

Functional complexity of switch-reference clauses in Santiago del Estero Quichua¹

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Abstract: Complex sentences display a relation between two or more events, and different languages have different strategies to deal with the encoding of the participants in each event. This study explains how referent tracking is maintained in switch-reference clauses in Santiago del Estero Quichua (Quechua, Argentina). However, since some data cannot be explained in terms of the marking of the (dis)continuity of referents at the sentence level, a functional perspective that contemplates phenomena of syntax-discourse interfaces is needed in order to fully understand the use of switch-reference clauses in this particular language. This is not an exception in switch-reference systems across languages of the world. The systems under study are usually functionally complex as they may provide information about the congruence between eventualities, with referential continuity being only one of their sub-functions. Therefore, these systems are closely linked to the marking of referential and temporal meanings. According to the findings of this study, the switch-reference system in Santiago del Estero Quichua plays an important role in maintaining discourse coherence. This property of switch-reference clauses in the language is crucial for comprehending their role, not only in complex syntax but also in the organization of discourse.

Keywords: Quechua, Santiago del Estero Quichua, switch-reference, syntax-discourse interface

1. Introduction

Languages present different referent-tracking devices in order to resolve referential interpretation of interclausal relations. Languages from the

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(1) Referent continuity

(2) *kay* *señora*_i *uyari-a-ra-ø*_i *noqa*_j-*ta* [*radio-p*
DEM.PROX lady hear-OBJ.1-PST-3SG 1SG-ACC radio-LOC
rima-pti-*y*_j [*fm popular*]
speak-DISC-POSS.1SG fm.popular
'This lady_i listened to me when I_j was speaking on (the) radio "FM Popular".'

Although this definition allows us to explain most cases of SR sentences in Santiago Quichua, some data shows that continuity and discontinuity markers do not always respond to the tracking of syntactic subjects. This can be seen in example (3) below.

- (3) *[musiquero_i na pishi-s_i tiya-pti-n_i]*
 musician already tired-STAT.NMLZ COP.LOC-DISC-POSS.3SG
ni-sa ka-ra-ø_i uku-n_i-man [...]
 say-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG inside-POSS.3SG-DIR
 ‘When the musician_i was already tired, he_i said to himself [...].’
 (Tevez 2016: 519)

In this complex sentence, the only participant in the two events in the linked clauses is the third person, in this case, *musiquero* ‘the musician’. However, the marked clause presents the marker *-pti*, typically used to anticipate a change in referent. Similar cases can be found for the continuity marker *-spa*, as illustrated in (4), where this marker is used despite the different clause subjects (see Section 5.1 for discussion).

- (4) *[_____{i,j} kutis tinku-naku-spa] yacha-chi-saq_j*
 again meet-RCP-CONT.TOP know-CAUS-FUT.1SG
 ‘When (we/reciprocally_{i,j} meet I_j will teach (you).’

Cases like (3) and (4) are found in other SR systems within different languages of the Quechua family (cf. Cerrón-Palomino 2003: 210) as well as in various languages worldwide. Consequently, these instances have prompted several observations concerning the definition of this phenomenon. It was attested that SR systems are functionally complex in the world’s languages, as they can provide information about the congruence between eventualities, with referential continuity being only one of their subfunctions (Stirling 1993). This complexity appears to be consistent across languages. Each event involved in an interclausal relation has its own parameters, such as location, time, reality status, referents, etc. All of these parameters, as well as referent tracking, have been shown to be important in distinguishing between identity and non-identity situations in at least some SR systems worldwide (van Gijn 2016: 19). For example, in (3), the marked clause depicts a situation (‘the fact of being tired’) that took place over a period of time prior to the event mentioned in the main clause (‘to think’, ‘to say to oneself’); and this is what may motivate the marking with the suffix *-pti*, instead of the reference tracking of the subjects. In (4) the inclusion of the subject of the main clause in the subject referent of the SR clause is what motivates the continuity marking *-spa*.

Two remarks arise from the data on SR clauses in Santiago Quichua. First, reference tracking does not seem to be the only factor that explains the use of SR markers in the language. Second, these data raise the question of the implications of these markers for the continuity or recurrence of other parameter(s) or element(s) of discursive coherence, apart from referents. The term *discourse coherence* is understood in this work as defined by Givón (2001), i.e., the continuity or recurrence of some element(s) across a contiguous span of multi-propositional discourse—not only referents, but also locations, temporality, aspectuality, modality, perspective and events. Therefore, marking of (dis)continuity of any of these elements could be a warning before the cut/contiguity in the thread of thematic coherence.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 summarizes the main theoretical developments regarding SR systems as a reference tracking device. Section 3 briefly presents some sociolinguistic and typological features of the Quechua family, and Santiago Quichua. Section 4 provides an overview of the main methodological aspects of this research. Finally, Section 5 contains the results, organized according to two parameters: (i) how SR markers perform reference tracking across clauses, and (ii) how these same markers can indicate other types of continuity/discontinuity between the events of linked clauses, mainly regarding their temporality, in complex sentences and across sentences, that is, at the discourse level.

2. On the functional complexity of SR clauses

Reference tracking devices consist of mechanisms that allow the (re)identification of a particular referent by distinguishing it from other referents co-present in the universe of speech (Lehmann 2015: 9). Some languages use what is called a *switch-reference system* as a device that signals referential continuity, or a lack of referential continuity between clauses. The canonical definition of this system is that it is “an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verbs.” (Haiman and Munro 1983: ix). This system aims to resolve the tracking of co-present referents in a complex sentence and it is encoded as a morphosyntactic category that indicates,

within the verb, whether there is continuity or discontinuity between the referents of the linked clauses.

In SR systems, a *marked clause* (MC), following Stirling's terminology (Stirling 1993), carries the SR marker and is usually a dependent clause, while the *controlling clause* (CC) is usually the main clause. The prominent arguments in the MC and CC are often referred to as the *pivots*. In a canonical SR system the *pivots* are the syntactic subjects of the MC and CC (Stirling 1993: 6). Most commonly, the interpretation of the pivot in the MC is referentially dependent of the person marking expressed in the main clause, that acts as the *controller* of the reference.

