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Weber, David John

A GRAMMAR OF HUALLAGA (HUANUCO) QUECHUA. (PORTION OF TEXT IN QUECHUA)

University of California, Los Angeles   PH.D.   1983

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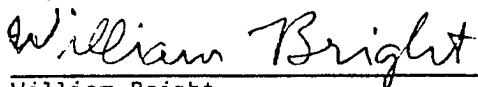
Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philoscphy

in Linguistics

by

David John Weber

1983

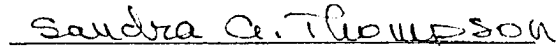The dissertation of David John Weber is approved.

William Bright

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1983

ii

Table of Contents

iii

List of Figures

List of Tables

xx

ABBREVIATIONS

*	unacceptable/ungrammatical/ill-formed
:	length
Ø	null (nothing)
1	first person singular
11	first person plural exclusive
12	first person plural inclusive
2	second person
3	third person
??	question marker
x = >y	(read 'x on y') the subject is x-person, and the object is y-person, e.g., 3 = >2 indicates a third person subject an a second person object.
= >y	the object is y-person, e.g., = >2 indicates that the object is second person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
accom	accompaniment
adv	adverbial(izer)
asp	aspect
bec	become
ben	benefactive
caus	cause or causative
CNJ	conjecture
COM	comitative
compl	completive
conc	concerted
concen	concentratedly
cond	conditional
def	definite
desid	desiderative
DIR	direct (information) or direction
dubit	dubitive
EVD	evidential
excl	exclusive (i.e., excluding the hearer)
fut	future
GEN	genitive

GOAL	goal
HgQ	Huallaga Quechua
hum	human
IMP	imperative
impfv	imperfective
incep	inceptive
incl	inclusive
IND	indirect (information)
indef	indefinite
inf	infinitive
iter	iterative
LIM	limitative
LOC	locative
man	manner adverbial
NARPST	narrative past
NEG	negative
nml	nominalizer (subordinator)
NOM	nominative (case marker)
NP	substantive phrase (i.e. noun phrase)
NRP	narrative past
OBJ	object
P	possessive
part or prtc	participle
pass	passive
past	simple past
PERF	perfect
pg.	page
PL or plur	plural
pol	polite
pnct	punctual
PQ	proto-Quechua
PUR	purposive
Q.	Quechua
recip	reciprocal
refl	reflexive
RF	rhetorical force
resp	respective(ly)
S	sentence
SHD	shading (suffix)
SIM	similarity
Sp.	Spanish
ST	situation
stat	state
sub	substantivizing subordinator

SUBJ	subject
sud	sudden
super or sup	superlative
tog	together
TOP	topic
trans	transition
VP	verb phrase
vrb	verbalizer
WH	interrogative word (who, what, etc.)
YN?	yes/no question marker

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I am indebted to the following:

To the members of my committee:

Sandra Thompson (chairman), Paul Schachter, Bill Bright, Bob Kirsner, and Al Johnson. Their comments have helped to improve this dissertation a great deal.

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By allowing my family and me to live among them, by being the kind people that they are, and by being willing to instruct us in the use of their language, they have not only provided the data for this study, but also the stimulus to write it. I hope that this grammar will (in small measure) be a window through which is seen the beauty and uniqueness of their life and thought.

To Teodoro Cayco Villar:

As the primary one to instruct me about Quechua language and culture, to answer my myriad (and often senseless) questions, and as the author of many texts, he has provided the bulk of the material on which this study is based.

To the Ministry of Education of Peru:

By signing a contract with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, they have made work such as this possible. I would particularly like to thank those courageous individuals, both in the Ministry and outside of it, who defended the Institute during a period of nationalism when, without their backing, this study would have been terminated in the initial stages.

To colleagues in the Summer Institute of Linguistics:

By providing logistic support, moral support, intellectual stimulus, and by seeing that our bodies continued to function (against hepatitis, amoebiasis, etc.) they have made it possible to live productively over a number of years in what would otherwise have been a difficult situation. I would particularly like to thank Peter Landerman for teaching me a great deal both about the Quechua language and about general linguistics.

To those who have supported our work financially:

This study would not have been possible without the financial support and encouragement of many fellow Christians; they have contributed out of the conviction that the Quechua people are worthy of Infinite appreciation.

To my family:

Without Diana's encouragement, and her selfless dedication to making our life together productive and full of pleasure, this grammar would not have been a reality. Her editorial help has been invaluable. Christof and Katrina have been patient while their father has given so much time and attention to this project.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Grammar of Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua

by

David John Weber

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1983

Professor Sandra A. Thompson, Chair

This is a reference grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua, an American Indian language spoken in central Peru. After (1) a general introduction and (2) an introduction to HgQ syntax, it contains chapters of the following topics: on word and suffix classes for (3) verbs, (4) substantives, (5) adverbs, and (6) other classes; on morphology: (7) word formation generally, (8) the "transitions," i.e., the complex which indicates the person of the subject and object, and (9) the suffixes which occur between the root and the transition; on grammatical relations: (10) case markers (11) and passives; (12) on substantive phrases; (13) on relative clauses and complements; (14) on adverbial clauses; (15) on reduplication; (16) on question formation; (17) on negation; (18) on conjunction; on the post-transition suffixes: (19) the "shading" suffixes (*-lla*, *-pis*, *-na*, and *-raq*), (20) the (so-called) "topic" marker *-qa*, and (21) the evidential suffixes (*-mi*, *-shi* and *-chi*); (22) on idiomatic and formulaic expressions; and (23) on phonology and loan processes.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua

Huallaga Huánuco Quechua (HgQ) is spoken in the department of Huánuco (Peru), principally in the districts of Churubamba and Santa María del Valle, but also in the districts of Huánuco, San Francisco de Cayrán and Conchamarca. Torero [37] classified it as a "Quechua I" dialect, referring to it as "Alto Huallaga Quechua." (In Parker's [26] classification it is a "Quechua B" dialect, and in Landerman's [17] it is a "Central" dialect.). To some extent HgQ and its closest neighbor, Pachitea Quechua, are relic dialects, not having suffered as much change as the dialects to the west which were much closer to the pre-Colombian centers of prestige.

Residents of the capital of Huánuco who speak only Spanish generally regard Quechua as a thing of the past, unsuitable for modern purposes, at best an interesting artifact of former times. Many regard it as "corrupted" by Spanish loans (ignoring the fact that the Spanish of the region has been enriched considerably by words from Quechua). Because monolingual Quechua speakers seldom come to the capital, transacting their business through bilinguals who travel to and from the communities, many Huánuco residents have been led to think that all the people in the Quechua communities speak Spanish.

No one who has lived in a Quechua community--as my family and I have--can deny the importance of the Quechua language in the life of such communities. Quechua is spoken by all but a few outsiders. And while parents sometimes punish children for speaking Quechua, it is unquestionably the primary vehicle of communication. Only certain functions--e.g. education--are restricted to Spanish.[1]

While Quechua is of extreme importance within communities, it is not an important element in the communication between communities. This is because the ways communities interact are largely Spanish-oriented. For example, the legal system functions entirely in Spanish, so that (considerable) interaction is not in Quechua. Communities meet each other for soccer matches, but that is very oriented to Spanish.[2] Other forms of interaction (e.g. a political rally) are at the initiative of Spanish-speaking outsiders, and are carried out in Spanish.

The fact that Quechua is no longer an important vehicle for communication between communities has perhaps retarded the spread of innovations of change within Quechua. The mechanism by which innovations are spread--speaker to speaker contact--has been undercut: when speakers from different communities get together, there is little or no interaction in Quechua. Further, differential prestige, a force that keeps innovations spreading, no longer fuels change in Quechua. Rather than attaching prestige to one or another of the local Quechua dialects, only Spanish is regarded as prestigious. Because of these two factors, I also suspect that innovations have not spread across Quechua for many years, i.e., except for many words borrowed from Spanish, HgQ

---

[1] This restriction is due simply to teachers who know only Spanish. Many Quechua-speaking teachers have told me how much better things have gone using Quechua in the classroom.

[2] I have seen matches played to the blare of a radio announcer narrating (in Spanish) a game being played in Lima: it seems a form of "national participation."

is spoken today much as it was a hundred years ago. Unfortunately, there seems to be no way to verify this.

It is true that HgQ (as most Quechua dialects) has borrowed many words from Spanish. However, this is proof positive that Quechua is a living language: Quechua is daily shaped by the environment in which it must serve, an environment that includes new things (radios, trucks, insecticides etc.), new ideas and ideologies (reforms, revolutions, programs, religions, etc.), new situations (inflation), and so forth. While Quechua provides a rich set of mechanisms with which such things can be described it has opted for borrowing the words which accompany the new thing.

On the other hand, Spanish has had virtually no impact on the structure of the language. I have not found a single case where I can say with certainty that a construction is borrowed from Spanish, or that a Quechua structure has been modified under the influence of Spanish.

1.2. About the Author and the Data

I have been involved in the study of Quechua for the last 10 years, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Relatively little of this time (approximately two years) has actually been spent in a Quechua community. Contact has been maintained with Quechua speaking people from the capital of the Department of Huánuco, where I now make my home.

The corpus on which this study is based comprises
- field notes of elicited material,
- transcriptions of recordings,
- written texts,
- examples caught on the fly from conversations,
- observations made in the process of translating material into Quechua.

This data was organized by creating an exhaustive file (on paper slips) according to a method shown me by Dr. Harold Gleason, to whom I am extremely grateful.

Much of the data on which this study is based is due to Mr. Teodoro Cayco Villar. Teodoro was born in Huajaj (Wahaq) in the district of Santa María del Valle, Huánuco. He has lived most of his adult life in the town of Llacón.

1.3. In What Sense a "Reference" Grammar

This is a reference grammar. It is intended as a source of information on HgQ made readily accessible by organization, cross-referencing and indexing. It should be useful to persons who have had little or no linguistic training, while at the same time being of interest to linguists, particularly those who study Quechua, but also those interested in typology and universals.

This grammar does not attempts to justify any particular theory of grammar. To the contrary, I have attempted a degree of theoretical neutrality. This is not because linguistic theory does not interest me, but because what I see as a more useful and enduring contribution is the sort of grammar presented below. Modelling a language as a formal system (which is what much "theory" tends toward being) is at best no more than a gross caricature of it.

I have intentionally included a large number of examples because:
1. I see a dangerous trend (in linguistic studies generally and particularly in those focusing on

Quechua) to theorize on the basis of few examples. these largely elicited.

2. I regard the examples as the primary instruments for demonstrating the facts of HgQ. The text is merely an aid to the reader so that he may appreciate the examples. The point is not whether or not the examples "prove" what I say, but whether from them the reader has an adequate reference for making his own conclusions. If the examples were elicited. I would not make such dependence on them. But virtually none of the examples are elicited. They are from from tape recordings (in reply to a querie like, "What do you eat outside of the city?"), from written texts (e.g. in response to a request to tell what happens in Holy Week) or from sentences caught "on the fly" in conversation.

3. I hesitate to accept as a "fact" of the language something for which I have only one or two examples, particularly if they are from the same speaker. (Eliciting a few more examples seldom alleviate my skepticism; with a little arm-twisting you can get anything.) But when I find examples from different speakers and different texts consistent with what I conjecture. then I have a fact (perhaps not a "linguistic" fact. but a fact about language as it was actually used).

4. The examples are both pleasing and enlightening. They are not the dry stuff that comes of elicitation, but actual sentences used by native speakers to describing events and situations. Some convey subtle "overtones" (e.g. "Isn't it terrible how we are exploited?")--a difficult but fascinating aspect of "real" language. (This aspect of language is virtually always absent in elicited material.) Further. the examples provide glimpses into the culture. I believe that one cannot understand the nature of a language without also understanding the culture that it serves.

   a. Speakers count on intelligent. culturally-informed hearers to correctly interpret what they say. For example, one of the first texts I studied had the expression "blow the light." The only way I had seen a light "blown" is that of blowing out a candle. so I assumed this to be the meaning, but it made no sense in the text since the participants were in the dark. "Blow the light" means to blow on a coal (usually along with a dry corn husk) to make it burst into flame. producing light. I understood the words and the syntax but I misunderstood the sentence completely because I did not know what is known by probably all HgQ speakers.

   b. Language is a tool shaped by its speakers to optimize its usefulness in the physical and cultural environment in which it must serve and for the purposes to which it is put. To understand why a language works as it does, it is necessary to know its speakers, to know where they live. to know the conditions under which they say what they say. and with what intent they say them. For example, the system described in for *hana* (uphill) *ura* (downhill) and *washa* (at level) in 12.3.2.3 gains its utility from the physical environment in which Quechua is spoken: just as steep hillsides have influenced the angle between the handle and blade of the hoe used to farm those hillsides,[3] so they have influenced the language.

   c. The way that speakers shape their language is by "institutionalizing" tendencies. What proves useful--whether "grammatical" or not!--comes to be accepted and incorporated by subsequent generations into the regularities of the language.

Much of this work consists of lists (with discussion) of various uses of suffixes. For a given

---

[3] The angle between the handle and blade used throughout the HgQ area is about 40 degrees. as compared to (roughly) 90 degrees for the hoes generally used on level ground.

3

suffix, the uses are not discretely different, i.e., from use to use there is a great deal of commonality. The reader should not dwell on the issue of whether two uses should be recognized as the same or different: it is expected that there will be overlap because (basically) the uses of a suffix are a direct consequence of a commonality, one which we might call its "meaning." Time and space have prevented me from showing how, and to what extent, the various uses of each suffix result from a common meaning. I hope that this work will serve such studies in the future.

The glosses associated with morphemes are not intended as meanings; they are simply arbitrary labels to help the reader. When a particular morpheme has several uses/meanings, the label used might have little direct relationship to the meaning of that morpheme in a particular example. For example, -mu in aywa-yka:-mu-n 'he is coming here' would be glossed as 'afar' even though a gloss like 'toward here' would have made clearer what this suffix contributes to the meaning in this case.

The typical example has three lines: a line of Quechua text with morpheme divisions, a morpheme by morpheme gloss, and a free gloss. Another type of example is used occassionally when there is considerable context, but where the Quechua form of that context does not bear directly on the example itself. In these, Quechua is embedded in a free translation of the whole. See, e.g., example 581.

Most of the examples are completely divided into morphemes, but some have more limited divisions. In these, more than one English word may correspond to a bit of Quechua, so these English words are separated by colons. For example, the reader should be prepared to see *wasinpita* glossed as *from:his:house* or to see *wasi-n-pita* (house-3P-ABL) 'from his house'.

I have tried to observe the following conventions about the representation of morphemes when morpheme divisions are introduced into a word:

- An /a/ which results from an (underlying) high vowels by morphophonemic lowering (see section 23.8.11) is represented with a capital "U" or "I".[4] For example, the /u/ of *-rkU* becomes /a/ in *aywarkachir* 'having made them go' so when broken into morphemes, this is represented as *aywa-rkU-chi-r* (go-up-caus-adv). When this /u/ is not lowered, it is written simply as *u*, e.g., *aywa-rku-r* (go-up-adv).
- A short vowel which results from an underlying long vowel by foreshortening (see section 23.8.13.1) is represented as short. For example, the length of *-ma:* '=>1' is absent in *rikaman* 'he sees me', so when broken into morphemes, this is represented as *rika-ma-n* (see-=>1-3). If the vowel is pronounced long, then it is so written, e.g., *rika-ma:-na-n-paq* (see-=>1-sub-3P-PUR).
- High vowels which are phonetically lowered by /q/ (see section 23.8.2) are written as lowered unless a morpheme boundary intervenes between the vowel and the /q/ which causes the lowering.[5] For example, [átox] /atuq/ is written *atoq* 'fox' but [úpox] /upuq/ is written *upuq* or *upu-q* (drink-sub) because of the morpheme boundary between the /u/ and the /q/.

Throughout the examples (and the text), unless the referent of a pronoun is clearly female, *he* is used rather than some genderless form (such as *s/he*). I beg the pardon of any who regard this as

---

[4] The serious reader should get into the habit of reading these as /a/.

[5] This convention is part of the government-mandated orthography: see section 23.6.

4

sexist or chauvinistic.[6]

1.4. Quechua in the Department of Huánuco: Demographic Facts

The following discussion is based on data from:

- the 1972 census (made available by the National Institute of Statistics), and
- a survey of Quechua languages made by Peter Landerman and other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- my personal experiences in attempting to adapt text from one dialect of Quechua to another.

In map 1-1 (page 6), for each district is given the number of persons censused and the percentage which claimed not to know Spanish. Both figures must be considered absolute minima, for the following reasons:

1. many persons are not censused: of these the greater part are monolinguals because
    - monolinguals tend to be more suspicious of the census than bilinguals.[7]
    - the more monolingual people live in very remote areas. making it difficult or impossible to interview them,
2. people generally claim to know Spanish even if their knowledge is extremely rudimentary: many who are listed as knowing Spanish probably know little beyond what is required for face-to-face buying and selling.
3. because of the low prestige of Quechua. many claim to know Spanish (and might deny knowing Quechua) even though Quechua is their native language or the one they speak 95% of the time.

Taking these factors into consideration. the data show Quechua to be widely spoken in the department, particularly east of the Marañón river.

The Quechua of the department of Huánuco can be grossly divided into six dialect areas; see map 1-2 (page 7). Within each of these areas there are minor dialect differences.[8]

Table 1-1 (page 8) summarizes some facts about these gross dialect areas. The columns contain the following:

1. for the whole area. the thousands of people who do not speak Spanish,
2. the districts with the highest concentration of monolingual Quechua speakers.[9]
3. for the districts of highest concentration. the percentage who do not speak Spanish.

---

[6] The Quechua language has no gender distinctions. but the the inequities toward women are no less severe.

[7] The Quechua people have long been censused for tax purposes.

[8] The areas outlined here are an informed speculation about how the languages would be grouped for an educational strategy which uses Quechua as the primary vehicle of literacy. It is impractical to prepare separate materials for each hamlet: but material should be prepared for each area where dialect differences would otherwise impede a student's progress.

[9] These are represented in figure 1-2 by the denser shading within the dialect areas.

5

Figure 1-1: MONOLINGUALISM IN THE DISTRICTS OF HUANUCO

6
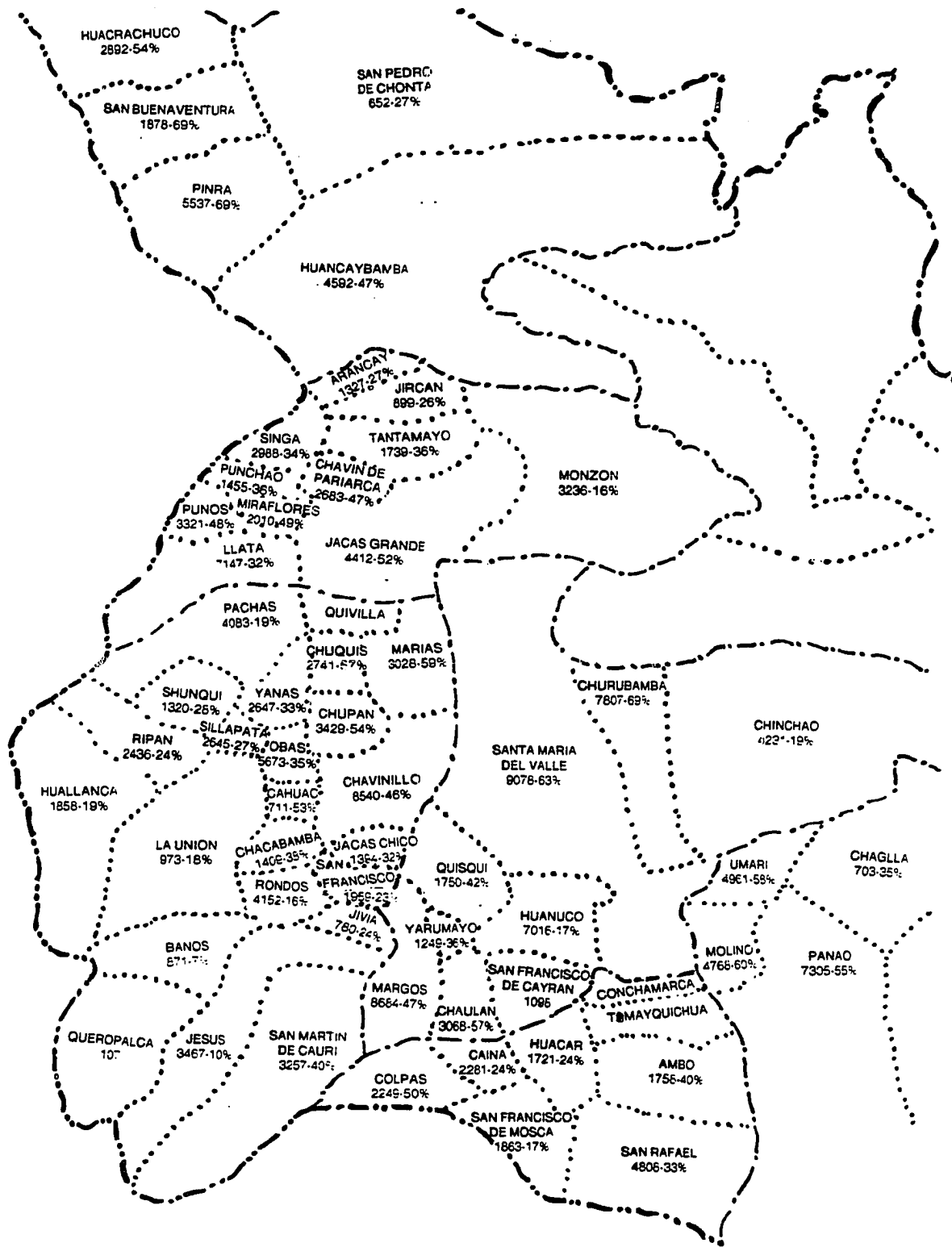
Figure 1-2: GROSS DIALECT DIVISIONS IN HUANUCO

7

	(1) No. X 1000	(2)	(3) %
ZONE	NOT/SP/SPK	DISTRICTS OF HIGHEST CONCENTRATION	NOT/SP/SPK
1	10	MOLINO, UMARI, PANAO	57
2	11	CHURUBAMBA, SANTA MARIA DEL VALLE	66
3	18	MARIAS, CHUPAN, CHUQUIS, JACAS GRANDE	65
4	6	MARGOS, CHAULAN,	50
5	9	CHAVINILLO, CAHUAC	47
6	3	AMBO, SAN RAFAEL	35
7	9	PINRA, SAN BUENAVENTURA	69

Table 1-1: MONOLINGUAL QUECHUA SPEAKERS IN HUANUCO

See section 1.5 for some of the differences between these dialects.

1.5. Dialect Diversity in Huánuco Department

There is considerable diversity in the Quechua spoken from area to area in the department of Huánuco. Some of the differentiators on the basis of which this division was made are summarized in tables 1-2.[10] 1-3 and 1-4.[11]

---

[10]Asterisk (*) marks proto-Quechua B forms, as reconstructed principally by Landerman and Parker.

[11]For lack of data, dialect 7 (Pinra, San Buenaventura) is not included in these tables. Note that these differentiators would not lead one to the conclusion that dialect 4 (Margos, Chaulan) and dialect 5 (Chavinillo, Cahuac) are different. I believe there are other differences by which this division can be justified.

8

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
*tr	tr	ch	ch	ch	ch	tr
*ch	ch	ch	s	ts	ts	ch
*q initial	h	q	q	q	q	q
ay>e:	yes	no	no	no	no	no
uy>u	yes	no	no	no	no	no
*ll	ll	ll	ll~l	l	l	ll~l
*ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n	ñ
*wasi	wasi	wasi	wayi	wasi~wayi	wayi	wasi
*sasa	sasa	sasa	aha		aha	
*qosa	husa	qosa	qowa		qowa	
*tiya-	tiya-	tiya-	ta:-		ta:-	
*traya-	chaya-	chaya-	cha:-	cha:~chaya	cha:-	traya-
similar	-naw	-naw	-naw	-noq		
past	-ra	-ra	-rqa	-rqa	-rqa	-rqa
relative	-sha	-sha	-shqa	-sha~-shqa	-shqa	-shqa

Table 1-2: PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATORS FOR HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

9

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
perfect	-shka	-shka	-shka	-shqa	-shka	-shqa ka-	12
-nqa 'rel'	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	13
-ya: 'pl'	no	no	yes	no	no	no	14
-ku '?'	no	no	yes	no	-ku~-tsu	no	15
-ski	no	no	yes		yes	no	16
-paq 'fut'	yes	yes			no	no	17
-kuna/VERB		yes					18
inf/VB FSL	-y-ta	-y-ta	-r		-r	-r	19
RecentPast	no	no					20
-shu<-shka	>	>	<	<	<	<	21

Table 1-3: MORPHO-SYNTACTIC DIFFERENTIATORS FOR HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
'leave'	lloqshi	lloqshi-	yarqo-	yarqo-	yarqo-	yarqo-
'outside'	hawa	hawa	waqta	waqta	waqta	
'at foot of'	traki	chaki	hawa		hawa	
'reside at'	tiya-	tiya	ta:-			yatra-

Table 1-4: LEXICAL DIFFERENTIATORS FOR HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

[12] Is the perfect tense collapsed. and if so. has /ka/ or /qa/ been dropped?

[13] Does this dialect have a relativizer -nqa?

[14] Does this dialect pluralize verbs primarily with -ya:?

[15] Is the yes-no question marker ku? Other dialects have -chu.

[16] Does this dialect have -ski?

[17] May future verbs be followed by -paq?

[18] May -kuna be used as a verbal pluralizer?

[19] How are the complements of phasal verbs (begin, end. etc.) subordinated?

[20] Is there a recent-remote past tense distinction?

[21] Does -shu precede or follow the perfect tense marker. i.e.. -shu-shka or -shka-shu-?

10

1.6. Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua: Subdialectal Variation

In the HgQ dialect area there is some minor variation, none of which seems to impares intelligibility. No detailed survey of the area has been made: I have observed the following:

1. The /k/ of the imperfective suffix *-yka:* is often voiced, may become a fricative, and may even be absent. Thus all the following are attested: [-yka:~-yga:~-yγa:~-ya:]

2. *noqakuna* 'we(exclusive)' has various alternative forms: The /q/ may be voiced [nogakúna] or a (voiced) fricative [noγakúna]. The vowel following /q/ may be dropped, in which case the /q/ becomes voiceless [noxkúna]. This may in turn become simply length [no:kúna].

3. As in the neighboring dialect of Pachitea, word initial /q/ is sometimes pronounced [h]. This is infrequent except in some areas for which there is a geographically explanation: in the area of Malconga (district of Santa Maria del Valle) the tendency is substantial; a major trail from the Pachitea area to the departmental capital used to run through this area.

1.7. The Organization of this Work

This work is organized as follows:

1. Chapters 2 gives a quick introduction to HgQ syntax.

2. The next four chapters deal with classes of words and the suffixes which apply to them:
   - Chapter 3 deals with verbs.
   - Chapter 4 deals with substantives.
   - Chapter 5 deals with adverbs.
   - Chapter 6 deals with other classes.

3. The next three chapters deal with morphology.
   - Chapter 7 deals with word formation generally,
   - Chapter 8 deals with the "transition," i.e., the complex of suffixes which includes the tense marker or subordinator and indicates the person of the subject and object.
   - Chapter 9 deals with "pre-transition" suffixes, i.e., those which occur between the root/stem and the transition.

4. The next two chapters deal with relating substantives and verbs:
   - Chapter 10 deals with the case markers, i.e. the suffixes which typically indicate the relationship of a substantive to a verb.
   - Chapter 11 deals with passives. i.e. verbal phrases in which substantives relate to the verb as subjects which would otherwise relate as objects.

5. Chapter 12 deals with substantive phrases.

6. Chapter 13 surveys de-clausal substantives (relative clauses and various sorts of complement).

7. Chapter 14 deals with adverbial clauses.

8. Chapter 15 deals with reduplication. It is discussed here because much of it depends on the mechanism of adverbial clause formation, dealt with in chapter 14.

9. The next three chapters deal with traditionally syntactic topics:
   - Chapter 16 deals with question formation.
   - Chapter 17 deals with negation.
   - Chapter 18 deals with conjunction.

10. The next three chapters deal with suffixes which follow the transition. To give an account of them typically requires considerations beyond the clause in which they are used.
    - Chapter 19 deals with four suffixes which I have chosen to call "shading" suffixes.

11

- Chapter 20 deals with the (so-called) "topic" marker.
- Chapter 21 deals with the evidential suffixes.

11. Chapter 22 lists various expressions that are not directly interpretable from the morpho-syntax (e.g. idioms).

12. Finally, chapter 23 surveys aspects of the phonology and processes by which words have been borrowed.

2. INTRODUCTION TO THE SYNTAX

This chapter introduces some of the basics of Quechua morpho-syntax.

2.1. Word Classes

There are two major open lexical classes: verbs and substantives. Verbs are sub-classified on the basis of transitivity, complement type, etc. Within the substantives there are various closed subclasses such as various sorts of pronoun (demonstrative, personal, interrogative/indefinite, intensifying/reflexive....), quantifier (including numerals), etc. and the large open class of noun-adjectives. There is insufficient evidence of a strictly morpho-syntactic nature for considering that nouns and adjectives form distinct lexical classes. (Also, relative clauses and nominalizations cannot be distinguished on a purely morpho-syntactic basis.)

There are no definite articles distinct from demonstrative noun/adjectives (such as *chay* 'that', *kay* 'this', *taqay* 'that (afar)'....). There is no indefinite article, and only infrequently is the numeral one *(huk)* used as an indefinite article. e.g.:

```
huk  runa  kasha                                               1
one  man   there:was
```

```
'There was a man.'
```


2.2. Importance of Suffixes in the Morpho-Syntax

HgQ morpho-syntax rests heavily on suffixation; all affixation is by suffixing. In virtually any sort of text, slightly more than half of the morphemes which occur are suffixes. The combinatorix of word formation are very productive, e.g.:

```
uma - sapa - yaa - kaaku - chi - maa - na - n - paq               2
head-big-become-completive-cause-=>1-sub-3P-PUR
```

```
'in order to cause me to become completely big-headed'
```

Suffixes are used to indicate (but a few of the many uses):

- the person of the subject and object of a verb: e.g. in *mucha-ma-nki* 'you kiss me' the *-ma* indicates a first person object and the *-nki* indicates a second person subject.
- tense: e.g. in *mucha-ma-shka-nki* 'you kissed me' *-shka* indicates past tense.
- aspect: e.g. *mucha-ra-yka-n* 'he kisses her (a long, protracted kiss)'.
- shades of meaning:e.g. *mucha-yku-ra-n* 'he kissed her! (forcefully, surprisingly)',
- the relationship of a substantive phrase to a verb: e.g. in *Maria-ta mucha-ra-n* 'He kissed Mary', *-ta* indicates that *Maria* is the object of *mucha-ra-n*.
- whether something was witnessed, was heard second hand, or is simply conjectured; e.g. *Juan-shi Maria-ta mucha-ra-n* 'John (it is said) kissed Mary'.

The point is this: a morpho-syntax of Quechua must treat primarily its suffixes.[22] Suffixes which apply to verbs are introduced in section 7.1 and elaborated primarily in chapters 8 and 9.

---

[22]One goal of this grammar is to give a fairly complete picture of various uses of each suffix. In some cases this is best embedded within a discussion of a general topic (e.g. *-ma:* 'first person object' is only treated as part of the general system of indicating the person of the subject and object) while others--particularly the semantically richer ones--are dealt with more individually.

Suffixes which apply to substantives are introduced in chapter 4. Suffixes which apply to both verbs and substantives are introduced in 6.2 and elaborated in chapters 19, 20 and 21. Section 7.3 describes a way to view word formation which seems very appropriate to Quechua. and section 7.2 discusses some of the issues about the relative order of suffixes.

2.2.1. Person agreement

Subject agreement suffixes play a large role in the syntax. There are two sets. One set is used typically with verbs: the other set is used with substantives and adverbial clauses and will be referred to as the *possessive* suffixes. The forms are:

for verbs		substantives	
-: (i.e. length)	'1'	-:	'1P'
-nki	'2'	-yki	'2P'
-n	'3'	-n	'3P'
-nchi:	'12'	-nchi:	'12P'

The plural forms are formed by other. co-occuring suffixes. e.g. *aywa-pa:ku-n* (go-plur-3) 'they are going'. Note that in HgQ these sets differ only in the second person; in other dialects they differ in some other persons as well. HgQ and other Quechua B (Quechua I) dialects are clearly moving toward a single class for these agreement suffixes.

2.2.2. Case and Case Marking

HgQ is a subject-prominent language: i.e. 'the structure of the sentences favors a description in which the grammatical relation subject-predicate plays a major role. (For a discussion of the notion of "subject-prominent" language, see Li and Thompson [21].) Case-marking, which is nominative-accusative. is accomplished by attaching one suffix to the rightmost constituent of the NP.

The nominative case is unmarked. i.e.. no overt suffix occurs. Both the accusative and the dative cases are marked by -*ta*. which will be glossed simply 'OBJ' e.g.:

```
Juan-ta   kuchi-ta  rantikusha                                    3
John-OBJ  pig-OBJ   he:sold

'He sold a/the pig to John'.
```

There are several oblique case markers, among them -*chaw* 'LOCative', -*man* 'GOAL', -*pita* 'ABLative', -*wan* 'COMitative' (instrument or accompaniment), -*paq* 'PURpose', and -*yaq~-kama* 'LIMitative'. These are further introduced in section 4.3.3. Case is discussed in considerable detail in chapter 10.

2.2.3. The Scope of Suffixes

An insightful way to view HgQ morpho-syntax is based on the notion that morphemes (suffixes included!) are operators on other morphemes or sequences of morphemes. (A limited version of this view, restricted to word formation. is discussed in section 7.3). Scope plays an important role in this perspective because an operator must have its operand within its scope. If this approach is extended

14

to include elements larger than a single word, the picture that emerges is that suffixes frequently have more than one word within their scope.

Examples 4[23] and 5 illustrate the extent to which suffixes may have units larger than a single word in their scope.

```
[[[mangor   asnu] -pa  wirpa-n]-naw  sinqa]-yoq      china          4
   mangor   donkey-GEN 1ip-3P  -SIM  nose   -HAVING  girl]
```

'a girl with a nose like a mangor donkey's lip'

```
[[["Ama miku-y-chu"  ni-sha-:]    yoora]-pa wayu+y-nin]-ta...      5
    not eat-2IMP-NEG say-sub-1P  tree-GEN  fruit-3P-OBJ
```

'...the fruit of the tree of which I said "Do not eat it."'

Some justifications will now be sketched for the view that in many cases suffixes have such scopes.

1. In section 10.15.5, two arguments are given to show that case markers have within their scope the whole substantive phrase to which they are attached.

2. In some cases the object NP and the verb root (stem) form a constituent to which some following verbal suffix is sensitive. This is argued for -mu 'afar' in section 9.3.2.6.

3. Section 14.3.1 discusses a case in which an apparent switch reference anomaly is resolved by assuming a structure in which -chi 'cause' has within its scope an adverbial clause and a verb. The switch reference facts show that these must be combined prior to the addition of -chi 'caus'.

4. There is an anomaly concerning the morphological marking of subjects and objects in verbs: e.g., if the subject is third person, and the object is first person plural inclusive, then the subject marker is first person plural inclusive. That is, to indicate 3=>12 one uses -=>1...-12;

```
maqa-ma-ra-nchi                                                   6
hit-=>1-past-12

'he hit us' (3=>12)
```

In 6 this anomaly spans the tense marker -ra 'past'; in 7 it spans a word boundary (brought about by the paraphrastic future):

```
taripa     -ma -q    aywa-nchi                                    7
catch:up:to-=>1-sub  go  -12

'He will catch up to us.'
```

On phonological grounds this is definitely two words. Yet the subject and object marking anomaly spans this word boundary. If this is structurally 8 such an anomaly would be surprising, but as analyzed in 9a it is completely parallel to 9b (corresponding to 6b) in which a simple tense marker occurs between the subject and object marking:

$$[[taripa-ma-q]_{adv} \ [aywa-nchi]_{verb}]_{VP} \qquad 8$$

$$a. \ [[taripa-ma]_{V1}q_{R0} \ aywa_{V1}]_{V1}nchi_{V0} \qquad 9$$

$$b. \ [[taripa-ma]_{V1}ra]_{V1}nchi_{V0}$$

5. Quechua is a highly agglutinative language, i.e., it demonstrates the effects of a long history of postpositions cliticizing onto the ends of words to form new suffixes. A very clear case of this is -q tuku- (-sub pretend-) becoming -qtuku- followed by a reanalysis of ku to -kU, ultimately

---

[23]This example is from Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua, reported by Helen Larsen in an unpublished paper. It is acceptable in HgQ.

yielding -qtu-kU-.[24] Before this collapse. what was the structure of aywa-q tuku-n 'He pretends to go'?

a. $[aywa_{V1}q_{ADV} [tuku-n]_S]_S$ 10

b. $[aywa_{V1}\underline{q~tuku}_{V1}]_{V1}n_{V1}$ (origin)

c. $[aywa_{V1}\underline{qtuku}_{V1}]_{V1}n_{V1}$ (fused)

d. $[aywa_{V1}\underline{qtu}_{V1}\underline{ku}_{V1}]_{V1}n_{V0}$ (re-analyzed)

If it were 10a. collapse would have involved radical restructuring. But if it were 10b, restructuring is localized to the underlined nodes. The fused form is in 10c and the reanalyzed form is in 10d.

The approach just sketched, in which suffixes are assumed to apply to units larger than a word, seems to provide many insights into the grammar. The facts discussed in the rest of this grammar do not depend. however. on accepting this approach.

2.3. What is a Sentence?

A SENTENCE must contain a predication. It may contain other elements such as oblique substantive phrases (i.e.. substantive phrases which are not the subject or an object of the predicate), adverbial clauses. interjections. links.

A PREDICATION must contain a predicate. It may contain other elements such as substantive phrases (particularly a subject and one or more objects). adverbs. adverbial clauses. (Note. nothing in the definition of predicate requires any substantive phrases, so overt subjects and object phrases are optional.)

A PREDICATE is either

1. a FINITE VERB (PHRASE). i.e. one which is not subordinate: this might be either

    a. an auxiliary verb (phrase) with its substantive complement. or

    b. a verb (phrase).

or

2. a substantive (phrase), one which can be interpreted as the complement of an absent auxiliary verb. This could be

    a. a non-finite verb. in which case it is interpreted as a compound tense, or

    b. a substantive phrase. in which case it is interpreted as a predicate substantive.

To illustrate possible predicates. aywaran 'he went' is a finite verb. ollqo karan 'it was a male' is an auxiliary (formed from ka- 'to be') with its complement. puka 'red' and sumaq hatun 'very big' are substantive phrases. and aywanan 'it's going (irrealis)' and qomasha 'he gave it to me (participle)' are non-finite verbs.

A predication could be formed from each of these predicates: Marucha aywaran 'Mary went', Juanpa wamran ollqo karan. 'John's child was a male (child)'. wasin puka 'his house is red', wasin sumaq hatun 'his house is very big', Pillkuta aywanan 'he should go to Pillku', wasita qomasha 'he gave me a house'.

---

[24] That is. ku acquires the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering (see section 23.8.11) so e.g. maqa-qtu-ka-ma-y 'Pretend to hit me'.

16

A sentence could be formed from each of these predications: *Qanyanmi Marucha aywaran.* 'Mary went yesterday' *Wallka wamran kaptinpis wasin sumaq hatun.* 'Although his children are few. his house is very big'. *Wasita qomasha alli tiyanaapaq.* 'He gave me a house so that I might live comfortably', etc.

Predications are also formed with the auxiliary *ka-* 'to be'. It is used in various ways. some as follows:

predicate noun-adjectives

> *Pay hatun ka-ra-n* (he big be-past-3) 'He was big',
>
> *pay asendaaru ka-ra-n* (he hacienda:owner be-past-3) 'He was an hacienda owner';

compound tenses

> *Pillku-man aywa-q ka-:* (Pillku-GOAL go-sub be-1) 'I used to go to Pillku'
>
> *Tuni-na-n-paq ka-yka-n* (fall-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-3) 'It is about to fall'

The full range of uses of the *ka-* 'to be' is discussed in section 3.1.1.2.

Sentences. predications and predicates are not classified into declarative. interrogative. imperative. etc. nor into equational. intransitive. transitive. and di-transitive in this grammar. What in other grammars[25] is said here in terms of smaller units (morphemes and phrases).

