behavior is a regular occurrence, a habit of the person it describes (Nuckolls, *Sounds* 54). Significantly, each time that Bélgica quotes her brother's description of meeting the supay, she also points out one of his habitual behaviors, seemingly in justification of her family's disbelief of his words.

This is important because wild and unreliable behavior is not just a reason to ignore a person's claims, but also an indication of the type of person who tends to fall prey to a predatory spirit. As Jarrad Reddekop and Tod Swanson write, humans run the risk of being "pulled over a species barrier" when they lack the restraint required to have a productive and responsible relationship with other beings, thereby allowing themselves to over-empathize with these beings or become inappropriately attracted

to them (10). The type of person who might be taken in this way can be characterized as being *killa* (*quilla*) a term describing the moral fault of laziness or promiscuity as well as a general lack of discipline (Swanson, "Singing" 48-50). A child like Marcos might not be so harshly judged, but given his young age and corresponding immaturity, he certainly lacked the restraint required to resist the dangerous attraction posed by a non-human being. Furthermore, in Runa thinking, children are not born fully human but are "soft" and must be carefully protected by their parents as well as taught how not to be lazy (Uzendoski, *Napo* 31, 33). Until they are mature, however, children are by their very nature vulnerable to the forces at play in the forest that can make them sick or steal their souls (Reddekop and Swanson 20; Whitten, *Sacha* 144).

Marcos, it seems, was indeed susceptible to the supay that he met in the forest, as another aspect of his behavior makes clear. On the day of his disappearance, the boy was sullen rather than his usual laughing self. He stared into the morning fire quietly; then, having quarreled with the other children, left in a burst of anger in the direction of the river. Throughout Amazonia, anger is considered to be a destructive emotion as well as transformational force that dissolves social relationships and can cause a person to no longer be human (Overing and Passes 20; Belaunde).[36] Such

[36] As mentioned in the Introduction, the ethnographic contextualization of mental and emotional processes is a form of psychoanalytic ethnography that is an important factor to include in ethnopoetic analysis, so long as it illustrates indigenous concepts rather than imposing Western ones. This is unlike the psychoanalytic ethnography that describes dreams in terms of the unconscious mind. In this latter mode, emotional

anger plays a prominent role in many Kichwa origin stories, in which people who were already growing estranged from their kin groups cease to be human and take on their new form after a quarrel erupts into a fit of angry speech. In these stories, outbursts of anger and resentment are the final acts preceding species change (Reddekop and Swanson 6; see generally Folletti-Castegnaro; Orr and Hudelson). Likewise, a young boy's angry outburst as his final act before disappearing certainly indicates the possibility that he will have left behind the human world.

Overall, Runa associate disruptive and antisocial behavior or drastic behavioral changes with changes in a person's very being, especially when a supay is involved. As Elisa Galli discovered in her ethnographic work on Kichwa dreams, many young women who had been seduced by supay men in their dreams reported that these men encouraged them to change habits, especially their diets. These spirit men were grooming their potential wives by teaching them the social habits of the new community. One woman named Sofía was instructed by her yaku runa suitor to avoid salt and *ají* (chili pepper) for eight days. This type of restricted diet, or *sasina*, is typical of yachakguna in the process of acquiring special powers in contact with forest spirits. In her case, Sofía chose not to follow these directions, and actually began to eat more of the prohibited food in order to avoid being taken. Had she wanted to go live with the yaku runa, she would presumably have followed his advice, instead (470-471). Considering this, although Bélgica makes no mention of

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response in a dream narrative might be interpreted as a form of symbolic catharsis, when for Runa the experience is not symbolic but real.

changes in her brother's diet, his other strange behavior could easily be interpreted as being the result of supay grooming to prepare the boy for his new home.

To knowledgeable Runa like Eulodia and Pedro, all of Marcos' strange behavior corresponds to their awareness of supay interactions and human to non-human transformation that come from their own memories of personal experiences and stories they have heard. Eulodia's aunt Delicia, for instance, has spoken to her of the time in her youth when a boa woman visited her in a dream to attempt to take her as a future daughter-in-law. Pedro, too, has a male relative who disappeared as a boy, after a period of being groomed by a supay woman. Thus, for the Runa interlocutors in this narrative event, supay interference in human life is not a hypothetical situation, not the stuff of rumor or fantasy, but instead is both real and personal. For these reasons, the subtle references to the strange behavior of Marcos in the month prior to his disappearance ring true.

Even lacking personal experience with supay or relatives who have been taken, many Runa know about the processes of transformation from stories of the *Kallari Uras* ("Beginning Times"), the period in which different species formed out of a common human existence.[37] Examining just one of these stories, we observe many of the very same types of behavioral changes and anti-social actions in the main characters that are typical of the humans from present times just before they are taken by supay runa. For example, before the hummingbird was a bird, he was a man called

[37] "The original common condition of both humans and animals is not animality, but rather humanity" (Viveiros de Castro 83).

Kindi, who lived together with the man Akangaw in a household with several women. Both Kindi and Akangaw would go out to work each day to clear the fields, Akangaw getting up before dawn and Kindi at midday. Seeing that Kindi seemed to only work part of the day, the women of the household believed that he was lazy, so to punish him, they'd serve him watered-down aswa (chicha).[38] However, Kindi was actually a very hard-working man, while Akangaw, the women discovered, spent his day playing with a stone. In a rendition of the story recorded by Alessandra Foletti-Castengaro, when the women tried to make amends with Kindi by serving him more substantial aswa, he became angry with them, saying, "quindi shina chuyaj upij" ("Like the hummingbird, I am a watery chicha drinker"; 120, my translation). Having said that, "…pis pis lluchshisha rishca pishcu tucusha", he left making the sound "*pis, pis"* with his wings as he turned into a bird. Later in the narrative, Akangaw turned into the large black bird that now bears his name, described as "el pájaro burlón," ("the joker bird"). The women changed form also, becoming toads because they had to shout to each other over long distances as they worked in the large fields that Kindi had cleared for them.

[38] "Chuya asua" literally means "transparent chicha." In the process of preparing aswa (chicha), women mix fermented cassava mash with water until it is thick and the liquid is an opaque shade of white. For aswa to be transparent, it must not have been mixed very well, and very little of the nutritional value that comes from the fermented cassava will have been added to the beverage.

There are a few salient points from this narrative that stand out in connection with narratives of supay abduction, even though in this story, no one is being "taken" away from anyone else. To begin with, Kindi is a man who only partially conforms to Runa norms of behavior, much like the victims of supay abduction who are not fully integrated into their communities. Young Marcos Dagua is similar to the Kindi man in this regard since he, too, participated in Runa social life but had yet to master the self-control and proper habits that a mature individual must. Kindi is a hard worker, but instead of getting up early as he should, he waits until midday. Even though he eventually accomplishes more than Akangaw, neither man fully behaves as a Runa man should. Furthermore, although Kindi drinks aswa like any other Runa man, he becomes accustomed to watery aswa (albeit against his will), which is much like the nectar that a hummingbird feeds on. Again, this is slightly strange behavior for a human man, far more appropriate for a hummingbird. There are similarities here with the behavior of Marcos, since the boy also behaved slightly strangely in the month prior to his disappearance. His behaviors were not the same as the Kindi man's, but his wild laughter and sudden sullenness were also unbefitting of mature human behavior.

Listening "Between the Lines"

Taken together, the three topics of geography, racial indicators, and eccentric behavior all allude to the presence and interference of a supay in the life of Marcos in the time before he was taken from his family. Bélgica does not need to make the connections explicit. Instead, a listener will interpret what she chooses to say (or not) and how she phrases her narrative in accordance with their shared understandings of

how the world operates. In this way, Bélgica's subtle references serve the same dialogic purposes as literary allusion and foreshadowing. With allusion, an author assumes that reader-receptors will be able to identify an external reference and incorporate that reference into their understanding of the narrative. As foreshadowing, these references build expectations of what will occur through what they imply. Listening to Bélgica's story, the location, name of the stranger, and even reference to odd behavior all have the potential to trigger a listener's memory of similar occurrences. Her statements frequently presuppose a shared knowledge base and cultural assumptions on the part of her interlocutor, and her description of events implicates a set of plausible conclusions to the listener, all of which are based on the knowledge that the events truly occurred. In turn these conclusions are confirmed in the second half of her story by the narratives of yachakguna whose *wanduk* visions convey the truth behind the young boy's sudden disappearance.

Animating Authoritative Perspectives

Turning now to a consideration of dialogue in a more "literary" light, we can see how dialogue is the basis of an authoritative narrative in Bélgica's use of other voices and perspectives to construct her story. Although Bélgica is the primary speaker in this narrative, she relies on the words of her family members to convey most of her story. The perspectives of her younger brother, a number of yachakguna, and her late sister-in-law, whose voices she represents in her story, complement her own perspective and first-person experiences. As a result, the burden of credibility does not lie solely with Béglica but is spread to the other actors who had more direct experience with Marcos' transformation.

Erving Goffman's speaker roles (as adapted by Judith Irvine) are useful for distinguishing among the many voices and perspectives from which Bélgica composes her narrative. For the present narrative, the role of *animator*, *author*, and *principal* are most relevant. In personal narratives, often the speaker will take all three roles at once. As *animator*, the speaker is the person who physically *produces* the words, while as *author*, the speaker is the person who has *chosen* the words. When the speaker is also 'committed to the position attested to by the content of the utterance' (Irvine 136), that speaker is the *principal*. It is possible for the speaker to take a combination of roles or only one at a time: for example, a speaker who recites a story that was composed by someone else (the *author*) would merely be the animator, not author or principal. In a different case, if the speaker creates their own version of a story but signals that he is not committed to the position—perhaps he is inventing a fantastical tale—then that speaker could be animator and author, but not principal.

During the course of a narrative event, the speaker will alternate roles frequently and without conscious reflection, especially when quoting or paraphrasing someone else. For example, when Bélgica quotes her brother as saying, "Shuk runa mara,' nirami," she shifts immediately from animator of Marcos' words as he says, "Shuk runa mara", into author and principal in the word "nirami" ("he said"). In Kichwa narratives, it is common for the speaker to quote speech frequently, thereby serving as the animator of other authors or principals.

Unlike written language that has developed punctuation norms to set aside language that is being repeated verbatim, orally delivered discourse has other means through which to distinguish the speaker's role in a given moment. In Kichwa, these

include illocutionary verbs (verbs that report acts of speech like “say” or “tell”), change in vocal qualities to imitate other voices, ideophones that imitate experiences, and evidential markers that indicate “the source of knowledge underlying a statement” (Nuckolls and Swanson, “Respectable” 175; Nuckolls, “Deitic,” “Quotative”). These are particularly important given the prevalence of quoted or paraphrased words called “represented discourse” that are so common in Kichwa narrative.

In Bélgica’s narrative, her use of illocutionary verbs and evidential markers guide the listener through the number of voices that she animates in order to flesh out and emphasize the credibility of her story. To the ear of a speaker of Modern European Languages, the repetition of the verb *nina* (to say), may seem cumbersome when read in translation, but is typical of Kichwa speech since it foregrounds the source of an utterance the way that quotation marks have come to do in written language. When describing young Marcos’ description of his experiences meeting the stranger in the forest, Bélgica uses a form of the verb in each of her utterances, as shown in bold in the excerpt below:

> “Shuk runa mara,” **nira**mi. Pay shutiga Mishu **nishka**, shuti runami shamura **nira** payta. “‘Aku,’ **nirami nira**. Kay yaku ñambita rira,” **nira”**(“Chingarishka turi”).
>
> “It was a person [male],” **he said**. **He said** his name was “Mishu,” a person [man] with this name came to him, **said** [Marcos]. "'Come,' **he said**," **said** [Marcos]. “He came along that riverway,” **he said** (my trans.).

In the Kichwa original, "*nira*," "*nishka*," and "*nik ara*" all indicate that Bélgica or her brother are quoting or paraphrasing someone else, serving the same function as the quotation marks in the English translation. Such repetition, as with quotation marks, clearly distinguishes Bélgica's role as animator from the role of her brother Marcos as principal and author, or his own role as animator of the voice of the man called "Mishu." Bélgica is not personally responsible for the assertion that Marcos saw a man, nor that this man was named Mishu, that his eyes were frighteningly large, or that he told Marcos to come with him. She is only personally accountable for the fact that Marcos said such a thing; no one could discredit her otherwise for the content of her brother's tale.

In further service of distinguishing among sources of information, Kichwa has a set of affixes that indicate perspective of utterances and clarify the relation of the speaker to her statements. Found throughout the Quechua language family, evidential enclitics have traditionally been described as affixes that convey a speaker's epistemic stance: they encode the source of information, whether it has been directly witnessed or not, as well as the speaker's commitment to the information, and the speaker's "right to know" the content (Nuckolls, *Lessons* 54; Mushin 17-19; Grzech 76). As Nuckolls argues, in the Pastaza dialect of Quechua, these enclitics primarily function to indicate speaker point of view and are used "to sort out different voices and perspectives, which can be characterized generally as the 'speaking subject' voice versus the voice of 'the other'" (*Lessons* 54). Put simply, the suffix "-mi" (also shown as a prefix "m-" with the verb *ana*) is used to indicate that statement is made from the speaker's own perspective (Nuckolls and Swanson, "Respectable" 175-176).

Meanwhile, the affix "-shi" indicates that statement relies on another person's perspective (without comment on the reliability of the statement). And finally, the evidential affix "cha" indicates an unknown perspective, implying a lack of certainty.

In her story, Bélgica primarily uses the "-mi" evidentials to indicate shifts in perspective. As Nuckolls asserts, the "-mi" evidential may alternately indicate the "speaking self of the speech event" (*Lessons* 55-56) (an equivalent to the situation in which the speaker is simultaneously animator, author, and principal), or "speaking self of the narrated event," (in which the speaker is primarily the animator, while author and principal of the words is someone else) (Irvine). For example, when describing the place where her family used to live, Bélgica uses the "-mi" enclitic, pronounced as though part of the following verb "ara" rather than as a suffix to the previous word: "Yaku, yaku pura **m**ara" ("It **was** just all water, water"). A more literal translation would be, "Water, just all water it was from my perspective." In this case, it is clear that Bélgica, having been physically present for the events being told, is the one whose perspective is being conveyed. In a different utterance from the beginning of her story, it is not her physical presence but rather her point of view as a person that is conveyed through the "-mi" evidential: "Shu killa ñawpakta, payga ña rikushka **m**ara" ("One month earlier, he **had** already been seen [by the supay]"). Bélgica does not purport to have been present when her brother encountered the supay; therefore, in this utterance she is taking a stance, asserting her best judgment and knowledge of events, before continuing on to provide evidence.

By contrast, Bélgica uses "-mi" to mark other speaker's perspectives within the narrative event, these being the "speakers of the narrated event." As cited above,

she first emphasizes the perspective of Marcos, then her sister-in-law's, and also that of that yachakguna who induced muskuy to determine the boy's whereabouts. For instance, in the following utterance, Bélgica emphases that it is the yachakguna whose perspective is being conveyed: "Chi, imashti, yachakguna, chasna, kuna kawsak**mi** wawayuku**mi** ninaun" ("they, um, the yachaks, say '**he lives** and **he has** children'"). The effect of this constant perspective marking is similar to the citing of sources in an academic text in which the authority of a statement or idea comes from its originator and is not falsely attributed to the person who is merely presenting or quoting it. As Nuckolls and Swanson argue, speakers clarify the source of their statements out of a "cultural preference for contextualizing statements within a perspective" and not because they place special value on objective facts or empirical evident ("Respectable" 178). To speak well (*alli rimana*), a person *must* acknowledge the perspective of their statement, lest they be "a *killa*, 'useless,' a *llulla*, 'liar,' or a *lala*, 'exaggerator'" (178). Therefore, through quotation and evidential enclitics, Bélgica prevents any accusation that she might be anything other than a conscientious speaker.

Throughout her story, Bélgica allows the voices of other people to participate in the narration about her brother's disappearance and transformation by animating their words and marking their perspective in her speech. In one sense, this makes Bélgica less responsible for the veracity and reliability of her narrative since she has not personally witnessed her brother in his new form. In another sense, this incorporation of other voices and perspectives renders Bélgica story all the more credible, because she is quoting authoritative sources, "experts" who gained their

knowledge through the medium of muskuy. Although her younger brother was apparently unreliable, every element of his story that might have indicated that a supay was trying to lure him away is confirmed by the visions of the other people whose stories Bélgica relates. The yachaks' visions confirm that the boy lives in a large cliff, with the *wakamayu wibak* (macaw breeders), and that the boy was taken to be a spirit woman's husband. This is also confirmed by Bélgica's sister-in-law, who dreamed of Marcos as a grown man, in a river location by a large cliff, with a wife and child. Thus in recounting the story of her brother's supay abduction, Bélgica incorporates many voices and perspectives to create a credible narrative of real life events and demonstrate the authoritative consensus of other people who were in a better position than she to determine what had occurred.

Listener Respons(ibility)

Finally, dialogue is necessary in many Runa narrative contexts in a very literal way. Up to this point, I have focused on multiple voices and perspectives in this narrative as they are mediated through a single speaker, Bélgica Dagua. In doing so, I have not deviated from typical discourse analysis of oral narratives, which frequently addresses a single narrative event told by a single narrator (with some exceptions, such as when multiple speakers participate in rehearsed ritual narrative). However, oral narratives of this type are rarely told in neatly defined contexts, as if they were short stories published in a literary magazine, organized by title and author, and separated by blank space. In daily life, storytelling is "messier" than this: listeners interject with questions and comments or take over as speaker to tell their own stories. Richard Bauman argues that the participant identities and roles in a

performance are as important for the emerging meaning of a narrative as the expressive means of performance, social norms, and the sequencing of action in the narrative (*Story* 4). Therefore, the participants themselves and the norms of interaction should not be left out of textual analysis.