The typological study of SR systems has led to subsequent revisions of the canonical definition based exclusively on the marking of coreference or split reference between the syntactic subjects of linked clauses. Examples of these revisions are the works of Stirling (1993) and van Gijn and Hammond (2016). These studies were based on the observation that there exists a substantial amount of data from different languages around the world that cannot be accounted for by the conventional definition. Haiman and Munro (1983) previously referred to these data as “unexpected” or “exotic”, suggesting that a reevaluation of the system's definition could provide an explanation for them.

Based on the information presented above, it has been observed in different languages that the nature of the relation between the SR pivots can vary. The events in each linked clause have their own parameters, which are also related, such as location, time, and reality status, and not only referents. These parameters have been shown to be important in distinguishing between continuity and discontinuity situations in at least some SR systems worldwide (van Gijn and Hammond 2016: 19). In some languages, the SR marking responds to the relation between the syntactic function of the NPs of the clauses, as predicted by the canonical definition; in others, it can also be driven by their semantic roles, such as the actor, or pragmatic roles, such as the topic (van Gijn and Hammond 2016). Simultaneously, languages usually express different semantic relations between clauses through SR systems: temporal relations (anteriority/simultaneity), logical or epistemic relations (expectation, causality, condition, or contrast), contrast relations or general discontinuity, and even aspectual information (contrasts between

progressive/completive, usual/unusual, etc.). Therefore, SR systems are considered to be functionally complex. This is summarized by Stirling (1993: 11), who states: “Rather than seeing switch-reference as a way of ensuring certain indexing relations between NPs, I propose that we see it as giving information about the clause, via giving information about the verb.” The functional complexity of these systems lies in the fact that referential continuity is only one of their subfunctions as it can provide information regarding the congruence between eventualities (Stirling 1993: van Gijn and Hammond 2016). It should also be noted that this functional complexity is similar in all languages in which this system is present.

Regarding the issue of temporal marking in SR clauses, SR markers can contribute to temporal interpretation in interclausal relations. Relative tense interpretation is the most frequent in SR clauses, and a sequential meaning is usually contrasted with simultaneity (Stirling 1993: 40). Thus, as identified by Stirling, eventuality in the MC is never posterior to that in the CC. In practice, a distinction is usually made between simultaneity and anteriority. Henceforth, SR systems, which provide information about the clause as a whole, are usually closely linked to both the marking of nominal (referential) and temporal meanings, being able to indicate relative nominal reference (vs. absolute reference) and relative tense (vs. absolute tense) (Stirling 1993: 40). In these terms, the functional complexity of these systems encompasses cases found in many languages where a discontinuity marker connects coreferential clauses, meaning clauses with identical subjects. Considering the close link between referential and temporal meanings, a discontinuity marker could indicate a temporal discrepancy between the events rather than a lack of coreferentiality between the NPs.

It has been shown that SR clauses can perform different discursive functions. Thus, the SR marker establishes, in addition to a relation between clauses at the sentence level, a relation between broader units of discourse. According to van Gijn (2016), there is no systematic research to date on the contextual use of SR clauses; however, prototypically, these clauses seem to be more frequent in longer conversational turns that include narratives than in conversations with shorter turns including fewer connected clauses. The context in which these clauses appear in a language is of importance, according to Stirling (1993), to explain the intricate ways

in which they interact with the broader discursive structure. It has been noted that SR clauses can play a role when other discourse factors outweigh the resolution of the referential identity. In this regard, references to interactions between SR systems and discourse organization can be found for North American languages, such as Eastern Pomo (Stirling 1993), Papuan languages, such as Amele (Stirling 1993), Foré (Longacre 2007, cited in van Gijn et al. 2014) or Kombai (de Vries 2005), Oceanic languages, such as Lenakel (Stirling 1993) or Whitesands (Hammond 2016), and languages from South America, such as in the Quechua family (Stirling 1993, Juanatey 2019), Yurakaré (van Gijn 2016) or Pano languages (Zariquiey 2018), among others.

Some discourse contexts that may trigger the appearance of clauses with SR markers are temporary changes or breaks of place, points of view, or simply the formal marking of textual limits. In these situations, it is possible, for example, to use a discontinuity marker despite the existence of local coreference in order to indicate a break in discourse. Moreover, SR clauses can anticipate a contrast or signal continuity/change in the cohesive sequence of events; for example, they can anticipate surprising events or changes in the development of a narrative, as in Amele (Papuan language), where ‘unexpected’ SR marking determines changes in the situation rather than a change in referents (Stirling 1993: 115). In contrast, in central Pomo (Pomoan family), for example, it has been observed that the identity marker can signal that the events form a coherent thematic sequence (cf. Mithun 1993, cited in van Gijn 2016: 35). In turn, SR clauses in some languages allow the discourse to be divided into contrastive portions with different topics or the same topic. An unexpected discontinuity marker can anticipate a change in the protagonist or a protagonist that is difficult to access, whereas a chain of clauses with continuity markers can indicate the high topicality of a participant in that discursive fragment.

Some reference tracking devices, such as SR markers, contribute to thematic coherence as a whole, in addition to participant tracking. Taking up the words of Givón (2001: 328), *coherence* can be defined heuristically as ‘continuity’, that is, “coherence is the continuity or recurrence of some element(s) across a contiguous span of multi-propositional discourse.” Some elements that can recur within a discourse fragment are referents, locations, temporality, aspectuality, modality, perspective (narrative

voice), and actions/events. All these elements fall within the spectrum of thematic coherence.

In summary, at discourse level and from a typological perspective, SR systems tend to cover a spectrum of functions, with the indication of reference (dis)continuity between clauses being only one of them.

3. Santiago Quichua and the Quechua family

Santiago Quichua is a language of the southern branch of the Quechua family (see Figure 1). Along with the Quechua of Jujuy, the now in disuse La Rioja and Catamarca Quichua, and the Cusco-Bolivian Quechua brought by migrants, it is one of the Quechua languages spoken in Argentina. Santiago Quichua is spoken in the province of Santiago del Estero (northwest) and, due to internal migration, in the larger cities of the country, like Buenos Aires city. It is a language with substantial vitality with Spanish-Quichua bilingual speakers of all ages. Without census data available, it is estimated that there are around 150,600 bilingual speakers (Albarracín 2016, 304).