Example 11 is an illustrative sentence. broken down to show its components and the function each component plays:

```
a. Chawra                                                          11
b. liyunkunaqa
c. "Lloqshiykaamun wañuchimaananchiipaq" nishpanshi
d. qeshpir aywakun
e. wasinpita
f. chakay
g. puntapa
```

```
a. So                                          LINK
b. the lions                                   SUBJECT
c. saying "They are coming out to kill us"     MOTIVE
d. escaping go                                 MAIN PREDICATION
e. from their house                            SOURCE
f. at night                                    TIME
g. to the ridge.                               GOAL
```

```
'Then the lions, saying "They are coming out to kill us"
go fleeing from their house at night to the ridge.'
```

Other elements which could be added are interjections and vocatives.

2.4. Word Order

HgQ strongly demonstrates the properties characteristic of a language in which the order of

---

[25]Such distinctions are rightly made for Indo-European languages because they are very significant for the structure of those languages.

17

major sentence elements is SUBJECT < OBJECT < VERB.[26] Thus, HgQ is an SOV[27] language. However, of the properties characteristic of an SOV language, the one which HgQ least demonstrates is that of having SUBJECT < OBJECT < VERB word order. HgQ has a fairly free word order, particularly in non-subordinate clauses. For example, all permutations of 12 are acceptable:

```
Juan Tumas-ta maqa-n.                                              12
John Tom-OBJ hit-3

'John hits Tom'
```

More significant evidence of the freedom of word order is seen in table 2-1, a count of 1309 sentences.[28]

```
PERCENTAGE  [TYPE]                                        NO. OF CASES
5% [with no verb]                                                   69

40% [with an intransitive verb]                                   525
      53% [SUBJ present]                                           280
      |       76% [SUBJ < VERB]                                    212
      |       24% [VERB < SUBJ]                                     68
      47% [SUBJ absent]                                            245

17% [with ni- as verb]                                            224
      67% [SUBJ present]                                           149
      |       61% [SUBJ < VERB]                                     91
      |       |      12% [OBJ present]                              11
      |       |      |      36% [OBJ < VERB]                         4
      |       |      |      64% [VERB < OBJ]                         7
      |       |      88% [OBJ absent]                               80
      |       39% [VERB < SUBJ]                                     58
      |       |      7% [OBJ present]                                4
      |       |      |      25% [OBJ < VERB]                         1
      |       |      |      75% [VERB < OBJ]                         3
      |       |      93% [OBJ absent]                               54
      33% [SUBJ absent]                                             75
            13% [OBJ present]                                       10
            |      50% [OBJ < VERB]                                  5
            |      50% [VERB < OBJ]                                  5
            87% [OBJ absent]                                        65
```

---

[26]Not coincidentally--I believe--the basic order of major constituents (SUBJECT, OBJECT, VERB) mirror that of the corresponding affix. In the model sketched in Weber [38] the suffix and the overt noun phrase would be co-constituents, as in the following:

```
[SUBJECT [OBJECT [verb]-obj]-subj]
```

[27]See Greenberg [13].

[28]ni- 'to say' has been treated as exceptional: this is because its natural complement is a quote. Since quotes tend to directly precede ni-, they separate the subject phrase from ni- by the length of the quote--in many cases a not inconsiderable distance. This gives rise to a preference for putting the subject after the verb more frequently than with other verbs.

18

```
38% [with a transitive verb]                                              490
     31% [SUBJ present]                                                   150
      |        75% [SUBJ < VERB]                                          112
      |         |        58% [OBJ present]                                 65
      |         |         |        68% [OBJ < VERB]                        44
      |         |         |         |        5% [OBJ < VB < OBJ]            2
      |         |         |         |       95% [other]                    42
      |         |         |        32% [VERB < OBJ]                        21
      |         |        42% [OBJ absent]                                  47
      |        25% [VERB < SUBJ]                                           38
      |                  50% [OBJ present]                                 19
      |                   |        68% [OBJ < VERB]                        13
      |                   |        32% [VERB < OBJ]                         6
      |                  50% [OBJ absent]                                  19
     69% [SUBJ absent]                                                    340
              60% [OBJ present]                                           203
               |        71% [OBJ < VERB]                                  145
               |         |        7% [OBJ < VB < OBJ]                       10
               |         |       93% [other]                              135
               |        29% [VERB < OBJ]                                   59
              40% [OBJ absent]                                            137
```

Table 2-1: THE ORDER OF SUBJECTS OBJECTS AND VERBS

Several things are worth noting:

1. There is a strong tendency to have either a subject or object **but not both**. Out of 714 sentences which have transitive verbs (including those with *ni-* 'say'), only 99 had both a subject and object (about 12%).

2. Of these 99 cases, only 48 have SOV order.

3. The total number of sentences in the corpus which are not consistent with SOV order is 160 (about 12%).

Theses figures would hardly lead anyone to conclude that HgQ is an SOV language. However. HgQ does strongly show the correlates of SOV word order. i.e. post-positions over prepositions, modifiers before heads, possessors before possessed. auxiliary verb after "main" verb. etc. Some of these will now be discussed.

2.4.1. Word Order: Subject and Object in Subordinate Clauses

The tendency toward rigid SOV word order is much greater in subordinate clauses. For example. 13 is acceptable: note that the order of the doubly embedded complement (underlined) is SOV:

```
Muna-: [pay [Tumas Pablu-ta maqa-shan-ta] musya-nan-ta].          13
want-1  he   Tom    Paul-OBJ hit-SUB-OBJ    know-NOM-OBJ

'I want him to know that Tom hit Paul.'
```

If the subject and object are reversed in this complement it becomes unacceptable (see 14) even though this order is acceptable in the main clause:[29]

```
*Muna: [pay [Pabluta Tumas maqashanta] musyananta]              14
```

\

---

[29] The non-SOV order is also acceptable in most singly embedded complements.

19

2.4.2. Word Order: Modifier < Head

Adjectives generally precede the nouns they modify, e.g.:

```
hatun  runa                                                    15
big    man
```

'big man'

This is not the only possibility, as will be seen below. The most common order for multiple adjectives is (1) demonstrative, (2) numeral, and (3) qualifying adjectives, e.g.:

```
chay ishkay hatun wasi-kuna                                    16
that two    big   house-plur
```

'those two big houses'

Adjectives do not agree in any way with the nouns they modify.

The possessive construction involves
- obligatorily suffixing a possessive suffix to the possessed noun, and
- optionally adding the possessor phrase with the genitive suffix -pa.

As typologically expected, the possessor generally precedes the possessed phrase: e.g.:

```
(Juan-pa)   chaki-n                                            17
(John-GEN)  foot-3P
```

'John's foot/his foot.'

Adverbs precede the adjectives they modify, e.g.:

```
sumaq wira waaka                                               18
very  fat  cow
```

'a/the very fat cow'.

They generally precede the verb that they modify, e.g.:

```
weqruyllapa purin                                             19
limpingly   he:walks
```

'He walks limpingly.'

However there is considerable freedom: the adverb may follow the verb or be separated from it by some other constituent: e.g.: all permutations of 20 are acceptable:

```
pakayllapa waaka-:-ta suwapaamasha                            20
hiddenly   cow-1P-OBJ he:stole:it:on:me
```

'He stole my cow on the sly (to my detriment)'

2.4.3. Word Order: The Auxiliary Verb ka- 'be'

The auxiliary verb ka- 'be' forms many compound expressions. In these the "main" verb is syntactically subordinated to ka- 'be'. As typologically predicted, the auxiliary follows the verb that it "helps." Example 21, a future perfect, and 22, a habitual past, illustrate this:

```
Pillku-man  aywa-sha ka-shaq.                                 21
Pillku-GOAL go-prtc  be-1FUT
```

'I will have gone to Pillku.'

```
Pillku-man  aywa-q ka-:.                                      22
pillku-GOAL go-sub be-1
```

'I used to go to Pillku.'

20

2.4.4. Word Order: Subordination

Subordinate clauses tend to precede the verb to which they are subordinate. but this word-order is not rigid. e.g. 23a and 23b are synonymous:

```
a. Mucha-y-ta    muna-:.                                    23
   kiss-INF-OBJ want-1
```

```
b. Muna-: mucha-y-ta.
   want-1 kiss-INF-OBJ
```

```
a,b. 'I want to kiss him/you.'
```

Embeddings within embeddings are, of course, allowed; e.g.:

```
[[Yapya-y]-ta    usha-na-n]-ta         shuyarayka-n.          24
  plow-INF-OBJ  finish-NOM-3P-OBJ  be:waiting-3
```

```
'He is waiting for him to finish plowing.'
```

2.5. Negation

Negation is accomplished by the word *mana* 'not' or *ama* 'not (for imperatives)' accompanied by the suffix -*chu* 'NEG'. -*chu* does not occur in or on subordinate clauses except as mentioned below. E.g.:

```
Mana musya-:-chu.                                            25
not   know-1-NEG
```

```
'I do not know.'
```

```
Ama aywa-y-chu!                                              26
not go-2IMP-NEG
```

```
'Don't go!'
```

```
Chari-y   mana qeshpi-na-n-paq.                              27
grab-2IMP not  escape-NOM-3P-PUR
```

```
'Grab him so that he won't escape.'
```

Mana is occasionally omitted in main clauses. e.g.:

```
Aywa-shaq-chu.                                               28
go-1FUT-NEG
```

```
'I will not go.'
```

-*chu* 'NEG' interacts with the so-called 'topic' marker -*qa* 'TOP' in focusing on an element of the negative sentence. To a limited extent. this is done by merely placing -*chu* on the focal element, e.g.:

```
Mana maqasha    Juan-ta-chu.                                 29
not   he:hit:him John-OBJ-NEG
```

```
'He didn't hit JOHN (i.e.. he hit someone else).'
```

A more general pattern is that -*chu* 'NEG' occurs on the verb and -*qa* occurs on the focal element, e.g.

```
Mana maqasha-chu    Juan-ta-qa.                              30
not   he:hit:him-NEG John-OBJ-TOP
```

```
'He didn't hit JOHN.'
```

Negation of verbs which have a compound tense (in which they are subordinate to the auxiliary verb *ka*-) generally have -*chu* on the subordinate verb, e.g.:

21

```
Mana pillkuman    aywa-q-chu ka-:.                              31
not  pillku-GOAL go-sub-NEG be-1
```

'I didn't habitually go to Pillku.'

2.6. Questions

Yes-no questions are formed by suffixing -chu 'YN?' either to the questioned element or to the verb. -chu 'YN?' shows the same sort of interaction with -qa 'TOP' discussed above for -chu 'NEG'[30]. E.g.:

```
Marya Juan-ta-chu  maqa-sha?                                    32
Mary  John-OBJ-YN? hit-3PERF
```

'Did Mary hit JOHN? (or did she hit someone else?)'

```
Marya Juan-ta-qa   maqa-sha-chu?                         ··     33
Mary  John-OBJ-TOP hit-3PERF-?
```

'Did Mary hit JOHN? (or did she hit someone else?)'

Content questions are formed by inserting a WH word (e.g. *ima* 'what'. *pi* 'who'. *mayqan* 'which'. *ayka* 'how much'. *imay* 'when'. *imanir* 'why'...) for the questioned element and suffixing an interrogative suffix (-taq or -raq) following that constituent. The questioned NP is generally (but not always) fronted to the beginning of the sentence. E.g.:

```
Ima-taq chay?                                                   34
what-?? that
```

'What is that?'

```
Pi-ta-taq  qoyku-shka-nki?                                      35
who-DAT-?? give-perf-2
```

'To whom did you give (it)?'

```
Pi-raq suwa-paa-maa-sha?                                        36
who-?? steal-ben-=>1-3PERF
```

'Who might have stolen it on me?'

```
Ayka      waaka-ta-taq ranti-shka-nki?                          37
how:many cow-OBJ-??    buy-perf-2
```

'How many cows did you buy?'.

2.7. Conjunction

There are no conjunctions except those recently borrowed from Spanish (like *y* from Sp. *y* 'and', *piru* from Sp. *pero* 'but'. *akesee* from Sp. *aun que sea* 'although'). These are undoubtedly more in evidence in the speech of bilinguals than in "purer" Quechua. for which conjunction is accomplished either by simple juxtaposition, as in 38, or with the comitative suffix (-wan), as in 39:

```
Kuka-ta  awrindi-ta    sigaaru-ta    ranti-sha.                 38
coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ cigarettes-OBJ buy-3PERF
```

'He bought coca, firewater, and cigarettes'.

---

[30]Indeed. -chu 'NEG' and -chu 'YN?' may be considered the same suffix in HgQ: some other dialects (e.g. Ancash Quechua) have two distinct forms for these.

```
Juan-wan aywa-yka-n  Tumas.                                      39
John-COM go-IMPFV-3  Tom
```

'Tom and John are going.'

The conjunction of verb phrases is accomplished by simple juxtaposition:

```
Chawra upu-n    chaqcha-n.                                       40
then   drink-3 chew:coca-3
```

'Then they drink and chew coca.'

```
Shamu-sha  chaqacha-na-n-paq    upu-na-n-paq.                    41
come-3PERF chew:coca-sub-3P-PUR drink-sub-3P-PUR
```

'He came to drink and chew coca.'

2.8. Quotes

Direct quotes are frequent in HgQ. They are fully sentential[31] because

- they have a finite verb,
- they may have an evidential suffix,
- they bear no grammatical relation (e.g. subject, object,...) to any verb.

Only a few verbs frame[32] direct quotes; the principle one is ni- 'say'. To use a quote with verbs such as parla- 'converse, agree to', willa- 'tell, advise', qapara- 'yell', rima- 'speak' the quote is embedded within an adverbial clause whose verb is ni-. For example, to use a quote with willa- 'tell', one says " X " ni-r willa- (X say-adv tell-) 'tell "X"':

```
"Ama aywa-y-chu!" ni-r     willa-shka-:.                         42
 not go-imp-NEG    say-adv tell-perf-1
```

'I told him not to go.'
(lit. 'I advised him saying "Don't go!")

The verb ni- 'say' may be used for definitions, i.e., in the sense of 'refer to as': e.g.:

```
"Mundunqo" ni-n   muti llushki-sha-ta.                           43
 mondongo  say-3 corn peel-prtc-OBJ
```

'They call peeled corn "mundunqo".'

Direct quotes may occur in relative clauses: e.g.:

```
["Manka-siki"    niptee        maqamashan runa]-ta rikaa.        44
["pot-buttocks" when:I:said   who:hit:me man]-OBJ I:see
```

'I see the man who hit me when I called him (said to him) "baggy-pants".'

Indirect quotes are very infrequent in HgQ. They are usually subordinated as a purpose clause; e.g.:

```
Rura-na-:-paq ni-sha.                                            45
do-sub-1P-PUR say-3PERF
```

'He said that I should do it.'

---

[31]This is in contrast to other sorts of complements which are not sentential.

[32]By using this term, I wish to skirt the implication that the direct quote is a complement of such verbs. Direct quotes are embedded, but not subordinate to the verb/clause which frames them.

```
Ni-shaq  rura-na-n-paq.                                    46
say-1FUT do-sub-3P-PUR
```

```
'I will tell him to do it.'
```

References to quotes (or the content of those quotes) are made with the case marker -naw 'SIM'; e.g.:

```
Chay-naw ni-ra-n.                                          47
that-SIM say-past-3P
```

```
'He said that.'
```

```
Willa-ma-sha-yki-naw ni-shka-:.                            48
tell-=>1-sub-2P-SIM  say-perf-1
```

```
'I said what you told me.'
```

These may be nothing more than an indefinite expression: e.g.:

```
Ama ima-pis       ni-y-chu.                                49
not what-indef  say-2IMP-NEG
```

```
'Don't say anything.'
```

Quotes may be nested within quotes: e.g.. there are several instances in 517 (page 130). And. as example 50 shows. a narrative may be nothing but quotes.[33]

---

[33]This has serious implications for notions like "event line" or "backbone" since there is no material which could be called the "event line."

24

```
(A) Señor  sapo.  llalli-naku-shun punta-man.
    mister frog   race-recip-12IMP ridge-GOAL

    Mayqa-nchii-shi mas  ñaw+punta-ta chaya-r    miku-naku-shun.
    which-12P-IND   more first-OBJ    arrive-adv eat-recip-12FUT

    Qam ñaw+punta-ta chaya-r    noqa-ta miku-ma-nki.
    you first-OBJ    arrive-adv I-OBJ  eat-=>1-2

    Noqa ñaw+punta-ta chaya-r    qam-ta  miku-shayki.
    I    first-OBJ    arrive-adv you-OBJ eat-1=>2FUT

(B) Yaa, koorri-shun. (lapse)  Señor  sapo!
    OK   run-12IMP             mister frog

(A) Tok!! (loud)
    croak

(B) Señor  sapo!
    mister frog

(A) Tok! (soft)
    croak

(B) Señor  sapo!
    mister frog

(A) Tok (very soft)
    croak

(B) noqa manana...
    I    not:now

(A) Mister Frog, let' race to the ridge.
    Which ever of us arrives first, he will eat the other.
    If you arrive first, you will eat me.
    If I arrive first, I will eat you.
(B) Ok, let's run. (lapse)  Mister frog!
(A) Croak (loud)
(B) Mister frog!
(A) Croak (soft)
(B) Mister frog!
(A) Croak (very soft)
(B) Oh no, I can no longer...
```

3. VERBAL ELEMENTS

3.1. Verb Classes and Properties

This section deals with distinctions which must be made for verbs: classes of verbs and properties of verbs. There is a basic distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs. INTRANSITIVE verbs do not occur with an object (neither an object noun phrase nor an object marking suffix). TRANSITIVE verbs may occur with an object. A transitive verb is not required to have an object: both the noun phrase and its object marking may be absent, but its meaning involves some object. E.g., *miku-* is a transitive verb (*mikushayki* 'I will eat you'); in *pay mikun* 'He eats' no object occurs but it is strongly implied that he ate *something*. It is not necessary to distinguish DITRANSITIVE verbs, as the morphology allows for agreement with only one object, and there is little or no morpho-syntactic justification for distinguishing direct and indirect objects.

3.1.1. Subclasses of Verbs

Within the class of verbs, certain subclasses are significant. These are discussed in this section.

3.1.1.1. Transitive/Intransitive verbs

There is a small class of verbs which may be used either as intransitive or transitive and for which the object of the transitive corresponds to the subject of the intransitive. Two such verbs are *kicha-* 'to open, to be open' and *wichqa-* 'to close, to be closed'. e.g.:[34]

```
Punku-ta kicha-y.                                              51
door-OBJ open-2IMP

'Open the door.'

Punku kicha-(ra)-yka-n.                                        52
door  open-(state)-impfv-3

'The door is open.'

Punku wichqa-n.                                                53
door  close-3

'The door is closed.'
```

3.1.1.2. Auxiliary verbs

There are various uses of the auxiliary verb *ka-* 'to be':

1. It may be PREDICATIONAL, i.e., ascribing the property expressed in the complement to the subject. The complement generally precedes the auxiliary. but may also follow, e.g., one can say *puka ka-nqa* (red be-3FUT) or *ka-nqa puka* (be-3FUT red) 'It will be red'.

2. It may be TEMPORAL. i.e., in the formation of a compound tenses. Used temporally, the auxiliary must directly follow the complement; e.g. one can say *aywa-sha ka-ra-n* (go-participle be-past-3) 'he had gone' but not (*karan aywasha).

3. It may be used with a case marked substantive to form a predicate, e.g., *Wasi-n-chaw ka-yka-n.*

---

[34]*kicha-* cannot be used as an active verb. as e.g. when *-ra:* is omitted. 52 may mean 'The door is open' but not *'The door is opening'.

(house-3P-LOC be-impfv-3) 'He is in his house'. *Wañu-q-naw ka-yka-n.* (die-sub-SIM be-impfv-3) 'He is as though dead.'

4. It may be EXISTENTIAL *ka-*. i.e.. to assert that its subject exists or is present. In this case the verb formed from *ka-* is not optional. e.g.. in response to a question 'Is there bread?' one may respond *Ka-n.* 'There is' or *Tanta ka-n.* 'There is bread'; one could never respond *Tanta* in the sense of 'There is bread.'

Except in the existential use, the auxiliary does not occur if it would be third person and present, and not be needed to support some suffix (e.g. *-yka:* 'impvf'):[35] e.g., to say 'Is it red?' one does not say **Puka ka-n* (red be-3). but simply *Puka*[36] 'It is red'.

keera- 'remain' is used occasionally as a compound;[37] e.g.:

taksha keera-ra-n (small remain-past-3) 'It remained small.'

chay-chaw keera-mu-sha (that-LOC remain-afar-3PERF) 'He remained there.'

The difference between *keera-* and *ka-* 'to be' is that *keera-* has a stative or durative component of meaning. For example. compare 54 and 55:

```
Wasi  alli  ka-yka-n.                                           54
house good  be-impfv-3

'The house is good.'

Wasi  alli  keera-n.                                            55
house good  stay-3

'The house stays nice.'
(since the paint and plaster protect it)

Chawra upa     wañu-sha-na  keera-sha.                          56
then   stooge  die-prtc-now stay-3PERF

'Consequently. the stooge ended up dead.'

Taka-ka-sha-n        hinan-chaw     ranka-ka-sha   keera-ku-ra-n.    57
strike-pass-sub-3P   precisely-LOC  lodge-pass-prtc stay-refl-past-3.

'It stayed lodged right where it had struck.'
```

3.1.1.3. Subject complement verbs

The only verbs which take subject complements (that I have been able to discover) are the following:

pishi:- 'to be lacking' e.g.,

```
Millu-na-n    pishi-n.                                          58
wind-sub-3P   lack-3

'It needs to be wound (of a clock).'
```

risi:sa- 'to be certain' (from Sp. *preciso*) e.g.,

---

[35] This rule is reiterated in section 8.1.4.

[36] This is somewhat better with the addition of an evidential suffix: *Puka-mi* (red-DIR) 'It is red.'

[37] *keera-* is a borrowing from Spanish *quedar* 'to remain'. One might expect to find *ka-ra:-* (be-state) in these cases. but *ka-* and *-raa* never co-occur. possibly because this combination has been supplanted by *keera-*.

27

```
Qam aywa-na-yki risiisa-n.                    59
you go-sub-2P   be:certain-3
```

'It is certain that you will go.'

3.1.1.4. Interrogative verbs

The following verbs form a type of content question, where it is the verb (rather than some substantive) that is being questioned:

imana- 'what do' (from ima 'what' and na- (empty verb)) e.g..

```
Imana-sha-taq?                                60
what:do-3PERF-??
```

'What did he do?'

imana:- 'what become' (from ima 'what' and na 'thing' and -ya: 'become') e.g..

```
Imana:-chi-shunki-taq?                        61
what:become-cause-he:to:you-?
```

'What will it cause you to become?'

imani-[38] 'what say' (from ima 'what' and ni- 'say') e.g..

```
Imani-shka-shu-nki?                           63
what:say-perf-=>2-2
```

'What did he say to you?'

3.1.1.5. Object complement verbs

Certain verbs[39] take infinitive complements as objects: this is only if the subject of the complement is coreferential to the subject of the verb in question. For example;

```
Aywa-y-ta    qonqa-yku-shka-:.                64
gc-inf-OBJ   forget-impact-perf-1
```

'I forgot to go.'

```
Aywa-y-ta    muna-:.                          65
gc-inf-OBJ   want-1
```

'I want to go.'

If the subject of the complement is not coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause, then it is subordinated by -na or -sha: e.g.:

```
Aywa-na-yki-ta   muna-:.                       66
gc-sub-2P-OBJ    want-1
```

'I want you to go.'

---

[38]From this verb is formed the interrogative word imanir 'why' as in

```
Imani-r-taq    maqa-sha.                       62
what:say-OBJ-? hit-3PERF
```

'Why did he hit him?'

[39]Among them are the folowing: apusta- 'to bet' (from Sp. apostar). awanta- 'to tolerate. sustain' (from Sp. aguantar). aypa:- 'to reach. to hold out (till)'. ayura- 'to help' (from Sp. ayudar), gaana- 'to beat (in competition)' (from Sp. ganar). kacha- 'to allow'. kama- 'to prepare. to put one's self to'. kuminsa- 'to begin' (from Sp. comenzar). maña- 'to ask'. muna- 'to want'. musya- 'to know (a fact)'. ofrisha- 'to offer' (from Sp. ofrecer). pinsa- 'to think' (from Sp. pensar). puyri- 'to be able' (from Sp. poder). qalla- 'to begin'. qati- 'to continue (?)'. qonqa- 'to forget'. usha- 'to finish'. and yacha- 'to know (how to)'.

28

```
Aywa-sha-n-ta qonqa-shka-:.                                              67
go-sub-3P-OBJ forget-past-1
```

'I forgot that he had gone.'

There are subclasses within th class of verbs which take object complements (e.g.. those which require like subjects e.g., *puyri-* 'to be able'. phasal verbs e.g.. *usha-* 'finish' *qalla-* 'begin'....) but these will be ignored for the moment.

3.1.1.6. Purpose complement verbs

A few verbs take complements which are subordinated as purpose clauses.[40] These complements are distinct from simple purpose clauses, which may occur with virtually any verb; see Weber [39], section 4.3. for discussion. For example, *parla-* 'to speak, converse, agree to' occurs with such a complement in 68:

```
Wañuchi-ma:-na-n-paq parlakuran.                                        68
kill-=>1-sub-3-PUR    they:agreed
```

'They agreed to kill me.'

```
Aywa-na-n-paq ni-sha.                                                   69
go-sub-3P-PUR say-3PERF
```

'He told him to go.'

Some of these verbs may also take object complements. e.g.. *kacha-* 'to leave. to send'. In these cases there is generally a significant difference in meaning according to whether the complement is an object noun phrase or a purpose noun phrase: e.g.:

```
a. Aru-y-ta       kachaykusha.                                          70
   work-INF-OBJ he:left:off

b. Aru-na-n-paq    kachaykusha.
   work-sub-3P-PUR he:sent:him

a. 'He ceased to work/left off working.'
b. 'He sent him to work.'
```

3.1.2. On Properties of Verbs

This section will discuss three properties of verb roots. the feature [±motion], the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering. and the property of ending with an underlying long vowel.

3.1.2.1. On the feature [+ motion]

Verbs must be indicated as either motion or non-motion. This is relevant to the syntax in two ways. First, the "purpose-motion" construction is possible only when the verb of the superordinate clause is a motion verb. For example. 71a and 71b are very approximately synonymous. (-*q* is the subordinator used in the purpose motion construction)

\

---

[40]Among them the following: *apusti-* 'to bet'. *ashi-* 'to search'. *buluntaani-POS ka-* 'to be willing to do' (literally X's will exists. where X is indicated by the possessive suffix). *kacha-* 'to leave off. *manda* 'to order'. *mañaku-* 'to ask'. *mi(n)kaku-* 'to solicit help'. *ni-* 'tell someone to' (to report what another has given as an order). *numra-* 'to name (to some task/position)'. *parla-* 'to speak. agree to'. *urdina-* 'to order'. *willa-* 'to tell. advise'. and *yarpa-* 'to intend. to think'.

29

```
a. Pay-ta rika-na-:-paq  shamushkaa.                            71
   he-OBJ see-sub-1P-PUR I:came

b. Pay-ta rika-q  shamushkaa.
   he-OBJ see-sub I:came
```

'I came to see him.'

But if the superordinate verb is a non-motion verb only the form substantivized with -na is possible:

```
a.  Payta rikanaapaq shuyaraykashkaa.                           72
    him   to:see      I:was:waiting

b. *Payta rikaq       shuyaraykashkaa.
    him   to:see       I:was:waiting
```

'I was waiting to see him.'

Thus. a feature [±motion] needs to be attached to each verb in order that one knows whether the the purpose-motion construction may be used.[41]

Second. the suffix -mu 'cis-/trans- locative' has two different senses (at least two!) depending on whether the verb is or is not a motion verb. Very generally. with a motion verb. -mu means 'toward here'[42] With non-motion verbs. however. -mu means 'at a distance from the speaker or "point of perspective"'. For example. aywa- 'go' is a motion verb: thus with -mu it means 'go toward here, come' and thus cannot occur with a phrase like chayman 'toward there' as in 73b:

```
a.  Kay-man    ⎫                                                73
    here-GOAL  ⎬
               ⎬  aywa-mu-n.
               ⎬  go-to:here-3
b. *Chay-man   ⎭
    there-GOAL
```

```
a.  'He comes to here.'
b. *'He comes toward there.'
```

Puñu- is a non-motion verb and thus:

```
a. *Kay-chaw   ⎫                                                74
    here-LOC   ⎬
               ⎬  puñu-mu-n.
               ⎬  sleep-afar-3
b.  Chay-chaw  ⎭
    there-LOC
```

```
a. *'Here he sleeps (over there).'
b.  'He sleeps there (at a distance from the speaker).'
```

Thus. again it is clear that the dictionary should include a feature [±motion] if it is to provide a necessary basis for the correct manipulation of -mu.[43]

There are however. problems in assigning a feature [±motion]. First, the feature may not be consistent for both the purpose-motion construction and for -mu For example, keera- 'to remain' is [+motion] for the purpose-motion construction (e.g., rika-q keera-shka-: (see-sub remain-perf-1) 'I

---

[41]It should be noted that it is not a simple. straightforward matter. since a few verbs that one would expect to be non-motion seem to allow the purpose-motion construction.

[42]This is toward the place of speaking or. in a narrative. toward the point of perspective. i.e.. the place in the world of the narrative from which the events are viewed.

[43]Be it noted that this characterization of -mu is extremely simplistic: -mu has many and subtle uses: see section 9.3.

30

remained in order to see him') but [-motion] for the use of *-mu*, (e.g.. *chay-chaw keeda-mu-sha* (that-LOC remain-afar-3PERF) 'He remained there (afar).').

Second, there are some verbs which are either [+motion] or [-motion] depending on the object with which they occur (or maybe it would be better to say simply, depending on their meaning). For example, *aru-* 'work' is [-motion] if the object is *wasi-ta* (house-OBJ) since one builds a house in one place, but [+motion] if the object is *sikya-ta* (irrigation:ditch-OBJ) since when one works on a ditch he travels. (Note that this provides a strong argument for the constituency of the object and the verb root: [*sikya-ta aru-*]-*mu-sha* ([ditch-OBJ work]-afar-3PERF) 'He worked the irrigation ditch toward here.') Thus, the verb *aru-* must be left unspecified for the feature [±motion].

Third. some verbs which occur with *-mu* are not clearly either [+motion] or [-motion]. The emission-verbs (shine, yell,....). i.e.. those which indicate that some stimulus is produced, are consistent with either feature: the emitting occurs at some distance from the speaker,-the stimulus travels toward the speaker.

3.1.2.2. Undergoing morphophonemic lowering

Another property of verbal roots involves morphophonemic lowering; a full discussion is found in 23.8.11. but the following summary should suffice at this point. The final high vowel of some roots/stems is lowered to /a/ when followed (not necessarily immediately) by certain other suffixes. For example. when followed by *-mu* 'afar'. the final vowel of *miku-* 'eat' becomes /a/. so *mikamushun* results from /mikU-mu-shun/ (eat-afar-12IMP) 'let's go eat (over there)'.

Many of the verbs which have this property derive from morphologically complex verb stems, i.e.. a verb root and a derivational suffix. This is because several of the derivational suffixes have this property. and carry it into the verb stem when the verb+suffix becomes one unit. For example, *-ykU* and *-ku* become *-yka* and *-ka* respectively preceding (among other suffixes) *-chi* 'cause', *-mu* 'to here/at a far'. Thus *yaykU-* (from /ya-ykU/) and *mikU-* (from /mi-kU-/) undergo lowering.

There is a tendency to eliminate this property as the root and suffix become totally fused. For both *yayku-* 'enter' and *miku-* 'eat' the lowering has become optional:

yaykachin ~ *yaykuchin* 'He causes him to enter'

mikuchin ~ *mikachin* 'He causes him to eat'.

Since not all fused stems show this optionally. perhaps this property is a multi-valued one, indicating the degree of susceptibility to lowering. rather than a binary one.

3.1.2.3. Final long vowel

Another morphophonemic property of verbs is the length of the root/stem final vowel. (A significant aspect of this property is discussed in 23.8.13.1.) There are minimal pairs such as *wayra-* 'to blow (of wind)' and *wayra:-* 'to winnow'. *pishi:-* 'to be lacking' and *pishi-* 'to urinate (child)':

a. Wayrachin.   75

b. Wayraachin.

a. 'He causes the wind to blow (on it).'
b. 'He causes him to winnow it.'

a. Pish<u>ii</u>chin.   76

b. Pish<u>i</u>chin.

a. 'He causes it to be lacking./He uses it up.'
b. 'He allows/makes him urinate.'

As with morphophonemic lowering, many of the roots which have final long vowels derive from root-suffix stems where the suffix has brought along the property: e.g., *yanapa:-* 'help' from *yana* 'help/accompany' and *-pa:* 'benefactive'.

3.2. Verbs Derived From Substantives

This section discusses various suffixes which derive verbs from substantives. (Suffixes which derive verbs from verbs are discussed in 9. Some suffixes derive verbs from both verbs and substantives; e.g. *-ra:* 'exhibit/stative'. *-na:* 'desiderative'; these are discussed both here and in section 9.)

3.2.1. *-ya:*, *-pa:* and *-ta:* 'become'

Three suffixes mean (roughly) 'become': *-ya:*, *-pa:* and *-ta:*. Exactly how they differ, I do not know: 77 illustrates these suffixes:

```
          ⎧ a.  -ta ⎫                                                        77
Shullay   ⎨ b.  -pa ⎬  -sha.
dew       ⎩ c.  -ya ⎭  3PERF
```

a. 'It has become slightly wet with dew.'
b. 'It has become wet from moving through the fog.'
c. 'It has become wet with cew.'

-ya: is by far the most productive of the three: *-pa:* and *-ta:* are largely frozen in certain verbs. The following examples show other derived (now completely frozen) forms which suggest a morpheme meaning 'become':[44]

wañu-yta:- 'to wither, dry up' (cf. *wañu-* 'die')

aqo-lla- 'to break into small pieces' (cf. *aqo* 'sand', *aqu-* 'grind')

The suffixes *-ya:* 'become' seems to be completely productive. Three uses have been identified:
1. *-ya:* may mean 'become', occurring with a very wide range of substantive; e.g.:

hu .'qa-ya:-chi-
            'to make (a wall) higher' (cf. *han'qa+* 'above with respect to slope'),

hatun-ya:- 'become big' (cf. *hatun* 'big'),

ima-ya:- 'become what' (cf. *ima* 'what'),

looku-ya:- 'go crazy' (cf. *looku* 'crazy'),

tempraanu-ya:-
            'become early morning' (cf. *tempranu* 'early'),

tardi-ya:- 'become late (in the afternoon/evening)' (cf. *tardi* 'afternoon'),

---

[44] Perhaps long ago there was just a single morpheme for 'become' which was phonologically conditioned by the substantive to which it attached?

32

yoraq-ya:- 'become white' (cf. *yoraq* 'white'),[45]

riiku-ya:- 'become rich' (cf. *riiku* 'rich').

runa-ya:- 'become a man' (cf *runa* 'man'),

puka-ya:- 'become red' (cf *puka* 'red').

qeshya-q-ya:-

'become invalid' (cf. *qeshya-* 'be sick', *qeshya-q* 'sick person').

qeshya:- 'become sick' (cf. *qeshya* 'sickness, sick person'),

qoshpu-ya:- 'become curly' (cf. *qoshpu* 'curly'),

illqur-ya:- '(of lightning) to strike/flash' (cf. *illqur* 'lightning'),

chukru-ya:- 'become hard' (cf. *chukru* 'hard'),

upa-ya:- 'become deaf' (cf. *upa* 'deaf'),

ichki-lla-ya:-

'to become a very small quantity' (cf. *ichik* 'a small quantity').

Some such cases have rather idiomatic meanings: e.g.:

haqa-ya:- 'become unhappy, discouraged' (cf. *haqa* 'debtor'),

huk-niraq-ya:-

'become angry/sad, countenance fall' (cf. *huk-niraq* 'one-similar').

2. When applied to a word characterizing a sound, *-ya:* indicates the making of that sound; e.g.:

kachkach-ya:-

'to have one's teeth clatter (as from the cold)' (cf. *kachkach.* teeth clattering):

hachin-ya:- 'to bray', (cf. *hachin hachin hachin,* a donkey braying):

lliw-ya:- '(of the sky) to be clear' (cf. *lliw,* sound of wind blowing) (One must realize that the wind blows the clouds away, leaving the sky clear.)

pultoq-ya:-chi-

'to stir the water (to make it say "pultoq")' (cf. *pultoq* sound of water when it is stirred vigorously).

3. *-ya:* may occur between a substantive which does not end in a short vowel and *-sha* 'participle' to indicate that the object referred to by the substantive is put on (i.e., put onto the body as dress).[46] (Note, this is different than when the verbalizer attaches to the substantive referring to the part of the body which is covered; see 3.2.2 below.)

```
Ollqo-kaq  ka-yka-n    asul pantalun-ya-sha...           78
male-def   be-impfv-3  blue pants-bec-prtc
```

'The man has on blue pants (lit. is blue-panted).'

When the substantive ends in a short vowel, *-sha* 'participle' attaches directly to the substantive:

```
Chay warmi-kuna yana  mantilla-sha yuraq paaha sumriru-sha.     79
that woman-plur black shawl-prtc   white straw hat-prtc
```

'Those women have on black shawls and white straw hats.'

One suspects that some verbs with a final long vowel derive from a substantive followed by *-ya:* 'become'. For example, *qasa:-* 'to be cold, to calm down (of a dispute)' could be derived from a verb

---

[45]Compare (*yor'qa-*) 'to pale' as discussed in section 23.8.

[46]In Llata (Huanuco) Quechua, this function is carried out by *-ni* rather than by *-ya:*: see Sola [35], pg. 56, paragraph 46.

qasi 'peaceful' (see such an entry in Adelaar [1]). This is consistent with the final long vowel and its meaning.

In contrast to *-ya:* 'become', *-pa:* and *-ta:* 'become' have rather limited productivity; e.g.:

piyur-pa:- 'to become worse' (cf. *piyur* 'worse'); e.g., *piyur-pa:-chi-ku-*
(worse-bec-caus-refl-) 'to aggravate (to make a situation or condition of health worse)'.

qarwash-ta:-chi-
'to cause to become yellow'[47] (cf. *qarwash* 'yellow').

looku-ta:- 'to go crazy' (cf. *looku* 'crazy').

uyu-ta:- 'become thin' (cf. *uyu* 'thin').

3.2.2. *(-ka)kU* 'put onto'

Attached to a substantive which refers to some part of the body, the suffix *-(ka)kU* means 'to take onto' that part of the body; e.g., from *matanka* 'shoulder' comes *matan-kakU-* 'to take upon the shoulder' (not to wear, but to carry on the shoulder). A further example:

```
Apa-sha      uma-kaku-rku-r.                                    80
take-3PERF head-put:upon-asp-adv

'Having put it upon his head (to carry it there) he took it.'
```

3.2.3. *-paku* 'verbalizer'

The suffix *-pakU* (which may be the combination of *-pa* and *-kU*) makes of a substantive the action characteristic of that object; e.g., from *qonqor* 'knee' comes *qonqor-pakU-* 'to kneel'.

3.2.4. *-chakU* 'verbalizer'

The suffix *-chakU* is of limited productivity. It makes substantives into transitive verbs. As the following show, the contribution of *-chakU* to the meaning of the verb so formed is not very predictable:

hatun-chaku-n
'He enlarges it (e.g. his field)' (cf *hatun* 'big').

maki-chaku-
'to steal from repeatedly (petty theft)' (cf *maki* 'hand'),

wamra-chaku-
'to adopt' (cf. *wamra* 'child').

3.2.5. *-cha:* 'make'

The suffix *-cha:* 'make' is roughly equivalent to 'cause to become'; e.g., compare 81a and 81b:

---

[47]This is said of a plant which has been made yellow by being near certain weeds which cause adjacent plants to become yellow.

```
           ⌈-ya-yka-chi     ⌉                          81
           │ bec-impfv-caus │
Nina qushpu-│                │-n  aqcha-n-ta.
fire curly  │ -cha-yka       │ 3  hair-3P-OBJ
           ⌊ make-impfv     ⌋
```

'The fire is making his hair curly.'

Other examples are:

llanu-cha:- 'to make thin/fine (as when spinning)' (cf. *llanu* 'thin (of long, cylindrical things)'),
llawchi-cha:-

'sharpen' (cf. *llawchi* 'sharp (having a pointed end)').

-cha: 'make' seems to have limited productivity. It is discussed in more detail in section 9.6.4.