In indigenous communities throughout Latin America, there is a long-held custom of "round-robin" storytelling, in which one speaker's story spurs another story by another speaker. Together, groups of people weave a narrative tapestry from the common threads of their individual stories. In settings like this, Catherine Allen explains, "stories speak to each other, or better said, *listeners* hear echoes and traces of other stories layering over each other in a kind of aural palimpsest" (36). As this quote suggests, meaning emerges from the reverberations of a story in the mind of a listener and in the overlapping elements of a variety of stories.

In some Quechua languages, consensus about what is judged as true and meaningful is conveyed directly through grammatical elements. For example, in South Conchucos and Sihuas Quechua of Perú, mutual knowledge (as opposed to individual knowledge or general knowledge) is established as a category during linguistic interaction (conversation) or based on a shared perceptual experience (Hintz and Hintz). An individual may make an assertion marked with an individual evidential marker *–mi* and receive as a response a similar statement marked with a mutual evidential marker *–cha* (in South Conchucos) or *–ma* (in Sihuas). In essence, the first speaker says, "I know," while the second says, "I confirm" (96). Through these markers, speakers also distinguish fact from conjecture, and are able to immediately signal consensus in conversational settings.

In naturally arising storytelling settings—in which a recording device is absent, and no scholar prompts the telling of a narrative— I have observed that Runa roles of speaker and listener are indistinct as "listeners" frequently become "speakers" through interjections, questions, and narrative turn-taking. This behavior seems to be expected and even considered to be a proper act of attentive listening, as I learned from a Kichwa language class session in which an older woman expressed irritation that the students were not "hearing her" (using the verb *uyana* meaning to hear, listen, understand, or obey; Orr and Wrisley 91). We thought that we had listened carefully, since we had been nodding and asking follow-up questions, but it was clear that our responses failed to demonstrate our understanding. What we had not been able to do was provide fuller responses that she would have expected from another Runa. By responding to an initial assertion, an interlocutor tends to communicate his or her own assessment of the veracity or credibility of the prior utterance. In doing so, he or she either supports or undermines the first speaker's self-presentation as a truthful speaker. And by providing a narrative that supports the initial storyteller's affirmation, a second speaker substantiates the initial narrative's findings.

In this section, I will turn my attention to the responses of the two indigenous interlocutors to whom (in addition to me) Bélgica addressed her story on the day of this recording. Continuing to borrow from the linguistic field of pragmatics, I will analyze the ways that these listeners participate in the narrative to demonstrate their comprehension and co-create the experience of knowing that is central to Kichwa oral narrative.

In order to analyze patterns of listener response in Kichwa oral narrative, it is first important to define the range of actions that this term encompasses. Listener response typically includes a wide variety of gestures and vocalization that may be subtle or conspicuous: from slight gestures to full body reactions or from low volume, single syllable utterances to lengthy narratives. Additionally, different reactions are employed strategically to convey varying types of information, such as attention or disinterest, comprehension or confusion, agreement or dissent, and general evaluation. I have divided the many response possibilities into three general categories, beginning with the most minimally intrusive signals of attention and comprehension, moving to more moderate interjections of reaction, evaluation, and interpretation, and finally, to the maximally participative responses of full turn-taking, in which the listener takes over as speaker for a turn at narrating. As we will see, response patterns do not fit cleanly into these three categories but should be understood as existing on a continuum from least to most intrusive, which also corresponds to the degree of communication ranging from little to substantial content.

Minimally Intrusive Responses

At the low end of the spectrum, all of Bélgica's interlocutors make slight gestures and brief utterances that do not interrupt the flow of her narrative but transmit the basic messages to Bélgica that her communications are successful. In addition to head nods and smiles—which are at times visible in the video on Pedro's face—vocal responses are also frequently employed. Among these responses are three of the "reactive tokens" defined by Patricia Clancy and her collaborators: back channel responses, reactive expressions, and repetition. Back channel responses,

which in English include verbalizations such as “hmm” and “uh-huh,” display interest and make a show of comprehension, while allowing the speaker to continue uninterrupted (Xudong; Duncan and Fiske; Clancy et al.). In Kichwa, such verbalizations include *ahh* and *ah-ahh* (similar to “uh-huh” in English). Kichwa speakers, like speakers of other languages, use “reactive expressions,” phrases or words that indicate assent and comprehension, such as “yeah” and “sure” (Clancy et al.). In Kichwa, these includes words like *riki* (“see”, a command) and *chasna* (“like that” or “that’s how it is”). Repetition occurs at several moments in the recording when a listener repeats a portion of the primary narrator’s utterance. Kichwa speakers use repetition like this frequently, although in this recording it is my own voice that most prominently makes such repetitions in the early minutes of filming. All of these responses primarily function to encourage the speaker to continue narrating by demonstrating that the listener is paying attention and following the line of the story. An absence of response would also be noteworthy, as it might convey a sense of boredom or inattention (Hymes, “Notes” 467n26). They can also indicate assent to the premises of a story and the coherent logic outlined by the narrative world (Gardner), but do not necessarily communicate the listener’s evaluation of the story being told. Utterances like “right” or “I see,” for example, are ambiguous because the person uttering them may not necessarily agree to the truth of the overall story but instead may wish to indicate understanding that one story element connects to another.

Moderate Interjections

Moving up the spectrum of response in terms of utterance length and

meaning, we come to more intrusive responses which are utterances that slightly interrupt the narrative flow by causing the primary narrator to pause his or her own speech or to alter his or her narrative in response to a listener's question or assertion. In this category, I include the questions and interjections of narrative content or interpretations of events that both Pedro and Eulodia contribute throughout Bélgica's narrative. The significance of these moderate interjections varies depending on the speaker and his or her relationship to the story, but both allow the speaker to assert a degree of authoritative knowledge that contributes to the success of the narrative event. For example, Eulodia, who herself was present for the events that her younger sister recounts, interjects with brief comments and responds to questions from Bélgica. Her responses are difficult to hear on the recording, but they have a clear effect on Bélgica's utterances. Bélgica asks Eulodia how old their brother had been when he disappeared, and from her sister's response is able to assert with more confidence that he was six years old. At one moment, Eulodia contributes the term *asik*, which is one of the descriptors that Bélgica then uses to describe her brother. Apparently, Eulodia's interjections emerge out of her concern for an accurate and complete depiction of the events that her younger sister is taking primary responsibility to describe. Although she eventually takes a longer turn at speaking, essentially co-narrating the story with her sister by describing the moments after Marcos went down to the riverbank, it is actually her lack of involvement in the narration that communicates the adequacy of Bélgica's narrative. By not taking over or contributing more, Pedro and I were able to infer that she fully concurred with what her sister was telling us.

Pedro's responses, unlike Eulodia's, come from a lack of prior knowledge of the specific narrative details. Even so, they display his personal knowledge of the Runa social imaginary and contribute an authoritative assessment of the credibility of her narrative. Due to his distance from my camera and the buzzing ambient noise of the forest, Pedro's utterances are difficult to hear, but enough can be comprehended to piece together his meaning. At three separate moments in the video, Pedro interjects with phrases that are part-question, part assertion, as if to say, "this is what I think happened, given what you have been saying; am I correct?" First, Bélgica describes the morning of the boy's disappearance, at which time he was uncharacteristically quiet. The children were quarrelling, says Bélgica, to which Pedro responds, "Pay chi ringarawan": "There when he was about to leave." Bélgica agrees, repeating the phrase "ringarawan" ("[yes] when he was about to leave"). With this statement, Pedro is both asking for clarification, and indicating that he has a sense of what is about to happen next in the narrative.

Later, when Bélgica says that according to the yachakguna who saw Marcos in a *wanduk* vision her brother is now married with children, Pedro asks, "Kayma, payguna sachama apasha dueño warmima apan ninun?" ("They say [someone] took him to the spirit owner woman?"). Again, Bélgica agrees with his supposition by saying, "Uh-ow, dueño warmi apak ak ashka" ("Uh-huh, he's been taken by an owner woman"). Once more, we can interpret Pedro's response as an affirmation of the credibility of Bélgica's story. He does not seem shocked by the story, nor does he ask a different type of question like, "who on earth was the woman he married?" which would have signaled a rejection of the basic premises of the story. Instead, he

demonstrates awareness that this sort of thing is known to happen to people: again, essentially confirming Bélgica's presuppositions.

In a third moment, when Bélgica describes a sighting of her younger brother by her older brother's wife, Pedro interjects yet again, this time to offer an interpretation of why Marcos had chosen to make himself visible at that time. His words are unclear, but he seems to be saying that when Marcos saw that his family might be in peril, he made himself visible to warn them. To this, Bélgica does not respond with a clear affirmation or denial but continues to report that her brother was looking for their mother, according to the yachakguna. By neither confirming nor denying Pedro's postulation, she acknowledges the plausibility of the statement without speculating beyond the scope of her own knowledge.

In all three of these examples, Pedro's responses signal that he is not only paying attention to Bélgica's story but is also evaluating it and judging it to be credible. When taken at face value, his utterances seem to be presenting a hypothesis and also asking if these are correct interpretations of events. However, given that he is a full generation older that Bélgica, and someone whose wisdom she acknowledges and respects, his comments convey a sense of confirmation more than questioning, indicating that he finds her story credible.

Narrative Contributions

Finally, the third category of responses in this narrative event constitutes full turns at speech that take the forms of co-narration and "second stories" (Sacks). First, co-narration occurs when another speaker collaborates in the telling of a single narrative, as in the present circumstances when Eulodia picks up the narrative thread

begun by her sister by relating her own memories of the events of the time. Beginning to speak right after Bélgica described the boy's disappearance following a river surge, Eulodia explained why the entire family was living together at the time. She also mentions her daughter, who is only a few years younger than Bélgica, who also dreamed of Marcos. Due to the poor audio quality of this portion of the recording (caused by Eulodia's distance from the camera), I have not been able to complete a full transcription of her story and have chosen not to include the full text of her contribution. Even so, Eulodia's contribution on the day of the recording was significant because it provided another perspective on the series of events. Bélgica paid attention to her sister's words and made no attempt to interrupt. Instead, she waited patiently and attentively for Eulodia to finish her turn before picking up the thread of the narrative.

Another form of contribution is the telling of a different but relevant story, in the midst of or following the primary story. These "second stories," as they are called by Harvey Sacks, are stories that follow an initial narrative that are meant to demonstrate common experiences and judgments. As Jaber Grubrium and James Holstein write, "the apparent relatedness of such 'second stories' not only shows that the recipient understood the first story, but it also allows the story recipient to then tell his or her own story. This implies that stories are not merely reflections or accounts of individual experience" (94). A second story accomplishes two major communicative acts: first, it articulates the degree to which the listener/second narrator comprehended the first story; and second, it serves a substantiating function, meaning that it confirms or supports the principle ideas that were expressed in the

first story. The second story doesn't just say, "I find your story credible"; it also says, "Your story rings true to me because I can ground it in my own concrete experience." Through second stories, a listener-cum-speaker communicates that the story to which they respond is not an aberration or the reflection of an individual experience, but instead contains credible elements.

In an act of 'second story'-telling, Pedro participated in the narrative event by recounting his own story about the boy from his community who had been taken years ago by a forest spirit woman. This narrative is quite long so it is not included here, but a synopsis and excerpts of the story may be found in "Relatives of the Living Forest" by Tod Swanson. To summarize, in Pedro's story, a young boy named Bartolo had several encounters in the forest with a European-looking woman prior to his ultimate disappearance. In induced muskuy visions, it was discovered that the boy had been taken to live inside a nearby mountain called *Santu Urku*, where he is married to and has children with a *sacha warmi* (forest woman). The overlapping elements of the two stories are significant: like Marcos Dagua, the boy named Bartolo was very young when he began to report his encounters with a person of non-indigenous appearance. In both cases, the boys interacted with adults who were friendly to them. Additionally, muskuy vision was the means of locating the boys: in each case, it was determined that the boy had been taken to the "inside" of an *urku*—Bartolo to Santu Urku, and Marcos to Adzak Urku. Although there are differences, such as the fact that Bartolo met with a forest spirit woman and Marcos was taken by a water spirit man, the final outcome was the same.

By telling his own story, Pedro contributes to a social act in which narrative is the basis of sharing and creating knowledge. At the most basic level, he communicates to Bélgica that he has understood her underlying message: that her brother truly was taken as she said, and that the story Marcos told before he disappeared did indeed hold clues regarding his impending exit from the human realm. Furthermore, Pedro bolsters the validity of the premises of Bélgica's story through his social position as an older man whose knowledge Bélgica recognizes and respects. By relating a story that confirms the prior narrative's implicit assumptions, Pedro lends his authority to the assertions put forth by Bélgica. His story might also prompt Bélgica and Eulodia to re-consider their own experiences and will inform future renditions of the narrative about young Marcos Dagua.

Listener Response, Revisited

Whether composed of minimally intrusive comments or lengthy periods of narration, listener response in Kichwa oral narratives is both common and expected, and therefore important to consider. Just as we would not disregard one of the voiced perspectives that a narrator includes in her story, neither should we act as though the contributions of other speaking actors are not part of the overall shape of a narrative. Minor responses as well as longer speeches shape the form of a narrative and add to its meaning.

Dream narratives in particular seem to call for listener participation: although everyone dreams and anyone may have an induced vision, not all Runa are equally capable of interpreting their visions. Typically, dream narratives are first shared in intimate settings, among family members and with wise community elders, who work

together to interpret dream imagery in relation to ongoing life events. Despite the fact that in this narrative Bélgica is not recounting her own personal dreams but reporting the dream-vision of other people from many years ago, the fact remains that muskuy vision is often a murky form of perception that requires knowledgeable interpreters to make sense from confusing imagery. As a result, these visions remain open to interpretation and commentary even when a strong consensus has been reached about their ultimate meaning.

Conclusion

For non-Runa experiencing Bélgica's narrative, it may be tempting to adopt a psychoanalytical reading of this story, seeing wish fulfillment in the idea that a missing boy is actually living somewhere else, or ascribing a common muskuy experience to cultural patterns. To the first point, the muskuy visions of Marcos undoubted do provide solace for his family. To the second, common experiences can certainly be expected to condition interpretation. Nonetheless, common outcomes and interpretations can have different causes. Runa come to their conclusions about muskuy meaning not by using a broad sweeping theory that expresses a generalizable truth, but by providing evidence, evoking personal and authoritative perspectives, and judging by emotional resonance. Dialogue in its many permutations makes it possible to determine causal relations, as concrete experiences of individuals serve as evidence that validates an interpretation.

In this chapter, I have addressed the multiple perspectives that converse or "dialogue" during a narrative event related to the transformation of a young Runa boy. In Kichwa storytelling, a narrator must notice and incorporate these other

perspectives in a variety of ways. In part, this is done by speaking *for* a specific type of interlocutor, using gesture, sound, subtle allusion, and concrete imagery to evoke memories in the minds of the listening audience. To avoid over-generalizations or speculation, context clues may be left to "speak for themselves," since listeners who share a narrator's social imaginary will understand the unique meaning of locations, names, behaviors, and a great number of other factors. A narrator will also incorporate multiple perspectives by taking on a variety of speaker roles, sometimes speaking as and for her or himself, and other times animating the voices of other people and beings. The common practice of embedding discourse in oral narrative involves special language that emphasizes the perspective from which a given utterance or piece of information originates, whether through evidential enclitics that mark perspective, or through constant reference to the source of reported speech. Finally, a narrator incorporates other perspectives by relinquishing the role of speaker for periods of time, allowing listeners to take turns at speaking. When the listener responses are brief, they shape the narrative by signaling successful communication. When they are more substantial, they collaborate in the creation and sharing of knowledge, by providing corroborating narratives that confirm a particular interpretational framework.

Most importantly, the multiplicity of voices and perspectives reminds us that oral narrative is a social act with far reaching significance. We recall that this story was initially remembered in part because Eulodia dreamed about a spirit suitor who wished to take her sister, Bélgica, away from the human world. The risk of loss reminded all those present of the precariousness of life in the face of the forest

environment's other inhabitants, not all of whom maintain a respectful distance from their human neighbors. In telling the story of one boy's estrangement from a human community, this narrative's participants enacted an opposing process of strengthening social ties. Whereas young Marcos could be taken by the supay because he was young, immature, and loosely bound to a human community, his older sister will not fall victim to the same fate because she is mature with strong relationships. Narrative forms a basis for these strong relationships; in the collaborative act of storytelling, a community is established that can defy the potentially dangerous forces at work in the tropical forest.

The following chapter considers how a larger community can be constructed on the basis of muskuy narrative even under circumstances in which members are not all Runa and do not share the same fundamental concepts of truth, authority, and knowledge. In the context of a Kichwa community's self-advocacy and international activism, I examine how a muskuy narrative is conveyed in new contexts and through new mediums. Despite drastic changes in form, language, context, and interpretation, I argue that the communication of truth and authority remains a central concern in the creative and strategic reimagining of a community's traditional story.

Chapter 3: Visions of Survival: Creative and Strategic Renditions of Sarayaku's Foundational *Muskuy* Narrative

There are cases in which *muskuy* is far more than the source of private revelation, where it becomes the driving force of a community's action. This became most apparent to me during my tour of the remote Kichwa community of Sarayaku, deep in Ecuador's tropical forest. During a relaxed conversation about the community's international activism, community member Gerardo Gualinga reported that the *ayawaska muskuy* of Sarayaku's founders is the source of their *conciencia* (socio-political consciousness), providing them with the certainty of ancestral knowledge that leads them to defend their rights and territory against unwanted foreign incursions. Generations ago, five yachakguna traveled up the Bobonaza River, taking ayawaska periodically to learn about the area. Arriving at what is now Sarayaku, these men saw corn (*sara*) floating in the water (*yaku*), as well as other events that current Sarayaku leaders now say foresaw the cultural and territorial destruction engendered by recent extractive activity. Nevertheless, the muskuy also gave them certainty that they would prevail over the destructive forces.