Quechua languages have an agglutinative and suffixing morphology with a nominative-accusative alignment. They present a prolific case system. Case is marked on nouns and adjectives. The verb can take different suffixes to indicate time, aspect, mood, evidentiality, increase and reduction of valence, and some directional suffixes - not very productive in Santiago. Finally, enclitics can be added to verbs and nouns to express evidentiality, modality, topic/focus, negation, or question.

The sentence usually follows the SOV order, and, in complex sentences, the dependent clause generally precedes the main clause. However, Santiago Quichua presents a significant variation in these orders that has not yet been studied.



Figure 1. Geographical distribution of the Quechua family and Santiago Quichua (Adapted from Adelaar and Muysken 2004, 169)²

² Note: The adapted map includes modifications, such as added labels, highlighted areas, to improve its clarity and relevance to the current study.

Nominalization is applied to verbal roots for lexical derivation and is the main strategy for the expression of dependent clauses. As is the case with all NPs, most dependent clauses can carry possessive and case suffixes (cf. Juanatey 2022 for the distinction between nominalized clauses and lexical items in Santiago Quichua). The possessive suffix is used to express the subject, while the case suffix signals the clause's syntactic function. An SR system is present in some dependent clauses in Quechua languages. See the following examples from Santiago Quichua.

(5) Referent continuity

[_____i *yacha-spa* *kutis-ni-yki*] *ancha-mi*
 know-CONT permanence-EUPH-POSS.2SG very-VAL

kusi-ku-ni_i

happiness-RFL-1SG

‘Knowing_i about your presence makes me_j very happy.’

(6) Referent discontinuity

[*volya-pti-yki_i*] *tiya-n_j* *cuida-na-paq*
 return-DISC-POSS.2SG COP.LOC-3SG take.care-FUT.NMLZ-BEN

uywa-s-ta

animal-PL-ACC

‘When you_i come back, there will be animals_j to take care of.’

The examples above are adverbial dependent clauses. In (5), an excerpt from an interview, the subjects of the two linked clauses are coreferential, therefore the predicate of the dependent clause has a marker of continuity of reference, the suffix *-spa*. The interpretation of the reference is controlled by referential information in the main verb, the first-person marking *-ni*. On the other hand, in (6), an example from a monological text, a lack of reference to the subject of the main clause is anticipated in the dependent clause. This discontinuity is marked by *-pti*.

Most languages in the Quechua family share similar markers for their SR systems: *-pti* (and variants such as *-qti* or *-ti* in Santiago) for discontinuity and *-spa* (and variants such as *-shpa*) to indicate reference continuity.

Within the Quechua family, the marker for the same subject interclausal relation shows variation. Thus, in the languages of Central Perú, the most common marker for interclausal coreference relations is *-r* (or *-l*), although, for example, Huallaga Quechua within this same branch

presents two forms: *-shpa* and *-r* (Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 189, 225). Some southern Quechua languages also use two referential continuity markers, such as Ayacucho Quechua, where in addition to the suffix *-spa*, there is also *-sti(n)* (Cerrón-Palomino 2003). Finally, Santiago Quichua also uses the form *-s* in addition to *-spa* for some coreferential contexts. The distinction between the pair of suffixes that express same subject event relations, such as *-spa* or *-s* (and its variants in other languages, such as *-shpa* or *-r*), seems to be complex in most Quechua languages, and their semantic distinctions and overlaps are different throughout the language family. In Santiago Quichua, constructions marked with *-s* specialize in closer semantic relations between events, such as adverbial modification (mainly manner, means, phase, and position). I have described this suffix as a converb (see Juanatey 2020). Although both *-s* and *-spa* can indicate same subject relation, constructions with these suffixes are not always semantically and syntactically comparable (see Juanatey 2020 and Juanatey 2021 for a deeper understanding of the differences and some linguistic changes that affected these constructions). Therefore, since this work focuses on the SR system – *-pti* and *-spa* – sentences with the converb *-s* will not be addressed again.

In Santiago Quichua the SR system is present in some adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses marked by this system express events that are less integrated into the event of the main clause, such as sequential events, concession, condition, circumstance and causal clauses. In the examples above, (5) is a causal proposition and (6) expresses a circumstantial/sequential relation between the events. These clauses show various features of nominalization or syntactic reduction. On the one hand, they are nominalized insofar as they do not admit verb tense suffixes but instead express relative tense regarding the marking of the finite verb forms in the main clause, mostly anteriority or simultaneity (never posteriority). On the other hand, the expression of the subject argument is also typical of nominalized constructions. Clauses with *-pti* require explicit marking of the subject using the possessive nominal person paradigm. Whereas in *-spa* clauses, the subject arguments are interpreted thanks to a controller in the main clause, and therefore, no possessive marker is needed in the subordinate clause. This is discussed in Section 5.1. Finally, unlike other dependent clauses that are more affected by the nominalization process, SR clauses do not allow case marking (see

Juanatey 2020 for a detailed explanation of the interclausal syntactic-semantic integration hierarchies in the language).

4. Methodological remarks

This study was based on primary data obtained from fieldwork and secondary sources. The primary data was collected in field trips. Since 2015, three field trips were conducted to Santiago del Estero, along with multiple trips to the western and southern areas of Buenos Aires city. A total of 8 consultants were contacted in Santiago del Estero, and 5 in Buenos Aires. The consultants were adults from various age groups, including a younger cohort aged between 22 and 45 years, as well as an elderly group ranging from 60 to 90 years old. Regular consultation meetings, transcription, translation, and analysis were conducted with two consultants in Buenos Aires. Additionally, virtual consultation sessions were established with a consultant from Santiago del Estero during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown.

The textual corpus obtained through fieldwork encompasses narrations of personal experiences, traditional topics (e.g., fables and myths), spontaneous conversations, instructional texts, songs, interviews, and, to a lesser extent, elicitation of sentences. On the other hand, the secondary sources corpus primarily consists of texts from anthologies of literature (both oral and written) and poems/songs from various traditional music genres. These sources are the most commonly available publications in the language. The complete textual corpus comprises 29 texts totaling 952 sentences.