3.2.6. *-ra:* 'exhibit'

Applied to a substantive which indicates some property, *-ra:* 'state' forms a verb meaning 'to exhibit' that property: e.g., applied to *yana* 'black', the verb *yana-ra:-* means 'to exhibit the property "black"'.[48] Other examples follow:

```
Ima-taq ñawpa-yki-chaw yana-ra-yka-n?                   82
what-?? side-2P-LOC     black-state-impfv-3
```

'What is that black thing beside you?' (literally, 'What beside you exhibits blackness?')

```
Ayllu-ra:-mu-n.                                        83
herd:together-state-afar-3
```

'They (at a distance) appear to be herded together.'

```
Paqla-ra:-mu-n.                                        84
bald-state-afar-3
```

'He (at a distance) appears to be bald.'

```
Aycha-ra:-mu-n.                                        85
meat-state-afar-3
```

'It (at a distance) appears to be meat.'

3.2.7. *-na:* 'desiderative'

-na: 'desiderative' is used with a very restricted set of substantives to mean 'to want x' where x is the thing referred to by the substantive: e.g.:

yaku-na:- 'to be thirsty, to want water' (cf. *yaku* 'water'),

warmi-na:- 'to lust, to want to have sexual relations with a woman' (cf. *warmi* 'woman').

Further discussion of *-na:* 'desiderative' as suffixed to verbs is in section 9.8.1.

---

[48]Perhaps *-ra:* was an independent auxiliary verb which took substantival complements in the same way that *ka-* 'to be' takes complements today. *-ra:* would then be the result of a reduction of the word boundary to a suffix boundary.

4. SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENTS

4.1. Classes of Substantives

This section introduces the large, open class of noun-adjectives (section 4.1.1, the open (but not large) class of sounds (section 4.1.2), and other small, closed classes which must be distinguished (classes of pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and quantifiers). No attempt will be made at this point to demonstrate the morpho-syntactic necessity for distinguishing these subclasses; their utility should be amply evident below.

4.1.1. Noun-Adjectives

The largest subclass of substantives will be referred to as NOUN-ADJECTIVES. This class is large and open-ended. It includes what in other languages would be distinguished as nouns and adjectives. These are regarded as a single class in HgQ because there is insufficient evidence of a strictly morpho-syntactic nature for distinguishing them (as lexical categories). Let us consider some evidence for this claim.

A priori, one might wish to consider *hatun* 'big' to be an adjective and *rumi* 'stone' a noun. But consider the range of morpho-syntactic environments which these share.

1. Both may be a major sentential constituent (subject, object...) followed by the appropriate case marker: e.g.:

        Rumi-ta   rikaa.   86
        stone-ACC I:see

        'I see a/the stone.'

        Hatun-ta rikaa.a   87
        big-ACC   I:see

        'I see a/the big (one).'

2. Both may be used as prenominal modifiers: e.g.:

        rumi   wasi   88
        stone house

        'stone house'

        hatun wasi   89
        big   house

        'big house'

3. Both may be the complement to *ka-* 'be' in a predicate nominal/adjective construction, e.g.,

        Taqay rumi ka-yka-n.   90
        that   stone be-IMPFV-3

        'That one is stone/a stone.'

        Taqay hatun ka-yka-n.   91
        that   big   be-IMPFV-3

        'That one is big/a big one.'

4. Both may be followed by one of the (de-substantival) verbalizers, e.g.:

36

```
Rumi-ya:-n.                                                    92
stone-become-3

'He/She/It becomes stone.'

Hatun-ya:-n.                                                   93
big-become-3

'He/She/It becomes big.'
```

Data such as these lead to the conclusion that HgQ morpho-syntax does not distinguish between nouns and adjective.[49] This is not to deny that there may be some grounds for distinguishing nouns and adjectives. For example, *runa* 'man' is more likely to *refer*, and thus behave like a noun, whereas *hatun* is more likely to *modify*, and thus behave like an adjective; but this is due to their semantic value rather than to their lexical or morpho-syntactic category.

4.1.2. Sounds

SOUNDS is an open subclass of substantives. It comprises words which are in imitation of some (perceived) sound. For example *qech* (sound of door opening), *chun* (sound of silence), *pan* (sound of firecracker exploding). *pultoq* (sound of water--or other liquid--gurgling) *hachin* (sound of donkey braying) etc. As discussed in 3.2.1. the result of suffixing -*ya:* to these words is a verb expressing the corresponding action to produce that sound: e.g.. *panya:-* 'to explode', *hachinya:-* 'to bray' etc.

4.1.3. Personal Pronouns

The PERSONAL pronouns are as follows:

```
noqa                   'I'
qam                    'you'
pay                    'he'
noqanchi:              'we (inclusive)'
```

Plural forms[50] may be formed with -*kuna* 'plural':

```
noqakuna               'we (exclusive)'
qamkuna                'you (plural)'
paykuna                'they'
```

These pronouns are seldom used because the referents are usually clear from the verbal person marking. One could say 94. but it says no more than the verb alone:

```
Pay noqa-ta rika-ma-n.                                        94
he  me-OBJ  see-=>1-3

'He sees me.'
```

It seems that pronouns are sometimes used simply to support suffixes. For example, there is

---

[49]Two criteria which might be thought to distinguish adjectives from nouns are the following:

1. *sumaq* 'very' may precede "adjectives" but not "nouns":

2. -*Nnin* 'superlative' may follow "adjectives" but not "nouns".

However. both tests "leak".

[50]Note that *noqanchi:* 'we (inclusive)' is handled as a sort of fourth person rather than as a plural.

37

```
Pay-pis noqa-lla-ta-mi   rika-ma-n-na.                              95
he-also me-just-OBJ-DIR see-=>1-3-now

'He too now sees just me.'
```

4.1.4. Emphatic Pronouns

Historically *kiki* 'self' was a reflexive pronoun. It is now used more as an "emphatic" pronoun. It is inflected for the person of the referent:

kiki-:	'ME!/myself'
kiki-ki	'YOU!/yourself'
kiki-n	'HIM!/himself'
kiki-nchi:	'WE(incl)!/ourselves(incl)'
kiki-:kuna	'WE(excl)!/ourselves(excl) alone'

Examples:

```
Kiki-n-ta    wañu-chi-ku-sha.                                      96
self-3P-OBJ die-cause-refl-3PERF

'He killed himself.'

Kiki-:   rura-ra-:.                                               97
self-1P do-past-1

'I did it.' (Emphasising that it was I who did it.)
```

4.1.5. Demonstrative Pronoun-Adjectives

1. of proximity:

kay	'this(one)/here' (proximate)
chay	'that(one)/there' (medial)
taqay	'that(one)/over there' (distal)

kay is sometimes used as a cataphoric pronoun (forward-referring). *chay* is frequent as an anaphoric pronoun (referring back to something previously mentioned). *Taqay* is only used to refer to some tangible object (usually in view) of the real world.

2. of altitude relative to the speaker (or to the "point of reference" of a narrative):

ura	'below/lower'
hana	'above/upper'
washa	'roughly at the same altitude'

3. of altitude on some slope with respect to some object (as indicated by an optional genitive phrase and an obligatory possessive suffix). The hyphen indicates that the vowel /a/ has been lost: a strong transition vocoid (symbolized phonetically as [^{e}] and orthographically an apostrophe) remains. and nasal assimilation does not apply to *han-qa-*.

ur^e_eqaa:	'below me'
ur$_e$qayki	'below you'
ur$_e$qan	'below him/it'
ur^{e}qanchii	'below us(incl)'
han^{e}qaa	'above me'
wash^{e}qaa	'on the other side of me'

These are used as in the following:

```
Ur'qa-yki-chaw  ka-yka-:.                                         98
below-2POSS-LOC be-impfv-1

'I am down the hill from you.'
```

38

```
Wasi-ki-pa    han'qa-n-chaw tiya-n.                                    99
house-2P-GEN above-3P-LOC  live-3
```

'He lives up the hill from your house.'

4.1.6. Interrogative-Indefinite Pronoun-Adjectives

pi	'who'
ima	'what'
may	'where'
ayka	'how many/much'
mayqa+POS~*mayqani*+POS	'which'
imay	'when'
imayka	'whatever'

These have various uses:

1. interrogative when followed by question markers *-taq* or *-raq* e.g.. *Pi-taq chay?*-(who-? that) 'Who is that?'. Other examples:

```
Mayqani-ki-taq rura-sha?                                             100
which-2P-??     do-3PERF
```

'Which one of you did it?'

```
May-man-taq   aywanki?                                               101
where-GOAL-?? you:are:going
```

'To where are you going?'

2. indefinite followed by *-pis* 'indef e.g..

```
Pi-ta-pis       willa-y.                                             102
who-ACC-indef tell-2IMP
```

'Tell anyone/whoever.'

3. negative-indefinite when preceded by *mana* 'no' or *ni* 'nor' and followed by *-pis* e.g..

```
Mana pi-pis     sha-mu-sha-chu.                                      103
not   who-indef come-afar-3PERF-NEG
```

'No one came.'

4. with embedded questions. e.g..

```
Mana musya:chu    pi  chayamushan-ta-pis.                            104
not  I:don't:know who his:arriving-ACC-indef
```

'I do not know who came.'

5. with correlative relative clauses (see Weber [39], section 3.3).

```
May-pa-mi       chiri-n       ka-sha; chay-lla-pa   muru-paku-n.     105
where-GEN-DIR fertilize-3 be-3PERF that-just-GEN plant-distr-3
```

'They only plant around wherever it has been fertilized.'

These words may be modifiers of other noun-adjectives; e.g.:

```
[May    runa]-taq chay?                                              106
where man-??    that(one)
```

'Where is that person from?'

```
[Imay oora]-na-taq?                                                 107
when moment-now-?
```

'What time is it?'

39

4.1.7. Quantifying Noun-Adjectives

Two classes of quantifying substantive will be distinguished: indefinite and numeral.[51]

4.1.7.1. Indefinite quantifying noun-adjectives

llapan *llapa-* *llapani-*	'all (of)'
pullan *pullanni-* *pullalla-*	'half (of)'
achka	'many/much'
huk *hukni-*	'another (with respect to)'
wakin *waki-* *wakini-*	'others (with respect to)'

The use of these is discussed in section 12.4.1. Some examples follow:

```
Llapan  sha-mu-sha.                                            108
all     come-afar-3PERF

'All (of them) came.'

                         ⌠a.  llapani-ki-ta.                   109
                         ⎮    all-2P-OBJ
Qo-yku-shayki           ⎨
give-impact-1=>2FUT      ⎮b.  llapa-yki-ta.
                         ⌡    all-2P-OBJ

'I will give to all of you.'
```

4.1.7.2. Numerals

This class is comprised of the names of the numbers: *huk* 'one', *ishkay* 'two', *kimsa* 'three', *chusku* 'four'.... *chunka* 'ten'. *pachak* 'hundred', and *waranqa* 'thousand'. (Perhaps number expressions formed from these should also be included in this class; see section 12.5.)

Possessed numbers behave as pronouns, ones indicating both number and grammatical person: see table 4-1. Although this is productive and could conceivably be extended to any number, generally such pronouns are formed only with the smaller numbers.[52]

---

[51]Some members of both subclasses (and no other substantives) occur with *-q* 'human'. This suffix indicates some collection of humans. e.g. *achka-q* (many-human) 'many (persons)'. *ishka-q* (two-human) 'the two (persons)'. *ayka-q* (many-human) 'how many (persons)'. See section 4.2.1.10.

[52]Perhaps it is limited to numbers which can be expressed as one word, so that *pachakniki* 'one hundred of you' is acceptable. but *pachak hukniki* 'one hundred and one of you' is not.

40

huknii 'one of us(excl)'	ishkani: '(the) two of us(excl)'	kimsani: '(the) three of us(excl)'	chusku: .... '(the)four of us(excl)'
hukniki 'one of you'	ishkayki ishkaniki '(the) two of you'	kimsaniki '(the) three of you'	chuskuyki .... '(the)four of you'
huknin 'one of them'	ishkan ishkanin '(the) two of them'	kimsan '(the) three of them'	chuskun .... '(the) four of them'
hukninchi 'one of us(incl)'	ishkanchi ishkaninchi '(the) two of us(incl)'	kimsanchi '(the) three of us(incl)'	chuskunchi .... '(the) four of us(incl)'

Table 4-1: NUMERAL PRONOUNS

The use of these is discussed in sections 12.4.1.1 and 12.4.1.2.

4.2. Suffixes which Apply to Substantives

The suffixes discussed in this section apply to substantives. Some of these are derivational (discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) and some are inflectional (discussed in 4.3).[53]

4.2.1. Suffixes which Derive Substantives from Substantives

This section deals with substantives which are derived from other substantives.

The first three suffixes to be discussed in this section may be regarded as a subclass because of semantic commonality. They all have to do with possessing some object or characteristic: *-yoq* means 'having' (in 4.2.1.1), *-sapa* means 'having much' (in 4.2.1.2), and *-ynaq* means 'without' (in 4.2.1.3). The other suffixes discussed in this section do not seem to form any particular subclasses.

4.2.1.1. *-yoq* 'having'

-Niyoq is *-yoq* following short vowels and *-niyoq* elsewhere. It means roughly '(one) having', where there is considerable latitude as to what "have" means. Several will be illustrated. First, one thing may "have" a characteristic: e.g. a plant can be described as:

muru-yoq 'seed bearing' from *muru* 'seed'.

kasha-yoq 'having thorns' from *kasha* 'thorn'.

One thing may "have" another in the sense of owning it: e.g.:

wasi-yoq 'landlord, one who has a house' from *wasi* 'house'.

pikapa-yoq-kuna 'those who have record players' from *pikapa* 'record player'[54]

A container may "have" its contents, e.g.:

---

[53]The distinction between derivational and inflectional suffixes is not as clear-cut as the text may sound: the distinction is used merely as an expository convenience.

[54]Most persons who own record players hire out to provide music for fiestas or processions: these people are known as *pikapa-yoq*.

41

```
...ka-yka-n achka botella-kuna awrindi-yoq.
  be-impfv many  bottle-plur  fire:water-have
```
110

'...there are many bottles of fire water'

A person "has" a birthday, and a saint "has" a day on which it is to be commemorated; e.g.:

```
Diya-yoq santu-ta  tuma-chi-n...
day-have saint-OBJ go:about-cause-3
```
111

'They parade the saint whose day it is...'

Something may "have" authority; e.g.:

```
Eskirbaanu llapan fista-kuna-wan   muna-y-niyoq.
scrivener  all    fiesta-plur-COM want-inf-have
```
112

'The scrivener has all the fiesta under his authority.'

Persons and things "have" an age; e.g.:

```
...asta  kimsa wata-yoq ka-na-n-yaq
   until three year-have be-sub-3P-LIM
```
113

'...until he is three years old'

A paper may "have" an image: e.g.:

```
Huk papel ka-yka-n    boniitu dibuhu-yoq.
one paper be-impfv-3 pretty  picture-have
```
114

'There is a paper which has a pretty picture.'

Or one may "have" guilt: e.g.:

```
Mayqa-nchi:-taq hucha-yoq  ka-nchi?
which-12P-??    guilt-have be-12
```
115

'Which of us is guilty?'

Something "has" its parts, so e.g., a cup may be said to be *maki-yoq* (hand-have) 'having a handle'. Another example:

```
Chay kapilla ishkay punku-yoq.
that chapel  two     door-have
```
116

'That chapel has two doors.'

A person "has" his kin; e.g.:

```
Chay runa-yoq warmi-kuna...
that men-have women-plur
```
117

'Those married women...'

The final example is a little strange in that *-yoq* is not usually used for things which one has temporarily. For example, if someone takes a knife in hand, it would be unusual to refer to him as *kuchillu-yoq*. But the person referred to in 118 is presented as one whose most salient characteristic is his wielding a knife:

```
...huk kuchillu-yoq runa ka-yka-n.
   one knife-have   man be-impfv-3
```
118

'...there is a man with a knife.'

42

4.2.1.2. -*sapa* 'having much'

-*sapa* '(one) having much' is restricted to having some physical characteristic; e.g., one can say *aqcha-sapa* 'hairy, one who has much hair' from *aqcha* 'hair', or of a sheep one can say *millwa-sapa* 'woolly, having much wool'. But one cannot say **wamra-sapa* for 'having many children' (from *wamra* 'child').[55]

4.2.1.3. -*ynaq* 'not having'

-*NIynaq* is -*ynaq* following short vowels and -*niynaq* elsewhere. It means '(one) not having'.[56] As with -*yoq* above, considerable lattitude is possible in the sense of "have", e.g. some characteristic, some object, etc.

   1. The following illustrate lacking some characteristic:

      aqcha-ynaq 'hairless, one who is hairless' from *aqcha* 'hair',

      aala-ynaq 'without wings' from *aala* 'wing',

      lacking a point:

```
        llawchi punta-ynaq    laapis                              119
        sharp   point-without pencil

        'a dull pencil' (i.e. without a sharp point)
```

   2. A collection may lack some expected component; e.g. one can say that a pile of potatoes is without any big ones with *hatun-niynaq* 'without big ones' (from *hatun* 'big').

   3. A person may lack some possession:

      wasi-ynaq-kuna (house-without-plur) 'the homeless'

      without clothing:

```
        llachapa-ynaq qara-lla                                   120
        clothes-without skin-just

        'absolutely naked, without a stitch of clothing'
```

   4. Something may lack some associated person/thing:

      A chicken may be without a mate:

```
        Chipsha mana pashta-n-chu gaallu-ynaq    wallpa ka-pti-n. 121
        chick   not  burst-3-NEG rooster-without chicken be-adv-3P

        'No chicks will hatch if the chicken is without a rooster.'
```

      A corpse may be without a coffin:

```
        Kahun-niynaq-lla pampa-ku-pti-n...                       122
        box-without-just bury-refl-adv-3P

        'If they are going to bury him without a coffin...'
```

---

[55]One would rather say *achka wamra-yoq* (many child-have) 'having many children'. Perhaps -*sapa* is not possible with count nouns (i.e., meaning 'having many') but this would be a bit surprising since the language generally does not show any sensitivity to count-mass distinctions.

[56]-*ynaq* 'without having' probably originated as a substantivization by **-q* of **-yni* (which gave rise to the present suffix '(in the state of) not having been/done'; see 13.2.3). (The fact that /i/ is posited where /a/ is currently found is not an obstacle: any high vowel occurring in a suffix which has /q/ has become /a/.) Support for this claim is *yaku-yni-shqa-qa* 'sin agua [without water]' (from Sola [35], pg. 37) which shows -*yni* substantivized by -*shqa* 'participle'.

43

4.2.1.4. -saq and -karay with hatu- 'big'

-saq 'plural' and -karay 'huge' only occur frozen with hatu- 'big'. The only combinations in which hatu- survive are the following:

hatu + n + karay
        'huge' (cf. hatu + n 'big')
hatu + saq 'big ones (of a collection)'
hatu + lla + saq
        'just the big ones' (cf. hatu + lla + n 'somewhat big'.)

4.2.1.5. -y 'vocative'

-y 'vocative', very common in other Quechua languages, is essentially non-existent in HgQ. A rare example occurs in folk tales (where perhaps it is simply repeated as heard); e.g., tiyu-y kondor (uncle-voc condor) 'Uncle condor'.

4.2.1.6. -ylla 'just'

-ylla is not a productive suffix; it occurs in a few words, among them the following:
hinaylla   'just like that'
huknaylla   'just one'
ichiknaylla 'tiny'

4.2.1.7. -y (no gloss)

ishka- 'two' occurs with -y to express the quantity 'two'. (Ishka- 'two'-also occurs with possessive suffixes (see 12.4.1.2) and with -q 'human' (see 4.2.1.10).)

4.2.1.8. -q with hana

hana 'above' occurs with a -q in the combinations hana + q 'upper part, (directly) above': -q change the meaning from 'above (relative to something)' to 'upper part (relative to that thing)'. What hana + q refers to is relative to some point of reference. E.g., relative to a house, hana + q refers to the second story; relative to a "mixto" (i.e. a truck-bus vehicle) hana + q refers to the part over the cab and passenger-seating area; hana + q can refer to the sky or to space, see example 876.

hana + q can simply mean '(somewhere) up high' as in 123 and 124:

```
nirkur  hana+q-man  warku-nchi                                123
then    high-GOAL   hang-12

'Then we hang it up high.'

...hata-rI-chi-sha          hana+q-yaq.                       124
   stand-pnct-caus-3PERF    high-LIM

'...They made it very high.'
```

4.2.1.9. -sh with hana

Similar to the use of -q described in section 4.2.1.8, sh may occur on hana: hana + sh 'above (on the slope)', e.g.:

44

```
Chawra-qa  hana+sh-ta    aywa-yka-pti-n-na-qa...         125
So-TOP     above+SH-OBJ  go-impfv-adv-3P-now-TOP
```

'So. as he is now going up the hill from him...'

4.2.1.10. *-q* 'human'

-q 'human' is used with numbers and quantifiers to refer to people. *-q* 'human' may occur with any number ending in a vowel:

ishka-q 'two persons' (cf. *ishka+* 'two').

kimsa-q 'three persons' (cf. *kimsa* 'three').

with *chusku* 'four' and *pichqa* 'five'; e.g.:

```
...minka-ku-n          chusku-q-ta   o  pichqa-q-ta.       126
   ask:for:help-refl-3 four-hum-OBJ or five-hum-OBJ
```

'...he asks four or five persons to help him
(in a reciprocal labor exchange).'

chunka-q 'ten persons' (cf. *chunka* 'ten'),

chusku waranqa-q 'four thousand persons' (cf. *chusku waranqa* 'four thousand'),

-q 'human' may occur with a quantifier:[57]

achka-q 'many persons' (cf. *achka* 'many/much'),

ayka-q 'how many persons' (cf. *ayka* 'how many'). e.g.:

```
Ayka-q-niki-taq     aywa-n?                    127
how:many-hum-2P-?? go-3
```

'How many of you are going?'

4.2.1.11. *-la:* 'side'

-la: 'side' (derived from Spanish *lado* 'side') is used as in the following:

kay-la:-pa (this/here-side-GEN) 'around here'

wak-la: kay-la: (there-side here-side) 'thither and yon'

ishka-n-la: 'the two sides'; e.g.:

```
Ishka-n-la:-pa  hira-shun.                     128
two-3P-side-GEN sew-12IMP
```

'Let's sew it up on both of its sides.'

4.2.1.12. *-Nnin* 'superlative'

-Nnin 'superlative' is *-nnin* following short vowels and *-nin* elsewhere. *-Nnin* derives the superlative of a substantive which can be interpreted as a degree modifier (e.g. *hatun-nin* 'the biggest' from *hatun* 'big', and *altu-nnin* 'the highest' from *altu* 'high') and is also used to form certain time expressions (see the final paragraph of this section). Examples follow:

```
Mehur-nin-ta-raq-shi   wañu-rI+ykU-chi-n uysha-n-ta.      129
better-sup-OBJ-yet-IND die-sud-caus-3    sheep-3P-OBJ
```

'He killed the very best of her sheep.'

---

[57] The only quantifiers which occur with *-q* 'human' in my corpus are *ayka* 'how many' and *achka* 'many'.

45

```
Mas  alli-nnin-ta akra-rku-r...                              130
more good-sup-OBJ choose-asp-adv
```

'Having chosen the best...'

```
a. Alli-nnin papa-yki-ta    rantikU-ma-y.                    131
   good-sup  potato-2P-OBJ  sell-=>1-2IMP
```

```
b. Alli-nnin-niki-ta rantikU-ma-y.
   good-sup-2P-OBJ   sell-=>1-2IMP
```

a,b. 'Sell me your very best (potatoes).'

Example 132b is like 132a except that the head (*lasaq* 'heavy (one)') has been omitted: -*Nnin* ends up on the pre-adjective *sumaq* 'very':

```
a. Sumaq lasaq-nin-ta  apa-mu-nki.                           132
   very  heavy-sup-OBJ take-afar-2IMP
```

```
b. Sumaq-nin-ta apa-mu-nki.
   very-sup-OBJ take-afar-2P
```

a. 'Bring me the very heaviest.'
b. 'Bring me the very-est.'
   (i.e., the very heaviest, the very best, the very fullest...)

From this I would draw the conclusion that -*Nnin* is not necessarily a derivational suffix.

The superlative formed with -*Nnin* may occur discontinuously from the substantive it modifies:[58] e.g. compare 131a with 133:

```
Papa-yki-ta    rantikU-ma-y alli-nnin-ta                     133
potato-2P-OBJ sell-=>1-2IMP good-sup-OBJ
```

'Sell me your best potatoes.'

When -*lla* 'just' occurs with -*Nnin* 'sup', it does not precede or follow -*Nnin*; see 134a,b. Rather, it occurs before the final /n/; see 134c. Its presence there may suppress the /ni/ occurring in that morpheme; see 134d.[59]

```
a. *alli-lla-nnin                                            134
b. *alli-nnin-lla    papa-ta qo-ma-y        akra-y+lla+pa.
c. alli-nni-lla-n    potato  give-=>1-2IMP choose-adv
d. alli-n-lla-n
```

c,d. 'Give me just the best potatoes, choosing them.'
(i.e., I do not want the small ones, the damaged ones...)

To say 'the best of you' one cannot say *alli-nni-ki*: this shows that the final /n/ of -*Nnin* is not a possessive suffix. One must say rather rephrase as follows:

```
Qam-kuna-pita mas  alli-n(ni)llan-ta pusha-shaq.            135
you-plur-ABL  more good-sup+just-OBJ lead-1FUT
```

'I will take the best of you.'

-*Nnin* is used in certain "relative" time expressions in much the way described for -*ntin* (see

---

[58]This is subject--of course--to the requirement that the discontinuous parts be marked with a common case marker: this is true of modifiers generally: see section 12.1.

[59]See 19.1.1.1 concerning the general property of -*lla* "invading" other morphemes.

section 4.2.1.13).[60] The addition of -*Nnin* shifts the time referred to by one day; e.g., *tuta* means 'morning/early'. and refers to the morning of the day on which it is spoken[61] but *tuta-nnin* means 'on the following morning'.

4.2.1.13. -*ntin* 'together with'

-*Nintin* 'together with' (glossed 'tog') is -*ntin* following short vowels and -*nintin* elsewhere. In HgQ -*ntin* 'together' is a single, non-inflecting suffix.[62]

There are two main uses of -*ntin*: with time expressions) and with couplets. (The gloss 'together with' fits the couplets much better than the time uses of -*ntin*.) The couplets may be of two kinds: those which share some special relationship because of physical proximity, use or culture), and those which are coupled because of a transitory situation).

Time use of -*ntin*

When -*ntin* occurs on *wara* 'tomorrow' or *qanyan* 'yesterday', the word so formed refers to the next day farther removed from that to which *wara* or *qanyan* alone would refer; e.g.:

```
qanyan     'yesterday'                                             136
qanyantin 'day before yesterday'

wara       'tomorrow'                                              137
warantin 'day after tomorrow'

wara-ntin-pa      wara-ntin-nin                                   138
tomorrow-tog-GEN tomorrow-tog-3P

'the day after tomorrow's day after tomorrow'
(e.g., if today is Tuesday, this would refer to Saturday)
```

This temporal use of -*ntin* is very similiar to the use of -*Nnin* 'superlative' discussed in section 4.2.1.12 below.

Stable couplets

-*ntin* may be used when there is a close relationship (at least perceived) between the referent of the substantive bearing -*ntin* and its co-ordinate referent.[63] This relationship may have its basis in physical proximity, by virtue of being used together, or some such stable factor. For example. in

---

[60]Indeed. in other dialects -*Nnin* is used to form e.g., *wara-nnin* 'day after tomorrow' rather than being formed as in HgQ *wara-ntin*.

[61]That is. unless it is modified in some way (as by saying *lunis tuta* 'Monday morning').

[62]In e.g. the Quechua of Northern Junín it is -*nti-* and is obligatorily followed by a possessive suffix. Even in HgQ one can get assent to sentences like the following (with perhaps a little arm-twisting). but they are not very natural:

```
Llapan-ni:-ta wañu-chi-ma-nqa       warmi-nti-:-ta    wamra-nti-:-ta.
all-1P-OBJ        die-caus-=>1-3FUT woman-tog-1P-OBJ child-tog-1P-OBJ

'It will kill us all. including my wife and children.'
```

[63]Expressions such as salt'n pepper. needle'n thread, null and void...

139 'pick' and 'shovel' are coupled, since they are used together (unlike e.g. 'hammer' and 'shovel').
Note that there is only one instrumental case marker (-*wan* 'COM'), this having within its scope both
the coupled elements:

```
Aru-:    [paala  piiku-ntin]-wan.                                          139
work-1    shovel pick-tog-COM

'I work with a shovel and pick.'
```

In 140 'coca' and 'lime' are coupled because coca is chewed along with lime powder:

```
Kay-chaw ka-yka-n    kuka isku-ntin.                                       140
here-LOC be-impfv-3 coca lime-tog

'Here is (some) coca and lime.'
```

141 is from a description of how to butcher a sheep; 'neck joint' and 'spinal cord' are coupled because
of physical proximity:

```
Y    kunka moqo-n-ta      paasa-chi-nchi toqsho-ntin-ta.                   141
and neck  joint-3P-OBJ pass-caus-12    brain-tog-OBJ

'And we make it (the knife) pass through the neck joint
and spinal cord.'
```

142 is from a description of how to shear a sheep. The coat is shorn first on one side and is gathered
along the top of the back. Then the sheep and coat are flipped over together (the sheep and his
partially shorn coat forming a couplet):

```
Nirkur uysha-ntin-ta marqa-rku-r          tikra-nchi.                      142
then    sheep-tog-OBJ take:in:arms-asp-adv turn-12

'Then taking it (the partially shorn coat of wool)
along with the sheep into the arms, we turn it over.'
```

In 143 -*ntin* indicates that the fingers of one hand are grouped together (i.e. they are not inserted one
by one, nor are they the fingers of more than one hand):

```
...hati-n    deeru-n-kuna-ntin-pis...                                      143
  insert-3 finger-3P-plur-tog-even

'...he even sticks in his fingers...'
(the fingers of one hand all together)

Uysha kawallu-ntin tallu-sha miku-rka-yka-n.                               144
sheep horse-tog    mix-prtc eat-plur-impfv-3

'The sheep and horses are eating, mixed together.'

Sipra-ntin-ta miku-:                                                       145
peel-tog-OBJ  eat-1

'I eat it together with its peel.'
```

Transitory couplets

-*ntin* may be used to indicate coupling of elements brought about by some special situation or
circumstance. The elements coupled are not related in any special way outside of that situation or
circumstance (and thus cease to be coupled when that circumstance changes).

For example, *chamana* and *mulli* are two types of plant; they bear no special relationship to
each other. But when boiled together to make a medicine, they are coupled. (Note that in this case
both bear -*ntin*.)

48

```
...timpu-sha-n chamana-ntin mulli-ntin...                          146
    boil-sub-3P (plant)-tog  (plant)-tog
```

'...the boiled *chamana* and *mulli*...'

A familiar motif in HgQ folk tales is this: The protagonist sleeps on a plank/door lodged high up (in a tree, in a second story). In moving about in the night (usually to relieve himself), he unbalances the plank/door and falls with it to the ground (startling the protagonist out of his wits). In this situation, the plank/door and the protagonist are always coupled. In 147 the focus is on the lamb, who is said to fall along with the plank, whereas in 148 the focus is on the plank, which is said to fall together with the stooge:

```
Y   kuyu-rku-sha-n-chaw-shi tabla-ntin yeqa-kU-mu-n               147
and move-asp-sub-3P-LOC-IND plank-tog  fall-refl-afar-3

muku pampa-man.
lamb ground-GOAL
```

'And moving about, the lamb falls to the ground together with the plank.'

```
Chawra punku-qa ami-yka:-ku-r        yaqa-ku-rpu-sha              148
so     door-TOP pivot-impfv-refl-adv fall-refl-down-3PERF

pampa-man-shi.    Upa-ntin-shi    heqa-ku-n.
ground-GOAL-IND   stooge-tog-IND  fall-3
```

'So the door, having pivoted, falls down to the ground. It falls together with the stooge.'

In 149 the priest is circumstantially related to the others by virtue of having led the expedition:

```
Chawra chay-chaw llapan kuura-ntin-shi illqa-sha.                 149
so     that-LOC  all    priest-tog-IND perish-3PERF
```

'So they all perished there along with the priest.'

In 150 'you' are related circumstantially to others by virtue of saying what they say:

```
Qam-nintin ni-ma-nki.                                            150
you-tog    say-=>1-2
```

'You as well say it to me.'

4.2.2. Suffixes which Derive Substantives from Verbs

Verbs are nominalized by *-na, -y, -q* (the major nominalizers) and *-chi* and *-pa* (highly restricted). A type of participle is formed by *-:ni*.

4.2.2.1. Substantivizations with *-na*

For a verb which refers to an action performed with some tool, the substantivization with *-na* refers to that tool. In HgQ these are almost always accompanied with *-kU* 'refl'; e.g., *picha-ku-na* 'broom' from *picha-* 'to sweep', *aru-ku-na* 'tool' from *aru-* 'to work', *tapya-ku-na* 'a large box (assembled on a wall, into which earth is rammed to form another block')' from *tapya-* 'build a rammed earth wall'.

These substantivizations may be used to refer (as in 151) or to modify (as in 152 and 153):

```
Taka-ku-na    ka-n hatun qeru-pita.                              151
hit-refl-sub be-3 big   wood-ABL
```

'There is a tamper, (made) from a big piece of wood.'

49

```
Ka-n awa-ku-na    qeru.                                        152
be-3 weave-refl-sub wood
```

'There is a weaving stick.'

```
Chay-wan tiñi-nchi hacha, tiñi-ku-na    hacha.                 153
that-COM dye-12    plant  dye-refl-sub plant
```

'We dye it with that, a plant, a plant for dyeing.'

In 154 the element referred to (a doorway) is a place with respect to which the action is carried out:

```
punku yayku-ri-na-chaw                                        154
door  enter-pnct-sub-LOC
```

'in the doorway'

4.2.2.2. Substantivizations with -y

Among the uses of -y 'infinitive'[64] is its use to form simple (lexical?) substantives such as the following:

miku-y   'food' from *miku-* 'eat'

yapa-y   'again, another time' (from *yapa-* 'to add to, to repeat') e.g. *yapay-shi kontesta-n sapo...* (again-IND answer-3 frog...) 'Again the frog answered...'

In the following, *ushapaakuy* refers to a baptism and *qaray* refers to food:

```
Chay usha-paaku-y-chaw      qasta-n achka-ta tesureeru llapan  155
that baptize-diffuse-inf-LOC spend-3 much-OBJ treasurer all

mayuraasa-n-kuna-ta atindi-r  qara-y-nin-ta   qu-shpa-n.
mayuraasa-3P-OBJ    attend-adv feed-inf-3P-OBJ give-adv-3P
```

'The treasurer spends a lot in that baptismal ceremony, attending to his *mayoraasa*'s, giving (them) food.'

In the following *aruy* refers to work:

```
Imay-taq usha-nki aru-y-niki-ta...                            156
when-??  finish-2 work-inf-2P-OBJ
```

'When will you finish your work...'

In the following *ayway* refers to a trip:

```
Kondor kada aywa-y-nin yaku  puyñu-n-ta mana kacha-yku-q.     157
condor each go-inf-3P  water jug-3P-OBJ not  leave-impact-NRP
```

'Every time the condor went he did not leave his water jug behind.'

In the following *chayamuy* refers to an arrival:

```
...pishta-shu-nki qam-ta  kumpaarri-n chaya-mu-y-nin-ta.      158
   slaughter-=>2-2 you-OBJ compadre-3P arrive-afar-inf-3P-OBJ
```

'...they will slaughter you upon their compadre's arrival.'

In the following *kuyay* is referential: it refers to one who is loved:

```
Mayqani-:-taq mas  kuya-y-niki ka-:?                          159
which-1P-??   more love-inf-2P be-1
```

'Which of us (excl) do you love more?'

In the following, *kuyay* is a modifier; it means 'beloved':

---

[64]See 13.3.2.2 for infinitival uses of -y.

```
Ay Padre  Santo,  kuya-y    wawa-yki-pa  huti-n-chaw                    160
Oh father  holy     love-inf  child-2p-GEN  name-3P-LOC

chay-lla-ta-mi      maña-ku-:.
that-just-OBJ-DIR  ask-refl-1

'Oh Holy Father, I ask just that in the name of your beloved
son.'
```

In the following. *usunkay* refers to the sensation of a limb which has gone to sleep:

```
Usunka-y                  paasa-pti-n shiriri-n.                        161
without:sensation-inf  pass-adv-3P tingle-3

'When its being asleep (a limb) has passed, it tingles.'
```

In the following *pallay* refers to a harvest:

```
Chay-chaw aru-shka-:   tee palla-y-chaw.                               162
there-LOC work-perf-1  tea gather-inf-LOC

'I worked there in the tea harvest.'
```

In the following *rutuy* refers to a session of cutting hair:

```
Aqcha rutu-y  ka-n.                                                     163
hair  cut-inf be-3

'There is hair-cutting going on.'
```

In the following *churakuynin* refers to manner of dress:

```
Warmi-kaq lomismo  chura-ku-y-nin ...                                  164
woman-def same:way put-refl-inf-3P

In the same way, what the woman has put on... (i.e., her
clothing)...
```

In the following *chakay* refers to 'dark/night' (derived from *chaka-* 'be dark') and *qasa-y* refers to 'the cold' (derived from *qasa:-* 'to be cold'):

```
...chaka-y       qasa-y-wan       soorru mana awanta-sha-chu.          165
   be:dark-inf be:cold-inf-COM fox    not  resist-3PERF-NEG

'...the fox was not able to stand the night cold.'

Chawra-qa chaka-y-pa       seena-y          usha-y-na-qa...            166
so-TOP     be:dark-inf-GEN eat:supper-inf finish-inf-now-TOP

'So that night upon having finished supper...'
```

yarpa-y (think-inf) may refer to 'thought. the faculty of thought' and *yarpa-y-POS* to the 'center of emotions and thought. x's thoughts?': e.g.:

```
Piru yus-ninchi:-qa yarpa-y-ta      qo-yku-pti-n-qa...                 167
but  god-12P-TOP     think-inf-OBJ give-impact-adv-3P-TOP

'But if our God gives him faith...
(lit. 'give him the thought' ?)
```

Other examples:

pacha wara-y
> (firmament dawn-inf) 'the twilight of dawn' from *wara:-* 'dawn'

warmi ashi-y
> (woman search-NOM) an engagement practice in which a suitor and his relatives go to the home of the girl being sought

picha-paku-y
> 'the yearly cleaning of the irrigation canals'

51

papa yanu-y

> (potato boil-inf) 'a type of potato soup'

penqa-y-POS

> 'parts of which to be embarrassed, i.e., genitals' from *penqa-* 'to be embarrassed, ashamed'

Another use of *-y* 'infinitive' is in forming "circumstantial infinitives"; these are accompanied by a case marker (*chaw* 'LOC' or *-wan* 'COM') and indicate the circumstances under which something was done or happened; e.g.:[65]

```
Kanan papel-niki-kuna  tinku-chi-y-chaw    lloqshi-nki alli...          168
now   paper-2P-plur    equal-caus-inf-LOC come:out-2  good
```

'Now in (the circumstance of) seeing if your paper measures up,
you will come out fine...'

```
...qachwa-n-raq-shi  kushi-ku-y-lla-wan         "gaana-shka-nchi" ni-r.   169
   dance-3-yet-IND   be:happy-refl-inf-just-COM win-perf-12       say-adv
```

'...they danced, being happy, saying "We won!"'

```
Macha-sha       ka-y-ni:-wan   maqa-shka-:.                               170
be:drunk-prtc be-inf-1P-COM hit-perf-1
```

'With the circumstance that I was drunk, I hit him.'

```
Yawar-ni: mashta-sha    ka-y-nin-pa...                                    171
blood-1P  spread-prtc be-inf-3P-GEN
```

'By my blood being shed...'

4.2.2.3. *-q* 'substantivizer'

-q is used to form "agentive" nominalizations; e.g.:

pishtakuq 'slaughterer' from *pishta(ku)-* 'to slaughter'

arupakuq 'day laborer, one who works for hire' from *aru-* 'to work'

rantikuq 'salesman' from *ranti + kU-* 'sell'; e.g.:

> ```
> Rantiku-q-lla ka-shka-: tyenda-chaw.                                    172
> sell-sub-just be-perf-1 store-loc
> ```
>
> 'I was just a salesman in the store.'

4.2.2.4. *-(:)chi* 'one who does excessively'

-chi is a non-productive suffix meaning roughly 'one who does excessively'; e.g.:[66]

tapu(:)chi 'one who asks too many questions, a busybody' from *tapu-* 'to ask',

chirimana-:chi

---

[65] A dirrection for further study is to explore what constraints there are on what sort of circumstance may be indicated by an infinitive: e.g., the following is not acceptable:

```
*Maqa-ma-y-niki-wan maqa-shka-:.
 hit-=>1-inf-2P-COM hit-perf-1
```

'With the circumstance that you hit me, I hit you.'