Undoubtedly, the contemporary Sarayaku Runa have been successful in their efforts to protect their cultural and territorial patrimony: in the past two decades alone, the community of Sarayaku has garnered international attention for its environmental activism by winning a case in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights against the Republic of Ecuador for violations related to petroleum exploration (Singh), rowing their "Canoe of Life" through Paris at the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference (Miller), and enacting their solidarity with the Standing

Rock Sioux in protest against the Dakota Access Pipeline (Evans). With a strong social media presence and numerous international collaborators, Sarayaku appears to be making substantial progress toward its goals of autonomy and self-determination.

The muskuy narrative of the community's founding *yachakguna* (hereafter referred to as the foundational narrative) not only informs the current community's activism but has also been incorporated into Sarayaku's public relations campaign. Through eco-tourism, documentary videos, traditional mass media, and social media platforms, leaders of the community employ the muskuy narrative in various modes to garner international support, as well as to assert patrimonial heritage and intellectual legitimacy. Specifically, in the public displays and performances of the muskuy narrative, Sarayaku's leaders selectively incorporate non-indigenous expectations and discourse norms into their narrative practices in order to present their ancestral knowledge in a form that will be assessed as authoritative and truthful to non-indigenous, non-local, and international audiences.

By closely examining two different narrative modes—a traditional Kichwa-language narrative and the newer mode of social media posting—I argue that this selective modification of discourse is strategic and creative, but also deeply rooted within the longstanding Runa concern for conveying knowledge in a manner that evokes the sense of truth in a listener, what Nuckolls and Swanson refer to as emotional or pathetic truth ("Respectable" 172). While language, style, content, and structure vary among the multiple renditions of the narrative performance, each is meant to engage a particular interlocutor in order to evoke that interlocutor's own

experiences. Thus, knowledge is inter-subjective, emerging from the interactions of two or more interlocutors, whether they have direct access to one another or not.

This chapter begins with a description of the reality of indigenous discourse in an international sociopolitical setting, followed by a description of the community and its recent history in order to contextualize the subsequent analysis. Following this contextualization is an examination of a narrative recounted to me by Gerardo Gualinga, Sarayaku's Chief Security Guard, during a paid visit to the community in June of 2016. This narrative is mostly consistent with the customary style of Kichwa narrative (with notable exceptions) and therefore provides a basis of comparison for the social media postings and digitally published quotes from Sarayaku leaders that reference an ancestral "prophecy."

Indigenous Realities, Strategic Discourse

When advocating for their communities' interests, indigenous leaders often use discourse strategically and creatively to overcome the many obstacles to creating a broad base of supporters. Although in any narrative event, the expressive act is laid open to evaluation by the audience (Bauman, *Story* 3), one of the many challenges that indigenous people face is the pervasiveness of stereotypes about what "real" native discourse should sound like by non-indigenous audiences. As Beth Conklin contends, these stereotypes are often the basis for evaluating the legitimacy of what an indigenous person says and can lead to criticism or outright dismissal of leaders who fail to meet the expectations of non-indigenous supporters ("Shamans" 1055). As a result, indigenous activists often face a dilemma: to communicate as expected in their native language and according to their local norms while not being fully

understood, or else speak in a hegemonic language (like Spanish or Portuguese), be understood, but also potentially be criticized (Graham "How"). Better communication is often achieved by speaking a hegemonic language, but the result can be that the speaker is assumed to be inauthentic, or acculturated, and therefore not legitimately representative of a community or cause. Therefore, as Laura Graham contends, indigenous actors have to balance symbolic with practical gains.

To face these challenges, indigenous actors draw on a number of strategies, such as code switching, as well as the incorporation of non-indigenous concepts and logic systems, and the re-contextualization of their own expressive forms. Leaders may choose to keep some words or expressions in their native language even when speaking in a second language; likewise, a common trend among indigenous activists is to selectively incorporate commonplace metaphors and images into their discourse. Common tropes that are used by Amazonian leaders in their public discourse include the figure of indigenous leader as warrior, forest steward or guardian (Conklin, "Shamans" 1053, 1056). By using key words and images in this way, indigenous leaders can engage non-indigenous expectations by using ready-made models.

In some cases, engaging with outsider expectations of how indigenous people should look and sound can lead to what Frank Hutchins calls "peddling of the authentic" (76). Specifically, he argues that tourism can drastically affect the way that culture is curated for a public, especially in the context of ecotourism that is prevalent in Kichwa communities. The economics of tourism can be defined in part by a tourist's demand for "authenticity" that indigenous communities seek to "supply." Due to the economic force of the tourist's gaze, local culture may be reified, codified,

and commodified. Hutchins argues that ecotourism which ostensibly "nurtures culture and preserves nature" often, on the contrary, results in the commodification of culture and place, making people and their territories into consumable products (76). This in turn, may result in the commodification of the sacred or private, something communities may express strong ambivalence about, even outright indignation. While market forces may push communities to peddle the authentic, Hutchins also recognizes that indigenous communities learn to work within the tourist system to take control of their own communication, circumventing the norms imposed by tourist boards, for example, to promote their own strategic messaging. It is not a simple matter of whether or not tourist expectations distort or destroy, Hutchins sustains, but rather a question of how outsider expectations may constrain an indigenous actor's attempt to change them (97).

While some strategies employed by indigenous actors serve to incorporate outside expectations, indigenous actors also modify and recontextualize their own traditional forms to present them to the indigenous and non-indigenous audiences alike. Michael Wroblewski has documented some of the ways that Kichwa speakers of the Napo region of Ecuador do this, observing that ritual forms of discourse like shamanic chants and myth narratives are often performed in new contexts, such as folklore exhibitions, with political goals in mind ("Performing"). He refers to these performances as "ritual activism," since exhibitions and contests are opportunities to make claims for the legitimacy of Kichwa as a language of public discourse and to assert the authority of Kichwa epistemologies. Lack of comprehension on the part of the audience is not necessarily negative in this context, because, as Conklin reminds

us, from the viewpoint of non-indigenous outsiders, indigenous knowledge is expected to be spiritual and unfamiliar ("Shamans" 1056). As a result, these outsiders find discourse more compelling when it reads as privileged or esoteric, regardless of whether it actually has the same meaning within the indigenous community.

Regardless of their audience, it is also true that contemporary indigenous peoples are members of heterogeneous speech communities and masters of a number of languages, modes of discourse, and knowledge systems (Wroblewski, "Performing" 188). Contemporary Runa, for example, may be native speakers of Kichwa and Spanish, and have a working knowledge of other indigenous languages and English. They are able to speak in different registers and follow different rules of rhetoric depending on their circumstances. Wroblewski refers to this reality as *pluralism*, "the coexistence and objectification of contrasting languages, voices, and related bodies of knowledge" (181). In effect, any given speaker of Kichwa may consciously choose to employ one communicative mode over another for a given set of circumstances. For example, in a single narrative performance, Wroblewski observes that a bilingual speaker uses code switching to index distinct paradigms: Kichwa is linked to direct experience, while Spanish is used to describe both direct experience and overt generalizations or universalized concepts (198).

Ultimately, whatever the forces driving the changes, the fact remains that contemporary indigenous public discourse is characterized by creative incorporation of various styles and modes of communication (Conklin "Shamans"; Graham "Genders"). Naturally, the anticipated audience of this discourse will affect its form: even within the most typical narrative context, the mood, interest, and identity of both

narrator and interlocutors "affect what and how much is said" (Hymes, "Notes" 399). In the case of Kichwa speakers, there are many ways that Runa engage both longstanding norms (what we might call "traditional" discourse) and norms of Western origin. As discussed in the Introduction, scholars have noted distinct tendencies in Kichwa discourse; for example, that there is concern with recreating inter-subjective experience through storytelling (Kohn "Runa Realism") and that utterances tend to be concrete, avoiding hypothetical or universalizing statements (Nuckolls and Swanson "Earthy"). These scholars, nonetheless, also recognize that Kichwa discourse is varied and adaptive. There are contexts in which muskuy narratives and other verbal art genres are performed in ways that depart from norms and tradition in order to engage different audiences and paradigms.

As we shall see, the story of Sarayaku's foundational narrative is revealed through different modes: a longform narrative told in Kichwa, and several internet-based quotes and posts in Spanish. Through close analysis of linguistic form, culturally specific information, semantics, and style of each rendition of the story, we discover that in each narrative the highlighted concern is whether the listener or reader can comprehend the text as truthful and authoritative. Thus, while new contexts drive innovation of form and style, the concern for cultural concepts of credibility and validity remain salient for Kichwa narrators.

Community of Sarayaku

Comprehension and interpretation of the Sarayaku foundational muskuy narrative in any form requires knowledge of the community's recent history and context. Sarayaku is a small community that is at once geographically isolated and

internationally connected. Located on the banks of the Bobonaza River, some 65 km southeast of Puyo, Ecuador, no roads or power lines reach the community of 1400 inhabitants ("Pueblo Originario"). The people of Sarayaku physically reach the outside world by foot, motorized canoe, or small aircraft (traveling 35 km to the nearest town); solar power and satellites provide digital access. For many years, the community was made up of five towns, Kalikali, Sarayakillu, Chudayaku, Shiwakucha, and Centro Sarayaku, but two more were incorporated in 2013, Kushillu Urku and Mauka Llacata (Farjado Camacho 40). According to Sarayaku's official website, the community claims a territory of 135 thousand hectares, 95% of which is primary forest or old-growth forest, meaning that it has not been significantly disturbed by environmental events or human interference.

Despite its size and isolation, Sarayaku became the focus of national attention due to its active role in the Ecuadorian Indigenous rights movement. Sarayaku has gained renown for its struggle against colonization and oil exploitation, especially when these activities increased during the second half of the 20th century (Sirén 43).[39] Among the many acts of organization and activism, Sarayaku has worked with pan-indigenous groups and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to secure indigenous ownership of their territory and resisted the incursion of oil companies that were

[39] A full summary of the community's activities is beyond the scope of the present study, but a comprehensive discussion can be found in Anders Sirén's dissertation, "Changing Interactions between Humans and Nature in Sarayaku, Ecuadorian Amazon" (2004).

responsible for deforestation and pollution in other areas of the country (48). In 1992, the Sarayaku people and others in Ecuador received communal land titles and achieved legal reform that advanced indigenous autonomy through bilingual education (49).

Sarayaku entered international consciousness following events of 1996, when Ecuador's state oil company signed a contract with the Argentinian mining consortium Compañía General de Combustibles (hereafter "CGC") to explore a block of land that included Sarayaku territory. According to the Judgment of Merits and Reparations from the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (hereafter "IACHR"), CGC proceeded to take many actions designed to obtain consent from the community of Sarayaku for extraction related activities. For the next several years, the company attempted to gain access to the territory through promises of money, jobs, and resources (21). Although Sarayaku declined these offers, the surrounding communities of Pakayaku, Shaimi, Jatún Yaku, and Canelos accepted many of the company's gifts. Then, through numerous ploys and acts of subterfuge, CGC attempted to interfere in the government of the community (28-29). Young women as well as public figures of the community were threatened with violence; the attorney for Sarayaku was beaten by men in disguises. The IACHR also established that the communities of Canelos and Pakayaku had put further pressure on their neighboring community, by voting to block passage to Sarayaku via the Bobonaza River. With the help of the Ecuadorian military, CGC entered Sarayaku territory in late 2002, creating 467 wells and planting 1433 kilograms of explosives (26). In December 2003, the community, under leadership of Community President Franco Viteri, filed a petition

to the IACHR, which returned findings of numerous human rights violations in 2009. When the Ecuadorian government failed to adopt the Commission's recommendations, the matter was turned over to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and a final judgment in the community's favor was handed down in 2012.

Since that time, Sarayaku has remained in the headlines both in Ecuador and abroad. Community leaders maintain a community website, social media accounts, and are frequently featured in news and blog articles related to their international appearances in Paris and South Dakota. The community also boasts of a successful filmmaker in native son Eriberto Gualinga, whose documentary, *Children of the Jaguar*, won the National Geographic's Best Documentary Award of 2012 (Yauri). Additionally, the community collaborates with NGOs such as the nonprofit AmazonWatch, founded to protect the rainforest and indigenous peoples of the Amazon Basin.

There are considerable risks posed by the community's prominent position. On several occasions, unannounced incursions into the community have caused tense exchanges that threatened to boil over into violence, such as in 2002 when military officials entered the community, prompting the women of Sarayaku to confiscate the soldiers' weapons and detain the soldiers (E. Gualinga, *Soy Defensor*). In recent years, other problems have emerged, such as the threat of a government attack on the community in 2014 when three men were granted asylum in Sarayaku against slander charges (Hill), or recent attacks on the Puyo home of community leader Patricia Gualinga ("International").

In response to these threats to the community, access to the territory is carefully restricted. Visitation is a privilege that the community must approve in advance. According to Gerardo Gualinga, some visitors are invited as guests, while scholars must arrange long-term study in advance by petitioning the community's governing body, and by providing a tangible benefit to the community in exchange for their presence. The easiest way to enter the community is to pay for a guided visit through Papangu Tours, the lone agency that offers tours to Sarayaku.

As a whole, the community continues to balance its safety concerns with its activist agenda by making the most of selectively incorporated technology, such as solar energy and the internet. While some community members travel frequently in order to advocate for their community's plans and indigenous rights in general, much of Sarayaku's activism can be carried out from home, through tourism and via digital media. It is in these last two contexts that the Sarayaku foundational narrative has been shared beyond the local community in order to articulate the depth of conviction that the Sarayaku Runa feel about their home and their activism.

A "Traditional" Recounting of the Sarayaku Foundational Muskuy Narrative

The first rendition of the Sarayaku muskuy narrative that I analyze is very similar to the other muskuy narratives in this dissertation in terms of style. As I will describe below, the narrator, Gerardo Gualinga, expresses the ancestral authority of the narrative (rather than his own), and uses sparing description but evocative imagery to convey emotion and ideas, all in ways that are consistent with the long-standing speech norms that might be termed "traditional" in the sense that they have been common for generations. Nonetheless, the context of recording, during a paid

private tour of Sarayaku, clearly bears some relation to choices that Gerardo makes, since he makes summary statements about the muskuy's general meaning that Runa otherwise would avoid making in similar contexts. Hutchins' aforementioned observation about the potential for the tourist gaze to drive the behavior of indigenous actors is therefore relevant here.

When I interviewed Gerardo Gualinga on June 30, 2015, it was the second night of my paid visit to the community. On the previous day, my three companions—Georgia Ennis, Bill Gentile, and Bryan Rupert—and I began our tour from the Puyo, Ecuador headquarters of Papangu Tours.[40] As the only tourist company that provides entry into Sarayaku territory, the agency describes itself as an "operador de turismo ecológico,"seeking to transmit ancestral knowledge to visitors while also minimizing the tourists' impact on the local environment being visited ("Papangu"). Three of the personnel listed on the website are Patricia, José, and Gerardo Gualinga, siblings and known activists from the influential Gualinga Montalvo family.[41] At 8:30 A.M., we met Gerardo, Sarayaku's official guide and

[40] I am deeply indebted to my companions, Georgia Ennis, Bill Gentile, and Bryan Rupert for the innumerable ways they contributed to my research on this trip, especially through their insightful questions and comments.

[41] While Gerardo is in charge of security, José "Angún" was president of the community during the Inter-American Court of Human Rights case, and both he and Patricia have been prominent activists before and since that time. Eriberto is the distinguished filmmaker and musician from the community. Nina, their niece, is also

Chief Security Officer, on his way back to Sarayaku from a soccer tournament. Grabbing food, jugs of water, and rubber boots, we took a taxi to the Port of Latasas, where we boarded a motorized canoe. In ideal conditions, our trip on the Río Bobonaza would have lasted four hours, but low water levels meant that the boat's pilot frequently cut the motor in order to push the vessel along by means of a long, wooden pole. As a result, we were in the boat all day.

During our journey into the territory, Gerardo provided what seemed to be a standardized explanation of the community's recent history, going into detail when we asked specific questions. In particular, he explained that, for security reasons, all guests to the community must be preapproved and preannounced. This way, uninvited visitors are easily identified. In spite of this, the community is very welcoming of its approved guests, he pointed out, because the tourism is a source of funding, and a means of spreading word about the goals and practices of the community.

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a highly visible activist on the international scene, the daughter of Noemi Gualinga Montalvo and scholar Anders Sirén. Eriberto's documentary films have featured his family members, especially his father, Sabino, who is a revered yachak.

Fig. 7. Sarayaku Runa fish in the Bobonaza River with *barbasco*, photograph by Lisa Carney, 1 July 2015.

Once we arrived in Sarayaku, our visit followed the standard tourist agenda that had been advertised on the Papangu Tours website, with a few exceptions to accommodate the requests for interviews that I had made in advance. Like other paying visitors, we were housed in the open-air long house owned by Gerardo's parents, the revered community elders Corina Montalvo and Sabino Gualinga. Over the course of our three days and two nights in the area, we took a long hike through the forest and participated in the community's fishing day in which the water is dosed with *barbasco*, a toxin that temporarily paralyzes fish to make them easy to capture. We also visited the local medical center, community administrative buildings, Catholic church, and school, as well as a few homes. In the evening, we watched Eriberto Gualinga's award-winning documentary on a laptop powered by a battery that had in turn been charged by solar panels, the only source of electricity in the community. Before dawn, we rose to drink wayusa with Corina while she spoke to us

about her dreams.[42] During interludes between activities, we played with Gerardo's young daughters who only speak Kichwa, as well as some of his nieces and nephews, who learn Spanish once they start primary school. At the end of our trip, similar to other paying visitors, we would depart by a six-seat Cessna plane taking off from the grass runway that serves as Sarayaku's airstrip.