A comprehensive analysis of the general characteristics of the referential expressions was carried out on the corpus texts by identifying the nominal expressions that constitute mentions of referents in order to distinguish their introduction for the first time in the discourse, and its tracking throughout the text. From this corpus, 85 instances of complex sentences involving SR morphology were analyzed. Throughout this paper, examples of this selected set of sentences are provided. Examples without source indications are drawn from the fieldwork corpus. Subsequently, a detailed survey was conducted on complex sentences with SR markers in the corpus. The SR sentences were classified according to how the

continuity of the referents involved develops towards the previous and subsequent discourse contexts, and what the temporal relation is between the related clauses. For each SR clause, the form of marking, its position in the sentence (preposed/postposed), and its location in the text sections or episodes were identified.

The entire corpus was organized and analyzed using ELAN (2022), which allows transcription from videos and audio, as well as the annotation of different types of information (phonological, grammatical, ethnographic, etc.) previously synchronized with the audio/video.

5. Functional complexity of SR clauses in Santiago Quichua

The distribution of SR markers in most languages of the Quechua family, including Santiago Quichua, responds to certain basic factors already pointed out by Cerrón-Palomino (2003: 278): (i) the ability of these suffixes to indicate identity or lack of identity between the subject of the MC and that of the CC, (ii) the ability to bear personal (nominal) morphology, and (iii) the temporal relation the suffixes establish with the tense expressed in the CC. In the following sections, I will describe the solution given by SR clauses in Santiago Quichua to the reference tracking of singular and plural referents (i; Section 5.1), and will provide some specifics on the relative tense relationship between the MC and the CC (iii; Section 5.2. After reviewing these two functions individually (the marking of referential and temporal (dis)continuity) and as a consequence of their interaction, Section 5.3 will exemplify the impact that the SR system has on discursive coherence. This last aspect, scarcely studied in Quechua languages in general, allows us to obtain a broader perspective on the use of SR clauses.

5.1. Reference tracking

Regarding the tracking of referents, as indicated for examples (5) and (6) above, *-pti* generally indicates discontinuity whereas *-spa* indicates continuity of subject referents. See also examples (7) and (8) below.

- (7) *[mañero-ta_i _____j tari-spa]* *detenido-ta pusamu-ø_i-y_j*
 rustler-ACC find-CONT detained-ACC bring animated-OBJ.3-IMP.2SG
 ‘When you_i find the rustler, bring him_j into custody.’ (Tebes 2009: 254)

- (8) *[inti_i yayku-chka-pti-ni_j] rikuri-sa ka-ra-ø_j suk*
 sun enter-PROG-DISC-POSS.3SG appear-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG one
cabritu_j
 goatling
 ‘As the sun_i was settin,g, a goatling_j appeared.’ (Estudiantes de 4to año A y B
 (Fourth-year students, classes A and B), 2018, 12)

However, the last two examples only involve the tracking of singular referents. When one or both subjects are plural, a referential overlap or inclusion relation may exist between the two. On this topic, languages of the world and Quechua languages differ on how SR systems deal with inclusion or overlap between referents (Stirling 1993: 35). Although this matter had never been studied for Santiago Quichua before, there are some insights available into other languages of the Quechua family, such as Huallaga Quechua. In Huallaga Quechua, continuity marking is only allowed in the case of identical referents, as shown in (9). In example (9), although a first-person singular is included in a first-person plural, the corresponding marking is that of discontinuity. This happens whether the referent included is in the CC, as in (9), or in the MC, as shown in (10). For languages such as Huallaga Quechua, continuity marking is not used for inclusive reference cases.

- (9) Quechua Huallaga (Weber 1980: 53)
[chaya-pti-nchi_i] qoyku-ø-shaq_j
 arrive-DISC-1PL.INCL give-OBJ.3SG-FUT.1SG
 ‘When we (inclusive)_i get there, I_j will give it to you.’

- (10) Quechua Huallaga (Weber 1980: 53)
[qam-ta apari-pti-:i-pis] mana-m chaya-shun_j-chu
 2SG-ACC bring-DISC-1SG-ADD NEG-VAL arrive-FUT.1PL.INCL-NEG
 ‘Even if I_i take you, we_j (inclusive) will not get there.’

Unlike the case of Huallaga Quechua, Stirling (1993: 37) suggests that the most frequent situation in SR systems is continuity marking in cases in which the referent in the NP within the MC properly includes the referent in the CC ($\{NP.CM\} \supset \{NP.CC\}$). Santiago Quichua follows this same behavior: in order to indicate referential continuity, some speakers use the marker *-spa* in cases of inclusion of the MC subject in that of the CC. In other words, the continuity marker *-spa* can be used when the referent in

the MC includes the CC referent, as can be seen in example (11), repeated from example (4).

- (11) [_____{i,j} *kutis tinku-naku-spa*] *yacha-chi-saq_j*
 again meet-RCP-CONT.TOP know-CAUS-FUT.1SG
 ‘When we/reciprocally_{i,j} meet I_j will teach (you).’

The first-person singular referent is expressed in the verb of the CC (*yachachisaq* ‘I will teach you’) and is included in the first-person plural reference of the pivot in the MC (‘when [we] meet’), so it is possible to indicate referential continuity using the suffix *-spa*.

I have identified this usage primarily by older speakers (the example above was reported by a nonagenarian man during an interview). However, the younger speakers consulted understand its use, although they probably prefer the discontinuity marker *-pti* for these cases. This variation can be observed in the following examples. The first example (12) is taken from a Quichua version of the Bible from 1978 (SIL 1988: 20, in Tebes and Karlovich 2010: 331). The second example (13) was written in 2012 by a 20-year-old as part of journey chronicle (Guillín et al. 2012: 72).

- (12) [*mar-ta* _____{i,j} *cruza-spa*] *jesús puñu-s* *kute-ra-ø_j*
 sea-ACC cross-CONT Jesus sleep-CVB remain-PST-3SG
 ‘When they_{i,j} were crossing the sea, Jesus_j fell asleep.’
- (13) [*viaja-s* *ri-pti-yku_{i,j}*] *suk muchachu_j* *puño-q*
 travel-CVB ir-DISC-POSS.1PL.EXCL one boy sleep-NMLZ
 kute-ra-ø_j *simi-n_j* *kichari-s*
 COP-PST-3SG mouth-POSS.3SG open-STAT.NMLZ
 ‘When we_{i,j} were traveling, a boy_j slept with his mouth open.’