[66] Cusihuaman [12] (pg. 232) shows that in Cuzco Quechua *-ri* 'characterizer' is a productive suffix: e.g., *waqa-ri* 'cry-baby' from *waqa-* 'cry'. Certainly Cuzco Quechua *-ri* is cognate with HgQ *-(:)chi*. *-(:)chi* corresponds somewhat to the Spanish suffix *-ón*: e.g., compare *tapu(:)chi* with *preguntón* 'one who asks too many questions'.

'one who has pants too tight' (perhaps from *chiri-* 'tight')

a:yara:chi 'one who stands around with his mouth open' from *a:ya-* 'yawn, have the mouth open' and *-ra:* 'stative'

4.2.2.5. -pa 'substantivizer'

-pa 'substantivizer' is restricted to a few verbs; it is not a productive suffix.

willapa   'news' (cf. *willa-* 'to tell')

qasapa   'frost' (cf. *qasa:-* 'be cold')

4.3. Inflectional Suffixes which Apply to Substantives

The inflectional suffixes which apply to substantives will be discussed in what is (roughly) their order of occurrence in the formation of a word:

1. Possessive (section 4.3.1).
2. Number (section 4.3.2).
3. Case (section 4.3.3).
4. Other (section 4.3.4).

4.3.1. Possessive Suffixes

The FIRST person possessive (glossed '1P') is *-:* following short vowels and *-ni:* elsewhere. Here, *-:* represents a combination of three effects:

1. lengthening of the preceding vowel.
2. attraction of stress when *-:* '1P' occurs word final.[67] and
3. (optional) lowering (to a highly variable degree) of a high vowel to mid, i.e. /i/ to [e] or /u/ to [o].

The first person is the person of the SPEAKER; e.g.:

> *umaa* (pronounced [umá:]) 'my head' (cf. *uma* 'head')
>
> *wasii* (pronounced [wasí:] or [wasé:]) 'my house' (cf. *wasi* 'house')
>
> *mayurnii* (pronounced [mayurné:]) 'my older (sibling)' (cf. *mayur* 'older (one)')

The SECOND person possessive (glossed '2P') is *-ki* following /i/, *-yki* following other short vowels, and *-niki* elsewhere. The second person is the person of the HEARER (interlocutor); e.g.:

> *wasiki* 'your house'
>
> *umayki* 'your head'
>
> *mayurniki* 'your older (sibling)'

The THIRD person possessive (glossed '3P') is *-n* following short vowels and *-nin* elsewhere. The third person is the person of some person/object other than the SPEAKER or HEARER; e.g.:

> *uman* 'his head'
>
> *mayurnin* 'his older (sibling)'

The FIRST PERSON PLURAL INCLUSIVE possessive (glossed '12P') is *-nchi:* following short vowels and *-ninchi:* elsewhere. The length of /i/ is realized only in open, non-final syllables. The first

---

[67] Otherwise the penultimate syllable will be stressed: see 23.7.

53

person plural inclusive is a person which includes the SPEAKER and HEARER: e.g.:

> *umanchi* 'our (incl) heads'
>
> *mayurninchi* 'our (incl) older sibling/siblings'
>
> *wasinchiiman* 'to our (incl) house(s)'

The FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE possessive (glossed '11P') is *-:kuna* following vowels and *-ni:kuna* elsewhere. The first person plural exclusive is a person which includes the SPEAKERS (plural) or the SPEAKER and some other person, but excludes the HEARER: e.g.: *Diosniikuna* 'our(excl) God' would refer to a God in which the speaker--but not the hearer--believes.

Various uses of the possessive suffixes are given in 12.3.2.

4.3.2. Number

The only suffix in this class is *-kuna* 'plural'. It is used for all pluralization of substantives. An exmple follows:

```
Wasi-n-kuna-ta     rika-:.                              173
house-3P-plur-OBJ  see-1

'I see his houses'.
```

4.3.3. Case and Case-like

The case marking suffixes indicate the relationship of the substantive to which they are suffixed to the verb of the clause in which that substantive is a member. A full discussion of each of these is given in chapter 10: what follows is intended as a cursory survey:

-Ø 'NOMinative' e.g..

```
Warmi-ki-Ø    ka-n-chu?                                 174
woman-2P-NOM  be-3-YN?

'Do you have a wife?'
```

-*ta* 'OBJect'

accusative. e.g..

```
Achka-ta  ranti-shka-:.                                 175
much-OBJ  buy-perf-1

'I bought lots.'
```

dative, e.g.,

```
Wamra-:-ta   qo-yku-nki.                                176
child-1P-OBJ  give-impact-2

'Give it to my child.'
```

direction. e.g.,

```
Llakun-ta   aywa-yka-n.                                 177
Llacon-OBJ  go-impfv-3

'He is going to Llacón.'
```

54

-yaq~-kama 'LIMitative'[68] e.g.,

178

$$\text{Punta} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. -yaq} \\ \quad \text{LIM} \\ \text{b. -kama} \\ \quad \text{LIM} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{aywa-shaq.} \\ \text{go-1FUT} \end{array}$$

Punta ... peak

a,b. 'I will go to the ridge.'

-man 'GOAL' e.g.,

Wasi-:-<u>man</u>   sha-mu-nki!   179
house-1P-GOAL come-afar-2

'Come to my house!'

Karu-<u>man</u> aywa-sha.   180
far-GOAL go-3PERF

'He went far (away).'

-chaw 'LOCative', e.g.:

Chay-<u>chaw</u> ka-ku-chun!   181
there-LOC be-refl-3IMP

'Leave it there!' (lit. 'May it be there!')

-paq 'PURposive'

benefactive. e.g.:

Qam-<u>paq</u> rura-nqa.   182
you-PUR do-3FUT

'He will do it for you.'

purposive. e.g.:

Miku-na-yki-<u>paq</u> ranti-shka-:. 183
eat-sub-2P-PUR   buy-perf-1

'I bought it for you to eat.'

-pita 'ABLative'. e.g.:

Llakun-<u>pita</u> sha-mu-shka-:.   184
Llacon-ABL   come-afar-perf-1

'I have come from Llacón.'

Qeru-<u>pita</u> rura-sha.   185
wood-ABL   make-3PERF

'He made it from wood.'

-rayku 'SAKE', e.g.:

Tamya-sha-n-<u>rayku</u> keeda-ra-n. 186
rain-sub-3P-SAKE   stay-past-3

'They stayed because of the rain.'

-naw 'SIMilarity' and *-niraq* 'like' e.g.,

---

[68]Despite considerable effort I have been unable to find a difference in meaning between *-yaq* and *-kama*.

$$\text{Pay miku-n kuchi} \begin{cases} \text{a. -niraq} \\ \qquad\text{like} \\ \text{b. -naw} \\ \qquad\text{SIM} \end{cases}$$

187

he eat-3 pig

a,b. 'He eats like a pig.' or 'He eats as though he were a pig.'

Rumi-naw-ya-n.   188
stone-SIM-become-3

'It is becoming like (a) stone.'/'It is becoming stonelike.'

-*wan* 'COMitative'

instrument, e.g.:

Illapa-wan wañu-chi-sha.   189
rifle-COM kill-caus-3PERF

'He killed it with a rifle.'

accompaniment e.g..

Pay-wan aywa-y.   190
he-COM go-2!

'Go with him.'

-*pa* 'GENitive'

through. e.g.:

Llakun-pa   paasa-shka-:.   191
Llacon-GEN pass-perf-1

'I passed through Llacón.' or 'I came by way of Llacón.'

to. e.g..

Llakun-pa   aywa-:.   192
Llacon-GEN go-1

'I go to Llacón.'

of. e.g.:

Juan-pa   uma-n   hatun.   193
John-GEN head-3P big

'John's head is big.'

-*pura* 'AMONG', e.g.:

Ishka-n qellay-ta chura-n pullan-pura.   194
two-2P   money-OBJ put-3   half-AMONG

'The two of them pay the money half and half
(i.e., they split the bill).'

Case markers are also used on substantivized clauses to indicate various other "adverbial" notions; see section 13.4 below, or chapter 5 of Weber [39]. For example:

TIME. e.g.:

Aywa-sha-n-kama puklla-shun.   195
go-sub-3P-LIM   play-12IMP

'Let's play while he's gone (i.e. until he returns).'

56

```
Puri-yka-sha-n-chaw     sapu-ta   haru-sha.                          196
walk-impfv-sub-3P-LOC  frog-ACC  step-3PERF
```

'As he was walking about, he stepped on a frog.'

PURPOSE. e.g., see example 183.
REASON, e.g.:

```
Sumaq  chari-nki  yawar  pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita.             197
well   hold-2     blood  splatter-ben-=>1-sub-12P-ABL
```

'Hold it well so that its blood won't splatter on us.'

4.3.4. Other Inflectional Suffixes

Various suffixes apply to substantives and verbs alike; these, with the sections in which they are discussed, are the following:

- -*pa* 'GEN' in its use in the genitive construction (see section 12.3).
- -*churaq* 'dubitive' (see section 16.1) and -*chaq* 'surely'.
- the question markers -*chu* 'YN?', -*taq* and -*raq* '??' (see chapter 16).
- and the suffix -*qa* 'TOP' (see chapter 20), and
- the evidential suffixes -*mi* 'DIR', -*shi* 'IND', and -*chi* 'CNJ' (see chapter 21).

Other inflectional suffixes which apply to substantives are discussed in chapter 12: see sections 12.6, 12.7 and 12.8.

5. ADVERBS

This section treats:

- adverbs of time (section 5.1),
- adverbs of degree (section 5.2),
- sentential adverbs (section 5.3),
- pre-adjectives (section 5.4),
- manner and means adverbs (section 5.5), and
- derived adverbs (section 5.6).

5.1. Time Expressions

This section deals with time adverbs. The discussion centers on substantives which refer to time rather than on simple lexical adverbs. This is because, while these words belong to the syntactic category of substantive.[69] they are used primarily as time adverbs. (Other sections relevant to time adverbs are: 19.4, which deals with -raq 'yet. still. not until', and 12.3.2.4, which deals with temporal expressions formed with the genitive construction.)

Adverbial clauses are often used to indicate time (see section 14.2) e.g.:

```
...karnabal-paq simaana pishi-yka-pti-n.                              198
   carnival-PUR week     lack-impfv-adv-3

'...one week before carnival.'
```

These will not be discussed further in this chapter.[70]

5.1.1. Named Times

Some units of time have names. e.g. the days of the week have names borrowed from Spanish:

dumingu	'Sunday'
lunis	'Monday'
martis	'Tuesday'
mirkulis	'Wednesday'
huybis	'Thursday'
birnis	'Friday'
sabadu or *sabaru*	'Saturday'

The months have names (borrowed from Spanish):

---

[69]Thus they undergo processes typical of substantives. as e.g. pluralization with -kuna. case marking. modification by other substantives. etc.

[70]Snow [34] (pg. 63) cites examples like the following. his number 47. but I found nothing like this in HgQ:

```
Y    upya-nqa-n    punu-ka-ski-naq.
and drink-sub-3P sleep-pass-asp-narpst

'And having drunk, he dozed off.'
```

eneeru	'January'
febreeru	'February'
marsu	'March'
abril	'April'
maayu	'May'
hunyu	'June'
hulyu	'July'
agostu	'August'
sitimri	'September'
oktubre	'October'
nobyemri	'November'
desyemri	'December'

Examples:

```
Febreeru killa qalla-ri-q-lla-chaw-na...                           199
February month begin-sud-sub-just-LOC-now

'at the beginning of February'

usha-q     fibreeru-chaw                              ··          200
finish-sub February-LOC

'at the end of the month'

Chay-ta  rura-n sabaru    kallistu tardi.                          201
that-OBJ do-3   Saturday            afternoon

'They do that the afternoon of Saturday-"kallistu".'

Chay-ta  ni-n  baara taapa-y        rus  noche.                    202
that-OBJ say-3 staff keep:vigil-inf cross night

'They call that the night of "baara taapay rus".
```

5.1.2. Time Expressions and Case Markers

Virtually all the case markers have some use in forming time expressions. These are discussed fully in Weber [39], section 5.1, and briefly in chapter 10 here. The following is a very brief summary:

-ta 'OBJ' may indicate 'time lapsed' (See 10.3): e.g.:

> *pichqa hunaq-ta* 'five days hence (from now)' (Sp. 'a los cinco días')

-chaw 'LOC' may be used to express 'while, during the time' (See 10.4): e.g.:

```
Mas   mas  aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi...                           203
more  more go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND

'As they are going along...'

Puñu-sha     huk puñu-sha-lla-n-chaw.                              204
sleep-3PERF  one sleep-sub-just-3P-LOC

'He slept one sleep through.'
(e.g. from the day before yesterday to yesterday)
```

-paq 'PUR' may be used to indicate a length of time which is to elapse or to express 'by the time that' (see section 10.8.6): e.g.:

```
...kontratu-ta    rura-shun   pusaq hunaq-paq.                     205
   contract-OBJ   make-12IMP  eight day-PUR

'...let's make a contract for eight days from now.'

...chaya-na-n-paq      aywa-ku-sha-na.                             206
   arrive-sub-3P-PUR   go-refl-3PERF-now

'...by the time he_i arrived, he_j had already gone.'
```

59

-man 'GOAL' may be used to indicate 'in a minute' (See 10.6); e.g..

    mas raatu-man 'in a minute'

-pita 'ABL' may be used to express 'since' or ' after' (See 10.5.7): e.g.:

```
Karnabal fista  usha-sha-n-pita     birnis-lla-n-na...
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL Friday-just-3P-now
```
        207

```
'On the first Friday after the end of Carnival...'
```

```
Puñu-yka-sha-n-pita     chakay...
sleep-impfv-sub-3P-ABL night
```
        208

```
'in the night after they were sleeping...'
```

-yaq or *-kama* 'LIM' may be used to express 'until' (See 10.7.2); e.g.:

```
Qachwa-n pacha      wara:-na-n-kama.
dance-3  firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM
```
        209

```
'They dance until dawn.'
```

-pa 'GEN' may occur in expressions like *tardi-pa* (afternoon-GEN) 'in the afternoon'.[71]

5.1.3. Units of Time

The following are some of the substantives that refer to units of time:

hunaq	'day'
killa	'month'
oora	'moment'
raatu	'moment' (*mas raatu-man* 'in a moment')
tuta	'morning'
wata	'year'
wichay	'era, period' (fits here?)

Examples of their use:

```
marsu killa qalla-yku-q-chaw
March month begin-impact-sub-LOC
```
        210

```
'at the beginning of March'
```

```
pullan killa-chaw
half   month-LOC
```
        211

```
'mid month'
```

These words may be the heads of relative clauses: e.g.:

```
Tapa-sha-n          tuta    almusa-y       oora-naw...
keep:vigil-sub-3P morning breakfast-inf time-SIM
```
        212

```
'On the morning after they have kept vigil, about breakfast time...'
```


5.1.4. Times of Day

The system of telling time by hours has been borrowed from Spanish; e.g.:

laguna '1:00 PM' (from Sp. la una)

lasdosi '2:00 PM' (from Sp. las dos)

lasdoosi '12:00 AM (noon)' (from Sp. las doce) e.g.:

---

[71]These are rare. I wonder if perhaps they are loan translations from Spanish *por la tarde*.

60

```
Kasi    lasdoosi-na-shi tarin...                                213
almost  noon-now-IND    find-3
```

'When it was almost noon, they find...'

las sinko '5:00 PM' (from Sp. las cinco)
Other expressions for the time of day follow:

pullan paqas
        'mid day. noon'

taarri   'evening', e.g.:

```
...dumingu taardi nochi-chi-n...                               214
   Sunday  evening pass:night-caus-3
```

'...Sunday evening they make them pass the night...'

tuta   'morning'. e.g.:

```
...miku-shka-: taarri tuta...                                  215
   eat-perf-1  evening morning
```

'...we ate every morning and every evening...'

The following expressions for times are based on the customary time of daily events:

kuchi pishtaq
        'hour/time when a particular star (named *kuchi pishtaq*) rises'

chaqcha inti
        'time of mid morning coca break'

mallway oora
        'time of mid afternoon coca break'[72] *kanan mallway* 'this afternoon'

rimer wallpa waqay
        'first rooster crow'

The following expressions for times are based on the the shift between night and day. light and dark:

pacha waraa-na-n-kama (firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM) 'firmament to dawn. i.e., of the sky, to get light' *pacha wara-sha* (firmament dawn-prtc) 'when it has become completely light (about 6:00 a.m.)'

tuta   'morning. early'

chakay   'dark. night'

In the example. time is expressed in terms of the position of sun; it refers to the evening after the sun has set but it is still light:

```
inti paasa-ri-pti-n    llantu-lla-ta                           216
sun  pass-pnct-adv-1P  shade-just-OBJ
```

'when the sun is past, in the shade'

---

[72] In some areas two there are two such breaks. *hatun mallway* 'large break' (around 4:30)' and *taksha mallway* 'small break (around 2:30)'.

5.1.5. Deictic Time Expressions

The time referred to by following expressions depends on the time at which they are spoken:

mas chaka-y-lla-man (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) 'later at night' or 'later on that night'.

kanan	'now, today', *kanan tuta* 'this morning',
mayna	'already'.
naqa	'long ago'.

ñaka + y + ta + raq
    'some time later' (see 19.4).

ñawpata	'before, long ago'.
qanyan	'yesterday'. *qanyantin* 'the day before yesterday',
qepata	'sometime before',
tuta	'(this) morning', *tuta-nnin* 'next morning',
unay	'much time hence (either past or future)',
wara	'tomorrow'.
wara-ntin	'the day after tomorrow',

waran + POS$_x$
    'the next day with respect to x'.

wara-nnin hunaq
    (tomorrow-super day) 'on the following day'.

mas wara-nnin
    (more tomorrow-super) 'two days hence'.

watan   'the next year'.

-kuna 'plur' can be added to certain time expressions (either deictic or measure) to indicate a general time period:

kay hunaq-kuna (this day-plur) 'one of these days'

kay killa-kuna (this month-plur) 'one of these months'

wara-kuna (tomorrow-plur) 'one of the days' (*warakuna* would be sooner than *kay hunaqkuna*.)

In a narrative, the the time reference of these expressions does not depends on the time of speaking, as the cases just discussed, but rather on the "time frame" of the narrative. For example, the first time expression in 217 (*mas pacha waraymannaqa*) establishes the time frame as very early in the morning, before it is light. The second time expression (*tutannin*) is by reference to that time frame: it indicates a time later that morning when it was fully light:[73]

```
Nirkur mas  pacha     wara-y-man-na-qa      soorru wañu-sha.                  217
then   more firmament dawn-inf-GOAL-now-TOP fox    die-3PERF

Tuta-nnin      wara:-mu-sha      hapa-lla-n      kundur.
morning-super  dawn-afar-3PERF   alone-just-3P   condor

'Then more along toward dawn the fox died.
The following morning the condor came into a new day alone.'

Chay-chaw puñu-sha     wara-nnin       yapay kuti-mu-na-n-paq.                218
that-LOC  sleep-3PERF  tomorrow-super  again return-afar-sub-3-PUR

'They slept there (planning) to return the next morning.'
```

---

[73]See the discussion of possessive suffixes with time words in section 12.3.2.4, and the use of -*Nnin* 'superlative' in 4.2.1.12.

Deictic time expressions can be conjoined, e.g.:

219

```
Kanan-chu o  wara-chu?
today-YN? or tomorrow-YN?
```

'Today or tomorrow?'

-na 'now' may be used with such deictic expressions for time to make more explicit that they should be understood with respect to the present time (of speaking): e.g.:

```
Unay-na           sirbi-ma-shka-nchi
time:distant-now serve-=>1-perf-12
```
220

'He served us long ago.'

5.1.6. Denoting Periods of Time

A period of time may be denoted by quantifying the name of a time period; e.g.:

```
Chay-chaw kiishi-sha        qoya-shka-:       kimsa killa.
that-LOC  be:happy-3PERF pass:time-perf-1 three month
```
221

'I remained there happily for three months.'

It may be expressed with the name of a time and a case marker, *-pita* 'ABL' to refer to the initiation of the time period and *-man~-kama* 'LIM' to refer to the end of it:

```
lunis-pita hwuybis-kama
monday-ABL thursday-LIM
```
222

'from Monday to Thursday'

There are also lexical items which refer to time periods:[74] *qoyati* 'all day long' (see example 223). *warati* 'all night, till dawn'[75] and *may oora* 'for a long time' (i.e. several minutes). For example,

```
...ripara-sha     chay hunaq, qoyati.
  prepare-3PERF that day     all:day:long
```
223

'...they prepared it that day, all day long.'

5.1.7. Other Time Adverbs

These are some simple time adverbs:

chay + lla + raq
          'momentarily'[76]

tuta + lla   'early'

raatu + lla 'just for a moment'

huk + lla   'right away, immediately'

tempraanuyaallaq
          (< tempraanu-yaq-lla ?) 'very early'

---

[74]These are distinct from expressions for the measure of a time period such as *wata* 'year' and *hunaq* 'day').

[75]Parker [27], section 3.8, pg. 103) posits *-t* 'Complete State (de-verbal nominalizer)' as a proto-Quechua B suffix: among others, he cites the following examples: *warat* 'all night long, till dawn'. *ushakat* 'till it ends'.

[76]Pronounced [chayllárax] or [chayllará:]

63

qepa + ta + raq
> 'later on'

unay 'much time (past or projected)'

ñawpa + ta

may + na 'already'

na:qa 'long ago'

Some time adverbs are reduplicated expressions:

waran waran
> 'day after day'

watan watan
> 'yearly, annually'

paqaspa hunaqpa
> 'day and night'

Examples of simple time adverbs follow:

```
Tuka-q    sakristan-naw-shi taarri    chaka-y-pa              224
ring-sub sacristan-SIM-IND afternoon be:dark-inf-GEN

wara-n    wara-n.
tomorrow-3 tomorrow-3

'Day after day, afternoons and evenings he would ring (the bell)
as though he were the sacristan.'
```

5.2. Degree Adverbs

All degree adverbs are derived.

fiyupa mean 'very much, a lot':

```
Fiyu-pa maqa-ma-sha.                                          225
bad-adv hit-=>1-3PERF

'He hit me really hard.'

Fiyu-pa yarqa-yka-:.                                          226
bad-adv be:hungry-impfv-1

'I am very hungry.'
```

achkata means virtually the same as *fiyupa*: it probably originated in expressions like 227a where *achka* was an object: it can now be used in cases where *achka* cannot be construed as an object, such as 227b and c:

```
a.  Achka-ta qo-ma-ra-n.                                      227
    much-OBJ give-=>1-past-3

b.  Achka+ta maqa-ma-ra-n.
    much      hit-=>1-past-3

c.  Achka+ta puñu-ra-n.
    much      sleep-past-3

a.  :'He gave me a lot.'
b.  \He hit me a lot.'
c.  'He slept a lot.'
```

pasaypa means 'excessively'

ushaqpaq means 'completely'[77]

---

[77]*ushaqpaq* is derived from *usha-* 'finish' and *-qpaq* 'result': see Weber [39], section 5.5.

allaapa is occasionally used as a degree adverb, but its principle use is as a pre-adjective: see section 5.4 below.

5.3. Attitudinal Adverbs

Attitudinal adverbs express the speakers attitude toward the content. They apply to the propositional content of the entire sentence.

ichan(qa) 'certainly, probably'

mihur 'better (that)' (from Sp. *mejor*), e.g.:

```
Mihur  wañu-yka-chi-shun.        Allaapa-na     ñaka-chi-ma-nchi.              228
better die-impact-caus-12IMP  too:much-now  suffer-caus-=>1-12
```

'Better that we kill him. He makes us suffer too much.'

rasun+pa 'really, certain', e.g.:

```
Rasun+pa  qoykushayki.                                                        229
really    give-dir-1=>2FUT
```

'I will really give it to you.' (i.e., I tell you truthfully...)

simri seems to be used to animate the hearer to concede to some request made by the speaker:[78] e.g.:

```
Simri willa-ma-y       imanir-taq qam...                                     230
still tell-=>1-2IMP  why-??     you
```

'Still tell me why you...'

```
Aywa-ku-shun    simri.                                                       231
go-refl-12IMP  still
```

'Still, let's go!'

5.4. Pre-Adjective

The pre-adjectives are *allaapa, sumaq, pasaypa* and *fiyupa*.[79]

allaapa 'very, excessively' occurs before adjectives to amplify the property indicated by the adjective:

```
Taqay allaapa awkis-na.                                                      232
that   too       old-now
```

'That one is too old now.'

sumaq, pasaypa and *fiyupa* all mean 'very'

Suppose one is speaking of tables with smooth tops; he may say 233a, referring to the very smoothest table. On the assumption that the hearer knows he is speaking of tables, he may say 233b, leaving out *meesa* 'table'. And remarkably, on the assumption that the hearer knows that the speaker is concerned about the smoothness of the given tables, he may say 233c, leaving out *llushway* 'smooth' as well.

---

[78]We might call *simri* as an adverb of "solicitation".

[79]The class of pre-adjectives and degree adverbs overlap somewhat: e.g. *pasaypa* and *fiyupa* are both degree adverbs and pre-adjectives. Further, *sumaq* is also used as a manner adverb meaning 'very well': see examples 235-237.

```
a. Sumaq  llushway-nin  meesa-ta  apa-mu-nki.                           233
   very   smooth-sup     table-OBJ take-afar-2
```

```
b. Sumaq  llushway-nin-ta  apa-mu-nki.
   very   smooth-sup-OBJ   take-afar-2
```

```
c. Sumaq-nin-ta  apa-mu-nki.
   very-sup-OBJ  take-afar-2
```

```
'Bring the a. very smoothest table.'
           b. very smoothest.'
           c. very-est.'
```

In 233c, *sumaq* is a substantive;[80] thus "pre-adjective" must be a subset of substantives in HgQ.

5.5. Manner and Means Adverbs

hinalla/ hinaylla 'like that'. e.g.:

```
Yaku  hina-lla-raq          ñiti-ra-yka-n        allpa-ta.             234
water like:that-just-yet  press-stat-impfv-3  ground-OBJ
```

```
'The water still covered the ground like that.'
```

sumaq 'well', e.g.:

```
Sumaq  chari-ra:-mu-y!                                                 235
well   grab-stat-afar-2IMP
```

```
'Hold it well (over there)!'
```

```
Sumaq  fiiha-y      may-chaw    ka-sha-n-ta-pis!                       236
well   establish-y  where-loc   be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
```

```
'Establish precisely where it is.'
```

```
...karga-chaw    sumaq  sirbi-ku-pti-:                                 237
   carrying-LOC  well   serve-refl-adv-1P
```

```
'...although I served well in carrying.'
```

mana alli 'badly'. e.g.:

```
...mana alli  rima-sha    ka-r-pis.                                    238
   not  good  speak-prtc  be-adv-indef
```

```
'...although I was spoken of badly.'
```

Adverbs of MEANS, i.e., adverbs expressing the means to achieving/accomplishing some goal, are formed by *-naw-pa*. A consideration of 239 shows that *-naw+pa* makes "means" adverbs and not "manner" adverbs: "knowing" is not something that can be done in various manners, but one can come to know something by different means, so 239b is acceptable whereas 239a is not:

```
a. *Chay-naw    ⎫                                                      239
    that-SIM    ⎪ musya-ra-n.
                ⎬ know-past-3
b.  Chay-naw+pa ⎪
    that-SIM+GEN ⎭
```

```
b. 'In that way (by that means) he knew.'
```

Note too that adverbs formed by *-naw+pa* are very distinct from the similes formed by simple *-naw* (discussed in 10.11.2).

---

[80] It has referential force and bears suffixes typical of substantives.

5.6. Derived Adverbs

5.6.1. Adverbs Derived from Substantives

5.6.1.1. The de-substantival adverbializer -*ta*

-*ta* is not a productive adverbializer in HgQ, but there are a few adverbs derived from substantives with it. For the most part these are cases which started as objects of transitive verbs: when they became adverbs they could then be used with intransitive verbs too. For example, from *achka* 'much, many' one gets *achkata*. Here are some others:

DEGREE

```
Aru-yka-n      mas-ta.                                      240
work-impfv-3 more-ADV

'He works more.' or 'He continues to work.'

Chanin-ta      kubra-n.                                     241
expensive-ADV charge-3

'He charges a lot.'
```

In 242 *mas achka-ta* cannot be the object of *yayku-* 'enter' because *yayku-* is an intransitive verb:

```
...mas  achka-ta yayku-na-n-paq.                            242
   more more-ADV enter-sub-3P-PUR

'...so that more will enter.'
```

DIRECTION

In 243 the adverb *hanaqta* gives the direction of jumping:

```
Chawra hanaq-ta hanaq-ta hanaq-ta-na-shi rinka-yka-n.      243
So     up-ADV   up-ADV   up-ADV-now-IND  jump-impfv-3

'So she jumped up and up and up.'
```

In 244 the adverb *ruri-ta* gives the direction of digging:

```
Chawra mas  ruri-ta     oqti-r oqti-r oqti-r               244
so     more inward-ADV  dig-adv dig-adv dig-adv

aru-rka-yka-sha-n-chaw-shi...
work-plur-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-IND

'So while they are working, digging deeper and deeper...'
```

In 245 *mamanpa qepanta* gives the direction of going:

```
...mama-n-pa     qepa-n-ta    aywa-ku-sha.                 245
   mother-3P-GEN behind-3P-ADV go-refl-3PERF

'...he followed his mother.'
(lit. 'he went to his mother's back(side)')
```

TIME   In 246, *hunaqta paqasta* is a temporal adverbial phrase:

```
Paqas-ta   hunaqta aywa-ku-yka-:.                          246
night-ADV  day-ADV go-refl-impfv-1

'I go by night and day.'
```

```
ñaka-y-ta-raq                                                    247
take:a:long:time-inf-ADV-yet

'yet a while later'
```

The spatial use of *qepanta* illustrated in 245 has been extended to a temporal use: *qepantaraq* 'latter' (i.e. following behind in time).

REASON

```
Aywa-nki-taq+chu  tamya-ta-qa.                                   248
go-2-NEG          rain-ADV-TOP

'Don't go because it is raining.'
(approximately, 'How could you consider going? Its raining!'.)
```

5.6.1.2. The de-substantival adverbializer -pa

This section discusses adverbialization with -*pa*.[81] In section 10.9 the case uses of -*pa* were discussed; there is no clear distinction between the use of -*pa* as an adverbializer and as a case marker. A wide range of adverbs are derived from substantives by -*pa*; e.g.: e.g.:

```
               ┌ a. chaki-pa.   (foot-ADV)        means      249
Shamu-shka-:   │ b. chakay-pa.  (night-ADV)       time
come-perf-1    │ c. sasa-pa.    (difficult-ADV)   manner
               └ d. rasun-pa.   (real-ADV)        truth

          ┌a. on foot.
'I came   │b. by night.
          │c. with difficulty.
          └d. really.
```

The following are some of the various functions of adverbs derived by -*pa*:

MEANS:

```
Noqa chaki-lla-pa  aywa-ku-shka-:  Pillku-kama.                  250
I    foot-just-ADV go-refl-perf-1  Pillku-LIM

'I went just on foot as far as Pillku.'
```

PERTAINING TO TRUTH:

```
Rasun-pa o  llulla-ku-nki?                                       251
real-ADV or lie-refl-2

'Really, or are you lying?'

Rasun-pa-mi  muna-:.                                             252
real-ADV-DIR want-1

'I really want to.'

...tapu-n llapan kasta-n-kuna moosu-ta rasun-pa ni-sha-n-ta      253
  ask-3  all    clan-3P-plur  man-OBJ real-ADV ask-sub-3P-OBJ

'...all her clan ask her if she really said it to the young man.'
(i.e., agreed to marry him)
```

---

[81]Two other relevant sections are 14.4 and 10.12: the former discusses adverbs derived from verbs by -*y* ÷ *lla* ÷ *pa*; the latter discusses (among more case-related uses) the manner adverbials formed with -*naw* ÷ *pa*.

68

```
...sabra-wan  kapitaana  rasun-pa  rima-naku-q-naw                    254
   sabra-COM  kapitaana  real-ADV  speak-recip-sub-SIM

iwal      iwal      rima-naku-n.
together  together  speak-recip-3
```

...the *sabra* and the *kapitaana* argue with each other
as though they were really arguing.'

DEGREE:

```
...tukuy  shonqo-:-pa  yus-ta    maña-ku-:.                           255
   all    heart-1-ADV  God-OBJ   pray-refl-1
```

'...I pray to God with all my heart.'

```
Chawra  warmi-pa    tayta-n     mama-n     fiyu-pa  rabya-n...        256
so      woman-GEN   father-3P   mother-3P  bad-ADV  enrage-3
```

'So the woman's parents become very angry...'

DIRECTION or ORIENTATION:[82]

```
Nirkur  ruri-n-pa           allpa-ta     uchku-n.                     257
then    downward-3P-ADV     ground-OBJ   dig-3
```

'Then he digs downward into the ground.' (describing a beetle)

```
Uma-lla-n-pa         ichi-ra-n.                                      258
head-just-3P-ADV     stand-past-3
```

'He stood on his head.'

TIME:

```
Hunaq-pa  puñu-shka-:.                                               259
day-ADV   sleep-perf-1
```

'I slept by day.'

chakay-pa (night-ADV) 'by night' from *chaka + y* (be:dark + inf) 'night':

```
Chakay-pa  yayku-yku-r...                                            260
night-ADV  enter-impact-adv
```

'Entering by night...'

```
Chakay-lla-pa    chay  rusyun-ta       rura-n.                       261
night-just-ADV   that  procession-OBJ  do-3
```

'They have that procession just by night.'

taarri-pa (afternoon-ADV) 'late in the afternoon'
paqas-pa (night-ADV) 'by night'

OTHER:

```
Alli  buluntaa-pa  parla-n       ishka-n-pa  kasta-n-kuna-pis.       262
good  will-ADV     converse-3    two-3P-GEN  clan-3P-plur-even
```

'The clans of those two converse with good will.'

arde:-pa 'on purpose' from *arde* 'purpose'

---

[82] See section 10.9.2.

69

huti-n-pa willa- (name-3P-ADV tell-) 'to identify by name'.

5.6.2. Adverbs Derived from Verbs

5.6.2.1. By substantivization and then adverbialization

De-verbal adverbs may be derived from verbs by first substantivizing it and then forming an adverb with one of the de-substantival adverbializers discussed in section 5.6.1. Particularly common are those formed with *-y-(lla)-pa* (see section 14.4), i.e. first infinitivalization (by *-y* 'inf'), optionally adding *-lla* 'just' and finally adverbialization with *-pa* (as discussed in section 5.6.1.2).

5.6.2.2. Adverbs derived by -q

One sort of adverb derived by *-q*, that involved in the purpose-motion construction, is discussed in section 13.4.4.2.[83] This section will show another use of *-q* to form adverbs. It seems to limited to few cases (and thus, I doubt that it is productive).

tumariq is an adverb meaning 'all around', derived from the verb *tuma-* 'circulate, go about' and *-q*: e.g.:

```
...inteeru kantu-n-pa  tumari-q  adurnu-wan   adurna-n.          263
   entire  edge-3P-GEN circle-adv ornament-COM adorn-3
```

'...they adorn it with ornaments all around the edge.'

```
Chay-ta  hana-lla-n-pa   kuchu-nchi tumari-q                     264
that-OBJ top-just-3P-GEN cut-12     circle-adv

ruri-n-kaq-ta      mana daaña-yllapa.
inside-3P-def-OBJ  not  damage-adv
```

'We cut the surface of that all around, being careful not to damage the inside.'

Mana [X]-*pis pishi-q* 'all X without exception'

```
...llapan kumun      aru-q aywa-n mana huk-pis   pishi-q.        265
   all    community  work  go-3   not  one-indef lack-sub
```

'...all the community goes to work, not lacking one.'

```
...listu ka-na-n    llapan mana ima-pis    pishi-q.             266
   ready be-sub-3P  all    not  what-indef lack-sub
```

'...everything should be ready without a thing lacking.'

---

[83]There is a fuller discussion in Weber [39], section 5.4.2.

6. OTHER WORD AND SUFFIX CLASSES

This chapter deals with
- word classes other than substantives verbs and adverbs (section 6.1). and
- suffixes which apply to substantives, verbs. and other classes, (section 6.2).

6.1. Other Word Classes

Verbal, substantival and adverbial elements have been discussed in the preceding chapters. This section deals with some small classes: negatives, interjections, intersentential connectives ("links") etc.

6.1.1. Negative

There are but two words in this class:

ama 'neg' is used with imperatives and conditionals: e.g.:

```
Ama  sha-mu-y-chu!                                              267
not  come-afar-2IMP-NEG

'Don't come!'

Ama  chay-naw-qa   ka-chun-chu.                                268
not  that-SIM-TOP  be-3IMP-NEG

'May it not be that way!'

Ama  rura-pa:-ma:-shwan.                                       269
not  do-ben-=>1-12COND

'He might not do it for us.'
```

mana 'no/not' is used elsewhere, e.g.:

```
Mana  rura-shka-:-chu.                                         270
not   do-perf-1-NEG

'I did not do it.'

Sumaq  chari-shka-:  mana  qeshpi-na-n-paq.                    271
well   grab-perf-1   not   escape-sub-3P-PUR

'I held it well so that it would not escape.'
```

6.1.2. Interjections

There are two sorts of interjection. The first express reactions:

achachaw in reaction to something frightful, or
            in reaction to pleasure (e.g. good food)
akachaw   in reaction to heat
ananaw   in reaction to pain
allallaw in reaction to cold

The second are expressions of emotion:

achiyaa   to express pleasure
wawitu/wawiitu
            to express pity

71

6.1.3. Interactionals

The following are useful to successful interpersonal interaction:

pakillaa 'thank you (upon receiving a gift)' (derived from Sp. *Dios se lo pague*)

awmilla(a) 'thank you (upon accepting an invitation or receiving help or some service)'

ka: 'Here!' (i.e. take it!)

katay 'Here, take it' (from Sp. 'Acá está'?)

kayllaa 'Here' (when returning something)

ha: 'Huh?' (i.e. Say again!)

imaa 'What' (to respond when being addressed or called)

ma: 'Let's see!' *ma:* generally co-occurs with a verb in the imperative e.g.:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

```
Ma: koorri-shun.                                               272
    run-12IMP

'Let's run!'
(to see which of us will win)

Ma: deeru-yki-ta hati-y.                                       273
    finger2P-OBJ put:in-2IMP

'Stick your finger in.'
(into its eyes, to verify that it is dead)

Maa: yupa-pa:-ma-y.                                            274
     count-ben-=>1-2IMP

'Count them out for me.'
(so that I can verify that there are as many as you say)
```

</div>

kuyraa 'Be careful (not to), watch out (that not)' (from Sp. *cuidado*);[84] e.g.:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

```
Kuyraa      tuni-r.                                            275
be:careful  fall-ADV

'Be careful not to fall.'
```

</div>

6.1.4. Links

LINKS are words which occur (generally) as the first word of a non-initial sentence in a narrative. Links function as boundary markers between sentences, and indicate--to a very limited degree--the relation of the second sentence to the first. The most common links are:

Chawra(s) 'so, then' is derived from *chay oora(s)* 'that time'.

chaypita 'thereafter, then' is *chay* 'that' and *-pita* 'ABL', and

nirkur/nikur/niykur

> 'thereupon, then' is derived from *ni-* 'say', a pretransition suffix, and then *-r* 'adverbial clause, same subject'.

All three are glossed simply as 'then'. Of the three, *chawra* is the most neutral. *Nirkur* 'thereupon' and *chaypita* 'thereafter' differ roughly in the time lapse indicated between the two events. *nirkur*

---

[84]This "verb" takes two kinds of complements: if the subject of the complement is the addressee, then it is made an adverbial clause with *-r* as in example 275. If the subject of the complement is not the addressee, then the complement is substantivized with *-na* followed by *-wan* 'INST': e.g.:

```
Kuyraa      kiru-yki-ta    paki-na-n-wan.
be:careful  teeth-2P-OBJ   break-SUB-3P-COM

'Be careful that it doesn't break your teeth.'
```

indicating a short lapse and *chaypita* indicating a potentially long lapse. A more complete discussion and examples are given in section 18.4.