A clear image of the community emerged over the course of the trip, one that was undoubtedly planned with care. Here was a community where technology is incorporated only to the extent that it serves the people: solar panels and satellite dishes, for example, give the community access to electricity and the internet, without having to let in paved roads or power lines. Furthermore, Sarayaku was shown to us as a place where Runa culture flourishes: children learn Kichwa as their native language, unlike many Runa children elsewhere. Men hunt and fish, as their ancestors had before them; women make pottery and chicha like their foremothers. Given the length of time that the people of Sarayaku had occupied the territory and the care they take for it, it was difficult to imagine, in this context, a valid reason for rescinding their legal patrimony. Yet all of this—land, custom, language, patrimony—had been gravely endangered in the past, and we were told that the community was ever ready to defend itself in the future.

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[42] Unlike her son, Corina Montalvo demurred when I asked to record her, saying that perhaps she would do so on my next visit. I had anticipated this response, because many other Runa had waited until they knew me better, after I had visited two or three times, before agreeing to be recorded.

On the first evening of our visit, my companions and I chatted with Gerardo over our spaghetti dinner. At one point, Gerardo told us that the community's "consciencia" (socio-political consciousness) was rooted in a muskuy vision that the first yachakguna had seen when entering the territory generations before. I asked Gerardo to tell me the story, so the next evening, sitting around a wooden table and lighted by a battery-operated lantern, he did. As he spoke, a frog croaked in the background at regular intervals, a constant reminder of our forest setting.

Fig. 8 Still of Gerardo Gualinga telling ancestral muskuy narrative from "Sarayaku Muskuy" (0:44).

While Gerardo did not say whether he had told this story to other visitors in Spanish, when he told the narrative to us in Kichwa, it was probably the first time he had done so for a non-Runa audience. By his own account, my companions and I were among the very few Kichwa-speaking scholars to come to the community via the paid tour. Therefore, as he began to speak, Gerardo was aware that three of us (Ennis, Rupert, and I) understood Kichwa well and were well versed in Runa knowledge and customs. This likely gave him confidence that we would understand many of his references that other non-Runa would have found baffling. Nonetheless, it is impossible to assess the degree to which he modified his narrative for the context,

or whether the group's knowledge of Kichwa language and lifeways may have mitigated the "typical" adjustments he would have made for tourists. Although Gerardo Gualinga's telling of the Sarayaku foundational narrative appears to be a typical example of muskuy narrative, in this circumstance it is fair to assume that his narration was heavily influenced by the receptors of the story—a group of American scholars—and the context in with the narrative was recorded—a paid tour of the community.

Ñawpa huras,	In the beginning times,
uraimanda shamushkauna pichka yachak.	from downriver there came five yachaks.
Karan... karan pulayai ayawaskata upisha	Each... at each riverbank taking ayawaska.
Chi payna ayawascata upishkai, payna ayawaska machaybi rikuk ashkauna.	There when they took the ayawaska, in their ayawaska intoxication, they were seers.
Ushashkailla rikuriklla.	Powerful beings appeared.
Chibi shutitachu kusha shamuk ashkauna.	There, they were the ones who came to give the name [to the town].
Karan shutita… karan payna ayawaska upishkai.	Each name… each time they took ayawaska.

Kaybi paktamushkauna Sarayakumas kay, kay, kay kuskai upishkauna, rikushkauna sara…	They arrived here [toward me] at Sarayaku, this one, this one, this one, in giving names, each one who took [ayawaska] was a seer of corn…
yakuta, yakuta ashka wamburisha rishka.	The river, they saw a lot of it floating in the river, downriver.
Yaku uraita.	
Payna ayawaska machaybi rikukpi, chi payna Sarayakuta shutishkaun.	From what they [the yachaks] saw in their ayawaska intoxication, they [others] gave the name Sarayaku.[43]
Chasna upisha, upisha, upisha, yaku umata rishkaun payna.	Like that taking, taking, taking [ayawaska] they went, up to the headwaters of the river.
Uma!	[Way up there to the] headwaters!
Pichka yachak runaguna,	Five yachaks,
chi payna muskuybi,	in their vision,

[43] The suffix "*–kpi"* indicates a change of subject, therefore the subject of *rikuna* (to see) is distinct form the subject of *shutina* (to name). Since both subjects are the third-person pronoun "*payna"* (*paiguna*; "they"), the distinction is not easily conveyed in English. The first "payna" certainly refers to the *yachakguna*, but it is less clear whom the second "payna" refers to, other than a distinct set of people who named the community.

payna kuti ayawaskata upishkai rikushkauna.	each time that they took ayawaska they saw
Pichka, mana, *a ver*, pichka wakamayu uraimanda, pawasha rishkauna.	Five, no, let's see, five macaws from downriver, went flying, skipping along.[44]
Payna ayawaska machaybi.	In their ayawaska intoxication.
Chi pichka aya-- pichka wakamayumanda, shuklla vultiashka wakasha.	Of those five—of the five macaws, just one returned, crying out.
Payna ña rikushkauna payna chima chingarinata payna wañunata.	They had seen their extinction, their death.
Chasnallata, chawpi,	Just like that, in the middle [center/halfway],
chi yachakuna upisha rikuna wañushkauna *y* shuklla vultiasha, uraita, uraimanda runaguna.	those yachaks who drank to see saw those that had died and that just one returned, to downriver, to those people from downriver.

[44] "Pawana" translates as "saltar," "brincar," "palpitar" ("to jump" "to skip", "to palpate") (Orr and Wrisley 73): unlike wamburina, which is the verb for "volar" ("to fly"). In this context, we can distinguish the type of flying done by the macaws as the type observed when birds make short burst of flight, rather than the soaring flight, as in migration.

Chi raygu kaymi Sarayakuwa.	That is why this place is called Sarayaku.
Pero washamanda shamuk shuk yachakguna kaybi rikushkauna Sarayaku *doce* llaktata.	But afterward some yachaks that came here Saw that Sarakayu is the town of *doce* [twelve noon].
Dutze llakta man nisha.	They said it's the twelve [noon] town.
Dutze llakta.	Twelve [noon] town.
Chawpi, chawpi pundzha llakta.	Mid, midday town.
LISA: Ima raygu?	LISA: Why?
GERARDO: Chasna payna ninaun. Chasna rikurin, payna ayawaskai ña rikushkaunas.	GERARDO: That's what they say. This is what appeared to them, when they took ayawaska and that's what they saw
Sindzhi llaktata.	A strong [powerful] town.
Ima raygu nikpi.	"Why?" you ask.
Kay shu urkuta charinchis hatun urkuta, Kushillu urku, llatan urku, wayusa urku, supay urku, kashka urku…	Here we also have a hill, Great [large] Mount, Mount Kushillu Monkey, Bare Mount, Mount Wayusa, Spirit Mount, and Spiny Mount.
Urku...ukui, Sarayaku ajun.	Amid these hills is Sarayaku.

Chasnakpi shuk urkuguna sindzhi anaun,	And also, these hills are very powerful,
sindzhi ushay charin, ashka yachayta.	they have great power, much knowledge.
Araña pushkashina,	Like a spider's thread,
kasna pillushku ukui Sarayaku ajun,	Like that, Sarayaku is there enveloped
jarkashka ukui.	in the thread, caught up in there [amid the hills].
Chasnakpi kallari runasguna	In that way, the beginning times
Sarayaku llakta mana vincibak	peoples, Sarayaku people, we will not
chan nisha.	be defeated, they say.
Mana piwas vincibak.	And there is no one who can defeat us,
Mana piwas ñukanchikta urmachiwak.	no one who could cause our downfall.
Pero shuk llaktaguna, larui tiakguna	But some communities from the
wañugaraunguna, nishkauna.	surrounding areas, will die, they said.
Pero Sarayaku mana wañungachu	But Sarayaku will not die, they say.
nishan.	
Sarayaku puchugaygama	Sarayaku is going to live until it is the
kawsangaraun, nisha.	very last remaining, they say.
Pero puchugaibi Sarayaku wañun,	But when it is the very last one,
nishkami.	Sarayaku will die, they say.
Entonces, chi rasna ñukanchi	So, for that reason we
kunanga mayaga ringaraunchi,	now are going to go around nearby, in
allpa kuiwibi.	taking care of the land.

Ima chari wañungauna,
yakuima undashkai chi shuk
llaktaguna wañungaraunguna.
Mana, mana chi ashkachu.
Chi *compañia petrolero*, *maderero*,
*carretera*guna shamukpi,
shuk llaktaguna wañusha shamunguna.
Canelos, ashka Waoraniguna, ña payna
chingarisha, chingarishaguna.

Pero Sarayaku llaktaylla kunangama
sindzhita kamanaku.
Mana mana ñukanchi sachata jarkasha
nisha.
Sumak allpai kawsangawa, sumak
mikunata mikungawa, ama llaktagunas
wagllishka achun.
Tukuy ñuapas malta padsak watagama
imas imas richun, nisha.
Ñukanchi wawagunas rikunauchun
kanguna wawagunas rikunauchun alli
sacha alli yakuta.

"Maybe like that they will die,
In the water flooding, some
communities are going to die."
No, it won't be that.
When the petroleum and timber
companies, those road builders come,
some pueblos will come to die.
Canelos [Runa], many Waorani, just
disappearing, they are the disappearing
ones.
But only the pueblo of Sarayaku until
now has proven itself strong.
No, no, our forest is protected [roped
off], they say.
In order to live with rich lands, with
sumptuous food, and we will not be
rotten [deteriorated] pueblos.
All that was youthful long ago, for a
hundred years more, will go, they say.
And our children will see, and your
children will see, good forests, good
water.

Chimanda, payma, payna rimashka nukanchiguna uyarishka.	That's why, to them [the yachaks], to their words, all of us have listened.
Mana, mana sakingachu raunchi kay ñukanchi kamana, kamanakusha imasta ringaraunchi,	We are not going to stop, we are testing ourselves whatever we are going to do,
o sea, ñawpama, ñawmpama.	that is, moving forward, forward.
Chi raygu ñukanchi kunan, kuna kwintanakunchi imas, mashti,	That's why we now, are conversing with each other, so, um,
yanapayta kan-, *o sea*, kanguna…	your help, you all…
Ñukanchiwas y kangunawas jarkangarisha, kayta.	With us and with you, we are blocked off, [protected], here.
Ashikuwa, ashikuwa man, kay sacha, sacha yanga ashka shina rikurin, ashukuwa man.	Scarce,[45] it is scarce, this forest, the forest deceptively looks abundant, but it is actually scarce.
Ashikuwa yaku mishki yakugunas ashikuwa, chanda puru kachi yaku lamarguna, miski yaku ashikuwa kay…mashti Amazonai sachai.	Scarce water, fresh waters are scarce, and there are just pure saltwaters, the ocean waters, [but] freshwater is scarce here…um, in the Amazon in the forest.

[45] *Ashiku* is a word meaning "very few" (*poquísimo/a*, in Spanish) that is particular to Sarayaku (Andy Alvarado 171). I have chosen the word "scarce" as the closest idiomatic translation.

Chasna nukanchita kallari rukuguna sarayakuta rimasha sakiskauna. Chawpi pundzha llakta mana piwas mana piwas vincibak nisha (G. Gualinga).	Like that our ancestors [from the old times] saying, “Sarayaku persists.” “The people of the midday, there is no one, (my trans.).

In recounting the story of the Sarayaku foundational muskuy, Gerardo was consistent in the style and techniques that are common for muskuy narration, as were described in the previous chapters of this dissertation. This is especially true in the opening minutes of his narration, in which he emphasizes the ancestral authority of the story through subtle but meaningful choices related to pause and keywords. By demonstrating his concern for accuracy and in positioning the story as one that was first told by yachakguna from the founding of the community, Gerardo cues his listeners to view his story as authoritative and credible.

Conveying Authority

As I begin to record, Gerardo spends a few moments sitting in silence, a fact that would have seemed odd given the circumstances had I not already witnessed this behavior from Runa narrators. After all, Gerardo had agreed to be recorded a full 24-hours prior to this moment, and I had asked if he was ready before I turned on my camcorder. In other circumstances, I would be concerned by such silence, and maybe even interpret it as a sign of timidity or of resistance to being recorded. But Runa often begin their narratives this way, breaking their initial silence only to comment that they are thinking through the story in their mind. Gerardo does this too, saying,

“es un poco larga la historia” (“the story is a little long”) before he proceeds with his narrative.

This characteristic pausing is an important aspect of the Kichwa speech aesthetic, a natural extension of the concern for speaking truthfully. Whenever Runa speak of someone else’s experience, or their own experiences from long ago, they take a few moments to recall all of the details prior to speaking. On a basic level, the pause in this case demonstrates that Gerardo had taken my request seriously and that he intended to tell me the story as best he could. Muskuy narratives can be long and convoluted, the connections between events illogical or unexpected: naturally, it takes careful reflection to remember the order of the action. In this case, in particular, Gerardo is also not merely recounting his own memory of events, but the events recounted to him by others. For that reason, it is necessary for him to think through the story to remember each part of it. Although there is not a single, authoritative version of the muskuy narrative for him to refer to, such as a transcription or video recording, his pause to remember conveys the importance of accuracy in recounting a muskuy experience. For him to take this care and time, his listeners may conclude that the visions of the founding yachakguna must have been meaningful and authoritative. His careful recollection prior to speaking is a way to guard against distortion or loss of content and meaning over time. In that way, Gerardo’s silence encodes the authority of the narrative.

Once Gerardo begins to speak, his first several utterances emphasize the antiquity of the narrative, which is another powerful indicator of the importance of the muskuy vision. This is first accomplished in the opening phrase, “ñawpa uras,”

meaning, “beginning times.” As Michael Uzendoski and Edith Calapucha-Tapuy observe, time words signal the beginning and end of narratives (110): at the beginning of the narrative, it is logical to set the temporal context for the benefit of the listener. The word “ñawpa” in particular, has additional pragmatic meaning, because it conveys the idea of being first or earliest (“primero,” “adelante” or “principio”; Orr and Wrisley 72). The word *huras* is a loan word from the Spanish “horas” (“hours”) that connotes a time period: thus, *ñawpa huras* are the “beginning times,” or the “first times.” Kichwa speakers, like other indigenous Amazonians, use phrases like this one to distinguish between historical periods: for example, the time of the *alfaro rukuguna* refers to the time of grandparents during the presidency of Eloy Alfaro at the turn of the 20th century, and the *cauchu huras* refers to the time of the rubber boom (Reeve 19). The most ancient times are called *kallari huras*, from “kallarina” meaning, “to begin.” These were the times of the greatest power and knowledge. Stories of the *kallari huras* or *kallari tiempos* are stories from creation times, when some humans turned into other species, like the man called *Killa* who became the moon. Ñawpa huras refers to the period after the time of creation when some humans became plants and animals, but before the present.

Kichwa speakers of today understand ñawpa huras as a time in which their ancestors were far more knowledgeable and powerful than humans are today. A story from this time will have been handed down over generations, meaning that no one still alive will have a memory of the events being recounted. Nonetheless, these stories are extremely authoritative, because the yachakguna of the beginning times had very clear vision and strong powers. Thus, through the simple temporal

contextualization conveyed in the term *ñawpa huras*, Gerardo signals that the rest of his story should be interpreted as the muskuy experiences of people with the utmost degree of authority and knowledge.

Despite the bare-bones description of the first yachakguna and the circumstances of their visions, there are subtle references that further bolster the overall authoritativeness of the narrative. Gerardo states that the five yachakguna came from downriver, taking ayawaska at each riverbank, and naming the locations according to what they saw in their resulting muskuy. Seeing *sara* (corn) floating down the *yaku* (river), they gave Sarayaku its name. Taken together, the importance of these basic descriptions becomes clearer. First, there is the fact that five yachakguna all saw the same thing on multiple occasions, as when they each see corn; "kay, kay, kay kuskai upishakauna, riskushauna sara," ("this one, this one, this one, in giving names, each one who took [ayawaska] was a seer of corn"). A single yachak's muskuy vision would be credible, but the fact that five all had the same vision means that there is no room for doubt about the content of their visions. It is as if the yachakguna were scientists, each vision one of their controlled experiments: in such circumstances, the results of each individual experiment become exponentially more credible with each corroborating, independent experiment.

Furthermore, these yachakguna are described as routine practitioners who take ayawaska at each riverbank, meaning that they would be very powerful indeed. Gerardo states this twice: first with, "Karan pulayai ayawaskata upisha" ("At each riverbank taking ayawaska"); then, "Chasna upisha, upisha, upisha, yaku umata rishkaun payna. Uma!" ("Like that taking, taking, taking [ayawaska], they went, up to

the headwaters of the river. [Way up there to the] headwaters!"). By taking ayawaska so frequently, a yachak's sight becomes clearer and he gathers more power through his connections to the spirit beings in each location.

The origin of these yachakguna, who come up from downriver, is another significant identifier of their power. Though Gerardo does not specifically state it, the implication is that these yachakguna are the extraordinary *tayak runa*[46] believed to have inhabited the region in ancient times. As Alessandra Foletti Castengaro's indigenous collaborator told her, the tayaks were not originally from the area, but had come from the east: "indi sicamushca partimanda naupaj runacuna rinaushca[...]" (From where the sun comes climbing out, the first people had been coming[…]; 139). This is consistent with Gerardo's description of the yachakguna as the ones who came from downriver, "uraimanda shamuskauna." What we can piece together from oral histories and ethnographic accounts is that the tayak were extraordinary in many ways. First, they cultivated maize, an unusual crop for the region (Sirén 117), a clear connection to the community's name. Also, they were skilled warriors and potters (Foletti Castegnaro 139), from which we can infer that they also had strong muskuy.