In example (12) the pivot referent of the CM is the third-person plural (that can be recovered from the previous discursive context). The continuity marker *-spa* expresses the inclusion of the referent of the CM (‘when [they] were crossing’) in that of the CC (‘Jesús fell asleep’). This is how Mario Cayetano Tebes (†), a senior native speaker and highly prestigious specialist within the community, points it out in his translation into Spanish (Tebes and Karlovich 2010: 331). In example (13), instead, the younger speaker chooses the discontinuity marker *-pti* to differentiate a plural referent from an individual that is part of the set.

On the other hand, in example (14) below, the first-person referent in the MC (*waa kaptiy* ‘when I was a child’) is included in the first person plural referent of the CC (‘we didn’t speak’), therefore, referential continuity is not maintained. The same can be seen in example (15), elicited. In this case, there is a relation between a third-person singular in the CM (‘when he lived there’) and a third-person plural in the CC, which includes the referent of the CM (‘we didn’t speak in Quichua at school’). This relation is indicated by the discontinuity marker *-pti*.

- (14) *[waa ka-pti-y_i]* *escuela-pi* *kichwa-p* *mana*
 child COP-DISC-POSS.1SG school-LOC Quichua-LOC NEG
rima-ra-yku_{i,j}
 speak-PST-1PL.EXCL
 ‘When I_j was a child, we_{i,j} didn’t speak in Quichua at school.’
- (15) *[chay-pi* *kawsa-q* *ka-pti-n_j]* *tinku-nako-q*
 DEM.MED-LOC live-NMLZ COP-DISC-3SG meet-RCP-NMLZ
ka-sa *ka-ra-nku_{i,j}* *vecinu-s-wan_{i,j}* *canta-q*
 COP-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3PL neighbor-PL-COM sing-NMLZ
 ‘When he_j lived there, they_{i,j} used to get together with their neighbors to sing.’

In short, the language allows the continuity marking *-spa* in the case of coreference $\{NP.MC\} = \{NP.CC\}$, as seen in (7), or in cases of inclusion of the referent of the CC in the referent of the MC $\{NP.MC\} \supset \{NP.CC\}$, as in (11). In all the other cases, the *-pti* discontinuity marker is required. The fact that some younger speakers do not choose the first one as the default option suggests that we are seeing a change in process in the SR system.

5.2. Temporal relation

As seen in the previous section, the syntactic relation between subjects allows us to describe most clauses with SR markers surveyed in Santiago Quichua. However, previous studies have already shown that it is possible to find cases in which the suffix *-pti* establishes a relation between clauses with coreferential subject expressions (*see* Alderetes 2001: 182; Albarracín 2016: 69, 94). The same was pointed out by Cerrón-Palomino for other Quechua languages, such as Huanca, Ancashino or Ecuadorian (2003: 210). Unfortunately, these studies did not include examples or references

to studies of these cases. As presented here, in Santiago Quichua, the choice of SR markers can be based on the temporal relation of the events, even if the tracking of syntactic subjects fails.

SR markers in Quechua languages generally introduce dependent adverbial clauses that show a relative temporal relation with the tense expressed in the CC. Consequently, the suffix *-pti* can indicate an anterior adverbial relation (e.g., ‘after that...’), while the clauses with *-spa* usually express simultaneity or a slightly anterior relation (e.g., ‘while...’). This can be seen in the examples below, (16), elicited, and (17), from Santiago Quichua.

- (16) *[lloqsi-pti-y]* *amu-sa* *ka-ra-ø* *á*
 exit-DISC-POSS.1SG come-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG AS
 ‘She/he came after I left.’
- (17) *[y urayku-spa]* *chá* *ramas*
 and go.down-CONT DEM.MED branches
lloqa-sqa-nkuna-ta *piti-s* *ri-sa* *ka-ra-ø*
 climb-STAT.3PL-ACC cut-CVB go-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG
 ‘And as he went down, he cut the branches they had climbed up.’
 (Tebes 2009: 29)

In (16), as in all SR clauses in Santiago Quichua, the adverbial clause does not bear a tense marker, but an SR discontinuity marker: *-pti*. The event referred to in the MC is interpreted as being prior to the event of the CC, whose verb is marked as past tense (periphrastic form with an auxiliary verb in the past). In contrast, in example (17), events of the adverbial clause and the CC occur simultaneously. This can be interpreted thanks to the continuity marker *-spa* in the dependent clause.

The SR markers in examples (16) and (17) are also markers of referential discontinuity/continuity between the subjects of each clause. In other words, they are ‘canonical’ examples of SR clauses. On the other hand, example (18), as repeated from (3) above, presents a ‘problematic’ referential interpretation, since there is no tracking of the subject referents; that is, *-pti* does not anticipate a change in subject, the *musician* being the only referent in the whole clause.

- (18) *[musiquero_i na pishi-s_i tiya-pti-n_i]*
 musician already tired-STAT.NMLZ COP.LOC-DISC-POSS.3SG
ni-sa ka-ra-ø_i uku-n_i-man [...]
 say-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG inside-POSS.3SG-DIR
 ‘When the musician_i was already tired, he_i said to himself [...].’
 (Tevez 2016: 519)

In this example, the MC depicts a situation (the fact of being tired) that took place or developed over a period prior to the event mentioned in the CC (to think, to say to himself). This temporal discontinuity is indicated by the *-pti* marker and is reinforced by the adverb *na* ‘already’, even though they are both clauses with identical subjects.

Although *-pti* usually anticipates a change of referent in the CC, the fact of necessarily carrying an independent personal marking (nominal possessive suffix) also enables constructions with this marker to establish interclausal relations to coreferent subject NPs, as in (17) above and (19) below.