6.2. Suffixes Not Restricted to Class

Previous sections have introduced suffixes which apply just to substantives and suffixes which apply just to verbs. The suffixes discussed in this section (sometimes "independent" suffixes) may apply to words of any category except to some of the small, closed classes such as interjections, interactional (imperatives) and links (discussed in section 6.1). Except as they co-occur one with another, these suffixes always occur word final. Their use is to some extent determined by discourse-related factors; since no small amount of discussion would do them justice. I will attempt none here. Various subclasses can be distinguished.

6.2.1. Shading Suffixes

The following are referred to as SHADING suffixes because they add fine shades of meaning:

-lla   'just, diminutive'. e.g.:

```
Kamcha-lla-ta          miku-:.                    276
toasted:corn-just-OBJ  eat-1
```

'I just eat toasted corn.'

-pis~-si   'even, also, indefinite' (glossed 'indef' throughout, even when the meaning is clearly "even," "also," etc.); e.g.:

```
a. Noqa-si    aywa-shaq.                           277
   I-indef    go-1FUT

b. Noqa-pis   aywa-shaq.
   I-indef    go-1FUT
```

a,b. 'I too will go.'

-na   'now, already'. e.g.:

```
Chaya-mu-sha-na.                                   278
arrive-afar-3PERF-now
```

'He has already arrived.'

-raq   'still, yet': e.g.:

```
Puñu-yka-n-raq.                                    279
sleep-impfv-3-still
```

'He is still sleeping.'

-na and *-raq* are temporally oriented while *-lla* and *-pis* have much more to do with the speaker's attitude toward what he is communicating. The shading suffixes are discussed in great detail in chapter 19.

6.2.2. Evidential Suffixes

These primarily indicate the source of information (first hand, second hand. conjecture): secondarily they may indicate the degree to which the speaker believes the sentence to be true. Generally only one occurs per sentence. They do not co-occur with each other but do co-occur with

73

the shading suffixes.

-mi	'direct information, assert'
-shi	'indirect information'
-chi	'conjecture'
-chaq	'surely'

These are discussed in chapter 21. A suffix much related to this class is -qa 'topic';[85] this suffix is discussed in chapter 20.

6.2.3. Question-Negative

-chu   'negative' or 'yes/no question marker'; e.g.

```
Aywa-nki-chu?                                                    280
go-2-YN?
```

'Are you going?' or 'You are not going.'

-taq   question marker for WH questions: presupposes the addressee knows answer to the question.

```
Pi-taq chaya-mu-sha?                                             281
who-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
```

'Who arrived?'

-raq   question marker for WH questions: does not presuppose that the addressee knows answer to the question.

```
Pi-raq chaya-mu-sha.                                             282
who-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
```

'Who might have arrived?'

---

[85]There is some evidence that -qa belongs to the same distributional category as the evidentials: like the evidentials, it follows the shading suffixes. and does not co-occur with negation. It never co-occurs in the same word with one of the evidential suffixes (with a few exceptions).

7. WORD FORMATION

7.1. The Structure of the Verbal Word

HgQ verbs have four parts. the first and third of which are obligatory. the second and fourth of which are optional:

```
+-------------+-----------------+-------------+-----------------+
| root/stem   | pre-transition  | transition  | post-transition |
|(obligatory) |   (optional)    |(obligatory) |   (optional)    |
+-------------+-----------------+-------------+-----------------+
```

Table 7-1: The Structure of the Verbal Word

For example. the parts of *maqaykama:nanpaq* 'in order for him to hit me' are as follows:

```
+-------+---------------+-------------+-----------------+
| stem  |pre-transition | transition  | post-transition |
+-------+---------------+-------------+-----------------+
| maqa- |    -ykU       |  -ma:nan    |     -paq        |
+-------+---------------+-------------+-----------------+
```

The transition is a complex of suffixes which function together to indicate the person of the object and subject. and the tense/subordination relationship: see section 8.1.2. A brief summary of pre-transition. transition. and post-transition suffixes will now be given.

7.1.1. Introduction to Pre-Transition Suffixes

The PRE-TRANSITION suffixes are discussed fully in chapter 9 below. They have sometimes been referred to as "derivational suffixes."[86] and include various diverse kinds of suffix: aspectual suffixes. derivational suffixes. deictic markers. etc. The order of these suffixes is somewhat variable: see 7.2. The following is a summary list of the pre-transition suffixes:

-:ri 'plural (subject or object)' occurs following a directional suffix (-*ykU*, -*rkU*, -*rpU* or -*rqU*). the reflexive suffix -*kU*. or a reciprocal suffix -*nakU*. e.g., *aywa-rkU-:ri-r* (i.e.. /*aywarka:rir*/) 'They having gone'

-:shi 'to help/accompany' *aru-:shi-* (work-help) 'to help work'

-cha: 'make. cause to become' (an old causative form) e.g.. *wamra-cha:-* (child-make-) 'to adopt. lit. to make (one's) child'

-chaku 'repeatedly' *maki-chaku-* (hand-repeatedly-) 'to steal repeatedly (petty theft).'

-chi 'causative' *wañu-chi-sha* (die-cause-3PERF) 'He killed him.'

-ka: 'passive' e.g.. *allcha-ka-sha* (fix-passive-3PERF) 'He got well' (lit. 'he was fixed'). *maqa-ka-sha* (hit-passive-3PERF) 'He was hit.'

-ka:ku 'completely' e.g.. *wañu-ka:ku-sha* (die-complete-3PERF) 'He died.' (The verb *wañu-* is sometimes used to refer to unconsciousness.)

-ku 'reflexive' This extremely common suffix has a diffuse meaning, roughly 'for the benefit of self'.

-lla: 'polite'

-mu 'cis/trans-locative' see discussion in section 9.3.

---

[86]These suffixes have been the object of several studies: for Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua see Larsen [18]. Parker [28]. and G. Swisshelm's study in Pantoja [25]: for Northern Junín Quechua see Sayk [32].

-na:	'desiderative' *miku-na:-* (eat-desid-.) 'to want to eat'
-nakU	'reciprocal' e.g.. *maqa-naku-* (hit-recip) 'to hit one another'
-pa	(non-productive) 'benefactive'
-pakU	'verbalizer' *qonqor-paku-* (knee-verbalizer-) 'to kneel'
-pa:	'benefactive' e.g.. *maqa-pa:-ma-n* (hit-ben-=>1-3) 'He hit him for me (i.e. to my benefit or detriment).'
-pa:kU	'plural' e.g.. *aywa-pa:ku-n* (go-plur-3) 'They (all together) go.'
-pu	'benefit'
-ra:	'state' e.g., *puñu-ra-yka-n* (sleep-stat-impfv-3) 'He is sleeping.'
-ri	'punctual'
-rka	'plural' occurs only before *-yka:* 'impfv' *aywa-rka-yka-n* (go-plur-impfv-3) 'They are going.'
-rkU	'up. thereupon' *chaya-rku-r willamasha* (arrive-thereupon-ADV he:told:me) 'Upon arriving he told me.'
-rpa	'plural state' This suffix occurs where *-ra:* 'state' would occur in the singular: e.g. corresponding to the singular 283a is the plural 283b:

```
        a.  Punku   kicha-ra-yka-n.                           283
            door    open-state-impfv-3

        b.  Punku-kuna  kicha-rpa-yka-n.
            door-plur   open-plurstate-impfv-3

        a.  'The door is open.'
        b.  'The doors are open.'
```

-rqU	'out'
-yka:	'imperfective' e.g.. *aywa-yka-n* (go-impfv-3) 'They are going.' --- --
-ykacha:/-kacha:	'vacillating' e.g., *puri-ykacha-n* (travel-vacil-3) 'He wanders (aimlessly) about.'
-ykU	'directly'

7.1.2. Introduction to the Transitions

The TRANSITION is a complex of suffixes which function together to indicate the person of the object (if any). the person of the subject (possibly by reference to some other clause), and the tense (for finite verbs) or subordinator (for nonfinite verbs). Chapter 8 deals with the transitions in depth. describing how they are formed. At this point it will suffice to list them; see tables 7-2 and 7-3. The columns of table 7-2 contain different tenses (PRESENT. FUTURE,...) and the columns of 7-3 contain different subordination possibilities (ADVERBIAL and SUBSTANTIVE). The rows contain combinations of subject and object person. The notation x=>y indicates that the subject is x-person (i.e., first person if 1, second person if 2. third person if 3, and first person plural inclusive if 12) and that the object is y-person (i.e.. first person if 1, etc.). Thus, 3=>1 indicates a third person subject and a first person object. The 3=>1 PRESENT transition would be used as in *rika-man* (see-3=>1PRES)[87] 'He sees me'. The x=>3 transitions (where x is 1. 2. 3, or 12) are used for

---

[87]Note how this transition is glossed. with x=>yTENSE where x is the person of the subject. y is the person of the object and TENSE is the tense or subordinator. This sort of glossing will be used occassionally when glossing the entire transition. rather than the morphemes of which it is composed.

intransitive verbs. when X is the person of the subject.

	PRESENT	PAST	PERFECT	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE	CONDITIONAL
2=>1	-manki	-marayki	-mashkanki	-manki	-may	-mankiman
3=>1	-man	-maran	-masha	-manqa	-maachun	-manman
3=>12	-manchi:	-maranchi:	-mashkanchi:	-maashun	-maashun	-mashwan
3=>2	-shunki	-shurayki	-shkashunki	-shunki	-shunki	-shunkiman
3=>3	-n	-ran	-sha	-nqa	-chun	-nman
2=>3	-nki	-rayki	-shkanki	-nki	-y/-nki	-nkiman
12=>3	-nchi:	-ranchi:	-shkanchi:	-shun	-shun	-shwan
1=>3	-n	-ra:	-shka:	-shaq	---	-:man
1=>2	-:	-ra:	-shka:	-shayki	---	-:man

Table 7-2: NON-SUBORDINATING TRANSITIONS OF HGQ

In addition to the transitions given in 7-2. there are various compound tenses:

narrative past (see sections 8.13 and 8.14). e.g.:

```
Macha-sha  ka-y-ni:-wan,  alkaldi-ta maqa-naq   ka-:.        284
drunk-prtc be-inf-1P-COM  mayor-OBJ  hit-narpst be-1

'Being drunk, I hit the mayor.'

Uysha-ta  suwaku-q.         .                                285
sheep-ACC steal-3NARPST

'He would steal sheep.'
```

imminent. (see section 8.11) e.g.:

```
Tuni-na-n-paq   ka-yka-n.                                    286
fall-sub-3-PUR  be-impfv-3

'It is about to fall.'
```

habitual. (see section 8.9) e.g.:

```
Kuka chaqcha-q    ka-:.                                      287
coca chew:coca-sub be-1

'I used to chew coca.'
```

conditional. (see section 8.7) e.g.:

```
Alli ka-nman     ka-ran.                                     288
good be-3=>3COND be-3=>3PAST

'It would have been good.'
```

Simple transitions and compound constructions that result in finite verbs have been discussed. We will now consider transitions which form non-finite verbs. typically used in subordinate clauses.

	ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS			SUBSTANTIVAL SUBORDINATORS		
	-pti	-shpa	-r	-sha	-na	-q
2=>1	|-maptiki	|-mashpayki	|-mar	|-mashayki	|-maanayki	|
3=>1	|-maptin	|-mashpan	|-mar	|-mashan	|-maanan	|-maq(ni:)
3=>12	|-maptinchii	|-mashpanchi	---	|-mashanchi:	|-maananchi:	|-maqninchi:
3=>2	|-shuptiki	|-shushpayki	|-shur	|-shushayki	|-shunayki	|-shuq(niki)
3=>3	|-ptin	|-shpan	|-r	|-shan	|-nan	|-q(nin)
2=>3	|-ptiki	|-shpayki	|-r	|-shayki	|-nayki	|
12=>3	|-ptinchii	|-shpanchii	|-r	|-shanchi:	|-nanchi:	|
1=>3	|-ptii	|-shpaa	|-r	|-sha:	|-na:	|
1=>2	|-ptii	|-shpaa	|-r	|-sha:	|-na:	|

Table 7-3: SUBORDINATING TRANSITIONS OF HGQ

The clauses subordinated by -pti are adverbial clauses whose subject is not coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause (i.e.. the one to which the -pti-clause is subordinated): e.g.:

```
Maqa-ptiki    haytashunki.                                      289
hit-2=>3ADV   he:will:kick:you

'After/Since/If you hit him, he will kick you.'
```

The clauses subordinated by -r and -shpa are adverbial clauses whose subject is coreferential to the subject of the superordinate verb/clause: e.g.:

```
                                                               290
         ( a.  -mar    )
         {      =>1ADV  }
Maqa-    {               }  hayta-shunki.
hit      { b.  -mashpan }  kick-3=>2FUT
         (      3=>1ADV )

a,b.  'When/After he hit me, he kicked you.'
```

The clauses subordinated by -sha. -na and -q are used as relative or nominalized clauses:

```
Maqa-mashan runa    haytashunki.                               291
hit-3=>1SUB man     he:will:kick:you

'The man who hit me will kick you.'
```

```
Maqa-mashan-ta  musya-n.                                       292
hit-3=>1SUB-OBJ know-3=>3

'He knows that he hit me.'
```

```
Aywa-nan    hunaq chayan.                                      293
go-3=>3SUB  day   it:arrives

'The day arrives on which he is to go.'
```

```
Aywa-nan-ta      munaa.                                        294
go-3=>3SUB-OBJ   I:want

'I want him to go.'
```

78

7.1.3. Introduction to the Post-Transition Suffixes

The post-transition suffixes include:

the case markers (-*ta. -chaw. -paq.* etc.) follow substantivized verbs: see chapter 10.

the pluralizer -*kuna.*

the "shading" suffixes -*lla* 'just'. -*pis~-si* 'even'. -*na* 'now'. and -*raq* 'still': see chapter 19.

evidentials -*mi. -shi. -chi:* see chapter 21.

the so-called "topic" marker -*qa:* see chapter 20.

-*paq* 'future' follows future transitions to make explicit that the event indicated is to happen sometime in the future: e.g.. *aywa-nki* can mean 'you go' (present), 'you will go' (future) or 'Go!' (imperative) but *aywanki-paq* can only mean 'You will go.'

-*churaq* 'dubitive' (perhaps the two suffixed -*chu-raq* (-YN?-yet)) is used to express a yes-no question for which the hearer is not presupposed to know the answer e.g.. *tamya-nqa-churaq* (rain-3=>3FUT-dubit) 'Might it rain?!'

-*man* 'conditional' (see 8.7) e.g.. *aywa-:-man* (go-1=>3PRES-COND) 'I should go.'

7.2. Suffix Order

The suffixes of HgQ generally occur in a fairly fixed order; in some cases. however. the order is remarkably free. There are basically three groupings: pre-transition. transition. and post-transition. The order of transition suffixes are discussed in detail in chapter 8. The order of pre-transition suffixes is discussed in section 7.2.1. and the order of post-transition suffixes in section 7.2.2.

7.2.1. The Order of Pre-transition Suffixes

The greatest variation in orders is found in the pre-transition zone. Section 7.2.1.1 discusses some generalities about the order of these suffixes. Section 7.2.1.2 shows that alternate orders are possible. that some correlate with differences in meaning and that others do not seem to. Section 7.2.1.3 shows that the same suffix may occur more than once in the pre-transition zone. Finally. section 7.2.1.4 discusses some specific constraints.

7.2.1.1. Generalities in the order of pre-transition suffixes

There are some general tendencies concerning the order in which pre-transition suffixes occur:

1. Order is largely dictated by what one intends to say. Generally suffixes have in their "scope" all that precedes in the word (and perhaps more to the left). i.e., the meaning of a sequence of n morphemes is the meaning of the first n-1 as modified by the n-th. Examples are given in section 7.2.1.2 below.

2. Suffixes which derive verbs from substantives precede other pre-transition suffixes. Consider 295. -*chi* and -*cha:* both mean roughly 'cause'. -*cha:* occurs far left in 295b because it derives a verb from the substantive. On the other hand. -*chi* must follow -*ya:* in 295a because -*ya:* derives the verb:

```
                  ( a. -ya-yka:-chi-n )                         295
Nina  qoshpu-  {                      }   aqcha-n-ta
fire  curly     ( b. -cha-yka-n       )   hair-3P-OBJ
```

'The fire made his hair curly.'

Of course, derivational suffixes may be preceded by other derivational suffixes:[88]

```
a. hucha-yoq-ya:-chi-
   guilt-have-become-cause-

b. qeshya-q-ya:-chi-
   be:sick-sub-become-cause-

c. miku-y-niraq-ya:-
   eat-nom-just:like-become-
```

```
a. 'cause to become guilty'
b. 'to make sickly (i.e. cause to become a sick person)'
c. 'become just like food'
```

3. The suffixes which undergo morphophonemic lowering tend to occur early in the pre-transition "zone" (i.e, they tend leftward); suffixes which cause morphophonemic lowering tend to occur late in the pre-transition zone (i.e., they tend rightward). Thus -chi and -mu generally occur far right since they cause lowering, the directionals tend to occur far left since they undergo lowering. and -:rI 'plural' generally occurs in between since it both undergoes and causes lowering: /hama-ykU-:rI-chi-r/ [hamayka:ráchir] 'seating them'.

4. Aspectual suffixes tend rightward (as though they were trying to reach the position of a tense marker). For example. -yka: 'imperfective' tends to rightward. (In fact, it may occur following the object marker with habitual meaning: maqa-ma-yka-n (hit-=>1-impfv-3) 'he habitually hits me.')

5. Suffixes which modify the lexical meaning of a verb tend to occur close to that verb (i.e. tend leftward); suffixes which relate to a larger context tend rightward (since they naturally have wider scope). For example, -ykU may be used to indicate that a verb is carried out forcefully, modifying the sort of action indicated by the verb. In this case it tends leftward. But -ykU may also be used to indicate politeness. In this case it tends rightward (see 502 below).

7.2.1.2. Alternate order of suffixes

The order of suffixes is sometimes dictated by what one intends, and alternate orders of suffix correlate with differences in meaning. Generally, the meaning of the whole is a product of the last suffix applied to the meaning of what precedes it. Consider 297:

```
a. Asi-chi-naku-nchi.                          297
   laugh-caus-recip-12

b. Asi-pa:-nakU-chi-ma-nchi.
   laugh-ben-recip-caus-=>1-12
```

```
a. 'We make each other laugh.'
b. 'He makes us laugh at each other.'
```

In 297a the meaning of asi-chi-naku- is the result of modifying the meaning of asi-chi- 'cause to laugh' by -nakU 'reciprocal'. In 297b the meaning of asi-pa:-naku-chi- is the result of modifying the meaning of asi-pa:-naku- 'laugh at each other' by -chi 'cause'. Thus, the order of -chi and -nakU are dictated by what one intends rather than an absolute ordering convention.[89]

---

[88] I would regard -yoq. -q. -niraq and -ya: as all being derivational suffixes.

[89] For Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua. Parker [28] says that -chi 'cause' may come between the -na and -kU of the reciprocal: this is not possible in HgQ.

Another example is 298, with alternate orders of *-chi* 'cause' and *-:shi* 'accompany':

298

```
a. Aru-chi-:shi-shu-nki.
   work-caus-help-=>2-2

b. Aru-:shi-chi-shu-nki
   work-help-caus-=>2-2
```

```
a. 'He will make another to work for you.'
b. 'He will make you help another work.'
```

(A further example is 502, in section 9.2.4.)

Not all suffix ordering is determined by semantic scope; e.g., *-mu* is always placed as far right as possible (in the pre-transition zone). To see this, consider example 299:

```
qati-:shi-mu-shu-na-yki-paq                              299
herd-accom-afar-=>2-sub-2P-2
```

```
'in order to help you herd them (to here)'
```

From a semantic point of view. one would expect *-mu* to immediately follow *qati-* 'herd' to say 'herd toward here'. but such is not the case. This is because of *-mu*'s firm ordering convention. which overrides the tendency for order to reflect semantic scope.

In some cases alternate orders of pre-transition suffix makes little appreciable difference (although I suspect that it always makes some difference). Consider the bit of text in 300; in 300a *-chi* 'causative' precedes *-rI* 'punctual' and in 300c it follows:[90]

```
a. Allqu-nchi  miku-na-n-paq    wañu-chi-pa-ri-shun.              300
   dog-12P      eat-sub-3P-PUR  die-caus-ben-punct-12IMP

b. Wara       apa-nki   washa        pampa-pa.
   tomorrow   take-2IMP over:there   plain-GEN

c. Chay-chaw wañu-rI-chi-mu-nki.
   that-LOC  die-punct-caus-afar-2IMP
```

```
a. 'Let's kill it for our dogs to eat.'
b. 'Tomorrow take it to that plain.'
c. 'Kill it over there.'
```

Example 301 shows alternate orders of *-chi* 'causative' and *-kU* 'reflexive', again without the sort of correlation with semantic scope seen above:

```
a. Huchalli-kU-chi-shu-nki.                              301
   incur:guilt-refl-caus-=>2-2

b. Wañu-chi-ku-sha.
   die-caus-refl-3PERF
```

```
a. 'He makes you incur guilt (to yourself).'
b. 'He killed himself.'
```

7.2.1.3. Multiple occurrences of a suffix

---

[90]The order in c. has nothing to do with *-mu*: the same speaker uses (in another text) *wañu-rl-chi-naq* 'he had killed them'.

81

Some suffixes may occur more than once per word.[91] The multiple occurrences are not necessarily adjacent.

```
Wañu-chi-chi-nqa.                                               302
die-caus-caus-3FUT

'He_i will have him_j kill him_k.'

Maña-ku-yku-ku-sha.                                             303
ask-refl-impact-refl-3PERF

'He asked (him).'
```

7.2.1.4. Specific constraints on the order of pre-transition suffix

There a number of specific constraints. A brief list follows:

1. *-mu* 'afar' tends as far right as possible in the pre-transition zone:[92] e.g.:

```
Sha-rI-mu-nki.      'Come back in just a moment.'           304

Sha-rqU-mu-nki.     'You just came a moment ago.'

Sha-yka:-mu-n       'He is coming.'

Sha-yka:-chi-mu-n.  'He is making him come.'
```

2. *-rka* 'plural' must directly precede *-yka:* 'imperfective': see section 9.4.

3. The pluralizer *-:rI* must follow a directional suffixes (*-rkU* 'up', *-ykU* 'in', etc.) or *-kU* 'reflexive' or *-nakU* 'reciprocal': see example 305b. and the discussion in section 9.4.

4. *-rI* and *-ra:* precede *-ykU* and *-yka:* (respectively); see section 9.5.3.

5. *-pa:* precedes the directional suffixes:

```
a. Afila-pa-rku-shu-nki.                                     305
   sharpen-ben-up-=>2-2

b. Aywa-pa-ykU-:rI-ma-nqa.
   go-ben-impact-plur-=>1-3FUT

a. 'He will sharpen it for you (in a bit).'
b. 'They will go directly for my benefit.'
```

-pa: also precedes *-ra:* 'state':

---

[91]Some cases. like the following. are due to the fusion of the suffix as part of the root. and do not constitute real examples of this phenomenon:

```
a. ya+yku-yku-y (enter-impact-2IMP)
b. hita+rI-rI-ykU-mu-n (throw+pnct-pnct-impact-afar-3)

a. 'come in!'
b. 'he throws them (down to the ground)'
```

[92]The following is an apparent counter-example:

```
Sha-mu-chi-ma-sha.
come-afar-caus-=>1-3PERF

'He made me come here.'
```

Seemingly, *-chi* may follow *-mu*. But this is because *sha-* and *-mu* are becoming a single lexical item: *sha-mu-* 'come'. (In other dialect (e.g. Huaraz. Ancash) *sha-* and *-mu* have become fused into a single. inseparable unit.) Evidence of this is that this word has both *-mu* 'afar' and *-ma:* '=>1'. which generally do not co-occur.

```
Chari-pa-ra:-shayki.                                              306
grab-ben-state-1=>2FUT
```

'I will be holding it for you.'

7.2.2. The order of Post-transition Suffixes

7.2.2.1. The order of post-transition suffixes for substantives

The order of post-transition suffixes for substantives is as follows:

```
+----------+--------+-----++---------+------------+ +--------------+
|possessive| plural | case || shading | evidential | |post-positions|
+----------+--------+-----++---------+------------+ +--------------+
```

Table 7-4: THE ORDER OF POST-TRANSITION SUFFIXES FOR SUBSTANTIVES

For example:

```
wamran-n-kuna-pita-pis-shi                                       307
child-3P-plur-indef-IND
```

'even from their children (it is said)'

This order would also apply to the suffixes following substantives derived from verbs (e.g. derived by suffixes such as -*sha* 'sub' and -*q* 'sub'):

```
a. aywa-yka-sha-:-kuna-chaw-na-ga                                308
   go-impfv-sub-1P-plur-LOC-now-TOP

b. rigi-q-kuna-paq-qa
   believe-sub-plur-PUR-TOP

a. 'now as we were going along'
b. 'for those who believe'
```

A certain amount of variation in order is possible. For example, -*kuna* 'plural' may precede or follow -*pa* 'genitive'; the order depends on what is pluralized:

```
a. qam-pa-kuna-ta   (you-GEN-plur-OBJ)                           309
b. qam-kuna-pa-ta   (you-plur-GEN-OBJ)

a. 'to those which belong to you'
b. 'to the one which belongs to you (pl)'
```

-*naw* 'similarity' may precede or follow other case markers with no difference in meaning:

```
a. runa-man-naw (man-GOAL-SIM)                                   310
b. runa-naw-man (man-SIM-GOAL)

a,b. 'as though to a man'
```

```
                                 ( a. -man-naw.                  311
                                 {    GOAL-SIM
Ishka-n tikra-sha  huknaylla <
two-3P  turn-3PERF one           ( b. -naw-man.
                                 (    SIM-GOAL
```

a,b. 'Both became as though one.'

7.2.2.2. The order of post-transition suffixes for verbs

The order of suffixes following the transition is as given in table 7-5. The transition supplement comprises the suffixe -*paq* 'future' and -*man* 'conditional'. The shading suffixes are those discussed in chapter 19. The post-positions are *kama* 'respective', *kaq* 'definite', and *pacha* 'ever'. The class

83

labeled "evidential" is broader than the class of evidential suffixes discussed in chapter 21, including (among others) the negative and interrogative markers.

```
+-------------------------++----------+-----------+ +----------------+
| transition supplement   || shading | evidential | | post-positions |
+-------------------------++----------+-----------+ +----------------+
```

Table 7-5: THE ORDER OF POST-TRANSITION SUFFIXES FOR VERBS

Examples follow:[93]

```
Aywa-shaq-paq-mi.                                                      312
go-1FUT-future-DIR

'I will go.'


Rura-ka-n-man-mi.                                                     313
do-pass-3-cond-DIR

'it might be done'
```

7.2.2.3. The order of post-transition suffixes for adverbs

The order of post-transition suffixes for adverbs is as in table 7-6. These adverbs may be either lexical adverbs or adverbs derived with e.g. -r or -pti.

```
+---------+-----------+ +----------------+
| shading | evidential | | post-positions |
+---------+-----------+ +----------------+
```

Table 7-6: THE ORDER OF POST-TRANSITION SUFFIXES FOR ADVERBS

Examples follow:

```
aywa-yka-pti-n-na-shi                                                 314
go-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND

'now as he was going along'


miku-rku-r-raq-mi                                                     315
eat-up-adv-yet-DIR

'yet after I eat'
```

7.3. Suffix-as-Operator Morphology

One way to view word-formation processes is to treat suffixes as operators over categories. The categories used here will be pairing two elements:[94]

1. The CLASS, is V (verb), S (substantive), or R (adverb) exactly as used elsewhere in this thesis.
2. The VALENCE, is 0, 1, or 2.

---

[93]The following does not fit because -raq is a shading suffix and -taq and -chu would be evidentials or post-positions: I have no explanation.

```
Puñu-yka-n-taq-raq-chu?
sleep-impfv-3-??-yet-YN?

'He couldn't still be sleeping?'
```

[94]Assuming that the categories are simple pairs <class. valence> is a heuristic convenience. Allowing them to be clusters of features adds considerable power to this approach.

84

The VALENCE OF X is the number of referents (individuals or sets of individuals) the grammatical person of which must be indicated by affixes attached to x in order for the composite to be well-formed. For example, in Quechua an intransitive verb stem has valence 1 because it lacks a suffix to indicate the person of the subject: *aywa-* 'go' is not a well-formed word but *aywa-n* (go-3SUBJ) 'he goes' is. A transitive stem has valence 2 because both the person of the subject and of the object must be indicated; *maqa-* (hit) is not a well-formed word, nor is *maqa-ma:-* (hit-=>1) 'hit me', but *maqa-ma-n* (hit-=>1-3) 'he hits me' is a well-formed, speakable word. Thus, *maqa-* has valence 2, *maqa-ma:-* has valence 1, and *maqa-ma-n* has valence 0.

Two things should be noted about this definition:
1. Valence is not the number of affixes needed to indicate the referents. For example, a single affix may indicate both the subject and object. The Quechua suffix *-shayki* indicates first person subject, second person object, and future tense: *maqa-shayki* (hit-1=>2FUT) 'I will hit you'; nevertheless, the valence of *maqa-* is 2.
2. "Referent" is not intended to mean the number of participants. The valence of *sleep* in 'Seven million Chinese are sleeping' is 1 and not seven million! A plural category counts as one referent. e.g., the valence of *maqa-* in *maqa-paaku-n* (hit-PLURAL-3) 'they hit him / he hits them / they hit them' is still 2.

Valence plays an important role in Quechua morphology because 1) suffixes may change valence, and (2) the occurrence of a suffix may be conditioned by valence. For example, returning to *maqa-ma-n* 'he hits me'. each of the suffixes reduces the valence by one:

```
maqa-          has valence 2
maqa-ma-       has valence 1
maqa-ma-n      has valence 0
```

Note that *-ma* '=>1' reduces the valence to 1. and must follow a stem of valence 2: Notationally this will be represented as follows:

$$[maqa]_{V2} \quad \text{or simply} \quad maqa_{V2} \quad \text{'hit'}$$
$$[[maqa]_{V2}ma]_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0} \quad \text{or simply} \quad maqa_{V2}ma_{V1} \quad \text{'hit me'}$$
$$[[[maqa]_{V2}ma]_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0}] \quad \text{or simply} \quad maqa_{V2}ma_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0} \quad \text{'he hits me'}$$

Some some suffixes affect neither valence or category. e.g. see *-yka:* and *-mi* in example 316:

$$Aywa_{V1}\underline{yka}_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0}\underline{mi}_{V0}. \quad (go_{V1}impf_{V1}3_{V0}DIR_{V0}) \qquad\qquad 316$$
'He is going.'

Not all valence changing affixes indicate the person of the referent (like those shown to this point). Some, like a passive, reflexive and reciprocal, simply reduce the valence while aspectuals and tense simply pass it on unchanged: e.g.:

$$Maqa_{V2}\underline{ka}_{V1}{}^{ra}{}_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0}. \quad (hit_{V2}pass_{V1}past_{V1}3_{V0}) \qquad\qquad 317$$
'He was hit.'

$$Maqa_{V2}\underline{naku}_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0}. \quad (hit_{V2}recip_{V1}3_{V0}) \qquad\qquad 318$$
'They hit each other.'

Some affixes, (e.g. benefactive and causative) increase the valence; e.g.:

$$Aywa_{V1}\underline{pa:}_{V2}ma_{V1}{}^n{}_{V0}. \quad (go_{V1}ben_{V2}=>1_{V1}3_{V0}) \qquad\qquad 319$$
'He goes for me.'

$$Aru_{V1}\underline{chi}_{V2}\varnothing_{V1}{}^{nki}{}_{V0}. \quad (work_{V1}cause_{V2}=>3_{V1}2_{V0}) \qquad\qquad 320$$
'You make him work.'

85

It is possible to classify each suffix for its operational effect. In table 7-7, suffixes are given as operating from the category listed at the left to the category listed at the top. (The categories used combine the classes V (verb), S (substantive) and R (adverb) with the valence (0, 1 or 2).) For example, -pa in the third box of the top row operates on S0's to yield R0's. Because space did not permit all the suffixes to be listed in the table, some labels refer to classes of suffixes which are listed directly below table 7-7: e.g. EVD is a class including -mi, -shi, etc.

```
          S0          S1        R0           R1         V0             V1          V2
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
S0   |EVD  CASE|-ni       |-pa        |          |             |-na:       |-pa:       |
     |SHD   POS|          |-koq       |          |             |-ya:       |-cha(kU)   |
     |-ni -kuna|          |           |          |             |-cha:      |           |
     |-taq -raq|          |           |          |             |-ta:       |           |
     |-la: -kaq|          |           |          |             |-pa(kU)    |           |
     |HAVE LIKE|          |           |          |             |           |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
S1   |POS       |-lla      |           |          |             |           |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
R0   |          |          |EVD    SHD |          |             |           |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
R1   |          |          |POS        |-lla      |             |           |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
V0   |          |          |           |          |EVD     SHD  |           |           |
     |          |          |           |          |-paq    -man |           |           |
     |          |          |           |          |-churaq      |           |           |
     |          |          |           |          |-kuna        |           |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
V1   |-y    -na |-na       |-r         |-pti      |PERSON       |TENSE      |-chi -pa:  |
     |-sha      |-sha      |-y+lla+pa  |-shpa     |             |PRTTRN     |-:shi      |
     |-:ni      |          |           |          |             |-lla:      |-kU -cha   |
     |-chi      |          |           |          |             |-na:       |-pU        |
     |          |          |           |          |             |PLURAL     |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
V2   |          |          |           |          |-shayki      |OBJECT     |PRTTRN     |
     |          |          |           |          |-shkashunki  |-ka:       |           |
     |          |          |           |          |             |           |           |
     +----------+----------+-----------+----------+-------------+-----------+-----------+
```

Table 7-7:   THE OPERATIONAL EFFECT OF SUFFIXES

Abbreviations are used in table 7-7 for classes of suffix; they are as follows:

PRTTRN (PRE-TRANSITION):

    plural: -:rl, -pa:kU, -rka, -rpa
    aspect: -yka:, -rl, -ra:, -ka:kU'
    direct: -ykU, -rkU, -rpU, -rqU'
    other: -kU, -chakU, -lla,: etc.

LIKE: -naw, -niraq

HAVE: -pa, -sapa, -ynaq, -yoq

POS: -:, -Yki, -n, -nchi:

PERSON:

    -:, -nki, -n, -nchi:, -shwan, -naq, -sha, -y, -chun, -shun, -shaq, -nqa

OBJECT: -ma:, -shu

CASE: -ta, -yaq, -kama, -wan, -man, -chaw, -paq, -pita, -pa

SHD: -na, -raq, -pis~-si, -lla

The following list of analyzed suffix combinations is included to illustrate suffix-as-operator

86

morphology.[95]

-$_{R_0}$lla$_{R_0}$na$_{R_0}$	(-just-now)
-$_{s_0}$ːso^{mi}$_{s_0}$	(-1P-DIR)
-$_{s_0}$chaw$_{s_0}$pis$_{s_0}$	(-LOC-indef)
-$_{s_0}$ki$_{s_0}$kuna$_{s_0}$wan$_{s_0}$	(-2P-plur-COM)
-$_{s_0}$kuna$_{s_0}$paq$_{s_0}$	(-plur-PUR)
-$_{s_0}$laː$_{s_0}$	(-side)
-$_{s_0}$lla$_{s_0}$ta$_{s_0}$	(-just-OBJ)
-$_{s_0}$lla$_{s_1}$n$_{s_0}$wan$_{s_0}$mi$_{s_0}$	(-just-3P-COM-DIR)
-$_{s_0}$n$_{s_0}$chaq$_{s_0}$	(-3P-surely)
-$_{s_0}$n$_{s_0}$kuna$_{s_0}$ta$_{s_0}$pis$_{s_0}$	(-3P-plur-OBJ-indef)
-$_{s_0}$n$_{s_0}$ta$_{s_0}$	(-3P-OBJ)
-$_{s_0}$naw$_{s_0}$chu$_{s_0}$	(-SIM-NEG)
-$_{s_0}$nchiː$_{s_0}$mi$_{s_0}$	(-12P-DIR)
-$_{s_0}$ni$_{s_1}$n$_{s_0}$pa$_{R_0}$	(-∅-3P-GEN)
-$_{s_0}$nnin$_{s_0}$pa$_{s_0}$	(-sup-GEN)
-$_{s_0}$pa$_{R_0}$shi$_{R_0}$	(-GEN-IND)
-$_{s_0}$pita$_{s_0}$taq$_{s_0}$	(-ABL-??)
-$_{s_0}$ta$_{s_0}$naw$_{s_0}$	(-OBJ-SIM)
-$_{s_0}$ya$_{v_1}$nki$_{v_0}$	(-bec-2P)
-$_{s_0}$yki$_{s_0}$man$_{s_0}$	(-2P-GOAL)
-$_{v_1}$ːvo^{chaq}$_{v_0}$	(-1-surly)
-$_{v_1}$chaku$_{v_1}$na$_{s_1}$n$_{s_0}$paq$_{s_0}$	(-conc-sub-3P-PUR)
-$_{v_1}$chi$_{v_2}$∅$_{v_1}$na$_{s_1}$ːso kuna$_{s_0}$paq$_{s_0}$	(-caus-=>3-sub-1P-plur-PUR)
-$_{v_1}$chi$_{v_2}$∅$_{v_1}$na$_{s_1}$n$_{s_0}$	(-caus-=>3-sub-3P)
-$_{v_1}$chi$_{v_2}$∅$_{v_1}$shQa$_{s_1}$n$_{s_0}$pita$_{s_0}$	(-caus-=>3-sub-3P-ABL)
-$_{v_1}$chi$_{v_2}$∅$_{v_1}$sha$_{v_0}$qa$_{v_0}$	(-caus-=>3-3PERF-TOP)
-$_{v_1}$chi$_{v_2}$∅$_{v_1}$y$_{s_0}$ta$_{s_0}$	(-caus-=>3-inf-OBJ)
-$_{v_1}$chi$_{v_2}$maː$_{v_1}$na$_{s_1}$n$_{s_0}$paq$_{s_0}$	(-caus-=>1-sub-3P-PUR)

---

[95]This is included with apologies to the casual reader. But I expect it to serve the reader who really wants to understand Quechua morphology. The list represents approximately every 16th combination from a list derived from a computer-generated word list of several texts.