In just the first few utterances of his narrative, Gerardo provides important contextual information that cues other Kichwa speakers to interpret the narrative as credible and authoritative. In fact, when I played the recording of Gerardo's performance to Eulodia and Bélgica Dagua, also from the Pastaza Province, their response confirmed that his story resonated with them. They were confident about

[46] Alternate spellings include "tayac", "tayaj" and "tayag."

some of what he had said because their ancient ones had told them a similar story: that yachakguna came up from down river naming areas as they went along. These yachakguna had taken ayawaska to see what they could about the area, "Ima tunu akpiga, chi shutita churangawa" ("whatever there was [to see], in order to name the place"). Bélgica spoke with confidence when telling me that the yachakguna had named many places. Similar to Gerardo, she repeated a word to convey repetition, saying "shutichisha" while indicating movement along an imagined river in the air in front of her: "Shutichisha, shutichisha, shutichisha, shutichisa…" ("Naming, naming, naming, naming…"). She allowed herself to become breathless by the last utterance of "shutichisha," to best convey the exhaustiveness of the process. Therefore, although the women had not known the details of the Sarayaku muskuy narrative prior to me showing them the recording, they expressed confidence in knowledge coming from these ancient yachakguna.

Muskuy Content

Having established the context of the muskuy in a way that bolsters the narrative's authoritativeness, Gerardo goes on to describe the content of the yachakguna's visions. The elements of the story include corn, five macaws, the middle of the day and a spiderweb, all of which may be interpreted differently by different audiences but in ways that ultimately allow the listeners (whomever they may be) to derive a plausible interpretation of the muskuy's meaning and feel its emotional salience. The major elements of the narrative would be meaningful to some extent to any non-Runa with a basic knowledge of the community but are even more meaningful to other Runa with a shared social imaginary, as will be explored below.

One of the very first pieces of information that Gerardo shares is the origin of the name "Sarayaku," which comes directly from the yachakguna's ayawaska vision of corn floating in the water. In Runa communities, place names are often derived from muskuy vision, as these visions allow humans to view the true character of the local environment (Swanson, "Relatives" 135). The corn itself has little meaning that the average tourist to the community would understand, but indigenous people of the region would quite possibility link this name to the history of the Tayak people, who were known to have been cultivators of corn.

More important than the name itself, however, is the emphasis that Gerardo places on the location in which the vision was experienced, very near to where he was telling the story. He accomplishes this through use of the directional affix *–mu,* which describes action that is moving toward the speaker, as well as his repetition of the word *kay* that indicates physical proximity ("this [one]"). Together, these choices highlight the present location of Sarayaku as the location of the vision: "Kaybi paktamushkauna Sarayakumas kay, kay, kay kuskai upishkauna, rikushkauna sara…" ("They arrived here [toward me] at Sarayaku, this one, this one, this one in giving names, each one who took [ayawaska] was a seer of corn"). The emphasis is on the location in which the muskuy was induced with ayawaska—the yachakguna were somewhere not far from where Gerardo and our group were sitting.

For non-Runa, Gerardo's emphasis on place in his story supports the community's legal claim to patrimony, as evidence of the long-term habitation of land that typically legitimizes land possession in Western legal institutions. However, for other indigenous Amazonians, the emphasis on place supports a different type of

patrimonial claim because it means that the yachakguna interacted with the powerful beings of the location, who accepted the humans into a familial network. The *ayawaska amu* (ayawaska spirit master) would most certainly have guided these yachakguna to meet the other amuguna of the forest, interpersonal bonds would have been established, and powers would possibly have been conveyed to the humans, fortifying their connection to the land.

Five Macaws, One Macaw

The next major element of the narrative is the spare but haunting description of a flock of macaws that flies upriver, only to be decimated by an unidentified entity. As is to be expected by a Runa narrator, Gerardo does not give a direct interpretation of this part of the story, but the macaws are a potent symbol of the community that allows for non-Runa to derive the logical connection between their fate and the fate of all of Sarayaku's people. Taking the story as an allegory of the community's plight, as a Western tourist might, the brightly plumed bird draws a number of positive connotations: macaws are charismatic, colorful, intelligent, and popular both locally and abroad. Like the people of Sarayaku, macaws have a precarious existence, as many species of macaws are categorized as "endangered" (Ridgley and Greenfield 79, 84). When their existence is not at risk, macaws live for up to 70 years: as a symbol of the community, they convey the longevity of the Sarayaku people.

Keeping to a strictly symbolic interpretation of the ayawaska muskuy as a Western tourist might, the number of macaws in the story becomes particularly important. Aside from the five yachakguna and five macaws in the story, five is a significant number in the regional context. Originally, for example, there were five

small towns that formed the Sarayaku community: Saruyaku Centro, Kalikali, Saryakillu, Chundayaku, and Shiwakucha) (Sirén). Also, there are five Runa territories of the Rio Bobonaza—the Puyo Runa, Canelos Runa, Paca Yacu Runa, Sara Yacu Runa, and Montalvo or Juanjiri Runa (Whitten, *Sacha* 258n10). This latter group of five is noteworthy because Canelos and Paca Yacu were among the communities that accepted gifts from CGC, a fact that lends itself to a literal interpretation of the vision in which each macaw symbolizes one Runa community. If we take the death of four of the macaws as direct prediction of what would happen in the future of the area, it stands to reason that the Puyo Runa and Montalvo Runa would be the next to succumb to destructive forces, leaving Sarayaku Runa as the lone survivors.

Thus far, the possible symbolic interpretation of the macaw episode from the foundational muskuy require only a basic knowledge of macaws and the region's history, but from a Runa perspective, the macaws have greater significance as actors in the story. Birds of all species are able to transverse realms, crossing from land to sky, and covering spans of territory quickly. They are ideal intermediaries between these realms and among humans. Often, birds carry messages, in dream or waking life. Women in particular use birds as messengers to carry thoughts and memories to estranged lovers through the bird's song (Seitz 111). In general, bird species also serve as examples of social behavior, since each bird species has its own defining characteristics that are held over from their time as humans in the *kallari timpu* ("Beginning Times"). The unique behaviors that had once alienated various bird species from their human communities become examples for humans of behavior to

emulate or avoid, like the laziness of the *acangaw* bird, or the hard work of the hummingbird. Thus, birds' personality and other traits are constantly compared to humans. For example, Elodia Dagua told a group of American students that macaws (*guacamayu*) must speak English, because both say "gawwr, rawrr, raw" (Interview July 9, 2014). This is due to the emphasis on the "r" sound and the prevalence of monosyllabic words (Swanson, personal communication 16 October 2018).

Runa also pay close attention to the social habits of animals like birds, using empathy to infer what the animals must be feeling from their own perspective (Nuckolls and Swanson, "Respectable," 186). In some cases, they use the relationships among species as analogies in their songs and stories, to illustrate their own strong emotions. For example, in a song recorded by Swanson, Delicia Duagua conveys the loneliness of a woman out of place living in her new husband's community, by singing from the perspective of the *illau sicuanga*, a small toucanet that travels alongside larger toucans ("Singing"). This toucanet survives only because it is undesirable as a game bird; an analogy that Delicia draws on to describe her own estrangement (Swanson "Bird Songs").

Since Runa are confident in their assertions about what an animal is thinking or feeling based on the analogies between human and animal behaviors, the social life of macaws is important for a deeper understanding of Gerardo's narrative. There are three local species of macaw in the Pastaza province, each one identifiable by the color of its feathers. Though Gerardo does not specify which of the three species of local macaws the yachakguna saw in their vision, all three possible species share an important characteristic: they all tend to travel in pairs or small groups and seemingly

chatter to one another with their raucous cry (Restall and Freile 202-203). This being the case, a lone macaw is an anomaly and would certainly draw attention. Thinking empathetically, Runa reason out what the macaw would be feeling in this story as it flew back from the headwaters: what sadness it must feel when its custom is to always travel with at least one companion. Notably, it is not the "cry" of the bird that marks this sadness because the verb *wakana* only means to make a characteristic sound when used with animals. Instead, it is the state of the bird that makes this sadness notable. Some great tragedy must have befallen the group to leave this last bird *sapalla*, all alone. Indeed, when I played a recording of the narrative to Eulodia and Bélgica, they commented on the sadness of the lone macaw by pointing out that it was flying by itself.

A narrator like Elodia Dagua might imitate the call of a macaw to highlight this sadness, but Gerardo, in his way, only draws attention to the sadness of the situation by emphasizing that the macaw is alone through the affix "-lla": "shuk***lla*** vultiaka wakasha" ("just one returned, crying out"; emphasis added). The point remains that in this brief description, the inherent, hidden personhood of the macaw is visible. The macaw has survived something terrible, and we as humans can pity it in its orphan state. Nonetheless, this bird from the foundational muskuy has survived, as will the community of Sarayaku. Perhaps too, Runa will think of the determination of the lone macaw, to survive in the face of extreme challenges.

Centrality

Next, Gerardo explains that later arriving yachaks saw that Sarayaku is the *chawpi punzdha llakta* (midday town), or *doce llakta* (twelve [noon] town). This

moniker for Sarayaku appears in many materials about the community, commonly translated into Spanish as “el pueblo del mediodía” (the people/town of the midday). Strictly speaking, “chawpi punzha” means “half day” or “midday,” and refers to the time of day in which the sun is at the center of the sky. The same idea is conveyed through *“doce llakta,*” which borrows the word “doce” (twelve) from Spanish to refer to the clock time of midday: twelve noon. Year round at the Equator, the sun is truly in the middle of the sky.

Non-Runa who lack any local knowledge can easily associate the idea of noon or midday with a variety of their own cultural-symbolic notions. For example, there is the conception of the sun at noon being at the midpoint of its travel as it climbs up from the horizon, before beginning a decent in the afternoon. This is a holdover from an era in which people thought that the sun revolved around the Earth. Yet this conceptualization of the sun as traveler is a compelling allegory for the human life span, reaching its peak and strength at mid-life (noon) before beginning the descent into darkness or death. In symbolic systems that associate light with good and darkness with evil, noon as the time of least shadows is symbolic of goodness. In line with thinking of centrality and height as metaphors of greatness and superiority, the noonday sun is also a clear symbol of an important and powerful entity.

In Runa thinking, on the other hand, the sun is bound up with the concept of day and with order, while the moon is conversely associated with night and chaos (Whitten and Whitten, *Puyo Runa* 72, 84). As Seitz describes, “The sun is associated with the transcendence of ordinary reality and with attainment of vision and knowledge” (137). Ayawaska is taken at night, while wanduk, the most powerful

vision-inducing beverage, must be taken prior to noon so that the visionary experience begins when the sun is in the center of the sky. At that point, all things reach their zenith: the sun is at its peak, visionary power is strongest, and the most knowledge can be obtained. To be the pueblo associated with this time, then, is to be the people of greatest vision, knowledge, and power.

When Gerardo describes Sarayaku as "chawpi punzha llakta," I was eager to understand what the yachakguna had seen in their muskuy to arrive at such a name. As the transcript shows, at this point in the story, I break my silence to ask, "ima raygu" ("Why?"). Rather than the explanation I have anticipated of something related to the sun in the sky, Gerardo gives a much less direct answer. At first, Gerardo resists explanation altogether by deferring to the authority of the yachakguna who had the vision, stating that, "chasna payna ninuan*"* ("that's what they say"). Rather than presume to speak for the yachakguna, Gerardo prefers to be as strictly accurate as he can. He was not with them, did not see what they saw, and lacks the degree of authority or certainty to make general claims.

As he continues to speak, however, Gerardo does provide an explanation, but it is one that I do not immediately comprehend. Gerardo first indicates that his words will answer my question by saying, "Ima raygu nikpi" ("'Why?,' you ask"). The *–kpi* on the end of the final word indicates that while he is switching subjects from me to someone else, the two utterances will have a relationship. Thus, when he goes on to explain that Sarayaku is situated in the midst of five large and powerful *urkuguna* (hills or mountains), he implies that this is an answer to my question. Still, it would not be clear to the average non-Runa what the location has to do with the middle of

the day, without some speculation. This type of indirect answer is prevalent among Runa (Nuckolls and Swanson, “Earthy” 51-52; “Respectable” 171); often the answer is so detailed that it can be difficult to determine the relation to the question.

In this case, Runa would generally understand that the relationship between the name *chawpi pundzha llakta* and the local topography has to do with the concept of *chawpi* as an indicator of centrality, which comes across best in one phrase: “Araña pushkashina, kasna pillushku ukui Sarayaku ajun, jarkashka ukui” (“Like a spider’s thread, like that, Sarayaku is there eveloped in the thread, caught up in there [amid the hills]”). When Bélgica and Eulodia Dagua listened to the narrative with me to help me understand it, I specifically asked them about the spider web. I wondered if the yachakguna might have seen a spider web connected to each *urku* named by Gerardo, somehow protecting the community below it. Elodia firmly, but politely corrected me. “Mana. Riki...” (“No. Look...”), she began, going on to explain that Sarayaku is not covered by a spider web, but that it is located in the center of the urkuguna, as if *part of* a spider web.

It occurred to me that I had been thinking about spider webs from the perspective of a human, who sees webs as constructions that block or cover, rather than from the perspective of a spider, for whom a web is a source of connection and an extension of its body. For example, an orb-weaving spider constructs its web out of silk by setting moorings, building a framework and radial threads in a familiar wheel pattern (Brunetta and Craig). The center of the web is strong because it is where the many threads converge, each one strong like steel but flexible like nylon. It is also an information center: arachnologists have found that vibrations from the outer

parts of the web notify the spider of potential predators or prey. So long as the center of a web remains mostly intact, any individual spoke that happens to be destroyed may be rebuilt.

Thinking of Sarayaku as the *center* of the spider web, therefore, we can understand the strength as existing in relation to the urkuguna. There is no better, no stronger, more advantageous place to be for a spider, or a community, than in this central location. Thus, Sarayaku being *chawpii*, in a middle or central point like the sun at midday, at the center of a spider web or in the midst of mountains, is an indication of its strength and fortitude.

Double Endings

After describing the content of the founding yachakguna's visions, Gerardo begins to close his narrative. Like some muskuy narratives I have witnessed, there is no clear formal ending to this story; instead, Gerardo's introduction of recent events leads into a casual conversation. Nevertheless, the transition from muskuy events to outright conversation does demonstrate the marked difference between the more traditional narratives style and one that is modified to specifically engage with non-Runa audiences in a tourist setting.

Without the personal authority to making any greater assertion, Gerardo limits himself to giving an overview of the muskuy narrative's accepted meaning: that the pueblo of Sarayaku will not be defeated, that surrounding communities will fall, and that Sarayaku will outlast them until the very end. This series of assertions does provide an interpretation of the muskuy vision but does not directly link objects or actions from the muskuy vision to the interpretation. Instead, the listener is left with

the work of making explicit connections. Lest Gerardo be negatively judged for making this assertion in the first place, he clearly indicates the source of his information, marking the perspective of his statements for the first time in the narrative with the verb *nina*, "to say." For example, he is not personally accountable for the information when he says, "Chasnakpi kallari runasguna Sarayaku llakta mana vincibak chan *nisha*" ("In that way, the beginning times people, Sarayaku people, we will not be defeated, *they say*"; emphasis added). At the end of each utterance, Gerardo repeats the word "nisha," lest any of his individual statements be misconstrued as his own personal view.

Following the last "nisha" statement, Gerardo switches his point of view, adopting a much more direct style. This is the point of the narrative that I chose as the *de facto* ending (ceasing to transcribe further), since Gerardo is no longer speaking of what the yachakguna had seen in their muskuy. Instead, he begins to speak as the voice of the collective Sarayaku people in the present, the "*nukanchi"* ("we") who take care of the land while other communities die off. Still speaking in Kichwa, Gerardo makes the most direct assertion so far, explaining that other neighboring communities will die off, not from a flood but with the coming of the petroleum and timber companies, and paved roads. He even names the Canelos Runa and the Waoroni as groups that will die out. Nonetheless, he does not mark the perspective of any of these statements—there is no "nisha" that refers to what others have said, or a *–mi* evidential to place the onus on Gerardo. Instead, the utterances are more like Spanish or English, in which no such language is expected.

In this way, the final part of his narrative performance serves as a coda that breaks from the longstanding norms of Kichwa speak that prioritize evocation and marking perspective over definite statements. By stark contrast, here, Gerardo seems to be making broad and definitive statements about what the foundational muskuy means, without marking the source of his information. He also begins to speak directly to me and my companions, saying, "ñukanchiwas y kangunawas jarkangarisha, kayta" ("With us and with you, we are blocked off [protected], here.") By bringing the non-Runa into the narrative, Gerardo reminds me of the context of my visit and in doing so he highlighted the activist element of the story.

Up to the point that Gerardo changes his narrative mode, the Sarayaku foundational muskuy had reminded me of other stories I had heard in communities from the Napo province about muskuy being a means of naming a place. However, in the final moment of his story, Gerardo shifts his narrative technique. Instead of maintaining a traditional narrative mode, Gerardo does what other Kichwa speakers in the present often do—he recontextualizes an ancestral narrative so that it becomes persuasive to a non-Runa as part of a campaign to convince a listener of Sarayaku's legitimate, historical claims to the territory. As I explore in the next section, this orientation to a non-Runa's comprehension of a narrative is creative and strategic, but also consistent with the Runa concern for evoking a sense of truth and credibility in others.

The Prophecy of the Ancestors

Following my departure from Sarayaku, I began an extensive search for reference to the Sarayaku muskuy narrative in print or audio recording but was unable

to find examples. However, I soon realized that the narrative was not entirely absent from the public record—in fact, several of the community's leaders, including members of Gerardo Gualinga's immediate family, had referred to the narrative themselves in interviews and on social media. In essence, although the full narrative of Sarayaku's foundational muskuy is not widely known beyond the community, references to its "ancestral prophecy" abound in digital media postings in ways that change both the content and the meaning of the dream-vision story. In these instances, the form of the story is drastically different, no longer identifiable as a narrative consisting of a series of related events, but instead reduced to an obscure summary about the sayings of the ancestors.