- (19) *qallare-ra-ni_i [shoqta wata-s api-pti-y_i]*
 start-PST-1SG six years-PL have-DISC-POSS.1SG
 ‘I_i started when I_i was (already) six years old.’ (Guillín et al. 2012: 59)

In (19), *apiptiy* (‘when I had’) in the MC includes the first person nominal possessive suffix *-y*, while the finite verb in the CC *qallararani* (‘I started’) also holds the first-person verbal marking *-ni*.

Unlike the examples showing the discontinuity marker, in example (20b) below, the continuity marker *-spa* is used, even though there is a referential subject discontinuity.

- (20) a. *ni-nku_i* *puri-sqa-n_j-ta* *suk* *mula_j*
 say-3PL go.around-STAT.NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ACC one mule
kimsa *chaki-s-ni-yoq* *pueblo-pi* _____j *ronda-s [...]*
 three foot-PL-EUPH-PROP town-LOC haunt-CVB
 ‘They_i said that a three-legged mule_j was roaming around the village.’
- b. *[punku-ta* _____i *kichari-spa]* *ka-sa* *ka-ra-ø_j*
 door-ACC open-CONT COP-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG
mula_j *kimsa* *chaki-oq*
 mule three foot-PROP
 ‘As soon as they_i open the door, the three-legged mule_j appears.’
 (Estudiantes de 4to año A y B (Fourth-year students, classes A and B),
 2018: 8)

Example (20) is an extract from a written story of extraordinary events (a genre called *caso* o *sucedido*). The translation is provided in the bilingual publication by the authors themselves. The pivot subject in the MC in (20a) refers to the people in the village mentioned in the previous context, and ‘the mule’ refers to a mythological creature. The marker *-spa* indicates a temporal overlap of events, ‘to open’ and ‘to exist/to appear’, where the immediacy between the occurrence of both events is emphasized.

Clauses with *-spa* do not allow morphological person marking (unlike constructions with *-pti*); however, I have observed different strategies to replenish the referents of non-coreferential subjects when these clauses are involved in a different subject interclausal relation, as markers of temporal continuity. Thus, each clause may have an explicit NP as subject, such as *cha hombre* (‘that man’_i) and *noqayku* (‘we [exclusive]’_j) in (21) below. On the other hand, in (22), an extract of an interview, the interpretation of the pivot in the MC is given by the previous context (22a), which allows to recover the reference to the first-person singular referent. This is also the case in example (20) above.

- (21) *[cha* *hombre_i* *chaya-spa]* *noqayku_j* *mula-n_i-ta_k*
 DEM.MED man arrive-CONT 1PL.EXCL mule-POSS.3SG-ACC
larga-po-ø_i-q *ri-yku_j*
 release-APPL-OBJ.3SG-NMLZ go-1PL.EXCL
 ‘As soon as/when that man_i arrives, we_j are going to release the mule_k (to him).’
 (Guillín et al. 2012: 69)

- (22) a. *noqa_i nace-ra-ni_i Buenos.Aires-pi*
 1SG born-PST-1SG Buenos.Aires-LOC
 ‘I_i was born in Buenos Aires.’
- b. *[kay-p ______i kawsa-spa ina] shoqta wata-s_j*
 DEM.PROX-LOC live-CONT yet six year-PL
ruwa-ku-n_j
 make-RFL-3SG
 ‘While I_i was still living there, six years_j passed.’

Under what circumstances or in what contexts the possibility of pointing out temporal relations is superimposed on the expression of (dis)continuity between referents is an issue that must be explored further. However, my preliminary impression, based on the available data, is that this happens when the typical temporal relation expressed by the SR clauses needs to be taken to an ‘extreme’. For instance, if there is discursive pressure to express the complete overlap between events (e.g., ‘as soon as...’), the choice of *-spa* will prevail even if the subject referents in each clause are different. Otherwise, if the temporal distance between the events is significant, that is, if one event happens long before the other, then the speaker may choose the discontinuity marker *-pti* even if the subjects are identical. However, these choices seem to interact with other discursive-pragmatic factors as mentioned below.

5.3. Discourse function

As seen in the previous sections of this paper, SR clauses in Santiago Quichua facilitate referential and temporal tracking at the sentence level; however, their distribution can also respond to issues regarding the continuity/discontinuity of the elements at the discourse level. In particular, preposed SR adverbial clauses can act as aids in reference tracking and thematic coherence in previous and subsequent contexts. In other words, the fact that SR markers impact the tracking of referents and the temporal relation between related events implies that they play an important role in maintaining discourse coherence.

In Santiago Quichua, SR clauses marked with the suffix *-pti* may allow the recovery of the previous context and anticipate, at the same time, some changes in the subsequent discourse, whether these relate to referents,

episodes or the temporality of related events. In particular, corpus data show that the main function of clauses with the discontinuity marker in Santiago Quichua is to create breaks in the narrative. When confronted with an SR clause with *-pti*, the hearer/reader expects a significant change in the subsequent context, affecting one or more elements of discourse coherence. In the following example (Tevez 2016: 519), the clause with the discontinuity marker *na pangarias amuptin* ‘when the dawn was coming’ introduces a new circumstance that will frame the events of the complication of the story. That is when dawn finds the character – a musician who wants to get to the mythical place of La Salamanca³ – lost in the forest.

³ La Salamanca is a mythical space located in the forest, to which people go because they wish to acquire gifts (such as the ability to play music, dance, etc.). Owing to its considerable complexity, I redirect the reader to find a complete description written by Karlovich, in Sosa [1953] (2020).

- (23) a. *chaymantá alli-t descansá-s na marcha-naa-n*
 After.TOP good-ADVR rest-CVB already leave-DES-3SG
tiya-pti-n ni-sa ka-ra-ø ima-paq
 COP.LOC-DISC-POSS.3SG say-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG what-BEN
chaya-saq salamanca-pé
 arrive-FUT.1SG Salamanca-LOC.TOP
 ‘After resting well and when he already wanted to leave, he said “Why
 am I going to Salamanca? I’m going back.”’
- b. *na pangaria-s amu-pti-n pishqo-s*
 already dawn-CVB come-DISC-POSS.3SG bird-PL
na paa-q pure-ra-nku
 already fly-NMLZ walk-PST-3PL
 ‘When the dawn was coming, the birds were already flying.’
- c. *suk puyu ancha yana anaq-manta ura-ko-ra-ø y*
 one cloud very black above-ABL go.down-RFL-PST-3SG and
chay-lla-pi alli-t lea-sa ka-ra-ø
 DEM.MED-EXCL-LOC good-ADVR cover-STAT.NMLZ
urma-chi-sa ka-ra-ø y uma-n
 fall-CAUS-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG and head-POSS.3SG
muyu-pu-ø-sa ka-ra-ø
 spin-APPL-OBJ.3-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG
 ‘A black cloud from above came down and it covered him well and made
 him fall and it made his head spin.’