$-_{V1}ku_{V1}na_{S1}n_{S0}chaw_{S0}$	(-ref-sub-3P-LOC)
$-_{V1}ku_{V1}pti_{R1}n_{R0}$	(-ref-adv-3P)
$-_{V1}ku_{V1}rku_{V1}sha_{V0}$	(-ref-up-3PERF)
$-_{V1}ku_{V1}shun_{V0}$	(-ref-12FUT)
$-_{V1}ku_{V1}y_{S0}ta_{S0}$	(-ref-inf-OBJ)
$-_{V1}mu_{V1}n_{V0}chu_{V0}$	(-afar-3-YN?)
$-_{V1}mu_{V1}na_{S1}n_{S0}paq_{S0}$	(-afar-sub-3P-PUR)
$-_{V1}mu_{V1}sha_{V0}chu_{V0}$	(-afar-3PERF-YN?)
$-_{V1}mu_{V1}shka_{V1}{\cdot}_{V0}kuna_{V0}$	(-afar-perf-1P-plur)
$-_{V1}n_{V0}pis_{V0}chu_{V0}$	(-3-indef-NEG)
$-_{V1}na_{S1}n_{S0}man_{S0}$	(-sub-3P-GOAL)
$-_{V1}na_{S1}n_{S0}pita_{S0}$	(-sub-3P-ABL)
$-_{V1}na_{S1}n_{S0}yaq_{S0}qa_{S0}$	(-sub-3P-LIM-TOP)
$-_{V1}pa_{V2}\emptyset_{V1}ra_{V1}n_{V0}$	(-ben-=>3-past-3)
$-_{V1}pa{:}_{V2}\emptyset_{V1}na_{S1}{\cdot}_{S0}paq_{S0}pis_{S0}$	(-ben-=>3-sub-1P-PUR-indef)
$-_{V1}pa{:}_{V2}ma_{V1}nqa_{V0}$	(-ben-=>1-3FUT)
$-_{V1}pa{:}_{V2}naku_{V1}ra_{V1}n_{V0}$	(-ben-recip-past-3)
$-_{V1}pa_{V1}q_{S0}kaq_{S0}ta_{S0}$	(-ben-sub-def-OBJ)
$-_{V1}pa_{V1}yku_{V1}n_{V0}shi_{V0}$	(-ben-dir-3-IND)
$-_{V1}pti_{R1}n_{R0}$	(-adv-3P)
$-_{V1}q_{R0}na_{R0}$	(-sub-now)
$-_{V1}q_{S0}kuna_{S0}qa_{S0}$	(-sub-plur-TOP)
$-_{V1}r_{R0}pis_{R0}$	(-adv-indef)
$-_{V1}r_{R0}shi_{R0}$	(-adv-IND)
$-_{V1}rI_{V1}ykU_{V1}mu_{V1}q_{S0}ta_{S0}$	(-asp-dir-afar-sub-OBJ)
$-_{V1}ra_{V1}q_{S0}$	(-state-sub)
$-_{V1}ra_{V1}sha_{V0}$	(-state-3PERF)
$-_{V1}ra_{V1}yka_{V1}q_{S0}man_{S0}$	(-state-impfv-sub-GOAL)
$-_{V1}ri_{V1}ku_{V1}r_{R0}$	(-pnct-ref-adv)
$-_{V1}ri_{V1}na_{S0}$	(-pnct-sub)
$-_{V1}ri_{V1}r_{R0}raq_{R0}$	(-pnct-adv-yet)
$-_{V1}ri_{V1}sha_{S1}nchi_{S0}$	(-pnct-sub-12P) (-pnct-sub-12P)

88

- $_{V1}$rkU$_{V1}$chi$_{V2}$∅$_{V1}$r$_{R0}$ (-asp-caus-=>3-adv)
- $_{V1}$rkU$_{V1}$mu$_{V1}$pti$_{R1}$lla$_{R1}$n$_{R0}$ (-asp-afar-adv-just-3P)
- $_{V1}$rka$_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$n$_{V0}$ (-plur-impfv-3)
- $_{V1}$rka$_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$pti$_{R1}$:r$_{R0}$kuna$_{R0}$ (-plur-impfv-adv-1P-plur)
- $_{V1}$rku$_{V1}$r$_{R0}$pis$_{R0}$ (-asp-adv-indef)
- $_{V1}$rku$_{V1}$shaq$_{V0}$chu$_{V0}$ (-asp-1FUT-YN?)
- $_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$:s$_0$naw$_{S0}$ (-sub-1P-SIM)
- $_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$:s$_0$ta$_{S0}$pis$_{S0}$ (-sub-1P-OBJ-indef)
- $_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$n$_{S0}$ta$_{S0}$shi$_{S0}$ (-sub-3P-OBJ-IND)
- $_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$nchi:$_{S0}$man$_{S0}$ (-sub-12P-GOAL)
- $_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$nchi:$_{S0}$ta$_{S0}$ (-sub-12P-OBJ)
- $_{V1}$sha$_{S0}$qa$_{V0}$ (-prtc-TOP)
- $_{V1}$shka$_{V1}$:v$_0$kuna$_{V0}$ (-perf-1-plur)
- $_{V1}$shka$_{V1}$:v$_0$mi$_{V0}$ (-perf-1-DIR)
- $_{V1}$y$_{S0}$ni$_{S1}$lla$_{S1}$n$_{S0}$wan$_{S0}$chu$_{S0}$ (-inf-null-just-3P-COM-NEG)
- $_{V1}$y$_{S0}$ni$_{S1}$n$_{S0}$kuna$_{S0}$wan$_{S0}$ (-inf-null-3P-plur-COM)
- $_{V1}$ykU$_{V1}$:ri$_{V1}$sha$_{V0}$ (-impact-plur-3PERF)
- $_{V1}$ykU$_{V1}$chi$_{V2}$∅$_{V1}$n$_{V0}$ (-impact-caus-=>3-3)
- $_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$pti$_{R1}$:r$_{R0}$kuna$_{R0}$ (-impfv-adv-1P-plur)
- $_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$pti$_{R1}$n$_{R0}$shi$_{R0}$ (-impfv-adv-3P-IND)
- $_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$:s$_0$chaw$_{S0}$ (-impfv-sub-1P-LOC)
- $_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$:s$_0$kuna$_{S0}$pita$_{S0}$ (-impfv-perf-1-plur-ABL)
- $_{V1}$yka+cha$_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$nki$_{V0}$ (-iterative-impfv-2)
- $_{V1}$yka:$_{V1}$chi$_{V2}$∅$_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$lla$_{S1}$n$_{S0}$wan$_{S0}$ (-impfv-caus-=>3-sub-just-3P-COM)
- $_{V1}$yka:$_{V1}$lla$_{V1}$r$_{R0}$shi$_{R0}$ (-impfv-polite-adv-IND)
- $_{V1}$yku$_{V1}$r$_{R0}$mi$_{R0}$ (-impact-adv-DIR)
- $_{V1}$yku$_{V1}$sha$_{V0}$ (-impact-3PERF)
- $_{V2}$kU$_{V1}$rkU$_{V1}$:ri$_{V1}$r$_{R0}$ (-refl-asp-plur-adv)
- $_{V2}$kU$_{V2}$ma$_{V1}$sha$_{S1}$yki$_{S0}$naw$_{S0}$ (-refl-=>1-sub-2P-SIM)
- $_{V2}$ka$_{V1}$sha$_{V0}$ (-pass-3PERF)
- $_{V2}$ka:$_{V1}$mu$_{V1}$ra$_{V1}$n$_{V0}$ (-pass-afar-past-3)
- $_{V2}$ka:$_{V1}$na$_{S1}$n$_{S0}$pita$_{S0}$ (-pass-sub-3P-ABL)

89

- $_{V2}$ku$_{V1}$n$_{V0}$man$_{V0}$na$_{V0}$chu$_{V0}$ (-refl-3-cond-now-YN?)

- $_{V2}$ku$_{V1}$nki$_{V0}$na$_{V0}$chari$_{V0}$ (-refl-2-now-surely)

- $_{V2}$ku$_{V1}$rka$_{V1}$yka$_{V1}$n$_{V0}$ (-refl-plur-impfv-3)

- $_{V2}$ku$_{V1}$shka$_{V1}$:$_{V0}$ (-refl-perf-1)

- $_{V2}$ku$_{V1}$yku$_{V1}$r$_{R0}$ (-refl-impact-adv)

- $_{V2}$ma$_{V1}$q$_{S0}$ni$_{S1}$:$_{S0}$ (-=>1-sub-null-1P)

- $_{V2}$ma$_{V1}$sha$_{V0}$ (-=>1-3PERF)

- $_{V2}$naku$_{V1}$n$_{V0}$ (-recip-3)

- $_{V2}$shu$_{V1}$sha$_{S0}$yki$_{S0}$qa$_{S0}$ (-=>2-sub-2P-TOP)

- $_{V2}$yka:$_{V2}$shu$_{V1}$nki$_{V0}$ (-impfv-=>2-2)

8. TRANSITIONS AND TENSE

This chapter treats the formation of the transitions and uses of the various tenses that result. Section 8.1 presents various preliminaries. The following sections treat. one by one, the various transitions; the order of presentation is roughly (1) simple finite tenses, (2) compound finite tenses. (3) non-finite transitions, first those that substantivize and then those that adverbialize.

8.1. Preliminaries

8.1.1. Person

The person markers are by far the most frequent morphemes in HgQ. There is a fundamental difference[96] in Quechua between those which are used on verbs and those used on non-verbs. the latter including nominalizations, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and of course, simple nouns. Those used for verbs will be referred to as PERSON markers and those used for non-verbs will be referred to as POSSESSIVE suffixes.

```
        +VERBS      -VERB
    +-----------------------+
 1  |    -:     |    -:     |
    |-----------+-----------|
11  |  -:kuna   |  -:kuna   |
    |-----------+-----------|
12  |  -nchi:   |  -nchi:   |
    |-----------+-----------|
 3  |    -n     |    -n     |
    |-----------+-----------|
 2  |   -nki    |   -Yki**  |
    +-----------------------+
    (**See section 23.8.9.)
```

Table 8-1: PERSON MARKERS

Examples follow:

```
aywa-:       'I go'            uma-:       'my head'                      321
aywa-:kuna   'we(excl) go'     uma-:kuna   'our(excl) heads'
aywa-nchi:   'we(incl) go'     uma-nchi:   'our(incl) heads'
aywa-nki     'you go'          uma-yki     'your head'
aywa-n       'he goes'         uma-n       'his head'
```

In HgQ. *-:-kuna* (-1-plur) is fusing in HgQ to form a new person marker *-:kuna* 'first person plural exclusive (11)'. It is most common in the perfect tense, e.g. *aywa-shka-:kuna* (go-perf-11) 'we(excl) went'. It occurs in other tenses as well. e.g., in the present: *puri-rka-yka-:kuna* (travel-plur-impfv-11) 'we(excl) are going'. It also occurs as a possessive suffix, e.g. *rura-na-:kuna-paq* (do-sub-11P-PUR) 'in order that we(excl) do it'.

---

[96]It appears that the only difference between these two sets of person markers is in the second person. However. the possessive suffixes all have allomorphs beginning with /-ni/, used following consonants and long vowels. In some Quechua languages (particularly in the A branch) there are more distinctions than in HgQ, e.g. in the first person *-ni* for verbal and *-y* for non-verbal.

91

8.1.2. Introduction to the Transition

In section 7.1.2 the transitions were introduced as a single, unanalyzed complex. This section initiates discussion about the internal structure of the transition; it should be studied carefully, as the discussions of the various transitions in the following chapters will presuppose an understanding of the basics presented here.

The structure of the transition is basically as follows:

```
+----------------+---------------------------------+----------------+
| object marker  | tense marker/subordinator       | subject marker |
+----------------+---------------------------------+----------------+
```

For example, the parts of *maqaykama:nanpaq* 'in order for him to hit me' are as follows:

```
+------+--------------+--------------------------------+----------------+
|stem  |pre-transition|          transition            |post-transition |
|------+--------------+--------+------------+----------+----------------|
|      |              | object|subordinator|subject|                    |
|      |              +--------+------------+----------+                 |
|maqa- |     -ykU     | -ma:  |    -na     | -n    |      -paq           |
+------+--------------+--------+------------+----------+----------------+
```

The transitions are best understood as follows. Suppose that
- person markers (for subject) are represented 1, 12, 2, and 3,
- object markers are represented =>1 and =>2 for first and second person respectively,
- and any suffix marking first person subject and second person object is represented as 1=>2.

Then the system is as follows:

```
                           O B J E C T
              1              12               2             3
      +----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
S 1   |     ---        |      ---       |     1=>2       |     1          |
U     |----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------|
B 12  |     ---        |      ---       |     ---        |     12         |
J     |----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------|
E 2   |    =>1  2      |      ---       |     ---        |     2          |
C     |----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------|
T 3   |    =>1  3      |    =>1  12     |    =>2  2      |     3          |
      +----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
```

Table 8-2:   THE BASIC TRANSITION SYSTEM

Note that:
1. A third person object is indicated by the absence of an overt object marker; consequently transitive verbs with third person objects are marked just like intransitive verbs.
2. In HgQ, reflexives ("he hit himself"), reciprocals ("they hit each other"), and plurals ("we hit him" "they hit us") are not indicated in the transition. They are indicated by pre-transition suffixes; see sections 9.4 and 9.7.
3. In the 3=>12 and 3=>2 forms the subject slot suffix reflects the person of the object rather than of the subject. This anomaly (which I refer to as the "subject marking anomaly") affects all tenses and subordinate transitions.[97] Example 322 provides convincing evidence that the use of a second person subject marker following a second person object marker is simply the language's mechanism to indicating a third person subject:[98]

---

[97] And it seems that some reflex of the subject marking anomaly is found in virtually every Quechua language.

[98] I do not know why Quechua has this anomaly; I have no explanation for it.

92

```
a. Maqa-shu-y-ta    muna-n.                                          322
   hit-=>2-INF-OBJ want-3

b. Maqa-y-ta    muna-shu-nki.
   hit-INF-OBJ want-=>2-2

a,b. 'He wants to hit you.'
```

In 322b the object suffix of the infinitival complement is moved into the main verb. But this has caused the subject marking must be adjusted: in 322a it is -n 'third person' but in 322b it becomes -nki 'second person'. This is because of the subject marking anomoly: to indicat a third person following -shu '=>2' requires a second person suffix.

8.1.3. Agreement: Subject and Object Person Marking

Two facts about the use of the transitions are important.

1. Intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with a third person object are indicated by the same transition, namely the x=>3 transition, where x is the person of the subject. This is because intransitive verbs have no object while third person objects (of transitive verbs) are indicated by the absence of an object marking suffix. For example, maqa-n (hit-3=>3PRESENT) 'He hits him' and aywa-n (go-3=>3PRESENT) 'He goes' using the same transition, in this case simply the third person subject marker -n.

2. Indirect objects are marked in preference to direct objects.[99] For example, in pay qam-ta qu-maran (he you-ACC give-3=>1PAST) 'He gave you to me' the transition is 3=>1 because the indirect object is first person; the transition does not indicate the person of the second person direct object since it is superseded by the indirect object.

8.1.4. Auxiliary Suppression

This section is necessary to understand some of the transitions which are or were compound tenses, i.e., which involve the auxiliary ka- 'be'.

The auxiliary ka- is suppressed when it is third person and present, and

- it is not used existentially,
- it is not needed to support some other suffix (e.g. as an aspectual suffix).

Thus. when one would expect ka-n (be-3). there is nothing. The paradigm that results (under just these conditions) is:

```
    +-----------+
1   | ka-:      |   'I am'
    |-----------|
11  | ka-:kuna  |   'we (excl) are'
    |-----------|
12  | ka-nchi:  |   'we (incl) are'
    |-----------|
2   | ka-nki    |   'you are'
    |-----------|
3   |    ∅      |   'he is'
    +---------r-+
              \
```

For example:

---

[99] This is fairly universal in the languages of the world. and is rooted in the fact that indirect objects are typically more animate than direct objects.

93

```
a. Noqa hatun ka-:.                                          323
   I    big   be-1

b. Pay  hatun  Ø.
   he   big
```

```
a. 'I am big.'
b. 'He is big.'
```

8.2. Present

The present tense is indicated by the absence of an overt tense marker.[100] The transitions are as follow:

```
                        O B J E C T
            1            12             2            3
       +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
S   1  |    ---      |     ---     |    -:    *  |    -:       |
U      |-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------|
B  12  |    ---      |     ---     |    ---      |   -nchi:    |
J      |-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------|
E   2  |  -manki     |     ---     |    ---      |   -nki      |
C      |-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------|
T   3  |  -man       |   -manchi:  |  -shunki    |   -n        |
       +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
```

Table 8-3: PRESENT TENSE TRANSITIONS

The present tense is used:

1. to speak of events or situations holding at the time of speaking,
2. in a narrative. after establishing the time as past, the text may continue in the "historical" present.
3. in describing procedures (i.e. "how to do" texts) and explanations of events/situations which either hold at the moment of speaking or do not relate to actual historical events (either past or projected).

8.3. Simple Past

The simple past tense is formed with the suffix -ra 'past'. This suffix foreshortens (because it is derived from the proto-Quechua form */rqa/ by the loss of /q/). In the second person, it takes the non-verbal person marker -yki instead of the verbal -nki:[101]

```
                        O B J E C T
            1            12             2            3
       +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
S   1  |    ---      |     ---     |   -ra:      |   -ra:      |
U      |-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------|
B  12  |    ---      |     ---     |    ---      |  -ranchi:   |
J      |-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------|
E   2  |  -marayki   |     ---     |    ---      |  -rayki     |
C      |-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------|
T   3  |  -maran     |  -maranchi: |  -shurayki  |  -ran       |
       +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
```

Table 8-4: SIMPLE PAST TRANSITIONS

---

[100] This reflects a universal tendency for the present tense to be the least marked.

[101] I have not the foggiest idea why.

94

The simple past tense is giving way to the perfect as the "everyday" past tense, and is becoming more of a historical tense:[102] e.g. 'he went' would ordinarily be said as in example 324a, and 324b would be more common in narrating some actual, past event:

```
a. Aywa-sha.  (go-3PERF)                                      324
b. Aywa-ra-n. (go-past-3)

a,b. 'He went.'
```

8.4. Future Tense

For the future tense there are different person markers:

```
          FUTURE
        +-----------+
     1  |  -shaq    |
        |-----------|
    12  |  -shun    |
        |-----------|
     3  |  -nqa     |
        |-----------|
     2  |  -nki     |
        |-----------|
   1=>2 |  -shayki  |
        +-----------+
```

Table 8-5: FUTURE PERSON MARKERS

The second person future is the same as the second person present. Thus a sentence like *aywanki* is ambiguous between 'you go' and 'you will go.' These future person markers function in the expected way in forming the transitions:

```
                      O B J E C T
            1            12            2            3
        +-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+
S   1   |    ---    |    ---    |  -shayki  |  -shaq    |
U       |-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------|
B  12   |    ---    |    ---    |    ---    |  -shun    |
J       |-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------|
E   2   |  -manki   |    ---    |    ---    |  -nki     |
C       |-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------|
T   3   |  -manqa   |  -ma:shun |  -shunki  |  -nqa     |
        +-----------+-----------+-----------+-----------+
```

Table 8-6: FUTURE TRANSITIONS

It is possible to indicate an exclusive first person plural by adding *-kuna* 'plural' to *-shaq* '1FUT': e.g.: *Aywa-shaq-kuna-paq.* (go-1FUT-plur-fut) 'We (excl) will go.'

The future transitions may be followed by *-paq* 'future'. This suffix indicates (roughly) 'at some future time'. For example, *miku-shun-na* (eat-12FUT-now) means 'Let's eat now.' but *Miku-shun-paq-na* (eat-12FUT-fut-now) projects our eating into the future, and means 'We are going to eat right away (i.e. in just a few moments).' Other examples:

```
"Dimanda-shayki-paq-mi"    ni-ma-sha.                         325
 denounce-1=>2FUT-fut-DIR  say-=>1-3PERF

'He said to me, "I will denounce you (to the authorities)."'
```

---

[102]This is somewhat parallel to the situation in dialects to the east in which a recent tense has been innovated, and the simple past tense becomes the remote past tense.

95

```
Maqa-ma:-shun-paq tayta-yki.                                              326
hit-=>1-12FUT-fut father-2P
```

'Your father will hit us (when he returns from work).'

```
"Ama hita-rI-ma-y-chu"        ni-nki.  Y   chawra mana                    327
 not throw-asp-=>1-2IMP-NEG say-2IMP and then   not
```

```
hita-ri-shu-nki-paq-chu.
throw-asp-=>2-2-fut-NEG
```

'Say, "Don't throw me over!" Then he won't throw you over.'

```
Noqa-ta mana-m  nunka-pis   usha-ma-nki-paq-chu.                          328
me-OBJ  not-DIR never-indef finish-=>1-2-fut-NEG
```

'You will never be able to finish me off.'

The future tense indicates future time. It may be used to indicate:

1. polite imperatives (see 8.5 below); e.g.:

```
Aywa-pa-ykU-ma-y.       Wasi-:-ta      watqa-ykU-mu-nki.                  329
go-ben-impact-=>1-2IMP house-1P-OBJ spy-impact-afar-2IMP
```

'Please go for me. Please spy on my house (and then come back).'

2. conjectures

```
Taqay-chaw runa-mi tiya-nqa.                                             330
there-LOC  man-DIR live-3FUT
```

'Perhaps people live there.'

```
Willa-ku-pti-:    kapas   muna-nqa-mi.                                    331
tell-refl-adv-1P perhaps want-3FUT-DIR
```

'If I tell him (about them) perhaps he will want (some of them).'

```
Kanan hunaq tamya-nqa-churaq?                                            332
today day   rain-3FUT-dubit
```

'Do you think it might rain today?'

3. a challenge with ma:: see 8.5 below.

4. a threat with -chu 'YN?'; e.g.:

```
Yapay-shi ni-mu-n     kundinaadu   "Tuni-mu-shaq-chu?"                    333
again-IND say-afar-3 condemned:one fall-afar-1FUT-YN?
```

'Again the condemned spirit says "Shall I fall down?"'
(The dismembered spirit falls in pieces, gathers himself
together, and fights the hero.)

8.5. Imperative

In addition to the typical second person imperatives (e.g. "Give it to me!"), Quechua has third person imperatives (e.g. "May he give it to me!"). The person markers are different for imperatives. (There are. of course. no first person singular imperatives.)

```
      IMPERATIVES
     +-----------+
 12  |   -shun   |
     |-----------|
  2  |    -y     |
     |-----------|
  3  |   -chun   |
     +-----------+
```

Table 8-7: IMPERATIVE PERSON MARKERS

96

These function in the expected way. except that the 3=>2 form is /-shu-nki/ where one would expect /-shu-y/ (which is attested in other dialects).

```
                         O B J E C T
              1            12            2            3
         +-------------------------------------------------------+
    S  1 |    ---     |     ---    |    •••     |    •••     |
    U    |------------+------------+------------+------------|
    B 12 |    ---     |     ---    |    ---     |   -shun    |
    J    |------------+------------+------------+------------|
    E  2 |   -may     |     ---    |    ---     |    -y      |
    C    |------------+------------+------------+------------|
    T  3 | -ma:chun   |  -ma:shun  |  -shunki   |   -chun    |
         +-------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-8: IMPERATIVE TRANSITIONS

In HgQ. many commands that could be given in the second person are given as third person or as first person plural inclusive; this is much more polite than the corresponding second person imperative. For example. 334b is much more polite than 334a; both mean 'Come with me!':

334

```
              (  a. aywa-ku-y.
              (       go-refl-2IMP
Noqa-wan     <
me-COM        (  b. aywa-ku-shun.
              (       go-refl-12IMP
```

a. 'With me, (you) come!'
b. 'With me, let's go!'

To say 'Leave it there!'. rather than use a second person imperative, it is much more polite to use a third person imperative. as in 335:

```
Chay-lla-chaw  ka-ku-yka:-chun.                                   335
there-just-LOC be-refl-impfv-3IMP

'Leave it right there!'
(lit. 'May it be just there.')
```

Negative imperatives are formed with *ama* 'not' rather than *mana* 'not'; e.g.:

```
a. *Mana )                                                        336
     not  \ maqa-ma:-chun-chu!
          /  hit-=>1-3IMP-NEG
b.  Ama   )
    not   )
```

b. '(I hope that) he doesn't hit me.'

```
Hina ka-shun.  Ama firsa-ta   rura-shun-chu pi-ta-pis.            337
so   be-12IMP  not force-OBJ  do-12IMP-NEG  who-OBJ-indef

'Let's be so (like that). Let's not pressure anyone.'
```

This is true as well for imperatives formed with *-nki*; e.g.:

```
Ama qepa-yki-pa-qa   rikcha-kU-mu-nki-chu!                        338
not back-2P-GEN-TOP  look-refl-afar-2FUT-NEG

'Don't look behind you (to where you have come from)!'
```

Imperatives often occur with *maa* as a challenge to carry out some action; e.g.:

```
Maa           pay-ta-raq tapu-y.                                  339
challenge     he-OBJ-yet ask-2IMP

'(I challenge you to) ask him!'
```

97

```
Buyno, maa        yarpa-chaku-shun ari.                          340
well   challenge think-concen-12IMP well
```

'Well, let's think the thing out.'

The future tense can be used as a polite way to give commands:

```
                   / a. picha-y!                                 341
                   |    sweep-2IMP
        Pampa-ta  <
        floor-OBJ  | b. picha-nki!
                   \    sweep-2FUT
```

'Sweep the floor.'

If what is being ordered is to be done in the future (and not right at the moment), then -nki '2FUT' is used in preference to -y '2IMP'; e.g. in 342 *kutimunki* is much better than *kutimuy*:

```
Chaka-y     oora kuti-mu-nki.                                    342
be:dark-INF time return-afar-2IMP
```

'Come back when it gets dark.'

Consequently, -nki '2FUT' is more appropriate for a general prohibition than -y; e.g. 343a would mean 'Don't eat it right now', 343b would mean 'Don't eat it right now or in the future' and 343c would mean 'Don't eat it in the future':

```
a. Ama miku-y-chu!                                              343
   not eat-2IMP-NEG

b. Ama miku-nki-chu!
   not eat-2FUT-NEG

c. Ama miku-nki-paq-chu!
   not eat-2FUT-fut-NEG

a. 'Don't eat it (now).'
b. 'Don't eat it (in the future).'
c. 'Don't (at any time in the future) eat it.'
```

8.6. Participles

Participles are transitions. but since there is little to say about their composition--they are always third person--and much to say about their use, they are discussed in section 13.2.

8.7. Conditional Tense

The so-called "conditional" tense is formed by adding -man to the simple present tense form. There is one exception: the first person plural inclusive (12) form is -shwan.

```
                        O B J E C T
                 1           12            2             3
       +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
S  1   |     ---     |     ---     |    -:man    |    -:man    |
U      +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
B  12  |     ---     |     ---     |     ---     |   -shwan    |
J      +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
E  2   |  -mankiman  |     ---     |     ---     |   -nkiman   |
C      +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
T  3   |   -manman   |  -mashwan   |  -shunkiman |    -nman    |
       +-------------+-------------+-------------+-------------+
```

Table 8-9: CONDITIONAL TRANSITIONS

The conditional is basically a compound tense. The forms given in table 8-9 do not have the auxiliary

98

verb *ka-n* 'be-3' because in the most common case the auxiliary is third person present, and thus does not occur. When the auxiliary bears tense, it does occur; e.g.:

```
Sha-mu-nki-man   ka-ra-n.                                              344
come-afar-2-cond be-past-3

'You should have come.'
```

When a verb bearing conditional tense is negated, *ama* 'not (prohibition)' is used rather than *mana* 'not' and *-chu* 'neg' follows the conditional verb rather than the auxiliary; e.g.:

```
Ama sha-mu-n-man-chu       ka-ra-n  pay.                              345
not come-afar-3-cond-NEG   be-past-3 he

'He should not have come.'
```

The conditional tense expresses various modalities, such as possibility, obligation, and necessity. These do not form distinct categories in Quechua as they do in English. (Some of these concepts are also expressed by a compound construction: see section 8.10.) They will now be illustrated.

In the following, the conditional is used to express possibility (including ability) or impossibility: e.g.:

```
Ima-naw-pa-taq   sunsu-ta   wañu-chi-:-man.                           346
what-SIM-GEN-??  stooge-OBJ die-caus-1-cond

'How might/could I kill the stooge?'

Rura-y-ta   puydi-:-man-churaq.                                       347
do-inf-OBJ  be:able-1-cond-dubitive

'I might be able to do it but maybe not.'

Mana huk-wan   warmi-: ka-n-man-raq-chu.                              348
not  other-COM wife-1P be-3-cond-yet-NEG

'It couldn't be that my wife is (having an affair) with another.'

Qam chaki-chi-nki-man-chu  kay  yaku-ta    upu-yllapa.               349
you be:dry-caus-2-cond-YN? this water-OBJ drink-adv

'Could you dry this water up by drinking it.'
(a challenge to drink a lake dry)

Listu-ta rura-shwan  fista-kuna-pa-ta.                                350
list-OBJ make-12COND fiesta-plur-GEN-OBJ

'We could/should make a list of the fiestas.'
```

The conditional is used to express obligation and necessity; e.g.:

```
Wamra ñerda, qam puñu-nki-man.                                        351
child (expl) you sleep-2-cond

'Child (expletive), you should be asleep!'

Por+imbidyoosu-chari   rura-ma-shka-nki.                              352
out:of:jealousy-surely do-=>1-perf-2

Wawa-yki-ta-qa    ni-nki-man ka-ra-n.
child-2P-OBJ-TOP say-2-cond be-past-3

'Out of jealousy you did it to me.
You should have told your child.'
```

(See also examples 344 and 345.)

The conditional is used to express expectations; e.g.:

```
Todito      hinan-chaw      ushaqpaq     kacha-ykU-ma-n-man                    353
everything  like:that-LOC  completely  leave-impact-=>1-3-cond

ka-ra-n     disgrasya-chaw.
be-past-3 misfortune-LOC
```

'Everything would have been left completely like that, in misfortune.'

A conditional tense with an adverbial clause is used to express ones attitude toward the possibility of an event (e.g. its desirability); e.g.:

```
` Tamyu-pti-n alli ka-n-man.                                                   354
rain-adv-3P good be-3-cond
```

'It would be good if it were to rain.'

```
Mana-mi qam-wan tiya-:-man-chu.                                               355
not-DIR you-COM live-1-cond-NEG
```

'I would not live with you.' (refusing a proposal of marriage)

If the conditional is in the past the adverbial clause is counter-factual; e.g.:

```
Sha-mu-pti-ki      alli ka-n-man  ka-ra-n.                                    356
come-afar-adv-2P good be-3-COND be-past-3
```

'It would have been good if you had come.'

```
Chay-naw ka-pti-n  alli ka-n-man  ka-ra-n.                                    357
that-SIM be-adv-3P good be-3-cond be-past-3
```

'It would have been good had it been like that.'

(See also example 344.)

8.8. Perfect Tense

The perfect tense will be discussed in two sections. the simple (present) perfect. and the compound perfect.

8.8.1. The Simple Perfect

An earlier stage of the perfect is given in table 8-10:

```
                              O B J E C T
              1              12              2              3
     +-----------------+---------------+------------------+----------------+
S  1 |      ---        |     ---       |  -shqa ka-:      |  -shqa ka-:    |
U    |-----------------+---------------+------------------+----------------|
B 12 |      ---        |     ---       |      ---         |-shqa ka-nchik  |
J    |-----------------+---------------+------------------+----------------|
E  2 |-ma:-shqa ka-nki|     ---       |      ---         |-shqa ka-nki    |
C    |-----------------+---------------+------------------+----------------|
T  3 |   -ma:-shqa    |-ma:-shqa ka-nchik|-shqa ka-shu-nki|    -shqa      |
     +-----------------+---------------+------------------+----------------+
```

Table 8-10: PREVIOUS STAGE OF THE SIMPLE PERFECT TENSE

Note the following:

- Where one would expect *ka-n* (be-3) in the 3=>1 and 3=>3 forms, it does not occur. This is because of the systematic absence f *ka-n* in certain environments; see section 8.1.4.
- -*shu* occurs following *ka-* whereas -*ma:* directly follows the verb which bears the participle marker. i.e.. -*ma-shqa ka-* but -*shqa ka-shu-*.

100

The simple perfect came about by the collapse of /-shqa ka-/ to /-shka/. Because the third person present of *ka-* (i.e. *ka-n*) was not present, the collapse did not occur in the 3=>1 and 3=>3 forms; because */q/ has dropped from all forms of PQ */-shqa/ 'participle', the forms are simply *-ma-sha* and *-sha* (respectively). The forms that resulted are given in table 8-11:

```
                      O B J E C T
            1            12            2            3
       +-----------------------------------------------------------+
S   1  |     ---     |     ---     |  -shka:     |  -shka:      |
U      |-------------+-------------+-------------+--------------|
B  12  |     ---     |     ---     |     ---     |  -shkanchi:  |
J      |-------------+-------------+-------------+--------------|
E   2  |  -mashkanki |     ---     |     ---     |  -shkanki    |
C      |-------------+-------------+-------------+--------------|
T   3  |  -masha     | -mashkanchi:| -shkashunki |  -sha        |
       +-----------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-11: PRESENT PERFECT TENSE TRANSITIONS

The simple perfect is used either as a perfect or as a simple past tense. In fact, the simple perfect is rapidly displacing *-ra* 'past'[103] as the most common past tense. For example, the most common way to say 'he went' is *aywa-sha* (go-3PERF). Examples abound in the examples given below. (Note that *-shka* is glossed as 'perf' whereas the participle marker *-sha* is glossed '3PERF'.)

8.8.2. Compound Perfect

The compound perfect is formed with the "participle+auxiliary" construction, i.e., the participle marker *-sha* followed by the auxiliary verb *ka-*.[104] In table 8-12, the numbers <1>, <2>, <3> and <12> indicate a suffix of that person, possibly accompanied by a tense marker (or portmanteau with it). (If <3> would be simply *-n* '3', then *ka-n* 'be-3' is absent, in accordance with the rule discussed in section 8.1.4.)

```
                        O B J E C T
            1              12              2              3
       +-------------------------------------------------------------------+
S   1  |     ---      |     ---      | -sha ka-<1>  | -sha ka-<1>  |
U      |--------------+--------------+--------------+--------------|
B  12  |     ---      |     ---      |     ---      | -sha ka-<12> |
J      |--------------+--------------+--------------+--------------|
E   2  |-ma:-sha ka-<2>|    ---      |     ---      | -sha ka-<2>  |
C      |--------------+--------------+--------------+--------------|
T   3  |-ma:-sha ka-<3>|-ma:-sha ka-<12>|-sha ka-shu-<2>| -sha ka-<3> |
       +-------------------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-12: COMPOUND PERFECT TRANSITIONS

The result of inflecting the auxiliary as a present tense is either a simple perfect or a past anterior (see section 8.8.1): with a past tense, a past anterior (see section 8.8.2.2), and with future tense, a future perfect (see 8.8.2.3). The compound perfect may also by used in subordinate clauses (see section 8.8.2.4).

To form the negative or yes-no question of a compound perfect, the suffix *-chu* 'neg, YN?' usually follows the participle: see examples 359 360, 361 and 366. Example 366 shows that this is not

---

[103]The simple past tense formed with *-ra* 'past' is becoming a tense of "historical fact": see section 8.3.

[104]Thus, the compound perfect is structurally identical to the syntactic passive construction (see section 11.2.

101

always the case.

8.8.2.1. Compound present perfect

Occasionally the present perfect occurs as a compound perfect (i.e. uncollapsed):

```
Wamra-qa    puñu-ka:ku-sha-lla-mi      ka-yka-n.                              358
child-TOP   sleep-compl-prtc-just-DIR be-impfv-3
```

'The child has just fallen fast asleep.' or
'The child has gone (soundly) to sleep.'

But when a past perfect verb forms the basis of a question, the *-chu* 'YN?' follows the main verb:

```
Uti-ka-sha-chu      ka-yka-nki?                                              359
tire-pass-prtc-YN? be-impfv-2
```

'Have you tired?' (i.e., 'Are you tired?')

In some cases there is ambiguity between passives and perfects, and one must decide between them principally on the basis of what has become of the (logical) object of the verb, and in some cases on the context alone. For example, 360 is ambiguous. Example 361 is clearly past perfect because (i) the logical object survives as a surface object and (ii) the verbal subject marking does not agree with the object. However, as an answer to 361, 360 should be interpreted as a perfect.

```
Mana-mi      qara-sha-chu   ka-:.                                            360
not-assert feed-prtc-NEG be-1
```

'I have not fed (him).' or 'I am not fed.'

```
Qara-sha-chu   ka-nki taqay runa-ta?                                        361
feed-prtc-NEG be-2   that  man-OBJ
```

'Have you fed that man?'

8.8.2.2. Past perfect

The past perfect tense is a compound tense formed by *-sha* 'participle' and *ka-* 'be' inflected in the past tense. Examples follow: the compound construction is underlined so as to avoid confusion with the simple perfects which occur in these examples:

```
Mayna     haru-ma-sha   ka-shka-nki.                                        362
already step-=>1-prtc be-perf-2
```

'You had already stepped on me.'

```
Pi-taq apa-sha   ka-sha.                                                    363
who-?? take-prtc be-3PERF
```

'Who had taken it?'

```
...maña-ku-yku-sha      ka-sha    kampana-ta tuka-na-n-paq.                 364
   ask-refl-impact-prtc be-3PERF bell-OBJ    ring-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...he had been asked to ring the bell.'

```
Unay      runa-kuna tiya-sha ka-ra-n   chay pacha-qa.                       365
long-ago man-plural live-prtc be-past-3 that place-TOP
```

'Long before, people had lived in that place.'

To negate a past perfect, the *-chu* 'neg' follows the auxiliary:

102

```
...mana maqa-sha ka-shka-nki-chu.                                    366
   not  hit-prtc be-perf-2-NEG
```

```
'...you had not hit her (before she died).'
(i.e., she didn't die as a result of your hitting her)
```

Or -chu 'neg' may follow the participle: e.g.:

```
Mana puyri-sha-chu    ka-sha.                                        367
not  be:able-prtc-NEG be-3PERF
```

```
'He had not been able (to do it).'
```

In example 368. the verb is passivized by the suffix -ra: 'state' and then the tense is indicated as past anterior by the compound perfect:

```
Achki-qa  rika-ra:-mu-sha      ka-sha   bintaana-pa-si.             368
light-TOP see-state-afar-prtc  be-3PERF window-GEN-IND
```

```
'The light had been seen through the window.'
```

8.8.2.3. Future perfect

The future perfect is exceedingly uncommon. It is formed like the uncollapsed form of the present perfect. except that the auxiliary bears future tense marking. Examples follow:

```
Aywa-ku-sha ka-nqa.                                                 369
go-refl-prtc be-3FUT
```

```
'He will have gone' (by the time you get there)
```

Just as futures may be used in a "dubitive" sense (see 8.4), so the future perfect may be used:

```
Pay-kuna  rura-sha ka-nqa  mayqan-pis.                             370
they-plur do-prtc  be-3FUT which-indef
```

```
'One of them must have done it.'
```

8.8.2.4. The compound perfect in subordinate clauses

The compound perfect tense may be used in subordinate clauses, e.g. in an adverbial and relative clauses as well as complements. It indicates past anterior time, as the examples below will demonstrate:

```
Achka-q-ta    allcha-ka:-chi-sha ka-pti-n...                       371
many-hum-OBJ  fix-pass-caus-prtc be-adv-3P
```

```
'Because he had healed many...'
```

```
...tari-ra-n    puñu-ka-sha      ka-yka-q-ta.                       372
   find-past-3  sleep-pass-prtc  be-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

```
'...he found that they had fallen asleep.'
```

```
...huk karni-ta shata-chaw wata-sha ka-yka-q-ta.                   373
   one lamb-OBJ brush-LOC  tie-prtc be-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

```
'...a lamb which was/had been tied in the brush.'
```

See 1465, which contains an embedded alternative question with past perfect tense.

It is not possible to have a compound perfect applied to a syntactic passive; see chapter 11. However, example 367 shows that a compound perfect is possible following a verb which is morphologically passivized with -ra: 'state' and examples 374 and 375 show the same for -ka: 'passive':

103

```
Achka-q-ta       allcha-ka:-chi-sha ka-pti-n...                    374
many-human-OBJ fix-pass-caus-prtc be-adv-3
```

'Because he had healed many (people)...'

```
...allcha-ka-sha  ka-yka-sha-n-ta      musya-r.                    375
...fix-pass-prtc  be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ know-adv
```

'...knowing that she had been healed'

8.9. Habitual

The habitual is formed with the subordinator -q and the verb ka- 'be';[105] e.g.:

```
Kuka chaqcha-q    ka-:.                                            376
coca chew:coca-sub be-1
```

'I used to chew coca.'

```
Chay-naw achka-ta miku-q ka-:kuna.                                377
that-SIM many-OBJ eat-sub be-11
```

'In that way we used to eat many.'
(reminiscing about how as a child one would steal chirimoyas)

```
imay-pis    rura-pux(q ka)-sha-n-naw                             378
when-indef do-sub be-sub-3P-SIM
```

'as he had always done'

```
Ima-taq-shi?  Ima-taq-shi?                                        379
what-ques-IND what-ques-IND

Intiiru mundu-ta  ñiti-q    ka-yka-:.
entire  world-OBJ press-sub be-impfv-1

Yoraq-lla.
white-just
```

'What is it? What is it?'
'I am (habitually) pressing the entire earth.'
'White.' (This is a riddle, the answer to which is clouds.)

```
Uysha-ta  suwa-ku-q.                                              380
sheep-ACC steal-refl-sub
```

'He would steal sheep.'

```
Chay-naw willa-pa:-ma-q   tiyu-:    ranshi.                       381
that-SIM tell-ben-=>1-sub uncle-1P Francisco
```

'My uncle Francisco used to tell me that.'

```
Biyaahi-ta puri-q    ka-sha.                                      382
trip-OBJ   travel-sub be-3PERF
```

'He used to go on trips.'

When a habitual is negated, -chu 'neg' comes on the main rather than the auxiliary verb; e.g.:

```
Mana sumaq karu-ta puri-q-chu   ka-:.                             383
not  very  far-OBJ walk-sub-NEG be-1
```

'I didn't walk far.' (being only five years old at the time)

---

[105]This must be considered a construction: the meaning is not a compositional sum of the parts.

```
Achu-koq qopi-koq nunka hata-ri-g-chu        ka-sha.                        384
achu-get qopi-get never get:up-pnct-sub-NEG  be-3PERF
```

'He was never one to get up (early) to hunt *achu* (armadillo)
or *qopi* (type of rodent).'

8.10. Obligation and Intention

The construction -*na*-POS *ka*-TNS-*n* (-sub-POS be-...-3). whe POS indicates the person of the subject. indicates either the obligation or the intention of doing what is indicated by the verb:[106] e.g.:

```
Pillku-ta   aywa-na-: ka-yka-n    noqa.                                     385
Pillku-OBJ  go-sub-1P be-impvf-3  I
```

'I have to go to Huanuco.'