Instead of narratives that adhere strictly to Kichwa norms of speech, Sarayaku leaders have produced discourse that distills ancestral wisdom into simple messages that non-Runa will comprehend and respond to positively, even when lacking greater contextual knowledge of Sarayaku and its lifeways. This occurs in such varied sources as open letters from the community's president, a quote on the community's Twitter profile, blog posts by non-Runa on websites that promote indigenous rights and intercultural practices, and human-interest pieces in online news publications. Demonstrating their acumen as international activists, these speakers and writers make stylistic and content choices that strategically respond to the knowledge and expectations of non-Runa whose collaboration they hope to attract. Lacking control over the context in which their words would be received or by whom, they make choices that seem to imagine a sympathetic Western, non-indigenous reader as their audience.

A selection of the most direct references to the Sarayaku muskuy vision that originate from community members demonstrates a number of trends, particularly in relationship to content and style. The first two quotes, by Franco Viteri and José Gualinga, appeared in texts that describe Sarayaku and its mission, but the latter two texts, as Facebook and Twitter posts, lack any immediate contextualizing information beyond what readers might happen to know about the accounts from which they were posted. All of the quotations were written in Spanish; translations given are my own.

> La profecía narrada por los viejos dice que Sarayaku es el centro, es el pueblo del medio día [*sic*]. Los shamanes dicen que han de caer todos, pero Sarayaku estará vivo. Sarayaku está en el centro del avance de la civilización. (Franco Viteri in Chávez et al. 16).[47]
>
> The prophecy told by the old ones said that Sarayaku is the center, is the pueblo[48] of the midday. The shamans say that all will fall, but Sarayaku will be alive. Sarayaku is in the center of the advancement of civilization.

[47] Although both *medio día* (half day) and *mediodía* (midday, noon) are used, the context and the Kichwa-language narrative indicate that *mediodía* is the correct translation of *chawpi punzha*, which refers to the middle of the day, the time when the sun in in the center of the sky.

[48] I have chosen to keep the word "pueblo" from Spanish in the translation because it denotes a group of people living in a community, thus conveying the way that people and place are bound together. An alternate translation would be "people," as in, "the Sarayaku people."

“Cuentan nuestros abuelos que Sarayacu es el pueblo del mediodía. Se le compara con el Sol. Dicen que cuando llegue el medio día[*sic*], Sarayacu no caerá mientras el resto de pueblos lo haya hecho. Sarayacu es el medio, permanecerá resistiendo”. José Gualinga, miembro de la comunidad de Sarayacu (“Ecuador”).

“Our grandparents tell us Sarayacu is the pueblo of the midday. It is compared to the Sun. They say that when the midday arrives, Sarayacu will not fall while the other pueblos may have. Sarayacu is the center, it will continue resisting.” José Gualinga, member of the community of Sarayacu.

UNA PROFECÍA DE LOS ANCESTROS DE SARAYAKU DICE: “Somos el pueblo del medio día, somos el sol del medio día [*sic*]. Sarayaku no caerá aunque otros hayan sucumbido. Sarayaku permanecerá resistiendo.” (Angun Gualinga “Profecía”).

A PROPHECY BY THE ANCESTORS OF SARAYACU SAYS: “We are the pueblo of the midday, we are the sun of the midday. Sarayaku will not fall even though other may succumb. Sarayaku will continue resisting.”

“Sereis el último pueblo en no sucumbir. Por eso sois el pueblo del medio día [*sic*], pueblo que tiene sueños para la vida’ Profecía de los tayaks de Sarayaku (@Sarayaku_Libre).

“Ye shall be the final pueblo to not succumb. That is why ye are the pueblo of the midday, the pueblo that has dreams for life” Prophecy of the *tayaks* of Sarayaku.

As is evident, these quotes bear only the slightest resemblance to Gerardo Gualinga's rendition of the muskuy narrative. In each one, the muskuy narrative is boiled down into a brief account of the narrative and its meaning: ancestors have said that Sarayaku Runa are the people of the midday who will live on while others near them die. These shorthand versions of the muskuy narrative leave out many of the details of Gerardo's narrative that would be meaningful to Runa and lack any of the stylistic qualities of typical Runa storytelling. Gone are the elements of the narrative that code it as truthful and beautiful in the Runa worldview, in favor of a simple format that has been crafted to respond to Western expectations about indigenous knowledge. In particular, the explicit labeling of the muskuy as "prophecy," the use of stylistic lexical choices such as semi-obscure symbolism, implied divine perspective, and archaic verbiage are aspects of creative re-coding of the narrative for outsider consumption. In this way, one vital element of the Kichwa speech aesthetic remains: that of speaking in a way that will be emotionally resonant and evoke meaning for the listener. By recoding the Sarayaku narrative in a form that is meaningful to non-Runa, the representatives of the community who provide each of the quotes above sought common ground through language that evokes imagery and emotion.

The Connotations of "Ancestral Prophecy"

In these quotes, Sarayaku's muskuy-derived knowledge is recoded through explicit labeling of the knowledge as "*profecía.*" This is noteworthy because while "muskuy" and "prophecy" both denote extrasensory vision in many circumstances, the former term has a much broader semantic range than the later. Like "prophecy," "muskuy" conveys the sense of privileged access to information about the workings

of the world and of future events, originating in preternatural vision, and shared with others through the spoken word. However, "muskuy" is primarily used to describe experiences ranging from dreams in sleep to hallucinogenic visions while awake. These experiences are themselves the medium of communication between a human and any of a number of sapient beings: such as plants, animals, or humans, whether living or deceased. Occasionally divine or semi-divine beings, like God, Jesus, or Christian Saints, also appear. Muskuy, as the term is used by Canelos Kichwa, can inform humans about mundane topics like the day's hunt, or it can address life-altering concerns like ascertaining the cause and cure of grave illness.

By contrast, "prophecy," particularly when used in the context of indigenous knowledge, is a term reserved especially for extraordinary experiences. As Philip J. Deloria argues, even though many indigenous practices and experiences share characteristics with the Western concept of prophecy, American Indian people themselves do not typically describe them in that way. As he explains, it is not sufficient to "see the future" or know what is happening far away in the present moment to count as prophecy. Instead, he suggests,

> Prophecy rests fundamentally upon a remembered purity of past condition, particularly in relation to a present from which there seems no possible escape. […] That message is not simply a prediction of the future; rather it has moral, ethical, and religious ideals attached to it that require the message be spread to others, who then form a movement. Prophecy is thus a rich and rare experience: laced through with collective memory and desire; diagnostic and prescriptive in nature; revelatory and ecstatic; serving as the foundation for

social collectives, acting in contexts religious—and other than religious. (Deloria xi-xii).

As this quote makes clear, the concept of indigenous prophecy is laden with extra connotations that muskuy simply does not typically share. For one, muskuy is not a rare experience at all, even if some forms of it require special action to induce. Furthermore, although moral or ethical ideals are often involved, rarely do muskuy visions serve as the foundation of social movements, and typically require nothing in the way of proselytizing.

That said, the muskuy narrative from Sarayaku does seem to uniquely share many of the features of prophecy described by Deloria, at least in the way it has been presented by Gerardo Gualinga and other leaders who speak in the name of the community. Gerardo's narrative, as I have demonstrated, presupposes an earlier time in which ancestors had greater wisdom than the people do today. His narrative also strongly implies that Sarayaku will survive by demonstrating greater integrity than its neighboring communities. Other leaders draw more explicitly on the prescriptive elements associated with prophecy, by describing the people of Sarayaku as guardians and innovators. As then-President of the Community José Gualinga wrote in 2012, the community views itself as "defenders of life and human rights, guardians of mother nature, eternal protectors of Kawsak Sacha, the living jungle, watchers of the planetary balance and a force behind a new paradigm of economic development that contributes to Sumak Kawsay (harmonious life)" ("Sarayaku"). José Gualinga, as author of two of the aforementioned quotes about the Sarayaku prophecy, is one of

the leaders who most frequently locates the source of the community's activism in the "ancestral prophecy."

The similarities between the paradigmatic indigenous prophecy and Sarayaku's muskuy vision are almost certainly by design, as I will explore further in the subsequent sections; to label the Sarayaku muskuy as "prophecy" is the most efficacious way of linking the two in the public imagination. The Western term provides a ready-made framework for non-Runa to rely upon that immediately communicates the reach and power of the knowledge derived from the muskuy narrative without having to explain muskuy as a process of knowledge acquisition. To recode the concept of muskuy as prophecy is to draw specifically on the web of associations that the latter term carries in Spanish and English, as part of a canonical religious tradition with divine authority. Further lexical choices that are contained in these quotes similarly evoke concepts and frameworks of interpretation that shed a favorable light on the Sarayaku muskuy's content.

The Midday Sun

Following the framing language that labels the aforementioned quotes as "prophecy," the content of each quote maintains the overall prophetic tone using semi-obscure symbolism. I say "semi-obscure" because the symbolic language is only comprehensible to a degree. Words like "centro," "medio día," "sol," "caer," and "sucumbir" are commonplace, easily comprehended at the superficial level. However, the phrasing of the quotes makes it clear that these terms are used figuratively— that Sarayaku is not literally the sun at midday, and that the fall being referred to is the end of the community, rather than a sudden descent related to gravity's pull. The

average reader of these quotes could reasonably associate the sun at midday with centrality, importance, and strength, or deduce that falling, succumbing, and resisting all have to do with the end of a culture in the face of external pressure or even violence. However, rarely is a direct interpretation of the "prophecy" made explicitly clear.

Many elements remain clouded in obscurity: what does the midday sun have to do with the survival of a community? Why will other people "fall"? To what will these communities succumb, that Sarayaku will resist? Even when some explanation is provided, as in the following quote from an interview with community filmmaker, Eriberto Gualinga, the direct correspondence between symbol and future outcome is left out. "Hay una profecía sobre Sarayaku, el pueblo del mediodía. Dice que si todos los otros pueblos se extinguen Sarayaku será el último. Antes pensaban que seria[sic] un terremoto, pero ahora ven la causa es el petróleo" ("Explotación petrolera").[49] Even here, much information is withheld or left unspoken. Yet again, a reasonable interpretation is that petroleum extraction will cause the decline of specific groups of people, whether they die off or are acculturated to the point of non-differentiation from others. Still, on the whole, the idea of the Sarayaku as the people of the midday remains unexplained.

[49] "There is a prophecy about Sarayaku, the people of the midday. It says that if all the other peoples are extinguished Sarayaku will be the last. Before they thought that it would be an earthquake, but now they see the cause is petroleum"; my translation.

There are two plausible reasons for this degree of obscurity when it comes to the figurative language of these quotes: one is that this is intentional obfuscation meant to keep certain matters private, while the other is simply an ignorance of what non-Runa will comprehend or not. Either way, the result is the same: non-Runa are simply not privy to the cultural knowledge that would help them understand all of the elements of the quotes. This incomprehensibility would be a disadvantage in some cases, but in this context, it is a strength.

Contrary to the norm, the lack of explicit explanation of the symbolism in these quotes is meaningful precisely *because* of what obscurity implies to a non-indigenous public: "authentic" discourse. From the viewpoint of outsiders, indigenous knowledge is spiritual, privileged, and above all, esoteric. It is closed, at least partially, to evaluation by Westerners (Conklin, "Shamans" 1056). Non-indigenous peoples tend to equate the indigenous with the exotic and expect indigenous knowledge to be poetic and mysterious. "Authenticity," in this case, is really a gut feeling or snap judgment experienced by *outsiders* about *insider* discourse and objects about which they lack basic knowledge or evaluative criteria. As Conklin argues, non-indigenous people look for stereotypical cues that communicate indigeneity, such as physical adornments or distinctive syntax. At the same time, as Veronica Davidov makes clear, non-indigenous people are wary of anything they perceive to be overly curated, anything that is too pristine or polished, implying rehearsal or prefabrication (10).

The Spanish-language discourse that has been published by several Sarayaku leaders manages to strike a balance between clarity of messaging that readers can

understand, and the obscurity of messaging that indexes the supposed "authenticity" of the content. In a superficial evaluation of content, outsiders are likely to construe the quotes and Tweets as genuine, by virtue of the fact that they convey the proper mood expected of indigenous discourse. Especially in social media contexts like Twitter where users have only 280 characters to convey their message, this superficial evaluation is of utmost importance. As readers rapidly scan the content in their digital feeds, they make split-second judgments about whether or not to engage the content further, by reading it again, sharing it with others, or writing their own follow-up posts (Hong, et al.). Any stylistic elements that draw a reader's attention will be valuable promotional tools for a group's agenda (though scholars have found difficulty creating a model to predict what the most relevant elements of user engagement are). Semi-obscure content gives the reader enough information with which to make a plausible inference about meaning, while also hinting at privileged knowledge from which the reader is excluded that provides the feel of "authenticity" that is commonly expected from indigenous knowledge and prophecy in general.

"Sois el pueblo…"

Of all the texts referenced above, the quote from the Pueblo de Sarayaku's Twitter account has the most overtly "prophetic" tone, due almost entirely to the use of a single type of verb conjugation. The use of the informal second-person plural (or *vosotros)* form of the verb ser (in "seréis" and "sois"), lends the quote its Biblical overtones by implying that the discourse is quoted speech of a divine being speaking during a time of antiquity. This inference paints a picture that does not match actual Runa practices or discourse patterns, as I will discuss below: as a result, this quote is

revealed as an act of strategic code switching, with non-local lexical choices adopted in order to appeal to international audiences.

Fig. 8. Account photo and quote for Twitter user @Sarayaku_Libre, Twitter, screenshot by author.

The prophetic, Biblical tone is achieved through verb conjugation in two ways. First, divine perspective is implied by the use of the second-person plural *vosotros* conjugation of the verb *ser.* This is because the speaker explicitly excludes itself from the group of people who are addressed. The pronoun *vosotros* conveys the notion of "you (plural) but *not* me," specifically in contrast to the various possibilities contained in the first-person plural of *nosotros*, which could equally signify "they and I," "you and I," or "they, you and I." When interpreting the *vosotros* conjugation, readers infer that the speaker of the quote is separate from the people of Sarayaku but still in a position to speak authoritatively about their future.

Since this quote has no attributed author, we must speculate as to who the speaking subject is meant to have been. The speaker's farseeing knowledge of the community's resistance strongly suggests that she or he is either a divine being or someone with access to such a being. In Gerardo Gualinga's rendition of the narrative, the ancestral yachakguna interpreted their collective visions as an indication that the community would outlast all others in the face of adversity. As central members of traditional society, any yachak would most likely signal his inclusion in the community through the first-person plural pronoun *ñukanchi* ("we") in Kichwa, or "nosotros" in a Spanish translation, the way Jose Gualinga does in his pair of quotes. Since this is not the case, a different explanation is called for, such as the possibility that the yachakguna passed on someone else's message, the way Biblical prophets recounted the words of God *verbatim*.

Lacking any direct indication of the speaker's identity, we must assess the style of this quote for more information. Indeed, Bible passages containing prophecies have a similar structure to the Sarayuku prophecy quoted by the Pueblo de Sarayaku. One similar prophecy comes from the book of Dueteronomy, in which the Hebrew God speaks to the Israelite through Moses, foretelling the future plights of His chosen people as a punishment for their disobedience, an opposite fate from that of the people of Sarayaku:

> Y quedaréis en poca gente, en lugar de haber sido como las estrellas del cielo en multitud; por cuanto no obedeciste á la voz de Jehová tu Dios. (Duet. 28:62, RVA; *Santa Biblia*).

> And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude; because thou wouldest not obey the voice of the LORD thy God. (Duet. 28:6, KJB; *Bible*).

In this verse, Moses relays the exact words of God: had they been Moses' summary of God's will, he almost certainly would have included himself, saying, "quedaremos" ("we shall be left"). Instead, the second-person plural form makes it clear that the perspective of the words is divine, coming from a God who is not part of the group of which he speaks, whose knowledge of the future is complete and infinite, and whose authority is absolute.

This passage from Dueteronomy also serves as an example of the second aspect of the second-person plural verb conjugation that lends the Pueblo de Sarayaku quote its prophetic quality. As the comparison of the Spanish and English versions of the same verse demonstrate, one acceptable translation of "vosotros" is the pronoun "ye," an archaic second-person plural form in English. Unlike "vosotros" which is still commonly used in present-day Spain, "ye" is archaic in most contemporary English dialects. When it does appear in contemporary texts, it is a signal of an attempt at historical accuracy or a mark of affectation. Since "vosotros" has been out of use in the American lexicon for centuries (de Jonge and Nieuwenjuisjsen), its utilization in the Pueblo de Sarayaku quote should also be interpreted for its intended effect. In essence, "Seréis el último pueblo en no sucumbir" should be read as archaic

language, most accurately translated in relation to its context of production as "Ye shall be the final people to not succumb." [50]

This distinction is crucial, given that Kichwa, unlike Spanish or English, only has one second-person plural form, *kanguna*. Kichwa, Spanish, and English have relatively similar pronoun structures in that they all distinguish between first, second, and third person, both singular and plural (see table 1), yet Kichwa speakers only distinguish between a singular second person, *kan*, and a plural second person, *kanguna.* As a result, the translation of a text from Kichwa to Spanish would require the translator to choose a pronoun based on context: *kan* might be "tu," "vos," or "usted," depending on the degree of familiarity or formality implied by the rest of the discourse.

	Kichwa	**American English**		**Ecuadorian Spanish**	
		Familiar	**Formal**	**Familiar**	**Formal**
Singular	*Kan*	*Thou* [archaic]	*You* [standard]	*Tú* *Vos* [regional]	*Usted*
Plural	*Kanguna*	*Ye* [archaic] *Ya'll* [Regional]	*You* [standard]	*Vosotros*/ *Vosotras* [archaic] *Ustedes*	*Ustedes*

Table 1. Second-Person Pronouns- Kichwa-American English-Ecuadorian Spanish

By contrast, *kanguna* would be translated as "ustedes" in most circumstances, since that is the second-person plural pronoun that is principally used in Ecuador. The major exception to this is the religious context: I have often heard priests use the "vosotros" form when reading from the Bible during mass, weddings, and baptisms

[50] I have maintained the syntax of the Spanish, though in English a clearer translation would be "Ye shall be the final people who do not succumb."

that I have attended with Runa. Thus, the choice to translate “kanguna” as “vosotros” in the Sarayaku digital quotes constitutes an intentional act of code switching for stylistic effect. In this particular case, the effect is certainly meant to convey a sense of antiquity, and thereby, authority, cuing into the network of associations evoked by Biblical language.