Example (24) provides the same SR sentence shown in (18), but in its discourse context. This is the same story as in example (23) (Tevez 2016: 519). Once the main character is lost in the forest, he encounters a group of tigers. The musician tries to avoid being eaten by the animals by playing his violin.

- (24) a. *uturungu qayll:ita-pi amu-pti-n na*
tiger close:DIM-LOC come-DISC-POSS.3SG already
api-naa-s miku-na-n-paq qallari-sa
take-DES-CVB eat-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-BEN start-NMLZ
ka-ra-ø uyari-chi-y-ta
COP-PST-3SG listen-CAUS-INF-ACC
‘When the tiger came close to grab him to eat, he began to play music.’
- b. *chay-lla-pi ká animal tiyaku-sa*
DEM.MED-EXCL-LOC DEM.PROX animal sit-STAT.NMLZ
ka-ra-ø uyari-s musica-ta ancha gusta-pu-ø-n
COP-PST-3SG listen-CVB music-ACC very like-APPL-OBJ.3-3SG
‘The animal sat down to listen to the music which he liked very much.’
- c. *tanta-naku-s amu-sa ka-ra-nku astaan uturungu-s*
gather-RCP-CVB come-NMLZ COP-PST-3PL very tiger-PL
mutki-s qari-ta
sniff-CVB man-ACC
‘Gathering, a group of tigers came, sniffing the man.’
- d. *uyari-s musica-ta tiyaku-sa ka-ra-nku*
listen-CVB music-ACC sit-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3PL
uyari-naa-s violin-ta waqa-pti-n
listen-DES-CVB violin-ACC play-DISC-POSS.3SG
‘They sat down listening to the sound of the violin.’
- e. ***musiquero na pishi-s***
musician already be.tired-STAT.NMLZ
tiya-pti-n
COP.LOC-DISC-POSS.3SG
ni-sa ka-ra-ø
say-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG
uku-n-man la.pucha kay-kuna mana
inside-POSS.3SG-DIR EXCLM DEM.PROX-PL NEG
kuyuri-nku noqa sayqu-sqa tiya-ni ishkay
move-3PL 1SG be.tired-STAT.NMLZ COP.LOC-1SG two
hora-s-ta uyari-che-ra-ni ri-ni suk
hour-PL-ACC listen-CAUS-PST-1SG go-1SG one
ratitu-ta saya-ko-q y samako-q
little.while-ADVR lie-RFL-NMLZ and rest-NMLZ
‘When the musician was already tired, he said to himself: Oh my! These don’t move. I’m already tired. I have already been playing for two hours. I’m going to rest for a little while.’

- f. *chura-sa* *ka-ra-ø* *allpa-pi* *violin-ta* *y*
 put-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG ground-LOC violin-ACC and
chay-lla-pi *tukuy uturungu-s* *atari-sa*
 DEM.MED-EXCL-LOC every tiger-PL get.up-STAT.NMLZ
ka-ra-nku *api-naa-s* *ká* *qari-ta*
 COP-PST-3PL grab-DES-CVB DEM.PROX man-ACC
 ‘He put the violin on the floor, and immediately all the tigers got up to grab this man.’

The translation is the one given by the author himself, Héctor René ‘Corocho’ Tevez, and in a second approach, an anonymous consultant provided the same translation. At the sentence level, as seen in (17), the MC (*musiquero na pishis tiaptin...*, ‘When the musician was already tired’) depicts a situation that developed over a period of time prior to the event mentioned in the CC (*nisa kara ukunman...* ‘he said to himself...’). The choice of the discontinuity marker *-pti* is unexpected, as far as the syntactic relation between the referents is concerned. In a broader context, the MC redirects the hearer/reader to the previous situation: ‘the musician, in order not to be eaten, played for so long that he got tired’. An SR clause with the discontinuity marker generates a break from the previous context and indicates an episodic limit. At this point, the musician decides to stop playing, so the situation changes, and the tigers approach to attack him.

On the other hand, an SR clause with the suffix *-spa* expresses the continuity of the elements of discourse coherence. In general, I have noticed that clauses with *-spa* allow to follow or resume instances of a process, for example, the stages of a procedure or a repetition of actions. Therefore, it is more frequent that, in constructions involving clauses with *-spa*, there is a continuity of both referents and temporalities. This is why it is more difficult to find ‘exotic’ examples in a text corpus, such as examples (20) to (22), i.e., cases without referential continuity at the sentence level. Because of the above, the following examples show the prototypical discourse function of the continuity marker, not ‘exotic’ examples.

The following example is taken from a text compiled by Domingo Bravo in 1961 (Bravo 1966: 65), in which a woman recounts her

housework routine. It can be seen that the clauses with continuity markers *-spa* in (25b) and (25c) concatenate the different successive actions carried out by the same participant (the women). Each clause of SR (*amuspaqa* ‘when I return’ and *cha ruwanata ruaspaga* ‘when I finish that chore’) retrieves the previous context and introduces it as a circumstance for the following event.

- (25) a. [...]
 chaymantá *ri-ni* *bolichu-man*
 after.TOP go-1SG market-DIR
 cuér:itu-n-ta *apa-s*
 leather:DIM-POSS.3SG-ACC bring.inanimate-CVB
 ‘Then I go to the market carrying the leather.’
- b. *y* *después* *amu-spa-qa* *ruwa-pu-ø-ku-ni*
 and after come-CONT-TOP make-APPL-OBJ.3-PL-1SG
 waa-s-ni-y-paq *comida-t*
 child-PL-EUPH-POSS.1SG-BEN food-ACC
 ‘Later, when I come back, I make food for my children.’
- c. *cha* *ruwa-na-tá* *ruwa-spa-qa*
 DEM.MED make-FUT.NMLZ-ACC.TOP make-CONT-TOP
 na *kutis ri-na-y* *tiya-n*
 already again go-FUT.NMLZ-POSS.1SG COP.LOC-3SG
 cabra-s-ni-y-man
 goat-PL-EUPH-POSS.1SG-DIR
 ‘As soon as I finish doing that chore I have to go again for my goats.’