By the general principle discussed in 8.1.4, if the auxiliary would be third person present (i.e., *ka*-*n* 'be-3') then the auxiliary does not occur: in this case. the predicate is a non-finite verb. Examples follow:

```
Pillku-ta   aywa-na-:.                                                      386
Pillku-OBJ  go-sub-1P
```

'I should/must go to Pillku.'

```
Kanan noqa hayta-na-:.                                                      387
now   I    kick-sub-1P
```

'Now it is my turn to kick.'

```
Simri   upu-na-yki    allcha-ka:-na-yki-paq.                               388
always  drink-sub-2P  fix-pass-sub-2P-PUR
```

'You have to take (your pills) in order to get well.'

```
Aru-na-nchi:-raq ka-yka-n    karretera-ta-pis.                             389
work-sub-12P-yet be-impfv-3  road-OBJ-even
```

'We still have to work (fix) the road.'

```
...ka-n baara-n-kuna ... Bindisa-:ru chay-qa  ka-na-n.                      390
   be-3 staff-3P-plur      bless-prtc  that-TOP be-sub-3P
```

'...there are their staves. ... Those should be blessed.'

```
Kara+oonu-n-pa  tuka-q-nin-kuna-pis       shuyni ka-na-n.                   391
each:one-3P-GEN play-sub-3P-plur-indef   apart  be-sub-3P
```

'Each of their bands should be separate (i.e., not intermingled)'

```
Aywa-shun ni-sha-n    diya-paq listu ka-na-n  llapan...                     392
go-12FUT  say-sub-3P  day-PUR  ready be-sub-3P all
```

'Everything should be ready for the day on which they
agreed to go.'

```
Fiskal kampana-ta-pis tuka-na-n   tapa-y-ta                                 393
fiskal bell-OBJ-indef ring-sub-3P watch-inf-OBJ

qalla-ri-sha-n-pita asta  pampa-na-n-yaq.
begin-asp-sub-3P-ABL until bury-sub-3P-LIM
```

'The *fiscal* should ring the bell from the time they begin
to watch (at the wake) until they bury him.'

---

[106]See also section 8.7.

In the past tense this construction indicates "unachieved intention"[107]

394

```
Wara      puklla-na-n ka-ra-n.
tomorrow play-sub-3P be-past-3

'They were going to play tomorrow.'
(but the game has been postponed)
```

8.11. Imminent

The imminent construction is formed with -na-POS-paq ka-, where POS and the person marking inflection of the auxiliary (ka-) agree with the subject.[108]

395

```
Tuni-na-n-paq   ka-yka-n.
fall-sub-3-PUR be-impfv-3

'It is about to fall.'
```

396

```
Apa-mu-na-:-paq      ka-yka-shka-:.
take-afar-sub-1P-PUR be-impfv-perf-1

'I was about to bring it.'
```

This tense often occurs in temporal adverbial clauses; e.g.:

397

```
Pacha     chaka:-na-n-paq    ka-yka-pti-n...
firmament be:dark-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-adv-3P

'When it was about to get dark...'
```

398

```
Chay rura-ka:-na-n-paq   ka-yka-pti-n...
that do-pass-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-adv-3P

'When that is about to happen...'
```

399

```
Mana musya-shka-:-chu aywa-na-n-paq ka-yka-sha-n-ta.
not  know-perf-1-NEG  go-sub-3P-PUR be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ

'I didn't know that he was about to leave.'
```

8.12. Periphrastic Future

The periphrastic future is formed with -q aywa- (-sub go-); it is rapidly displacing the simple future tense as the most common way to express futurity. Examples follow:

---

[107]See S. Steele's "Past and Irrealis" *International Journal of American Indian Linguistics*, Vol. 41, No. 3, page 201, quoting Hale: "...it is at least sporadically universal among the world's languages when an element which has the meaning (very approximately) *intentive* occurs in the past tense, *unachieved intention* is implied."

[108]This contrasts with the future relative construction (see sections 2.3.2.3 and 2.3.2.4 of Weber [39]. In the following. a. is an in example of a future relative: the underlined person markers do not agree. The b. sentence an example of the imminent construction: the underlined person markers do agree. Note that they differ in meaning:

```
                     ⎧a. ka-yka-sha-n-pita  ⎫
                     ⎪   be-impfv-sub-3P-ABL⎪
Ñaka-na-:-paq        ⎨                       ⎬ salba-ykU-ma-y.
suffer-sub-1P-PUR    ⎪b. ka-yka-sha-:-pita  ⎪ save-impact-=>1-2IMP
                     ⎩   be-impfv-sub-1P-ABL⎭

a. 'Save me from that which I will suffer.'
b. 'Save me from that which I am about to suffer.'
```

```
Fista-ta    rura-q    aywa-:.                                        400
fiesta-OBJ make-sub go-1
```

'I'm going to put on a party.'

```
May  chikan-taq ka-q    aywa-n.                                      401
very huge        be-sub go-3
```

It will be huge!
(*may chikantaq* is a frozen expression.)

Although the periphrastic future is two words (by phonological criterion), the subject marking anomaly (see section 8.1.2, page 92) spans it as though it were a single tense marker; e.g.:

```
Tari-pa-ma-q    aywa-nchi.                                           402
find-ben-=>1-sub go-12
```

'He will catch up to us.'

```
Maqa-shu-q  aywa-nki / *aywa-n.                                      403
hit-=>2-sub go-2        go-3
```

'He will hit you.'

8.13. Narrative Past with *-naq*

The narrative past with *-naq* is constructed with *-naq ka-* 'NRP be' inflected for tense and the person of the subject. If the auxiliary would be third person and present (by far the most frequent case) it does not occur.

The narrative past is used in examples like 404 and 405 where the subject was unconscious at the time of the action.

```
Macha-sha  ka-y-nii-wan, alkaldi-ta maqa- q ka-:.                    404
drunk-prtc be-INF-1P-COM mayor-OBJ  hit- be-1
```

'Being drunk, I hit the mayor.'

```
Kacha-yku-shu-sha-lla-yki-chaw    wiyara:-ku-naq  ka-nki.           405
leave-impact-=>2-sub-just-2P-LOC remain-refl-NRP be-2
```

'You remained (probably unconscious) right where they left you.'

The narrative past is used in narratives for background events, particularly those which occurred prior to the time (in the narrative) at which they are mentioned;[109] e.g.:

```
Y     mayur-nin yayku-sha.  Y   huk hachaasu qo-sha     chay        406
and older-3P   enter-3PERF and a   axe:blow give-3PERF that

puñu-yka-sha-n-ta.   Y   chay-man-qa   tiya-n-ta
sleep-sub-3P-OBJ     and that-GOAL-TOP aunt-3P-OBJ

puñu-rqU-chi-naq   chay sonso.
sleep-asp-caus-NRP that stooge
```

'And his older brother entered. And he gave an axe blow to that which was sleeping. But the stooge had made his aunt sleep there (and so escaped death at the hand of his older brother).'

---

[109] In current parlance, these are "off the event line".

```
Mayu-yaq-shi  chaya-yku-n.    Y  mayu-qa    chaya-sha-shi         407
river-LIM-IND arrive-impact-3 and river-TOP arrive-prtc-IND

aywa-ku-yka:-naq.
go-refl-impfv-NRP

'He arrived to the river.  And the river was full.'
(chaya-sha aywa-ku- 'to be full' (of a river))
```

The following bit of text is told in the narrative past (with -q). I believe that this is to mark these events as of less importance to the text (i.e., push them into background) relative to what follows (the hero's rounding up the tigers and making them carry the firewood); this keeps the hero's actions foreground.

```
...chaya-n  munti-man-shi    yantaku-q.  Nirkur munti        408
   arrive-3 forest-GOAL-IND cut:wood-sub then   forest

kantun-man  muula-n-ta    wata-yku-r-shi      yantaku-r  ka-ku-naq.
edge-3P-GOAL mule-3P-OBJ tie-impact-adv-IND cut:wood-adv be-refl-NRP

Chaya-q-shi      muula-n-ta    tinri wañu-rI-chi-naq.  Muula-n
arrive-sub-IND mule-3P-OBJ tiger die-pnct-caus-NRP  mule-3P

rika-q  aywa-na-n-paq miku-rka-yka:-naq  muula-n-kuna-ta.
see-sub go-sub-3P-PUR eat-plur-impfv-NRP mule-3P-plur-OBJ

'...he arrives to the forest to cut wood.  Then having tied
his mules to the edge of the forest he was at cutting wood.
By the time he arrived, the tigers had killed his mules.  By
the time he went to see his mules, the tigers had eaten them.'
```

The combination -ra:-naq (-state-NRP) is used for a state which began some time before, but persists up to the time at which it is relevant in the event sequence; e.g.:

```
Chayta    buurru wiya-pa-ra:-naq    wasi waqta-n-pita.            409
that-OBJ donkey hear-ben-state-NRP house back-3P-ABL

'The donkey had heard that from behind the house.'
```

A short form of the narrative past is simply -q; it is discussed in section 8.14.

8.14. Narrative Past with -q

When no auxiliary verb would occur (i.e.. when the auxiliary would be marked third person present) the narrative past may be indicated simply by -q (which we will gloss 'NRP'). Structurally it is identical to the habitual past discussed in section 8.9. and semantically it is quite similar in that it generally describes situations which persisted (or were habitual). However, the narrative past with -q (in contrast to the habitual) only occurs without an auxiliary. The narrative past may be used to establish the setting of a narrative; e.g.:

```
Mas   unay-qa          runa-kuna-ta mas  inutil ka-q-ta-qa         410
more time:hence-TOP man-plur-OBJ more humble be-sub-OBJ-TOP

rantiku-g-shi kastillaanu rima-y-ta    yacha-q-kuna-qa...
sell-NRP-IND Spanish      speak-inf-OBJ know-sub-plur-TOP

yunka asinda-kuna-man   chay-chaw aru-na-n-paq.
jungle hacienda-plur-GOAL there-LOC work-PUR

'In times past, those who knew how to speak Spanish would sell
the humbler people to the haciendas in the jungle, so they
would work there.'
```

The narrative past is used frequently in folk tales as a mechanism for backgrounding material. usually descriptive material out of the temporal sequence in which the text is proceeding: e.g., se the second

and third sentences of 411:

411

```
Pero saapo sekreeto sumaq michi-pa-sha-na leetu-chaw     ka-shpa-n.
but  frog  secret  well spy-ben-prtc-now litigation-LOC be-adv-3P

Kondor kada  aywa-y-nin yaku puyñu-n-ta mana kacha-yku-q.
condor every go-inf-3P water jug-3P-OBJ not  leave-impact-NRP

Hama-sha-n-kuna-chaw chura-yku-r      gusto   liberti-ku-q.
rest-sub-3P-plur-LOC place-impact-adv pleasure free-refl-NRP
```

'But the frog had secretly spied on him very well, in case he
might be in litigation (with him). Every time the condor went,
he did not leave behind his water jug. Having placed it in a
resting place, he would enjoy his liberty.'

In 412 the second and third sentences are background, describing the situation in which the bear kept the woman:

```
Chay-chaw achka wata-shi uywa-sha.   Chay-lla-man-shi                  412
there-LOC many  year-IND raise-3PERF there-just-GOAL-IND

ashta-pa-q    llapan mikuy-ta suwa-ku-rku-r.      LLachapa-ta-pis
carry-ben-NRP all    food-OBJ steal-refl-asp-adv  clothes-OBJ-even

apa-q    suwa-ku-rku-r-shi.      Chay-naw achka wata qoya-sha.
take-NRP steal-refl-asp-adv-IND that-SIM many  year pass-3PERF
```

'He raised her there for many years. He would take all the
food, having stolen it. He would also take clothes, having
stolen them. In that way many years passed.'

In 413 the time is established as past in 1 and 2. Then sentences 3-12 set the problem around which a text centers (the loosing of ropes); these are all in narrative past. After 12 the text continues in the (historical) present.

```
Chayshi buurru karan.[1] Ishkay buurru karan.[2] Chayshi pas     wataq.[3] Kara   413
taarrishi kimsa ishkay waskawan wataq.[4]    Pas chayraqshi wataq.[5] Yapayshi
kachakasha waraamuq.[6]   Yapayshi kachakasha waraamuq, buurru.[7] "Imanashtaq kay
buurru?" niqshi, duyñonqa.[8] Chawraqa kachakashallashi   waskata ushar ushariq.[9]
Manash chusku pichqa waskawan     wataptinpis manasha naqchu.[10] Pas warar
wararkamuq     oqata         ushashalla.[11]   Llapan     mikuyta     ushashalla
warark-wararkamuq.[12]....
```

'There was a donkey.[1] There were two donkeys.[2] They would tie   them.[3] Every
evening they would tie them with two or three   ropes.[4] Yet they would tie
them.[5] Again they would be loose at   dawn.[6] Again they would be loose at dawn,
the donkey.[7] "What   does this donkey do?" he said, the owner.[8] Then just being
loose it would finish off the ropes.[9] Even if they tied him with four or five
ropes they did not hold.[10] Morning after morning he would   have finished off
the oqa.[11] Morning after morning he would have finished off all the food.[12,]

8.15. Substantivizing Transitions

8.15.1. Substantivizing with -q

Substantivizations with -q are used in various ways: agentive nominalizations, relative clauses, sensory verb complements, purpose-motion construction. In all uses the subject of the clause subordinated by -q is either (1) third person or (2) established by reference to the superordinate verb.

Consequently there are no forms with 1, 12 or 2 subjects.

```
                             OBJECT
               1             12            2             3
          +--------------+-------------+-------------+------------+
SUBJECT 3 |  -maq(ni:)   |  -maqninchi: | -shuq(niki) |  -q(nin)  |
          +--------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-13: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH -q+POSSESSIVE

Note that substantivizations with -q may sometimes be followed by possessive suffixes, these being of the person of the object. This is possible for some of the above-mentioned uses but not for others (and the situation differs from dialect to dialect). In HgQ, possessive suffixes may occur with relative clauses but not with purpose motion or sensory verb complements.

```
                          O B J E C T
               1             12          2             3
          +----------------------------------------------------------+
SUBJECT  3 |   -maq     |  -maqninchi |   -shuq    |     -q         |
          +----------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-14: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH -q

Examples of the use of the substantivizer -q follow:

agentive nominalizations. e.g. *pishta-ku-q* (slaughter-refl-sub) 'slaughterer'

relative clauses (see section 13.1). e.g.:

```
willa-ma-q-(ni:)    runa                                    414
tell-=>1-sub-(1P)   man

'the man who told me'
```

sensory verb complements (see section 13.3.2.4). e.g.:

```
Aywa-yka-g-ta     rika-shka-:.                              415
go-impfv-sub-OBJ  see-perf-1

'I saw him going.'
```

purpose motion construction (see section 13.4.4.2). e.g.:

```
Rika-g  aywa-shka-:.                                        416
see-sub see-perf-1

'I went to see him.'
```

8.15.2. Substantivization with -na

```
                          O B J E C T
               1             12          2             3
        +-------------------------------------------------------------+
S   1   |     ---    |    ---    |    -na:   |     -na:                |
U       |-----------------------+-----------+-------------------------|
B  12   |     ---    |    ---    |    ---    |    -nanchi:             |
J       |-----------------------+-----------+-------------------------|
E   2   |  -ma:nayki |    ---    |    ---    |    -nayki               |
C       |-----------------------+-----------+-------------------------|
T   3   |  -ma:nan   | -ma:nanchi: | -shunayki |    -nan               |
        +-------------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-15: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH -na

Examples follow of some of the uses of this transition:

relative clauses (see section 13.1). e.g.:

110

```
        chaya-mu-na-n        oora                                    417
        arrive-afar-sub-3P time

        'the (future) time he arrives'
```

complements (see section 13.3.2.1). e.g.:

```
        Rika-na-n-ta    muna-n.                                      418
        see-sub-3P-OBJ  want-3

        'He wants to see it.'
```

purpose clauses (see section 13.4.4.1). e.g.:

```
        Miku-na-nchi:-paq  y.nu-ku-shka-:.                           419
        eat-sub-12P-PUR    cook-refl-perf-1

        'I cooked it so that we could eat it.'
```

8.15.3. Substantivization with -sha

```
                           O B J E C T
                1            12           2             3
        +--------------+-------------+-------------+--------------+
S   1   |     ---      |     ---     |   -sha:     |    -sha:     |
U       |--------------+-------------+-------------+--------------|
B   12  |     ---      |     ---     |     ---     |  -shanchi:   |
J       |--------------+-------------+-------------+--------------|
E   2   |  -mashayki   |     ---     |     ---     |   -shayki    |
C       |--------------+-------------+-------------+--------------|
T   3   |   -mashan    | -mashanchi: | -shushayki  |    -shan     |
        +--------------+-------------+-------------+--------------+
```

Table 8-16: TRANSITIONS SUBSTANTIVIZING WITH -sha

Examples follow:

relative clauses (see section 13.1), e.g.:

```
        qo-shu-sha-yki   runa                                       420
        give-=>2-sub-2P  man

        'the man who gave it to you'
```

complements (see section 13.3.2.3). e.g.:

```
        Aywa-sha-yki-ta  musya-:.                                   421
        go-sub-2P-OBJ    know-1

        'I know that you went.'
```

8.16. Adverbial Clause Transitions

There are three adverbializers which form transitions: -pti, -r and -shpa; these will be discussed in turn. The clauses they form are discussed in chapter 14.

8.16.1. Adverbial Clause--Different Subject with -pti

The subordinator -pti is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is different than the subject of the superordinate clause; it is always followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person of the subject of the adverbial clause.

111

```
                            O B J E C T
                1              12              2                3
        +---------------------------------------------------------------+
S   1   |      ---      |      ---      |     -pti:     |     -pti:      |
U       |--------------+--------------+--------------+----------------|
B  12   |      ---      |      ---      |      ---      |   -pti-nchi:   |
J       |--------------+--------------+--------------+----------------|
E   2   |   -maptiki    |      ---      |      ---      |    -ptiki      |
C       |--------------+--------------+--------------+----------------|
T   3   |   -maptin     |  -maptinchi:  |  -shuptiki    |    -ptin       |
        +---------------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-17: DIFFERENT SUBJECT ADVERBIAL CLAUSE TRANSITIONS WITH -pti

For example:

```
Chaya-mu-pti-n        lloqshi-shka-:.                           422
arrive-afar-adv-3  leave-perf-1
```

'When he arrived, I left.'

8.16.2. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with -r

The subordinator -r is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; it is never followed by a possessive suffix. This is just what one might expect. since -r indicates that the subject is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause. and thus there is no need to indicate it explicitly.

```
                            O B J E C T
                1              12              2                3
        +---------------------------------------------------------------+
S   1   |      ---      |      ---      |      -r       |      -r        |
U       |--------------+--------------+--------------+----------------|
B  12   |      ---      |      ---      |      ---      |      -r.       |
J       |--------------+--------------+--------------+----------------|
E   2   |    -mar       |      ---      |      ---      |      -r        |
C       |--------------+--------------+--------------+----------------|
T   3   |    -mar       |    -mar       |  -shurniki *  |      -r        |
        +---------------------------------------------------------------+
```

(*Instead of this form -shushpayki would almost always be used.)

Table 8-18: SAME SUBJECT ADVERBIAL CLAUSE TRANSITIONS WITH -r

For example:

```
Chaya-r miku-ra-:.                                             423
arrive-adv eat-past-1
```

'I ate when I arrived.'

8.16.3. Adverbial Clause--Same Subject with -shpa

The subordinator -shpa is used when the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as the subject of the superordinate clause; it is always followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person of the subject.[110]

---

[110]By contrast. -r is never followed by a possessive suffix in HgQ. Just the opposite situation is found in Huaraz: -shpa is not followed by possessive suffixes and -r is.

112

```
                        O B J E C T
              1            12             2             3
     +----------------------------------------------------------------+
S  1 |     ---     |     ---     |    -shpa:    |    -shpa:    |
U    |-------------------------------------------------------|
B 12 |     ---     |     ---     |     ---     |  -shpanchi:  |
J    |-------------------------------------------------------|
E  2 |  -mashpayki |     ---     |     ---     |   -shpayki   |
C    |-------------------------------------------------------|
T  3 |  -mashpan   | -mashpanchi: | -shushpayki |    -shpan    |
     +----------------------------------------------------------------+
```

Table 8-19: SAME SUBJECT ADVERBIAL CLAUSE TRANSITIONS WITH -*shpa*

For example:

```
Allaapa-ta miku-shpa-yki wira ka-nki-paq.                         424
much-OBJ   eat-adv-2P     fat  be-2FUT-fut
```

'If you eat much/many, you will be fat.'

9. Pre-Transition Suffixes

9.1. Introduction

The pre-transition suffixes occur between the verbal root and the transition suffixes (as sketched above in chapter 3). They will be treated here in the following groups:

1. the directional suffixes. in section 9.2.
2. the suffix -*mu* 'afar'. in section 9.3.
3. the pluralizers, in section 9.4,
4. aspectual suffixes. in section 9.5.
5. transitivizing. in section 9.6,
6. the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes, in section 9.7, and
7. other pre-transition suffixes. in section 9.8.

9.2. Directional Suffixes

The class of directional suffixes includes the following (given with their historical meanings):

-*rkĺ*	'up'
-*rpĺ*	'down'
-*rqĺ*	'out'
-*ykĺ*	'in'

They form a natural class because they all

- have the shape -CCV.
- undergo morphophonemic lowering.
- take -:*rl* (following) as the appropriate pluralizer.
- derive historically from suffixes with directional meanings.

Parker [28] (pg. 22ff) pointed out that certain verbs can be analyzed historically as two morphemes. where the second is one of the directional suffixes. This is illustrated for HgQ in the following:

```
ya+rkU-  'to go up'     qa+rkU-  'to hill (potatoes)'          425
ya+rpU-  'to go down'   qa+rpU-  'to throw down'
ya+rqU-  'to leave'     qa+rqU-  'to drive out'
ya+ykU-  'to enter'     qa+ykU-  'to drive into a corral'
```

Other patterns are less complete. e.g.. *hu*+*rpU*- 'to hill (tubers) a second time' and *hu*+*rqU*- 'to remove': *wa*+*rkU*- 'to hang over a line' and *wa*+*yku*- 'to stoke (an oven)'.

Directional suffixes tend to loose their identity, becoming co-lexicalized with other morphemes or reinterpreted as members of another class. For example:

1. -*ykU* has merged with *ya*- to form the root *yayku*- 'enter'; this verb may now be followed by another -*ykU*: *ya*+*yku*-*yku*-*n* 'he enters'.
2. When it merges with some other morpheme, the directional suffix may lose the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering (discussed in sections 3.1.2.2 and 23.8.11; e.g.. either *horqamun* (lowered) or *horqomun* (unlowered) is possible 'he takes it out'.
3. There is a tendency for -*rqU* to be reinterpreted as an aspectual suffix; some dialects go so far as to make a tense marker of it.

Some of the directional suffixes preserve a meaning of direction to a greater extent than others; from

114

best preserved (-rpU) to least preserved (-ykU) the order is roughly: -rpU < -rkU < -rqU < -ykU. This is the order in which these suffixes will be discussed below.

9.2.1. -rpU 'down'

-rpU preserves to a great degree its meaning 'down'. Not surprisingly then, it frequently occurs on verbs which have 'to go down' as a component of their meaning: e.g.:

```
..."shallak" ni-r-shi      kacha-rpU-mu-n.                    426
    (sound)   say-adv-IND release-down-afar-3
```

```
'...(God) releases (the chain) down (from heaven).'
("shallak" is the sound of the chain falling.)
```

```
...yaqa-ku-rpu-sha        pampa-man-shi.                      427
    fall-refl-down-3PERF ground-IND
```

```
'...he fell to the ground.'
```

```
...pukutay ura-ka-rpU-mu-ra-n.                                428
    cloud   descend-pass-down-afar-past-3
```

```
'...the clouds came down about them.'
```

In some cases -rpU 'down' adds the meaning 'going in a downward direction'; e.g., with kuti- 'to return' it adds the idea that the return was down the hill. In a folk tale, the villain leaves the scene of his crime and returns down the hill to his house: then the next morning he comes back to the scene of his crime:[111]

```
Y    nirkur kuti-rpu-r-qa       ya warannin tuta  shamu-sha.      429
and then    return-down-adv-TOP now next:day early come-3PERF
```

```
'And then, having returned down there, early the next
morning he comes (back to the scene of the crime).'
```

In 430 -rpU 'down' is used to suggest that the subject leans over the top of the sack, working down:

```
Kustal-man yayku-rku-pti-n baaya hira-rpu-sha.                    430
sack-GOAL  enter-up-adv-3P wow   sew-down-3PERF
```

```
'When he (the hero) got into the sack, he (the villain) sewed
him into it.'
```

Swisshelm [36] (pg. 497) shows that -rpU may be used in a figurative sense of 'lower' (e.g. with 'be sick' to indicate change for the worse) or 'fall'. (e.g. with darkness falling). The only example of this kind I have come upon for HgQ is 431:

```
Jesus wañu-rpu-sha-n oora...                                      431
Jesus die-down-sub-3P time
```

```
'Right when Jesus died...'
```

-rpU is frozen in the expression taksha-rpu-q 'a bit smaller' from taksha 'small'; see example 1219.

\

---

[111]The "point of reference" does not go down the hill with the villain, but stays with the hero at the scene of the crime: thus the use of shamu- 'come' for the villain's return.

9.2.2. -rkU 'up'

Historically -rkU meant 'up', as evidenced by verbs like wa-+ rkU- 'to hang up' (see discussion above). But the synchronic uses of -rkU go far beyond this directional sense. (-rkU will nontheless be glossed 'up'.) This discussion is divided into two sections: first those cases in which -rkU occurs in finite verbs. and second its occurrence in adverbial clauses.

9.2.2.1. -rkU in finite verbs

In the examples 432 and 433. -rkU means 'up' in a fairly straightforward directional sense:

```
Rumi ichi-ku-rku-sha.                                              432
rock stand-refl-up-3PERF

'The rock stood on end/stood up.'
```

In example 433. a witch is climbing up a rope after a fleeing child:

```
...wamra-ta-si      aypa-rku-n-raq-shi achakay-qa.                 433
  child-OBJ-indef reach-up-3-yet-IND witch-TOP

'...the witch is yet to catch up to the child.'
```

In the following cases. -rkU means roughly 'to completion':

kumli-rkU- 'to come to completion'. e.g.:

```
Kontraato diya kumli-rku-n.                                        434
contract  day  complete-up-3

'The day arrives on which they are to keep their contract.'
```

miku-kU-rkU- (eat-refl-up-) 'to eat up. to eat to completion'

upu-rkU- and upya-rkU- (drink-up-) 'to drink to completion'. e.g.:

```
Qam upu-rku-nki-man-chu?                                           435
you drink-up-2-cond-YN?

'Would you be able to drink it up? (i.e., to drink it all)'
```

usha-kU-rkU- 'to finish off'. e.g.:

```
Kay  kuru aycha-ta usha-ku-rku-n    chura-ra:-chi-pti-n-qa.        436
this worm meat-OBJ finish-refl-up-3 place-state-caus-adv-3P-TOP

'This insect really finishes off the meat, if it is caused
to be stored (for a long time).'
```

In some cases -rkU 'up' with imperatives indicates politeness. This use is usually carried out by -ykU 'impact'; see section 9.2.4.4. The difference seems to be that -rkU adds the idea that little is being asked of the hearer: examples 437 and 438 bear this out:

```
Qo-:shi-rku-y      taytay.                                         437
give-accom-up-2IMP sir

'Help him, sir.' (i.e., 'Help him a little')
```

```
Yapa-rkU-ma-y.                                                     438
add-up-=>1-2IMP

'Give me a bit more.' (lit. 'Add more to me.')
```

In some cases -rkU 'up' flags surprising turns of event (much as one would report a surprising act of hitting in English with "He up and hit him"); e.g.:

116

```
Chaki-n-pita "haq" ni-r      amu-ku-rku-n.                              439
foot-3P-ABL           say-adv clench:in:teeth-refl-up-3
```

'Saying "haq" he bites him in the foot.'

```
...bensi-yka-pti-n-na-shi           gaallu  kanta-rku-n.              440
   conquer-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND rooster crow-up-3
```

'...right when he was winning, a rooster crowed.'
(signalling dawn, at which the *condenado* who was
winning would lose his strength)

Example 441 reports the happy and surprising outcome of a story:

```
Chay-pita kushi-sha-na         runa keeda-rku-n                      441
that-ABL  be:happy-prtc-now man  remain-up-3

ukumarya-ta wañu-yka-chi-r.
bear-OBJ    die-impact-caus-adv
```

'Thereafter, the man was happy, having killed the bear.'

In narratives. *-rkU* sometimes marks proleptic allusions. i.e.. events which turn out to have significant consequences later in that narrative. The following is such a case because the momentum of the stone carries the fox into the river. causing him to drown:

```
...chupa-n-man  ruyru rumi-ta   wata-ku-rku-n.                       442
   tail-3P-GOAL round stone-OBJ tie-refl-up-3
```

'...the tied a round stone to his tail.'

The *-rkU* in example 443 marks proleptic allusion because the husband finds out about the affair his wife is having and kills her lover:

```
...huk-wan    warmi-n tiya-ku-rku-sha.    runa-wan.                  443
   other-COM wife-3P live-refl-up-3PERF man-COM
```

'...his wife lived with another man.'

Another example of proleptic allusion is 580: the bear which arrives spells real trouble.

In some cases *-rkU* indicates the suddenness or brevity with which something happened. This is very similar to *-rI-ykU* 'sudden' (see section 9.5.3) and may be evidence that, in some cases. *-rkU* resulted from the collapse of *-rI-ykU*. In example 444. *-rkU* is added to *watqa-* to indicate the momentariness of the spying. i.e. a peek rather than a prolonged look:

```
Chawra buurru ni-n-shi: "Watqa-rku-shaq-chu?  Wakin-kuna-qa  chawra  444
then    donkey say-3-IND  spy-up-1FUT-YN?       other-plur-TOP then

ni-n-shi: "Maa          watqa-rku-y. Chawra buurru watqa-rku-n-shi.
say-3-IND challenge spy-up-inf    then    donkey spy-up-3-IND
```

'Then the donkey says, "Shall I peek?" The others then say,
"Go on and peek!" Then the donkey peeks.'

In other cases, the brief lapse in time is understood as between the time of speaking and the initiation of the event, rather than the duration of the event: e.g.:

```
Afila-pa-rku-shu-nki.                                               445
sharpen-ben-up-=>2-2
```

'He will sharpen it for you.'
(but a bit later, not right now)

When *-rkU* 'up' occurs with *yuri-* 'to be born, to appear', the combination means 'to show up, to come onto the scene'; e.g.:

```
Y    mayllanta yuri-rkU-mu-sha.                                            446
and  suddenly  appear-up-afar-3PERF
```

'And suddenly he appeared/showed up.'

```
Kondor yuri-rku-n  may  oora paasa-sha-n-pita-na.                          447
condor appear-up-3 long time pass-sub-3P-ABL-now
```

'The condor shows up after a lot of time has passed.'

Other examples of -rkU 'up':

```
Huk-ta   watya-ku-rku-shun    kuchi-ki-ta.                                 448
one-OBJ  roast-refl-up-12FUT  pig-2P-OBJ
```

'Let's roast one of your pigs.'

```
Qam-qa   ima-naw-taq wara-rku-shka-nki?                                    449
you-TOP  what-SIM-?? dawn-up-perf-2
```

'And you, how did you wake up?'

9.2.2.2. -rkU in adverbial clauses

When -rkU occurs in the verb of an adverbial clause. it may be used as in the previous cases. i.e.. as an extended use of 'up'. For example. in example 450. -rkU fits the meaning 'up' in that the shearing proceeds from the feet of the sheep up to the middle of its back:

```
Rutu-y-ta       qalla-ri-nchi rikra-n hana-n-pita ... pullan             450
shear-inf-OBJ   begin-pnct-12 arm-3P  top-3P-ABL      half

loomu-n-yaq chaya-rku-chi-r.
back-3P-LIM arrive-up-caus-adv
```

'We begin to shear it from the top of the arms ... until
we cause (the path) to arrive in the middle of his back.'

However. in the bulk of cases. when -rkU occurs in an adverbial clause, it is not used in any sense of 'up': rather it means roughly that the event referred to by the superordinate clause follows directly the completion of the event referred to by the adverbial clause. I.e.. if X is the event referred to by the adverbial clause with -rkU and Ψ is the event of the superordinate clause, then -rkU means roughly, "upon the completion of X, there followed Ψ."

In a body of texts which were studied. there were over 200 examples of -rkU. 83% of these occurred in the verb of an adverbial clause. And of these. 90% occurred in same-subject adverbial clauses with the subordinator -r. This distribution is consonant with the meaning sketched above: it is more likely that one event be seen (and presented) as directly following another if they have the same subject (i.e. when--typically-they are performed by the same agent/actor). Because discontinuities of subject generally involve discontinuities of time, adverbial clauses with a subject different than that of the superordinate clause seldom have -rkU. Examples 451-459 illustrate -rkU with same subject adverbial clauses:

```
Payla-wan yanu-rku-r  kachi-ta chay-man  tinku-rI+ykU-chi-r qara-naku-n.  451
pot-COM   boil-up-adv salt-OBJ that-GOAL boil-sud-caus-adv feed-recip-3
```

'Having boiled it in a pot, having mixed salt into that, they serve it.'

```
Palla-rku-r chaki-chi-nchi.                                               452
pick-up-adv dry-caus-12
```

'Upon having picked them, we dry them.

118

```
...horqo-rku-r   kuti-rkU-chi-r,   horqo-rku-r   kuti-rkU-chi-r...        453
  remove-up-adv return-up-caus-adv remove-up-adv return-up-caus-adv
```

'...repeatedly taking it out and putting it back...'

```
Chay-naw rura-rku-r apa-ku-n    dereechu inlisya-man.                     454
that-SIM do-up-adv take-refl-3 straight church-GOAL
```

'Having done that, they take it directly to the church.'

```
...apa-sha    umakaku-rku-r.                                              455
   take-3PERF put:on:head-up-adv
```

'...they took it, having put it on his head.'

```
Llachapa-ta-pis      apa-q     suwa-ku-rku-r-shi.                         456
clothing-OBJ-indef take-NRP steal-refl-up-adv-IND
```

'He would also take clothing, having stolen it.'

```
...[[kumun-ta     pusha-ku-rku-r]  ruqru miku-q] aywa-na-n-paq.           457
   community-OBJ lead-refl-up-adv ruqru eat-sub go-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...to have the community go eat roqro (a potato dish),
upon having been lead there.'

```
Chay-naw listu-kU-rkU-:ri-r        aywa-n...                              458
that-SIM prepare-refl-up-plur-adv go-3
```

'Having prepared like that, they go...'

```
Chay-ta usha-rku-r    rutu-y-ta      qalla-yku-nchi tihira-wan.          459
that-OBJ finish-up-adv shear-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12 scissor-COM
```

'Having finished that, we begin to shear it with a scissors.'

Same subject adverbial clauses with -rkU occur frequently as reduplications; e.g.:

```
Chawra miku-n asi-rku-r    asi-rku-r.                                     460
then   eat-3  laugh-up-adv laugh-up-adv
```

'Then they eat laughing and laughing.'

(See sections 15.3.1.2 and 15.3.1.3 for other examples.)

461-465 illustrate -rkU with different subject adverbial clauses:

```
Noqa-ta-pis chay-naw ni-ma-sha      karga-chaw sumaq sirbi-ku-pti-:.     461
I-OBJ-indef that-SIM say-=>1-3PERF cargo-LOC   well  serve-refl-adv-1P
```

'He told me that too, although I served well in (carrying) cargo.'

```
Kustal-man yayku-rku-pti-n baaya     hira-rpu-sha.                        462
sack-GOAL  enter-up-adv-3P expletive sew-asp-3PERF
```

'When he_i entered the sack, he_j sewed it up.'

```
Chay-ta miku-y-ta     usha-rku-pti-n  roqro-ta-na   qara-n...            463
that-OBJ eat-inf-OBJ finish-up-adv-3P roqro-OBJ-now feed-3
```

'When they_i finish eating that, they_j then feed them
roqro (a potato dish).'

```
Tinku-rku-pti-n oosu-shi apa-ku-ra-n...                                   464
meet-up-adv-3P  bear-IND take-refl-past-3
```

'When they met, the bear took her off...'

119

```
Wañu-rku-pti-n ˇinan oora willa-n agenti-ta...          465
die-up-adv-3P very  time tell-3  agent-OBJ
```

'When he dies, at that very time they tell the agent...'[112]

9.2.3. *-rqU* 'out'

Except as frozen in certain roots (e.g. *qa+rqU-* 'to expel') *-rqU* 'out' has lost virtually all directional meaning. It has assumed various meanings:

- (temporal) 'having just happened'
- (aspectual) 'having happened with remarkable speed'
- (modal) 'unexpectedly, surprisingly'

There follow examples of these (in the listed order).

In examples 466 and 467. *-rkU* is used temporally:

```
Allichu  wara-rqu-nki?                                  466
good-YN? dawn-out-2
```

'How did you dawn?'
(This would be said only soon after the person addressed got up.)

Example 467 shows an interesting temporal/aspectual contrast; in 467a. with *-rqU* 'out'. the meaning is past, whereas in 467b. with *-ri* 'punctual'. it is future (projected):

```
a. sha-rqU-mu-nki (come-out-afar-2)                     467
b. sha-rI-mu-nki (come-asp-afar-2IMP)

a. 'You have just come.'
b. 'Come back in just a minute.'
```

In examples 468 and 469. *-rkU* is used aspectual:

```
Llapan-ta wañu-rqU-:rI-chi-n  buurru-qa.                468
all-OBJ   die-out-plur-caus-3 donkey-TOP
```

'The donkey kills them all (quickly).'

The condor. having flown, assumes that the frog. coming on the ground, would be far behind. When he finds the frog already at their destination. he asks 469:

```
Saapo, ima-naw-pa-taq qam sha-rqU-mu-nki?               469
frog   what-SIM-GEN-?? you come-out-afar-2
```

'Frog, how did you come so quickly?'

In examples 470-472, *-rkU* is used to express that something happened unexpectedly or *surprisingly*:

```
Chay kontra-nchi    yana saako chukru botas asendaado   470
that opponent-12P   black coat hard  boots hacienda:owner

gaana-rqU-ma-nchi.
beat-out-=>1-12
```

'That black coat, hard boots hacienda owner who opposes us beat us (surprisingly, unjustly)'

---

[112]It is important that this be done right when someone dies, as it is the *agente*'s responsibility to come and verify that the death occurred as reported.

120

```
Y   chay-man-qa    tiya-n-ta     puñu-rqU-chi-naq      chay sonso.              471
and that-GOAL-TOP aunt-3P-OBJ sleep-down-caus-narpst that stooge.
```

'And the stooge made his aunt sleep there!'
(where she would be killed instead of himself)

```
Chawra heqa-rqu-sha                   chay runa.                                472
So      come:from:around-out-3PERF that man
```

'So the man comes (quickly).'

9.2.4. -ykU 'in'

Historically -ykU meant 'in' but this meaning has been generalized[113] to a present meaning roughly 'with force, impacting upon, with intensity'. There are three major divisions in the use of -ykU. The first is its aspectual use in conjunction with -ri in the combination -rI+ykU; this is discussed in section 9.5.3. The second and third uses differ in terms of the object to which the force/impact/intensity is perceived to be directed. In one class of cases it is directed toward some some goal or object of the action referred to by the verb to which -ykU is suffixed. For example, maqa- means simply 'hit', but maqa-ykU- means 'to hit forcefully'. Such uses are discussed in sections 9.2.4.1. 9.2.4.2. and 9.2.4.3. In the second class of cases, the force is directed toward the hearer of the utterance. In this case -ykU is intended to evoke some special reaction (e.g., compassion. joy. humor....) or move the hearer to some action. Such uses are discussed in sections 9.2.4.4 and 9.2.4.5. Finally. section 9.2.4.6 shows that -ykU can intervene between a root and a caus

With a certain small class of verbs including puñu- 'to sleep', chura- 'to place', hama- 'to sit', and pampa- 'to bury'. the addition of -ykU changes the meaning from static to dynamic. What would have been a locative phrase (with -chaw 'LOC') with the static verb becomes a goal (with -man 'GOAL') with the dynamic one: e.g.:

```
a.  Kay-chaw puñu-n.        (here-LOC  sleep-3)                               473
b. *Kay-man puñu-n.         (here-GOAL sleep-3)
c. ?Kay-chaw puñu-yku-n.    (here-LOC  sleep-impact-3)
d.  Kay-man puñu-yku-n.     (here-GOAL sleep-impact-3)
```

```
a. 'He sleeps here.'
d. 'He puts himself to sleep here.'
   (or 'He lays himself down to sleep here.')
```

Some examples from texts of this use:

```
Chay rus-ta    ka-sha-n-man     chura-ykU-:ri-r...                           474
that cross-OBJ be-sub-3P-GOAL place-impact-plur-adv
```

'Placing the crosses back where they had been...'