Indexing Authority

To an unknowing outsider, the Pueblo de Sarayaku prophecy would appear to be an excerpt from an antiquated sacred document containing mystic knowledge of divine origin. However, this is not based on any documented reality, nor would it be consistent with the primarily oral nature of Kichwa speakers' communication for the greater part of their existence. In fact, if there were a published version of the Sarayaku muskuy narrative other than the one included here, it, too, would almost certainly have been transcribed long after the muskuy vision was experienced. Even then, it would be only one rendition of a story that has no single author and has been disseminated orally for generations.

Nonetheless, it is this very sense of antiquity, sacredness, and mystic knowledge that the authors of these quotes are intending to engage, to the degree that they also evoke a sense of emotionally resonant truth and authoritativeness that Sarayaku people value. Lacking immediate contact with their audience, the authors of these quotes cannot answer questions or more fully elaborate for clarification. They cannot anticipate all of their gaps in knowledge, and they most certainly do not receive immediate feedback that the reader has received and understood their message. Thus, they must anticipate the needs and knowledge of the average recipient

of their words and meet these as clearly and economically as possible. When considered in this light, the feat of conveying profoundly authoritative and truthful knowledge in as few as 280 characters is quite remarkable.

Conclusion

The paradox of Sarayaku's success is that to maintain autonomy, the community has had to engage outsiders and actively incorporate them on many fronts. In order to engage outside audiences with one of their most authoritative narratives, in many cases they have had to change the very structures and techniques that lent it credibility and emotional resonance within the Kichwa community. This is a reality faced by indigenous people worldwide, as Lee Irwin writes, one that often leads to struggle and creative borrowing: "While Native peoples struggled to define and communicate their sense of spirituality to often intolerant and noncomprehending [*sic*] others, they also observed and borrowed ideas and attitudes they felt to be congruent with their own values" (3). Borrowing in this way is a necessity but can be a source of criticism from outsiders who view the changes as "opportunistic," "inauthentic" and evidence of assimilation, cultural loss, or degradation.

To be sure, there are powerful economic pressures that may lead indigenous people to attempt to capitalize on Westerners' fascination with the "exotic"; at the same time, cultural loss is a legitimate concern of many indigenous leaders as well. Even so, not all change is loss: quite the reverse may be true, since modification and incorporation has been part of the indigenous experience from the time of first contact with Europeans (and most certainly prior to that as well!). Just as a seed must cease to exist for a tree to grow, so too must a people change its speech and customs in order

to thrive in their contemporary setting. In relation to storytelling, creative change and paradigm shifts are the foundation of the creative narrative tradition, both oral and written.

In the context of Kichwa muskuy narrative, there is no singular way to be Runa or one codified model for speaking their language; Kichwa speakers engage plural discourse systems and epistemologies and code their orientations through their language choices. As the narrative told by Gerardo Gualinga and the internet-based quotes from his family and neighbors demonstrate, indigenous leaders pragmatically and creatively engage wider audiences through variations in discourse such as language use, semiotic systems, and cultural resonances; some changes are more radical than others. Certainly, the condensed mode of the quotes of the prophecy is more strategically oriented than other creative modifications of verbal art forms, since they are part of the discourse of social activism, meant to persuade outsiders to support Sarayaku's causes. Yet while style and medium of delivery are different, one crucial aspect of the Kichwa speech ethic-aesthetic is the attention paid to the receptor. No matter what the context of narrative performance, speaking to evoke requires thoughtful contemplation about what is meaningful to other people and what shared experiences may be drawn upon so that truthful communication is possible.

Conclusion: On Knowing

Sitting at my *comadre's* house in the Kichwa community of Yawari, I am surrounded by a swarm of young children who materialize each time I visit, each with their own list of questions to ask me. Does anyone in my country speak Kichwa? Will I bring them a computer next time I visit? Have I met Justin Bieber? One of the most inquisitive boys, a bright and bold eight-year-old, leans on the chair where I am sitting. "Your country is the one that landed on the moon?" he asks, with an accusing tone. "Yes," I reply, "the United States." Grinning as if he has caught me in a lie, he responds, "No, they didn't. It was a trick. I saw on the television that it wasn't real." When I start to explain that he must have seen a show about conspiracy theories, he interrupts, shaking his head. "But how do you know?" he insists, "Did you see it yourself?"

This is, at the heart of it, an astute question. How do I know? How do most of us know most things that we have not experienced ourselves? For something like the moon landing, we rely on the logic that a large-scale fraud would be too difficult to cover up, and we rely on the credibility of the people who participated in the mission: the scientists, astronauts and eyewitnesses watching with their telescopes pointed to the sky. For other things, like the fact that the Earth revolves around the Sun, we put our full trust in the experts who can prove to us with their formulas and observations that our planet is not the center of it all. We even set aside the "evidence" that comes from our own observations, such as the sensation that our earth does not move at all, while the sun seems to rise and fall around us. Ultimately, the average, formally educated person of the twenty-first century feels certain that the sun is the center of

the solar system but may not be able to explain why exactly this is so. Considering all of this, how do we really know what we know?

Answering Research Questions

In this dissertation, one of my main arguments has been that for Runa, the Kichwa speaking people of the Ecuadorian tropical forest, knowledge and truth in *muskuy* narratives are bound up with questions of authoritativeness, but as my brief conversation with a precocious elementary school student demonstrates, the same could be said in many other contexts. In a world of rapidly advancing technological achievements, our senses are rendered insufficient to determine fact from forgery. Now, just as throughout human existence, we put our trust in experts whose authority we may not be able to judge for ourselves. For better or worse, we often rely on our own experiences and intuition to guide our decision-making.

Given this reality, it is important to consider different conceptualizations of truth, the diversity of human methods for acquiring knowledge and conveying both credibility and authority, and especially the role that verbal artistry plays in the dissemination of knowledge. What we share with others may give us a sense of common humanity; what we do not may remind us that "our way" is not the only way to exist in this world. Kichwa-language muskuy stories constitute one narrative genre that allows us to explore these topics in a comparative light; more importantly, they merit analysis in their own right. In the Introduction, I posed four questions about muskuy and Kichwa narrative that I set out to answer in the body of the dissertation. Here, I will summarize their answers.

First, what role does muskuy play in the acquisition, transmission,and validation of knowledge? Muskuy is one of the revered sources of knowledge for Kichwa speakers, especially for Runa who are in their thirties or older. Among members of the older generations, muskuy from sleep inform daily decision-making processes because the dreamers expect that their dreams will indicate what processes are in motion that they should attempt to engage with or avoid. Forms of muskuy induced through *ayawaska* and *wanduk* brews are still the preferred way to learn about solutions to more major problems or determine the answers to difficult questions. Likewise, to tell the story of muskuy experiences remains an important mode of transmitting the insights acquired in them to others: these stories are attention grabbing and memorable because of the way they are told, and they are convincing to listeners when they create an experience and cue personal memories. One person's muskuy narrative is often recounted to affirm the main insights of another person's experience, to substantiate the implicit claims or corroborate key details.

Processes of knowledge acquisition, transmission, and validation are found in each of the chapters that comprise the body of this dissertation. Eulodia Dagua's dream from Chapter 1 was the source of her knowledge that the clay she found was a gift that she had been deemed worthy of due to her embodiment of feminine qualities. In telling the story, she transmits her knowledge of how spirit beings act in muskuy and also communicates her maturity as a woman to her listeners. The experience itself validates her own self-conception as a strong woman; and when her aunt agrees with her interpretation, she gains outside validation for the other woman's muskuy-

acquired knowledge. Bélgica's narrative in Chapter 2 is composed of several different types of muskuy, each of which transmits some different type of knowledge about the spirit world, the possibility for humans to change form, and of Bélgica's knowledge that her own brother was so transformed. What her family had presupposed based on the boy's behavior, was first affirmed through muskuy that showed him living with the water spirit people. Later, the responses of her indigenous interlocutors about their own muskuy-acquired knowledge substantiates her story even further. Finally, in Gerardo Gualinga's narrative from Chapter 3 ayawaska muskuy from generations ago has remained a source of knowledge for the Sarayaku Runa about their communal fortitude. Information from this muskuy story is transmitted in different modes, but always used to affirm the community's knowledge of their own relationship to the land, both locally and in the eyes of a transnational audience.

Even as the daily practice of dream interpretation is not as prominent as it appears to have been decades ago due to changes in lifestyle brought about by formal employment, technological advances, and cultural changes, knowledge from muskuy is still sought out by many Runa on a regular basis, especially during times of personal turmoil. Of the new indigenous acquaintances that I made during the course of my research, even the ones that themselves did not know how to interpret dreams could refer me to a close relative, usually their parent or grandparent, who was an expert. Almost to the individual, they could tell me about a case in which someone important to them had resolved a problem with the assistance of a *yachak's* muskuy vision. Often *yachakguna* are called on as a last resort after all other attempts to resolve an issue—even seeking out professional assistance from a medical doctor—

have failed. Time and again, it is the yachakguna and their muskuy insights that are credited with ultimately solving the problem.

When summed up in a few sentences or told in Spanish, as is often the case with Runa who are increasing bilingual or monolingual in Spanish, muskuy narratives are an important means of transmitting knowledge among adults and from adults to their descendants. The older women I met during my fieldwork nearly always have children around them who casually listen to their stories while they play with their toys or do chores. It is impossible to predict what these children will recollect later in life, but many adults in their twenties through forties recall the dreams narratives of their own parents and grandparents even if they confess that they paid little attention in their childhood.

Next, what are the rhetorical tools and poetic features that convey truth (in terms of a speaker's certainty and credibility), knowledge, and embodied power? In any given interaction, speakers' utterances will be judged as reliable or not. The authority of the speaker and the credibility of the messages inform the judgments of listeners who determine how truthful a statement or story may be. For Runa, direct allusions to, and intertextual resonances with, commonly known stories and explanations are two ways of evoking the sense in a listener that a story is true, certain, and credible. For people who grow up learning that anacondas are powerful beings that can mesmerize humans and entice them to leave their human communities, a reference to the shiny black skin of a serpent has a drastically different meaning than for people who know anacondas only from Hollywood "B"

movies, for example. Listeners will judge information to be true based on the degree to which narrative details fit their expectations.

As I have shown, for Kichwa speakers visual and auditory imagery is compelling because it provokes in listeners their own memories and knowledge. The use of gestures to indicate physical attributes or spatial relationships compliments vocal performance in the form of changing rhythm, pitch, and tone. Together, gesture and vocal dynamics spur mental imagery of a full range of sensations, especially visual and auditory ones. These performative aspects also serve to emphasize the emotional elements of a narrative. Eulodia draws attention to her own anger; Bélgica focuses on her brother's quarrelling; Gerardo hints at a macaw's loneliness. In each case the strong feeling evokes empathy in the listener, who may find the events emotionally resonant and therefore true.

Aesthetically pleasing narration, as a skill, is itself a form of communicated and embodied power, the quality of being *sindzhi* (strong). By telling a story that is filled with imagery, emotionally evocative and resonant with personal experiences, a narrator demonstrates maturity and knowledge. One simply cannot be a good speaker—careful to be truthful, not exaggerate or generalize, and adept at verbal artistry—without being a self-actualized, knowledgeable person. Skillful speakers do not have to rely on their own authority, however, for their stories to be judged as credible. The direct quotation of other people, and the marking of the perspective from which an assertion is made with evidential markers, both serve rhetorical purposes as indicators of the narrator's own relative neutrality. Allowing other voices to "speak for themselves," or to be judged on their own merits independent of the

narrator, lends authority to the narrator who animates these voices. Narrators like Bélgica, who quote the words of others such as her brother Marcos, are credible witnesses because they do not impose a direct reading of events on their listeners, unless they are absolutely certain of their conclusions.

Third, how does the narrator's relationship to the events described (firsthand experience, secondhand knowledge, or ancestral tale) affect the articulation of truth and authority in a narrative? The main way that truth and authority are conveyed differently in stories of firsthand knowledge from stories of secondhand or ancestral sources has to do with the situating the person whose perspective is being conveyed, grounding the narrative in the authority of the person or persons who originally had the muskuy experience. When that person is the very same as the narrator, his or her authority is conveyed through careful description, as we see with Eulodia's description of a boa and the police, and the reenactment of her own fearful or angry exclamations. This type of narrator attempts to recreate direct experiences for a listener but avoids making claims or drawing conclusions that are beyond his or her power to know. While Eulodia can be certain of what she saw in the holding cell, for example, she has no true certainty that the officer was definitely giving her clay, despite her suspicions. Thus, she makes sure to mark her speculation with the word *chari* ("perhaps") when she is asked to provide an overt explanation of her dream experience.

On the other hand, when the muskuy experience being described in a story is known secondhand, narration appears to rely most heavily on quotes that are

contextualized with “perspective” markers (especially the evidential enclitic “mi”) and illocutionary verbs (like “to say”). This puts the authority of the words’ *author* up for judgment, rather than the authority of the messenger who animates them. In such cases, the truth and authority of the overall story is conveyed by the way the animator-narrator positions himself or herself as a dispassionate witness.

The same is true of ancestral tales in which the narrator has no direct experience of muskuy events. In these circumstances, it is again the authority of the dreamers themselves from generations ago that is relied upon, which is bolstered in the present by the narrator’s performance of remembering the full narrative with care. Demonstrated attention to recollection, as through the notable pause prior to narration that characterized many ancestral tales, is one way that a narrator conveys the authoritative quality of the story and the rendition being performed.

Finally, how do Runa actively and creatively adapt their discourse to communicate the veracity and authoritativeness of their narratives to fellow Runa and non-Runa? As any good speaker must, Runa take their interlocutor’s prior knowledge into account when they tell a story. Often when two individuals are part of the same linguistic and cultural community, they share the same concepts of credibility and authority, and thus do not need to modify their typical style of discourse. In muskuy narratives, speakers of similar backgrounds will make the most of their shared knowledge based in their expressive choices. Something as small as Bélgica Dagua’s reference to a hill from Pedro Andi’s community can prompt a deeper comprehension on his part of her story, perhaps leading him to find her tale both credible and authoritative.

However, even within a common ethnic community there may be notable linguistic and epistemological distinctions across generations. In Runa communities, grandparents and great-grandparents may be unilingual Kichwa speakers without a formal education, while their adult children are fully bilingual and formally educated, and their grandchildren or great-grandchildren are formally educated but only partially fluent in Kichwa, if at all. Two members of the same household may not speak a common language or share a common sense of what counts as true. As a result, more effort may be required to overcome paradigmatic differences. Many Runa, especially of the middle generation, can switch back and forth between languages and knowledge systems depending on the context. Adaptability is a fact of their existence; in a world of constant change, creative adaptation is essential to cultural continuity.

When actively trying to engage non-Runa audiences, Kichwa speakers employ a variety of discursive methods, including code switching from Kichwa to Spanish and relying on different communication media such as social media sites. The style of an orally recounted muskuy narrative and a Facebook posting, for example, could not be more different: one might be long and elaborate, while the other is succinct and straightforward. But it is possible, as we see in the analysis of a story from the community of Sarayaku, for style to change while the overall orientation to credibility and authority remain a foremost concern. In the global context of social media, differing means of expressions can still have the same goal. As I demonstrated in Chapter 3, several leaders from Sarayaku engage non-Runa concepts of

authoritativeness in their digital media discourse to convey the depth of truth and authority of their ancestral narrative.

Avenues of Future Inquiry

Looking forward to future research, there are many fruitful avenues to be explored that could not be covered in this dissertation. For instance, I have only briefly touched on the gender-related dynamics of storytelling, but gender and sexual identity have been themes of Kichwa verbal art that have been explored in the past (especially by Harrison, Seitz) and remain a promising area of inquiry in relation to muskuy narrative style. Also, this dissertation did not include any firsthand accounts of ayawaska or wanduk muskuy; nonetheless, a comparison of narratives by a single narrator about different types of muskuy experiences would be a stimulating approach to study the degree to which each muskuy conveys notions of authority, truth, and credibility. A third possibility for research would be an exploration of the conception of authorship related to narratives. None of the narratives included in the present study involved a song, but many times muskuy encounters with spirit beings involve the teaching of a song by the spirit to the human as part of a restorative or curative process. In these situations, the human does not claim any authorship of the song and is cautious when singing the song around other Runa who might steal the song's power. Finally, moving away from muskuy narratives in particular, ethnopoetic analysis of all Kichwa language verbal art could be expanded in scope to include other narrative genres, such as personal oral narratives or the limited series publications of Runa stories that are sporadically published and sold by indigenous communities. This latter subset of texts is difficult to acquire since they are printed in

small batches and have limited circulation. Nonetheless, as curated volumes of communally valued stories, they are indicative of the knowledge and values that older generations hope to share with younger ones.

Summary Conclusions

Through close attention to way that muskuy experiences, the most trusted sources of knowledge, are depicted in narrative form, I have argued that Runa convey truthful and authoritative knowledge through artful, emotionally evocative performance. Aspects of narrative performance such as gesture, sound symbolism, and prosody—to name only a few—recreate a muskuy experience for interlocutors from which to make connections and draw conclusions. In terms of language, the artistry of Kichwa narrative is defined by using spare imagery resonant with personal experience, local knowledge, and ancestral stories. Narrators focus on emotional experiences of anger and sadness in ways that evoke empathy. These emotions are significant even when observed in animals or spirit beings; thus, they give listeners a strong sense that a story is true.