See the next example retrieved from a fable (Tebes and Karlovich 2006: 214).

- (26) a. *api-s* *vejiga-ta* *unta-chi-sa* *ka-ra-ø*
 grab-CVB bladder-ACC fill-CAUS-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG
 ‘(The fox) grabbing (the flies) had filled (the cow’s) bladder.’
- b. *unta-chi-spá* *chaguarsitu-t* *kuyu-s*
fill-CAUS-CONT.TOP small.rope-ACC twist-CVB
vejiga-t *simi-n-ta* *wata-pu-ø-s* [...]
 bladder-ACC mouth-POSS.3SG-ACC tie.up-APPL-OBJ.3-CVB
chupa-n-pi *wata-pu-ø-sa* *ka-ra-ø*
 tale-POS.3SG-LOC tie.up-APPL-OBJ.3-STAT.NMLZ COP-PST-3SG
 ‘When he filled it, he twisted a small rope, tied its mouth, [...] and tied it up on the (tiger’s) tail.’
- c. *wata-pu-ø-spá* *ni-pu-ø-sa*
tie.up-APPL-OBJ.3-CONT.TOP say-APPL-OBJ.3-STAT.NMLZ
ka-ra-ø *tiu-y* *comisión* *amu-n*
 COP-PST-3SG uncle-POSS.1SG police come-3SG
 ‘When he tied it up, he said (to the tiger): Uncle, the police are coming!’

In this episode, the fox sets up a trap for the tiger, because the tiger would not let him eat the cow’s meat. As can be seen, sentences (26b) and (26c) in this fragment start with SR clauses with the suffix *-spa* that retrieve the previous finite predicates (*untachispa* < *untachisa kara*; *watapuspa* < *watapusa kara*).⁴ These are *tail-head linkage constructions*, i.e., preposed adverbial clauses (‘heads’) that retrieve the propositional content of the previous clause (‘tail’) (‘tail-head linkage’, in De Vries 2005 and Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007; or ‘bridging’, in Dixon 2009). In South America, these specific constructions have been studied for Panoan languages (Zariquiey 2018), languages in the Arawak and Tucanoan family (Aikhenvald 2002; Aikhenvald n.d.), Takanan languages (Guillaume 2011), Jivaroan family (Overall 2009), and Jê (Stout and Thomson 1971, cited in Guillaume 2011). They have also been examined in Yurakaré (isolate) (van Gijn 2014), among others (Dixon 2009). In the languages of the Quechua family, tail-head linkage constructions have been identified, for example, in Tarma Quechua (Adelaar 1977), Ingano

⁴ Note that, in addition to this repetition, in each of these SR constructions in both examples (25) and (26), a topic marker (*-qa*) is also added to indicate that the discursive topic is maintained. In Santiago Quichua, the omission of the discursive topic suffix *-qa* is common. The language has a fixed stress on the penultimate syllable, therefore, despite the drop of this last syllable, stress remains in its original place. To see how this marker functions at the discursive level, refer to Juanatey (2020, 129).

from Colombia (Thompson, Longacre and Hwang 2007), Santiago Quechua (Juanatey 2020) and Quechua languages from Ayacucho, Cusco and the Ecuadorian and Peruvian jungle (Juanatey 2019).

In both (25) and (26), the adverbial clauses retake instances or steps of a routine or procedure and at the same time, because they are marked with the continuity suffix *-spa*, they anticipate that said procedure continues in the subsequent context.

6. Conclusion

Stated briefly, SR clauses in Santiago Quichua are constructions that unfold at different levels, sentence level and discourse level, and fulfill a single function: they indicate either continuity or discontinuity of thematic coherence elements. At the syntactic level, SR clauses anticipate the continuity or discontinuity of referents or temporalities. As a consequence, at discourse level they fulfill core functions in discourse organization. In fact, they are frequently involved in tail-head constructions or, even, grammaticalized as discourse markers.

On the one hand, SR clauses containing the suffix *-pti* anticipate a significant change in thematic coherence, be it in relation to referents, temporality or the beginning of a new episode, which may be marked by a change in referents and/or temporality or, respectively, results from these changes. These clauses are located, for example, at the beginning of the complication in a narrative or before an important break in the narrative thread, as in the example of the musician (23)-(24). On the other hand, SR clauses with *-spa* are used in contexts with a high degree of continuity of discourse coherence elements. For example, they can function as links or final clauses in an episode that depicts successive stages of a procedure or itinerary carried out by the same participant simultaneously or at a posterior time, as seen in the text about women's chores (25) or the fable (26).

An explanation of SR clauses in terms of interfaces, such as that proposed in this paper, allows us to have a broader view of a phenomenon generally described in strictly syntactic terms. It is my hope that future studies will also adopt a broader focus that will allow us to recognize new

functions or uses of this rich system in other languages of the Quechua family and region.

Abbreviations

1	First person	FUT	Future
2	Second person	IMP	Imperative
3	Third person	INCL	Inclusive
i, j, ...	Referent identification	INF	Infinitive
ACC	Accusative	LOC	Locative
ADD	Additive	MED	Medial
ADVR	Adverbializer	NEG	Negation
APPL	Applicative	OBJ	Object
AS	Assertive	PL	Plural
BEN	Benefactive	POSS	Possessive
CAUS	Causative	PROG	Progressive
COM	Commitative	PROP	Propriative
CONT	Continuity	PROX	Proximal
COP	Copula verb	PST	Past
CVB	Converb	RCP	Reciprocal
DEM	Demonstrative	RFL	Reflexive
DES	Desiderative	SG	Singular
DIM	Diminutive	STAT	Stative
DIR	Directional	TOP	Discursive
DISC	Discontinuity		topic marker
EUPH	Euphonic	VAL	Validative
EXCL	Exclusive		

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