Even though Runa themselves are unlikely to provide explanatory models of how they judge information to be true, as doing so would be tantamount to exaggeration or even lying, they demonstrate their own judgments through their active engagement in the storytelling process. Questions, comments, and even turns at narration express listeners' comprehension of implied meaning and the confidence they have in the credibility of the story and the authority of the speaker. An essential aspect of the muskuy narration is the open sharing of different perspectives, whether the narrator's own personal perspective, the listener-interloctor's perspective, or the

perspectives of other actors (clearly identified through evidential marker and illocutionary verbs) who are quoted by the narrators and interlocutors. This focus on sharing perspectives is observable even when muskuy narratives are recounted in drastically different contexts, whether in a narration voiced in a domestic setting of a Runa community or expressed in a digital form in a language other than Kichwa.

Even as younger generations live dramatically different lives than their parents and grandparents before them, muskuy narratives remain an important source of vital knowledge for Runa communities. At a time when truth and knowledge have become contested categories in many contexts, theses emotionally salient stories provide vital information that Kichwa speakers rely upon to make decisions and to comprehend their place in an ever-changing world. For Runa, the value of muskuy narratives as true, authoritative accounts goes beyond establishing mere facts, to the fortification of their communities through shared perspectives and empathetic bonds

Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Approval Letters 2014-2016

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742-5125
TEL 301.405.4212
FAX 301.314.1475
irb@umd.edu
www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

DATE:	May 27, 2014
TO:	Lisa Warren, MA
FROM:	University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB
PROJECT TITLE:	[597912-1] Living Dreams: An Analysis of Kichwa Narrative and Worldview
REFERENCE #:	
SUBMISSION TYPE:	New Project
ACTION:	APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE:	May 27, 2014
EXPIRATION DATE:	May 26, 2015
REVIEW TYPE:	Expedited Review
REVIEW CATEGORY:	Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulation.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require each participant receive a copy of the signed consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure which are found on the IRBNet Forms and Templates Page.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of May 26, 2015.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB's records.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742-5125
TEL 301.405.4212
FAX 301.314.1475
irb@umd.edu
www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

DATE:	April 17, 2015
TO:	Lisa Warren, MA
FROM:	University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB
PROJECT TITLE:	[597912-2] Living Dreams: An Analysis of Kichwa Narrative and Worldview
REFERENCE #:	
SUBMISSION TYPE:	Continuing Review/Progress Report
ACTION:	APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE:	April 17, 2015
EXPIRATION DATE:	May 26, 2016
REVIEW TYPE:	Expedited Review
REVIEW CATEGORY:	Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of Continuing Review/Progress Report materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

Prior to submission to the IRB Office, this project received scientific review from the departmental IRB Liaison.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of May 26, 2016.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Unless a consent waiver or alteration has been approved, Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of seven years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB's records.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, MD 20742-5125
TEL 301.405.4212
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www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

DATE:	May 26, 2016
TO:	Lisa Warren, MA
FROM:	University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB
PROJECT TITLE:	[597912-3] Living Dreams: An Analysis of Kichwa Narrative and Worldview
REFERENCE #:	
SUBMISSION TYPE:	Continuing Review/Progress Report
ACTION:	APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE:	May 26, 2016
EXPIRATION DATE:	May 26, 2017
REVIEW TYPE:	Expedited Review
REVIEW CATEGORY:	Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of Continuing Review/Progress Report materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

Prior to submission to the IRB Office, this project received scientific review from the departmental IRB Liaison.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of May 26, 2017.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Unless a consent waiver or alteration has been approved, Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of seven years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB's records.

Appendix B: IRB Approved Question and Topic List

Note: As members of a primarily oral society, older native Kichwa speakers tend to have difficultly answering abstract questions because their knowledge is based on concrete experience. Also, conjecture about unknown or unknowable situations is considered to be a form of deception, which is highly condemned by Kichwa speaking society. As a result, interview subjects may be reluctant or unable to answer some interview questions. Therefore, I have included a list of potential topics that may prompt an interview subject to discuss dreams or visions related to a particular topic, such as a plant or animal species.

- Songs taught by snakes, other animals, or plants in a dream or vision.
- The mother of the garden, Nunguli or Nunkui, who is known for helping women succeed in planting and harvesting.
- Mythic origin of plants, animals, or objects: ex, how did the moon get its form? How did [particular bird] get its form? (Knowledge of myths can inform my study of dreams that incorporate elements from the traditional myths).
- A time when a dream helped resolve or shed light on the cause of a problem: for example, crops in the garden not growing well or lack of success hunting or fishing.
- A time when a dream or the vision of a shaman (*yachak*) helped find a cure for a physical ailment.
- Content of previous night's dream, how to interpret that dream.
- Knowledge of a shaman (*yachak*) in the past that was particularly well known for ability to interpret dreams and visions.

Appendix C: IRB Approved Consent Form Script in English and Spanish

English Consent Form

My name is Lisa (Warren) Carney and I am a graduate student at the University of Maryland in the United State. I'm inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a native Kichwa speaker with knowledge of Kichwa traditions. The purpose of this research project is to record stories about dreams and visions to learn about Kichwa traditional knowledge and storytelling practices.

I will ask you to speak about dreams and experiences you have had while in a comfortable and private setting. I will record your responses. Each interview will last from 30 minutes to 2 hours, as long as you are comfortable speaking. A sample conversation topic is, "describe a time when a dream helped you solve a problem." I will compensate you for your time with a payment of $3.00 per hour.

There may be some risks from participating in this research study. You may find some memories to be painful or embarrassing. You do not have to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable. You may stop the interview at any time, and you may request that the recording be destroyed. If you wish to remain anonymous, I will be give you a pseudonym and I will not disclose identifying information about you.

I hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of Kichwa knowledge and traditions.

I will minimize any potential loss of confidentiality by storing data in a password protected computer. If you wish to remain anonymous, I will not use your personal information. Otherwise, I will give you full credit for the content of your stories.

If I write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. I may share your information with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.

You will receive $3.00 per hour. You will be responsible for any taxes assessed on the compensation.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating

at any time by telling me that you want to stop. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or you need to report an injury related to research, please contact me: Lisa Carney, Andes-Amazon Field School, Iyarina, Ecuador. After August of this year, you can contact me through Dr. Tod Swanson or Inés Shiguango Chimbo, whose phone number and email I will provide for you. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact the Institution Review board of the University of Maryland, whose information is included in the form.

This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.

(PAUSE)

Do you have any questions or concerns about what I just read you?

(PARTICIPANTS RESPONSE)

Now to record your consent, I will turn on the recorder/camera. I will read the consent declaration and you will respond with a “yes” or “no.”

Please affirm that you are at yeas 18 years old, that someone read this document to you, that you do not anticipate receiving $600 or more as a participant in research conducted by the University of Maryland, College Park in the year; that you agree to allow me to use the full content of these recording for future projects and publications; and that your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and that you agree to participate in this investigation. Do you agree?

(PARTICIPANTS RESPONSE)

I will now give you a copy of this consent form.

Guión del formulario de consentimiento

Me llamo Lisa Carney y soy estudiante graduada de la Universidad de Maryland de los Estados Unidos. Le invito a usted a participar en este proyecto de investigación porque es hablante nativo del kichwa y tiene conocimiento de las tradiciones kichwas. El propósito de esta investigación es grabar narraciones sobre sueños y visiones para conocer la sabiduría ancestral y técnicas de narración oral. El estudio se llama "Sueños vivos: análisis de la narrativa y cosmovisión kichwa".

En un lugar cómodo y privado le pediré que usted hable sobre sus sueños y experiencias personales. Sus respuestas serán grabadas. Cada entrevista durará entre 30 minutos y 2 horas, siempre y cuando se encuentre cómodo. Un ejemplo de los posibles temas de conversación es: "Describa una ocasión en que un sueño le ayudó a resolver un problema." A usted le compensaré económicamente por el tiempo con un pago de $3.00 por hora.

Puede haber algunos riesgos asociados con la participación en esta investigación. Algunas memorias pueden ser difíciles o incómodas. Usted no tiene que contestar ninguna pregunta que le incomode. En cualquier momento, usted puede dejar de participar en la entrevista y pedir que yo destruya la grabación. Si prefiere mantenerse anónimo, le asignaré un pseudónimo y no divulgaré información identificable.

Espero que en el futuro otras personas puedan beneficiarse de la investigación gracias a un mayor conocimiento de saberes y tradiciones kichwas.

Para minimizar la posible pérdida de confidencialidad, almacenaré las grabaciones en una computadora protegida con contraseña. Si prefiere mantenerse anónimo, no usaré su información personal. Si no, le atribuiré a usted el reconocimiento por el contenido de las narraciones.

Si escribo un informe o un artículo sobre esta investigación, su identidad será protegida en la máxima medida posible. Puede ser que comparto sus datos personales con representantes de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park o con autoridades gubernamentales en el caso de que usted u otra persona esté en peligro o la ley lo requiera.

Le compensaré $3.00 por hora. Usted es responsable por cualquier impuesto aplicado a la compensación.

Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Usted puede optar por no participar en absoluto. Si opta por participar en esta investigación, puede dejar de hacerlo en cualquier momento. Sólo tiene que decírmelo. Si decide no participar en la investigación o si deja de participar, no será penalizado ni perderá ningún beneficio que hubiera recibido de cualquier otra manera.

Si decide dejar de participar en la investigación, si tiene preguntas, preocupaciones o queja o si necesita informar un daño relacionada con la investigación, por favor contácteme. Incluyo mi dirección en la hoja que le voy a dar aquí mientras estoy en el país. A partir de agosto, me puede contactar mediante Doctor Tod Swanson o Licenciada Inés Shiguango Chimbo, cuyos números de teléfono y dirección de correo electrónico incluyo también.

Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante de la investigación o si desea informar de un daño relacionado con la investigación, por favor contacte con el Institutional Review Board de la universidad de Maryland, cuya información está incluido en el formulario.

Esta investigación ha sido revisada de acuerdo a los procedimientos de las investigaciones que involucran a sujetos humanos del IRB (Consejo de Revisión Institucional) de la Universidad de Maryland.

--- (PAUSA)---

¿Tiene usted alguna pregunta o duda sobre lo que acabo de leerle?

(CONTESTACIÓN DE PARTICIPANTE)

Ahora, para grabar su consentimiento, voy a encender la grabadora/la cámara. Leeré una declaración de consentimiento y usted responderá con un “sí” o “no”.

Afirme usted que tiene un mínimo de 18 años; que alguien se lo leyó este formulario; que no tiene prevista ganar $600 o más como participante de investigación en investigaciones de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park en este año natural; que permite que yo incluya el contenido de las grabaciones en su totalidad en futuros proyectos y publicaciones; y que sus preguntas han sido contestadas satisfactoriamente y que acepta participar en esta investigación. ¿Lo afirma?

(CONTESTACIÓN DE PARTICIPANTE)

Ahora le daré una copia de este formulario de consentimiento.

Appendix D: IRB Approved Consent Forms in English and Spanish

University of Maryland College Park

Initials_____ Date____

Project Title	Living Dreams: An Analysis of Kichwa Narrative and Worldview
Purpose of the Study	This research is being conducted by Lisa Carney, student of the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you are a native Kichwa speaker with knowledge of Kichwa traditions. The purpose of this research project is to record stories about dreams and visions to learn about Kichwa traditional knowledge and storytelling practices.
Procedures	You will be asked to speak about dreams and experiences you have had while in a comfortable and private setting. Your responses will be recorded. Each interview will last from 30 minutes to 2 hours, as long as you are comfortable speaking. A sample conversation topic is, "describe a time when a dream helped you solve a problem." You will be compensated for your time with a payment of $3.00 per hour, as agreed upon before conducting the first interview.
Potential Risks and Discomforts	There may be some risks from participating in this research study. You may find some memories to be painful or embarrassing. You do not have to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable. You may stop the interview at any time, and you may request that the recording be destroyed. If you wish to remain anonymous, you will be given a pseudonym and no identifying information will be disclosed.
Potential Benefits	There are no direct benefits from participation in this research. However, we hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of Kichwa knowledge and traditions.
Confidentiality	Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing data in a password protected computer. If you wish to remain anonymous, your personal information will not be used. Otherwise, you will be given full credit for the content of your stories. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.
Compensation	You will receive $3.00 per hour. You will be responsible for any taxes assessed on the compensation. ☐ Check here if you expect to earn $600 or more as a research participant in UMCP studies in this calendar year. You must provide your name, address and SSN to receive compensation. ☐ Check here if you do not expect to earn $600 or more as a research participant in UMCP studies in this calendar year. Your name, address, and SSN will not be collected to receive compensation.

Right to Withdraw and Questions	Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify. If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or you need to report an injury related to research, please contact the investigator: Lisa Carney, Andes-Amazon Field School, Iyarina, Ecuador. Lisawarren07@gmail.com or 5112 Parklawn Terrace #304, Rockville, MD 20852, USA	
Participant Rights	If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: **University of Maryland College Park** **Institutional Review Board Office** **1204 Marie Mount Hall** **College Park, Maryland, 20742** **E-mail: irb@umd.edu** **Telephone: 301-405-0678** This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.	
Statement of Consent	Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction; you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study and you agree to allow the investigator to use the full content of these recording for future projects and publications. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form. If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.	
Signature and Date	**NAME OF PARTICIPANT [Please Print]**	
	SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT	
	DATE	

NAME OF WITNESS (Please print):
SIGNATURE OF WITNESS:
DATE:
CONTACT INFORMATION:

University of Maryland College Park

Iniciales _____ Fecha _____

Título del proyecto	Los sueños vivos: Un análisis de la narrativa y cosmovisión kichwa
Propósito del estudio	Esta investigación es realizada por Lisa Carney, estudiante de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. Usted está invitado a participar en este proyecto de investigación porque es hablante nativo del kichwa y tiene conocimiento de las tradiciones kichwas. El propósito de esta investigación es grabar narraciones sobre sueños y visiones para conocer la sabiduría ancestral y técnicas de narración oral.
Metodología	En un lugar cómodo y privado se le pedirá que usted hable sobre sus sueños y experiencias personales. Sus respuestas serán grabadas. Cada entrevista durará entre 30 minutos y 2 horas, siempre y cuando se encuentre cómodo. Un ejemplo de los posibles temas de conversación es: "Describa una ocasión en que un sueño le ayudó a resolver un problema." Se le compensará económicamente por el tiempo con un pago de $3.00 por hora.
Posibles riesgos e inquietudes	Puede haber algunos riesgos asociados con la participación en esta investigación. Algunas memorias pueden ser difíciles o incómodas. Usted no tiene que contestar ninguna pregunta que le incomode. En cualquier momento, usted puede dejar de participar en la entrevista y pedir que la grabación se destruya. Si prefiere mantenerse anónimo, se le asignará un pseudónimo y no se divulgará información identificable.
Posibles beneficios	No hay beneficios directos derivados de la participación en esta investigación. Sin embargo, se espera que en el futuro otras personas puedan beneficiarse de la investigación gracias a un mayor conocimiento de saberes y tradiciones kichwas.
Confidencialidad	Para minimizar la posible pérdida de confidencialidad, las grabaciones serán almacenadas en una computadora protegida con contraseña. Si prefiere mantenerse anónimo, no se usará su información personal. Si no, se le atribuirá a usted el reconocimiento por el contenido de las narraciones. Si se escribe un informe o un artículo sobre esta investigación, su identidad será protegida en la máxima medida posible. Sus datos personales pueden ser compartidos con representantes de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park o con autoridades gubernamentales en el caso de que usted u otra persona esté en peligro o la ley lo requiera.
Compensación económica	Usted recibirá $3.00 por hora. Usted es responsable por cualquier impuesto aplicado a la compensación. □ Marque aquí si usted anticipa ganar $600 o más como participante de investigación en investigaciones de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park en este año natural. Usted tiene que proveer su nombre, dirección y número de cédula para recibir compensación. □ Marque aquí si usted no anticipa ganar $600 o más como participante de investigación en investigaciones de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park en este año natural. Su nombre, dirección y número de cédula no serán recopilados para recibir compensación.
Derecho de retirarse y hacer preguntas	Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Usted puede optar por no participar en absoluto. Si opta por participar en esta investigación, puede dejar de hacerlo en cualquier momento. Si decide no participar en la investigación o si deja de

University of Maryland College Park

Iniciales _____ Fecha _____

	participar, no será penalizado ni perderá ningún beneficio que hubiera recibido de cualquier otra manera. Si decide dejar de participar en la investigación, si tiene preguntas, preocupaciones o queja o si necesita informar un daño relacionada con la investigación, por favor contacte con la investigadora: Lisa Carney, Andes-Amazon Field School, Iyarina, Ecuador. Lisawarren07@gmail.com o 5112 Parklawn Terrace #304, Rockville, MD 20852, USA.	
Derechos del participante	Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante de la investigación o si desea informar de un daño relacionado con la investigación, por favor contacte con: **University of Maryland College Park** **Institutional Review Board Office** **1204 Marie Mount Hall** **College Park, Maryland, 20742** **Correo electrónico: irb@umd.edu** **Teléfono: 301-405-0678** Esta investigación ha sido revisada de acuerdo a los procedimientos de las investigaciones que involucran a sujetos humanos del IRB (Consejo de Revisión Institucional) de la Universidad de Maryland.	
Declaración de consentimiento	Su firma indica que usted tiene un mínimo de 18 años; que ha leído este formulario o alguien se lo leyó; que sus preguntas han sido contestadas satisfactoriamente; que acepta participar en esta investigación y que permite que se incluya el contenido de las grabaciones en su totalidad en futuros proyectos y publicaciones. Usted recibirá una copia de este formulario de consentimiento firmado. Si acepta participar, firme a continuación, por favor.	
Firma y fecha	**NOMBRE DEL PARTICIPANTE** [Escribir en letra de molde]	
	FIRMA DEL PARTICIPANTE	
	FECHA	

NOMBRE DEL TESTIGO [Escribir en letra de molde]:_____

FIRMA DE TESTIGO: _____

FECHA:_____

INFORMACIÓN DE CONTACTO: _____

Note: The signed consent forms of the collaborators in this research project have been registered with the Institutional Review Board at the University of Maryland.

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