```
Punku-n-man   hama-ykU-chi-r...                                             475
door-3P-GOAL sit-impact-caus-adv
```

'Seating them at the door (of his house)...'

```
...kawallu-n-pa waqta-n-man  hama-yku-r    waqa-sha.                        476
   horse-3P-GEN back-3P-GOAL sit-impact-adv cry-3PERF
```

'...having sat down onto the back of his horse, he cried.'

---

[113]This probably proceeded through stages 'into' and 'to impact upon'.

121

9.2.4.1. Success

-ykU may indicate that the verb to which it is attached was carried out with enough energy to be successful. Consider example 477; note that achieving success in the search (for someone to wash the body) is a prerequisite to having him wash it.[114] The addition of -ykU to ashi- 'seek' makes its 'seek with success' i.e.. 'to find'.

```
...haapa    runa-ta piyun-ta ashi-yku-r        arma-chi-n   yaku-wan.          477
...foreign man-OBJ peon-OBJ seek-impact-adv bathe-caus-3 water-COM

'...having sought (successfully!) a foreigner, they have
him wash (the corpse) with water.'
```

Other examples follow in which -ykU occurs in an adverbial clause the success of whose action is a prerequisite to the action of the main clause.[115]

```
Y   yoora-chaw punku-ta ranka-yku-lla-r-shi          puñu-sha.               478
and tree-LOC    door-OBJ lodge-impact-just-adv-IND sleep-3PERF

'And having succeeded in lodging the door in the tree,
they slept (on top of the door).'

Niykur qayku-pa-yku-pti-:       buurru-ta   yaku apa-ku-n.                    479
then   push-ben-impact-adv-1P donkey-OBJ water take-refl-3

'Then when we succeeded in pushing it into the water, the
water carried off the donkey.'

...yaku-ta    manka-kuna-wan achka-ta ashta-ku-yku-r                          480
   water-OBJ pot-plur-COM    lots-OBJ carry-refl-impact-adv

arma-ku-n...
bathe-refl-3

'...having carried a lot of water with pots, they bathe
themselves...'

LLapan kasta-n-kuna-wan parla-ku-yku-r      wamra-n-kuna-lla-na              481
all     clan-3P-plur-COM speak-refl-impact child-3P-plur-just-now

albasya-ta    chura-ku-n.
executor-OBJ place-refl-3

'Having talked with all his relatives (and achieving a
consensus), his children (and they alone) appoint an executor.'

Chay-chaw gaana-yku-r     kondor-qa ni-n "Kanan-qa marka-ta                  482
that-LOC  beat-impact-adv condor-TOP say-3 now-TOP  town-OBJ

apa-ku-:-na-mi".
take-refl-1-now-DIR

'Having won there the condor says, "Now I will take over
the town."'

Chawra runa nubillu-n-ta  qellay-paq rantiku-yku-r                           483
then   man  steer-3P-OBJ money-PUR  sell-impact-adv

pullan qellay-ta paaga-yku-n atoq-ta
half   money-OBJ pay-impact-3 fox-OBJ

'Then the man, having sold his steer for money, pays half
of the money to the fox.'
```

---

[114] A "foreigner" (i.e., someone from another town) must do this washing because (it is believed) if a relative of the deceased washes the body. it would cause the whole clan to die.

[115] As far as I have been able to discover. this use of -ykU is limited to adverbial clauses.

122

9.2.4.2. With *qo-* 'give'

In most cases in which *qo-* 'give' is followed by *-ykU.* there is some transfer (usually of ownership) to the recipient: e.g. in 484 the money and perhaps its ownership are transferred to the speaker:

```
Qellay-ta  qo-ykU-ma:-nqa.                                          484
money-OBJ  give-impact-=>1-3FUT
```

'He will give me money.'

Some idioms ,orrowed from Spanish with *qo-* 'give' do not have *-ykU*, as there is no object being transferred to the recipient. For example, see examples 485-488:

```
Yus-ninchi:-qa bindisyun-ta qo-kU-ma:-nchi.                         485
God-12P-TOP     blessing-OBJ give-refl-=>1-12
```

'God blesses us (i.e., gives us blessing).'

```
...dereechun-ta qo-n    kuka-ta  awrindi-ta...                      486
   right-OBJ    give-3 coca-OBJ fire:water-OBJ
```

'...they give him the right to (partake of) the coca and the
firewater...'

```
Chawra-qa rimeeru eskirbaanu parabin-ta   qo-n.                     487
then-TOP  first   scrivener for:good-OBJ give-3
```

'Then the scrivener congratulates him first.'
(The text goes on to explain that a *parabin* is the act
of shaking the hand of the man who is entering office.)

```
Pay-kuna-pa ka-n numramintu-n. Qo-n    rasun-pa awturidaa-kuna...   488
he-plur-GEN be-3 title-3P      give-3 real-adv authority-plur
```

'They have their titles. The authorities really give them
to them (for the duration of the fiesta).'

In contrast to these which do not have *-ykU*, there are some like 'give a kick/blow/...' which do have *-ykU*: see 489. Since the meaning implies that the goal/object is directly affected by the action, such cases support the claim that *-ykU* indicates increased impact on the goal/object of the action.[116]

```
...huk hachaasu qo-yku-sha.                                         489
   one axe:blow give-impact-3PERF
```

'...he struck a terrific blow with an axe.'
(*hachaasu* from Sp. *hacha* 'axe')

---

[116]Similarly *usha-* 'finish' with *-ykU* can mean 'finish off. severely damage': e.g.:

```
i. ...kaara-n-pita-shi runa-ta raska-r      usha-ykU-n.
      face-3P-ABL-IND  man-OBJ scratch-adv finish-impact-3
```

'...he scratches him severely in the face.'

```
ii. ...runa-qa kallpa-yku-r-shi             mutu-r   usha-yku-n...
       man-TOP strengthen-impact-adv-IND chop-adv finish-impact-3
```

'...the man, gathering his strength, chopping finishes
him off'

123

9.2.4.3. With verbs of perception

With verbs of perception (e.g., *rika-* 'to see', *wiya-* 'to hear', *watqa-* 'to spy',...) *-ykU* indicates that the one who perceives gets the full impact of what he is perceiving.[117] Rather than just seeing or hearing, with *-ykU* one grasps the consequences of what is perceived; e.g.:

```
Rika-yku-r      awtoridaa ni-n "Chay papel titulu-yki alli        490
see-impact-adv authority say-3 that paper title-2P    good

ka-yka-n."
be-impfv-3

'Upon seeing it (and grasping its significance) the authority
says, "(According to) that paper, your title is in order."'

Chay-ta  rika-yku-r      muku aywa-ku-n mancha-ri-sha...          491
that-OBJ see-impact-adv lamb go-refl-3 scare-asp-prtc

'Upon seeing that (his owners looking among the flock and
realizing that they were looking for him), the lamb goes
off very frightened...'

Chay-naw wañu-sha-ta  rika-yku-r      agenti papil-ta             492
that-SIM die-prtc-OBJ see-impact-adv agent  paper-OBJ

apa-chi-n    alkaldi-man
take-caus-3 mayor-GOAL

'Upon verifying that he died like that, the agent sends a
paper to the mayor.' (This follows text which says 'Then the
agent goes to look, in order to know precisely how he died.')

Chay-ta  wiya-yku-r      mishi aywa-sha muku-man-shi.             493
that-OBJ hear-impact-adv cat   go-3PERF lamb-GOAL-IND

'Upon hearing that (and that they were going to kill the lamb)
the cat went to the lamb.'
```

In a folk tale, when a husband is informed that his wife is having an affair with another man, he responds:

```
...Kiki-raq-mi  warmi-:-ta   watqa-yku-shaq. Rika-yku-shaq.       494
   self-yet-DIR wife-1P-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT see-impact-1FUT

'...I myself will spy on my wife.  I will see.'
```

By virtue of adding *-ykU*, the husband indicates that he will do more than simply observe; he will determine the significance of what he observes.

9.2.4.4. Politeness

When *-ykU* is used in imperatives, the effect is to make the command more polite; e.g.:[118]

```
"Imbita-pa-ykU-ma-y          tiya-:-ta" ni-sha  "chiicha-ta."     495
 invite-ben-impact-=>1-2IMP aunt-1P-OBJ say-3PERF chicha-OBJ

'"Please invite my aunt" he said "to (come have) some chicha."'
```

Not surprisingly *-ykU* frequently co-occurs with *-lla:* 'polite'; e.g.: One would never expect *-ykU* to

---

[117] Note that, whereas in other cases *-ykU* indicates increased impact on the object of the verb to which it is suffixed, with verbs of perception *-ykU* indicates increased impact on the subject.

[118] Virtually every discussion of *-ykU* has made mention of its use in imperatives as a way to indicate politeness; e.g., section 3.20.2.7 of Swisshelm's treatment of derivational morphology in Pantoja [25] and Cerrón [6] section 6.21.16.

124

occur with *ka-* 'be' in the sense 'impact on the goal/object'. But it does occur in uses indicating 'impact on the hearer'; e.g. with the following third person imperative:

```
Tayta lindu  mishti,  qam-pita ka-ykU-lla:-chun.                    496
sir    pretty white    you-ABL  be-impact-pol-3IMP

'Wonderful mister sir, may it be yours.'
(said by the frogs--the people--to their leader, who is
conducting a legal battle for control of the township
against the condor--the hacendado.)

Tiyuy kondor,  horqo-ykU-lla:-ma-y        ari           497
uncle condor   remove-impact-pol-=>1-2IMP well

'Uncle condor, please take us out of here.'
```

9.2.4.5. At the peak of an episode

-ykU has a propensity for clustering at the peak ("climax") of episodes. For example, 'The Fight between the Wasp and the Tiger' ends:

```
Y    suncha  alli-chaw keeda-yku-n      hanaq-chaw.                 498
and  wasp    good-LOC   remain-impact-3 above-LOC

Tinri pasaypa perdi-yku-n.
tiger really   lose-impact-3

'And the wasp remained fine up above.
The tiger really lost. (by falling over a cliff)
```

In the following examples (just given in English) a verb bearing *-ykU* is underlined:

```
So the man, having sold his steer, pays half of the money to the  fox.  And the  499
man, with the fox's council, liberates his steer.  And he remains with the
bear's meat very happy.
```

One tale begins with the following, which I would consider a complete episode climaxed by the condor's winning:

```
An hacienda-owner-condor and a townsman-frog litigated, moving  the boundary  500
back and forth.  And the hacienda-owner-condor won  the litigation in the
provincial authority with his  good-for-nothing document.
```

Later the frog and condor race to the capital to present their case before the higher authority. The episode is climaxed by the following:

```
And he beats him to the authority's at  the crack of  dawn.  They   talk  501
(briefly).  He shows him his document.  Upon seeing it (and  grasping its
significance) he says...
```

I doubt a fair case can be made that *-ykU* is in any sense a marker of (episodal) peak. Rather, I think it frequently occurs there because of its meaning: peaks are naturally the centers of increased impact.

While it is generally true that *-ykU* tends to cluster about the peaks of episodes there is considerable variation in the use of *-ykU*. There is variation from story to story. Some stories have a liberal sprinkling of *-ykU* throughout, whereas some have *-ykU* almost exclusively at the end. This may be because some stories are composed of various episodes rather than of a single episode.

Frequency counts suggest that there is variation from speaker to speaker, and that this is best considered *stylistic* variation. Folk tales by three authors showed the following: One author used .03 and .04 *-ykU*'s per word (for two tales); these were strongly concentrated toward the end of his

125

stories. One used .05 *ykU*'s per word. The other author used .07 *-ykU*'s per word: these were fairly evenly distributed throughout the story counted. Thus it might be unreasonable to say precisely where *-ykU* will or will not occur: it is to some extent a stylistic variable which the speaker may control to his liking.

9.2.4.6. -ykU with transitivizers

-ykU may intervene between a verb root/stem and a transitivizing pre-transition suffix (see section 9.6). Examples 502 shows that the effect of this may be to to block an interpretation of direct causation.[119] When *-ykU* 'impact' occurs between the verb and *-chi* (as in 298a), the agent of causation is understood as someone other than the adressee; the adressee indirectly causes that something be killed. When *-chi* directly follows the verb (as in 298b), the adressee is understood as directly causing that something be killed (and *ykU* indicates 'polite' as discussed in section 9.2.4.4).

```
a. Wañu-ykU-chi-pa:-ma-y.                                        502
   die-impact-caus-ben-=>1-2IMP

b. Wañu-chi-pa:-ykU-ma-y.
   die-caus-ben-impact-=>1-2IMP

a. 'Have it killed for me (by ordering someone else to do it).'
b. 'Kill it for me (I beg you, please).'
```

Example 503 is similiar, but involves the degree of directness between the recipient of the verb *makya-* 'to hand to' and the object of the benefactive.[120] The intervention of *-ykU* in example 503b indicates that he is not directly benefited (as by receiving whatever is handed over): he is indirectly benefited in that another receives it:

```
a. Makya-    -pa:-ma-y.  (hand:to-      -ben-=>1-2IMP)          503
b. Makya-ykU-pa:-ma-y.  (hand:to-impact-ben-=>1-2IMP)

a. 'Hand it to me (for my benefit).'
b. 'Hand it to him for me.'
```

9.3. -mu 'AFAR'

After discussing where *-mu* 'afar' occurs within the verb (section 9.3.1), its various uses are summarized and illustrated (section 9.3.2).

9.3.1. Distributional Considerations

-mu is the most rightward tending pre-transition suffix: it occurs directly before the transition. For example, 504a is unacceptable because *-mu* precedes *-pa:*, whereas 504b is acceptable:

---

[119]This nicely illustrates Haiman's [15] observation concerning the iconicity of direct/indirect causation: indirect causation is involves at least as much morphological material as direct causation. This example also illustrates variant possible orders of *-ykU* and *-chi*.

[120]Note that example 503a does not mean 'hand it to him for me' as might be expected.

```
a. *Apa-mu-pa:-shayki.                                    504

b.  Apa-pa:-mu-shayki.
    take-ben-afar-1=>2FUT

'I will bring it for you.'
```

Example 505 shows that *-mu* must follow *-yka:* 'impfv' and *-chi* 'caus':

```
a. *Apa-mu-yka:-chi-n.                                    505

b. *Apa-yka:-mu-chi-n.

c.  Apa-yka:-chi-mu-n.
    take-impfv-cause-afar-3

c. 'He makes him bring it here.'
```

-mu may not co-occur (in the same word) with the suffix *-ma:* '=>1'. This is probably because *-ma:* is derived historically from *-mu + wa* (where *-wa* is the first person object marker preserved in Quechua A languages).[121] When both *-ma:* and *-mu* might occur. *-ma:* occurs in preference to *-mu*, e.g..

```
Kay-man   apa-pa:-ma-y.                                   506
here-DIR take-ben-=>1-2IMP

'Bring it here for me.'
```

9.3.2. Summary of the Uses of *-mu*

-mu has a variety of interpretations depending on the verb to which it is attached. Among these, three are prominent:

- with motion verbs *-mu* means roughly 'toward here, (from afar)';
- with non-motion verbs it means roughly 'happening at a distance';
- with verbs indicating the emitting or the perception of some stimulus, it indicates that the percepter and the emitter were separated by some considerable distance.

These and other uses will now be discussed.

9.3.2.1. 'Toward here' with motion verbs

With motion verbs *-mu* means 'toward here' where "here" may be defined as either the location of the speaker or in a narrative. the "perspective point" of the narrator. Examples:

VERB	WITHOUT *-mu*	WITH *-mu*
aywa-	go	come
apa-	take	bring
chaya-	arrive (to there)	arrive (to here)
kacha-	envoy (to there)	envoy (to here)
kuti-	return (to there)	return (back to here)
llalli-	too race (away)	to race (toward here)
pusha-	to lead (to there)	to lead (to here)
qati-	herd (away)	herd (toward here)
qeshpi-	escape (from here)	escape (to here)
sha-	(see note below)	come
tanqa-	push (to there)	push (toward here)
ura:-	go down (from here)	descend (from uphill)

Note that *-mu* is obligatory with *sha-*, i.e., there is no such verb as *sha-* 'go' corresponding to

---

[121]This observation is due to Peter Landerman. personal communication.

127

sha-...-mu- 'come'.[122]

For motion relative to a container (i.e.. moving something into or out of anything conceived as a container. e.g., a jar. a house. a corral, etc.), the occurrence of *-mu* depends on whether "here" is inside the container or outside of it: e.g.:

VERB	WITHOUT *-mu*	WITH *-mu*
lloqshi-	to go out (said from inside)	to come out (said from outside)
qarqU-	to drive out (said from inside)	to drive out (said from outside)
yaykU-	to go in (said from outside)	to come in (said from inside)

"Here" may be where the hearer is or will be:[123] e.g.:

```
Aywa-yka:-mu-:   qam ka-sha-yki-man.                              507
come-impfv-MU-1 you be-sub-2P-DIR

'I am coming to where you are.'
```

There are certain discourse types where "here" may be anchored. For example. in a description of a procession (in which an image is taken from the church, paraded, and returned to the church) all motion is with reference to the church.

9.3.2.2. "Go off and do" with implication of coming back

With verbs which do not imply motion. the use of *-mu* means that the event referred to by that verb is to occur at a distance from the speaker (i.e., from "here"). In these cases there is a strong implication that there will be motion to that place (before the event) and subsequent return to "here". In these cases a rough gloss might be 'go off. do it, and come back'. Some examples follow:

```
Tanta-ta   ranti-rI-mu-y.                                        508
bread-OBJ buy-sud-afar-2IMP

'Go buy bread (and return quickly).'

Rika-ykU-mu-nki        wasi-nchi:-ta ima-shi  ka-yka:-n.         509
see-impact-afar-2IMP house-12P-OBJ what-IND be-impfv-3

'Go see what there might be in our house (and come back
 and inform me).'

wañu-chi-mu-sha-: aycha-ta                                       510
die-cause-afar-sub-1P-OBJ

'the meat that I killed (i.e. ...which I went off and killed
and brought back here)'
```

The following example shows that motion away from the speaker is not necessarily implied:

```
Tayta-:   ospital-chaw  keeda-kU-mu-sha.                         511
father-1P hospital-LOC  remain-refl-afar-3PERF

'My father remained (over there) in the hospital.'
```

---

[122]In some dialects. (e.g. Huaraz, Ancash) *sha-* and *-mu* have become frozen into a single verb *shamu-*. That this is not the case in HgQ is evident from examples like *sha-yka:-mu-n* 'he is coming'.

[123]This is possible in English. e.g.. "I'll *come* to where you are".

128

Examples 512 and 513 show that return to "here" after the event is not necessarily implied:

512

```
Mihur   kacha-shaq  yunka-pa     chay-chaw wañu-kU-mu-na-n-paq
better  send-1FUT   jungle-GOAL  there-LOC die-refl-afar-sub-3P-PUR
```

```
... tinri miku-mu-nqa.
... tiger eat-afar-3FUT
```

'Better that I send him off to the jungle so that he die
over there. A tiger will eat him up (over there).'

513

```
Chay-chaw puñu-mu-shaq.
there-LOC sleep-afar-1FUT
```

```
Nirkur warannin      aywa-shaq Pillku-man.
then   on:the:morrow go-1FUT   Huanuco-GOAL
```

'I will sleep there (at a distance).
Then the next morning I will go on to Huanuco.'

9.3.2.3. Stimulus from a distance

With verbs which mean emitting some stimulus (e.g.. yell, flash) or with "sensory verbs" (perceiving some stimulus) -mu serves to indicate that there was some considerable distance[124] between the emitter and the percepter. This use of -mu is reasonable if the situation being described is seen as stimulus passing from the emitter to the percepter. -mu is only appropriate if the stimulus passes from afar to "here". never the other way around. The sensory verbs include (among others. see 13.3.2.4): rika- 'to see' and wiya- 'to hear'. Verbs in the category 'emitting stimulus' include choqa- 'to cough'. qapara:- 'to yell'. kuntista- 'to answer', ni- 'to say'. rata- 'to burn (of a light)', qaya- 'to call to'. Examples follow:

514

```
Ni-mu-sha-n        wiya-ka:-mu-ra-n.
say-afar-sub-3P hear-pass-afar-past-3
```

'That which was said (from afar) was heard (from afar).'

515

```
Qam-ta rika-mu-:.
you-OBJ see-afar-1
```

'I see you (over there).'

516

```
Mas  mas  aywa-pti-n mas  hatun-na-shi rika-kaa-mu-n    achki.
more more go-adv-3P  more big-now-IND  see-pass-afar-3 light
```

```
... Achki rika-ra:-mu-sha      ka-sh    bentaana-pa-shi.
    light see-state-afar-prtc be-3PERF window-GEN-IND
```

'The farther on they went, the bigger the light was seen to
be (from afar). ... The light had been seen (from afar)
through a window.'

The following bit of text is particularly instructive. The fox is speaking at a distance from the man (who being the principle character defines "here" in this stretch of narrative) and the bear is right next to the man. Note that when the fox speaks it is with ni-mu-n 'he say (from afar)' whereas when the bear or the man speak it is simply with ni-n 'he says'. And note that mu is only used when the stimulus travels from afar to "here"; for this reason the fox uses ni-mu-n to say that he does not hear the sound of the axe blow. (The superscripted numbers are cross-referenced to the gloss.)

---

[124]What constitutes "considerable distance" is certainly relative, both to the nature of the stimulus and to the way the speaker wishes to present the situation of which he speaks. This should become clear in the examples given below.

```
... Chawra ukumarya mancha-ka:ku-n-shi.¹ Y   ni-n-shi
    so    bear     fear-compl-3-IND    and say-3-IND

runa-ta, "'Mana-m rika-:-chu' ni-y."²  Chawra runa-shi
man-OBJ   no-DIR see-1-NEG  say-2IMP so     man-IND

atoq-ta ni-n. "Mana-m rika-:-chu".³ Atoq-shi ni-mu-n,
fox-OBJ say-3  no-DIR see-1-NEG     fox-IND  say-afar-3

"Ima-taq ñawpa-yki-chaw yana-ra-yka-n?⁴       Paqta-raq
what-?? side-2P-LOC     black-state-impfv-3   watch:out-yet

chay-chaw yana  runa ka-yka-n."⁵ Ukumarya ni-n-shi,
there-LOC black man  be-impfv-3  bear     say-3-IND

"'Chay-qa   punchu-:-mi'  ni-y".⁶  Chawra runa ni-n-shi,
 there-TOP poncho-1P-DIR say-2IMP then   man  say-3-IND

"Punchu-:-mi".⁷ Atoq-shi ni-mu-n,   "Ma tapsi-rku-y".⁸
 poncho-1P-DIR fox-IND  say-afar-3       shake-asp-2IMP

Ukumarya ni-n-shi chawra-qa, "'Chay-qa kullu-:-mi'
bear     say-3-IND so-TOP      that-TOP stump-1P-DIR

ni-y".⁹   Chawra runa-shi ni-n, "Chay-qa kullu-:-mi".¹⁰
say-2IMP so     man-IND  say-3   that-TOP stump-1P-DIR

Atoq-shi ni-mu-n, "Chawra ma: mutu-rku-y".¹¹  Ukumarya
fox-IND  say-afar-3 so        chop-asp-2IMP   bear

ni-n  ~una-ta, "Yanqa-lla   mutu-qtu-kU-ma-nki".¹²  -- Chawra    ---   --
say-3 man-OBJ  in:vain-just chop-pretend-refl-=>1-2 so

runa yanqa-lla-shi     mutu-qtu-ku-n.¹³    Chawra-qa atoq-shi
man  in:vain-just-IND chop-pretend-refl-3 so-TOP    fox-IND

ni-mu-n,    "'Paq' ni-mu-n-taqchu.¹⁴ Mas sinchi-lla
say-afar-3        say-afar-NEG      more hard-just

mutu-rku-y".¹⁵ Chawra-qa ukumarya ni-n-shi  runa-ta,¹⁶ ...
chop-asp-2IMP  so-TOP    bear     say-3-IND man-OBJ
```

So the bear is very frightened.¹ He says to the man, "Say 'I do not see him'".² So the man says to the fox, "I do not see him".³ The fox says (from afar) "What is that beside you which is black?⁴ Be careful lest that black man be there."⁵ The bear says, "Say 'That is my poncho'".⁶ So the man says, "My poncho".⁷ The fox says (from afar), "Well then shake it".⁸ The bear says then, "Say 'That is my stump (cutting block).'"⁹ So the man says, "That is my stump".¹⁰ The fox says (from afar), "Well then chop it".¹¹ The bear says to the man, "Just pretend to chop me without really doing so".¹² So the man pretends to chop him without really doing so.¹³ Then the fox says (from afar), "It does not say (from afar) 'paq'.¹⁴ Hit it harder."¹⁵ So the bear says to the man,¹⁶ ...

In many other instances, -*mu* is interpreted relative to a metaphor of stimulus passing from afar to a percepter. For example, to say 'It is there', if the speaker can see 'it' then he may say 518 but if 'it' is not in view, then he must say 519.

```
Chay-chaw ka-yka:-mu-n.                                              518
there-LOC be-impfv-afar-3

'It is there.'

Chay-chaw ka-yka-n.                                                 519
there-LOC be-impfv-3

'It is there.'
```

Another example:

```
Rika-y!    Kuchi-ta pishta-yka:-mu-n.                               520
look-2IMP pig-OBJ  slaughter-impfv-afar-3

'Look! They are butchering the pig (over there--watching
from a hill top).'
```

The metaphor is of the visual stimulus (generated by the act of slaughtering) traveling to the place where the speaker and hearer are.

Example 521 is instructive because the lion's quote (which is underlined) would be redundant and unnecessary if it did not contain -mu. By having the lion repeat "Count them out!" (which he has said before, but without -mu) the narrator reminds the hearer/reader that the lion is at some distance from the cat. This is significant because this makes it possible for the cat to deceive the lion.

```
Then the cat deceptively counted out the head of the dead  tiger which he had  521
brought along. 'Well then, count them   out over there!'   ("Ma: yupa-mu-y."
challenge  count-afar-2IMP) says the lion. So the cat, repeatedly  taking out
and putting back the single head, counts it  twelve times.
```

9.3.2.4. Perspective and bi-clausal phenomena

-mu is highly dependent on the notion "here", i.e., the place where the speaker is, or the "perspective point" of a narrative. The perspective point of a narrative may be constantly shifting but it generally resides with the main participant of each episode. For example, in example 517 the man is the main participant, and "here" stays with him.

Are there syntactic constraints on the reference of perspective point? Yes. It must remain constant from subordinate to superordinate clause:[125] it may not shift from one clause to another within the same sentence. For example, in example 522 the point from which one departs to take it is understood as the point to which he will return:

```
Qo-ykU-mu-na-n-paq           apa-n.                                 522
give-impact-afar-sub-3P-PUR take-3

'He takes it to give to him (and then return).'
```

Example 523b is unacceptable because the "beginning" must occur where the "bringing" originates. Since qallari- is a non-motion verb, it needs -mu to make it clear that the "beginning" happens at a distance.

```
                                  ⎧ a. *∅ ⎫                         523
Apa-chi-mu-y-ta        qallari- ⎨        ⎬ -na-n-ta muna-:.
take-caus-afar-inf-OBJ begin-   ⎩ b. -mu ⎭ -sub-3P-OBJ   want-1
                                     -afar
'I want him to begin sending it here.'
```

---

[125]This is not true of direct quotes, since they are not subordiate (although they are embedded).

131

9.3.2.5. Return to normal state

With some verbs -*mu* is used as a metaphorical motion toward normal state.[126] The following illustrate this:

hata-rkU- or *hata-rI-ykU-*

    'to get up' may mean to sit up (from a prone position) or to stand up (generally from a sitting position)[127]. Both often bear -*mu*, it being more normal for people to be upright than prone, more normal for them to be on their feet than seated.

pawka-   'to sober up, to gradually come awake' frequently bears -*mu*, it being normal for people to be sober and awake.

wara:-   'to dawn' with -*mu* means 'to come into a new day, to wake up', people normally being up and about.[128]

wayta-mu- 'to burst forth in flower' (from *wayta* 'to flower')

wiña-mu- 'to grow on a vertical axis toward its normal size/condition'. This applies to plants, crops, children, piles, stacks, the level of a liquid (in a container, a lake, a river), etc.

yuri-mu- 'to come into existence, to appear' (from *yuri-* 'to be born')

Another case of -*mu* used in the sense of 'return to normal state' involves verbs which mean 'to fall', particularly those which mean 'to fall through space, (free fall)' such as *heqa-~yeqa-~yaqa-*, *shikwa-* and *tuni-*.[129] -*mu* occurs with great frequency with these verbs. Often the combination of such a verb and -*mu* is consistent with the meaning 'motion toward "here"' but sometimes the motion is not toward "here". These latter are instances of 'return to normal state' because things which fall, typically fall to the ground, where they normally are. For example, consider *hita-mu-* 'to throw down' (from *hita-* 'throw') in example 524. The perspective point ("here") is with the bear-child, who throws the people from the belfry. Nevertheless, -*mu* is used because they are thrown to the ground, the normal place for people to be:

```
... runa-ta-qa  pampa   inlisya punku-man-shi hita-rI-ykU-mu-n                524
    men-OBJ-TOP ground church  door-GOAL-IND throw-asp-asp-afar-3

hanaq to:rri-pita wañu-qpaq...
high  tower-ABL   die-RESULT

'threw the men from the high tower to the ground at the door
of the church with the result that they died.'
```

Later in same text, a "condenado" threatens to fall on the hero, saying *tuni-mu-shaq-chu* (fall-afar-1FUT-Y/N?) 'Shall I fall onto you?'. "Here" for the *condenado* who is speaking, is where he is. but the direction of travel he indicates is *from* there down to where the hero is. Unless we can understand this as a case of motion toward normal place, it seems contradictory to the basic meaning of -*mu* with motion verbs, i.e., 'toward "here"'.[130]

---

[126]This is insightfully discussed for English by Eve Clark [8].

[127]Either verb may be used for either meaning.

[128]*wara:-mu-* may also indicate waking at some distance from the place where spoken.

[129]I mean to exclude some other verbs of falling such as 'to fall off one's feet'.

[130]Another possible explanation is that this is a case of "displaced ego". i.e., talking from the perspective of the hearer.

132

A final example: in the most normal state of affairs, the sun is somewhere overhead. Thus, the sun's rising. seen as motion toward normal state/position, is expressed with *-mu*: *heqa-mu-* 'to rise' (from 'to come from arou..d. to fall'). The sun's setting is seen as departure from normal state/position and thus does not have *-mu*: *heqa* 'to set'. (With objects other than the sun, *heqa-mu-* will ordinarily mean 'to fall to the ground'.)

9.3.2.6. *-mu* and ambiguous/vague verbs

There are verbs which do not of themselves belong to any of the classes mentioned above. Other verbs are ambiguous in such a way that they belong to more than one of the above mentioned categories. For example, the verbs *aru-* 'work' and *rura-* 'do, make' are not inherently motion nor non-motion verbs. Depending on the nature of what is being worked or made, the verb may act (with respect to *-mu*) as either a motion or non-motion verb: if one works on a house, since that activity is conceived to happen at a single place. *aru-* is treated as a non-motion verb. But if one works on an irrigation ditch. since that activity is conceived to occur on a path. *aru-* is treated as a motion verb. Thus in 525 *-mu* means 'toward here' while in 526 it means 'go there to do it and then return':

525

```
Sikya-ta   aru-mu-shaq.
ditch-obj  work-afar-1FUT

'I will work the irrigation ditch (proceeding toward here).'
```

526

```
Wasi-ta    aru-mu-shaq.
house-obj  work-afar-1FUT

'I will work the house (going over there to do so and
then returning, e.g. as commuting to work over there).'
```

The verb *kacha-* is ambiguous between 'to send (as an envoy)' and 'to leave behind'. The former sense suggests motion whereas the latter is non-motion. Thus, *kacha-mu-* may mean 'to send to here' or 'to leave over there' and *kacha-* (without *-mu*) may mean 'to send to there' or simply 'to leave'.

qaya- 'to call' may mean 'to call from afar' or 'to call to come'. Examples follow:

```
Y    qaya-kU-mu-shaq       chay yana   runa-ta rika-nki ni-shpa-:.      527
and  call-refl-afar-1FUT   that black  man-OBJ see-2    say-adv-1

'I will call out (from afar) saying, "Watch out for that
black man!"'
```

```
Chay-kuna    kabildu-man   qaya-mu-n.                                    528
that-plural  chapter-GOAL  call-afar-3

'They call them to come to the chapter (a room of the municipality).'
```

rika- is used for visual perception both with and without intent, i.e., for *see* (without intention) and for *look* (with intention). The former interpretation (see) is compatible with *-mu*'s sense 'stimulus coming from afar' whereas the latter (look) is more compatible with its sense 'go (over there) and look'.

133

9.4. Pluralization

Verbs are pluralized by adding one of the following pre-transition suffixes: *-rka, -:ri, -pa:kU,* or *-rpa* or--rarely--the post-transition suffix *-kuna.* Which pluralizer occurs depends on what other suffixes occur. The rule is basically as follows;[131] to pluralize a verb,

1. if *-ra:* 'stative' occurs, replace *-ra:* with *-rpa.* e.g.

   the plural of *wichqa-ra-yka-n* 'it is open' is *wichqa-rpa-yka-n* 'they are open'.

   the plural of *hama-ra-yka-n* 'he is seated' is *hamarpaykan* 'they are seated'.

   the plural of *qati-ra-n* 'he follows him' is *qati-rpa-n* 'they follow him';

2. if *-yka:* 'imperfective' occurs, put *-rka* before *-yka:,* e.g.

   the plural of *miku-yka-n* 'he is eating' is *miku-rka-yka-n* 'they are eating';

3. if there is a directional suffix (*-rkU, -rpU, -rqU, -ykU*), a reciprocal suffix (*-nakU*), or sometimes when there is a reflexive suffix (*-kU*), then put *-:rI* after that suffix, e.g.

   the plural of *miku-rku-r* 'having eaten (sing.)' is *mikU-rkU-:ri-r* 'having eaten (pl)' [mikarká:rir].

   the plural of *maqa-naku-n* 'they hit each other' (where there is no explicit plural) is *maqa-nakU-:ri-n* 'they hit each other' [maqanaká:riŋ].

   the plural of *hama-ykU-chi-n* 'he seats him' is *hama-ykU-:rI-chi-n* 'he seats them' [hamayka:ráchiŋ].

   the plural of *hama-ku-yku-pti-n* 'when he sat down' is *hama-kU-ykU-:rI-pti-n* 'when they sit down' [hamakayka:rĩpti ŋ].

   the plural of *chari-nakU-rkU-r* 'grab each other' is *chari-nakU-rkU-:ri-r.*

4. if the subject is first person plural exclusive (11) and the person marker would be *-:* '1' then use *-:kuna* '11' instead of *-:,* e.g.

   the plural of *aywa-shka-:* is *aywa-shka-:kuna*

5. otherwise, use *-pa:kU,* e.g. the plural of *miku-n* 'he eats' is *miku-pa:ku-n* 'they eat (all together)'.

There are a few more things to know:

1. *-pa:kU,* in addition to indicating plurality, adds the idea that it was done all together or as a group; e.g.:

   ```
   ...llapan kumun      chura-pa:ku-n.                                    529
      all    community put-plur-3
   ```

   '...all the community puts it (i.e. puts up the money)'

   ```
   ..."aw   aw" ni-pa:ku-n.                                              530
      yes yes say-plur-3
   ```

   '..."yes yes" they all said (together, as with one voice)'

2. Ordinarily only one pluralizer occurs per verb, but it is possible to have more than one; e.g.:

   ```
   ...puri-rka-yka-:kuna                                                 531
      walk-plur-impfv-11
   ```

   '...we were walking'

Ordinarily, when the subject is first person plural inclusive (12) the verb does not bear a pluralizer to indicate a plural subject, but it is possible; e.g.:

---

[131]This is written as an ordered rule (the first applicable case having precedence) as a convenience: I would not defend the linguistic reality of this ordering.

134

```
aywa-ku-rka-yka:-shun                                               532
go-refl-plur-impfv-12FUT
```

'we will be going'

3. Pluralization added to a verb may apply to its subject, to its object, or to both. Thus *maqa-rka-yka-n* can mean 'they are hitting him', 'he is hitting them' or 'they are hitting them.'

4. Verbal pluralization is not obligatory. Sentences like example 533. in which the verb is not pluralized, are natural and common:

```
Runa-kuna  sha-yka:-mu-n.                                           533
man-plur   come-impfv-afar-3
```

'Men are coming.'

5. Dialects vary as to how much they actually indicate pluralization. In some dialects, virtually all of ri: verbs which could be pluralized are actually pluralized. I estimate that Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua pluralizes close to 70% of the verbs eligible for pluralization whereas HgQ only pluralizes about 30% (my rough guess).

9.5. Aspect

In the pre-transition zone, where there is some flexibility in the order of suffixes. the more derivational suffixes tend leftward and the more aspectual suffixes tend rightward:[132]

```
[ DERIVATIONAL <-----> ASPECTUAL ]
```

The most fundamental aspectual distinction in HgQ is between *-yku* 'perfective' (elsewhere glossed 'impact' or 'up'. see section 9.2.4) and *-yka:* 'imperfective'; see 9.5.1. The second most fundamental contrast is between *-rl* 'punctual' and *-ra:* 'state/durative'; see 9.5.2. Iterative aspect may be indicated by *-kacha:*. by *-ykacha:*. by *-cha:*, and by reduplication of the verb root/stem; see 9.5.4.

9.5.1. The Perfective-Imperfective Aspectual Distinction

Perfective aspect is indicated by the morpheme *-yku* 'impact'. It contrasts sharply with *-yka:* 'imperfective'. with which it does not co-occur.[133] *-yk* is glossed 'impact' to be consistent with the other parts of this work: in its aspectual use, the gloss 'imperfective' would be appropreate: neither 'progressive' nor 'continuative' would be a good gloss because *-ykU* occurs with verbs which do not ordinarily occur in a 'progressive' or 'continuative' aspect. such as the following:

with statives:

ka-yka-n-na (be-impfv-3-now) 'there are some now',

pishi-yka-n (be:lacking-impfv-3) 'it is lacking',

kawa-yka-n-raq (be:alive-impfv-3-yet) 'it is still alive',

---

[132]There is no clear-cut distinction between the aspectual suffixes and the truly derivational suffixes. For example. *achikya-* means 'to emit light' but *achikya-rayka:-* means 'to shine' and *achikya-rl-* 'to flash'. Here. *-rayka:* and *-rl* seem to be both derivational (since it affects the meaning significantly) and aspectual. Some suffixes are used either way: these are more likely to behave derivationally if occurring leftward (near the root) and aspectually if occurring rightward (near the transition).

[133]The forms co-occur if *-yku* is used non-aspectually or is somewhat frozen with the root. e.g. *ya+yku-yka-n* 'he is entering'.

135

with events of a repeted but sporadic nature:

> *illqur-ya-yka-n* (lightening-become-impfv-3) 'lightening is flashing'.
> *rinka-yka-n* (jump-impfv-3) 'he is jumping'.

and with inherently iterative verbs:

> *kachkach-ya-yka-n* (kachkach-sound-impfv-3) 'his teeth are chattering'.
> *ko:rri-yka-n* (run-impfv-3) 'he is running'. etc.

Generally *-yka:* 'imperfective' precedes *-ma:* '=>1'. as e.g. in 534a. I have elicited the opposite order. which is said to have a habitual meaning, see 534b:

a. Maqa-<u>yka:-ma</u>-n.
   hit-impfv-=>1-3   534

b. Maqa-<u>ma:-yka:</u>-n.
   hit-=>1-impfv-3

a. 'He is hitting me (right now).'
b. 'He hits me a lot.' (daily or frequently, not necessarily right now)

The order of *-yka:* and object marker in 534b is at best rare. It is probably not a systematic way to express habitual tense: see 8.9 concerning the habitual tense formed by *-q ka-*.)

In some cases. *-yka:* 'impfv' and *-yku* 'impact' seem to differ by more than just aspect. For example. in 535 *-ykU* seems to add the idea of 'intentional activity'. (The Spanish meanings are as given by Teodoro Cayco.)

a. rika-<u>yku</u>-r (see-impact-adv)   535
b. rika-<u>yka</u>-r (see-impfv-adv)

a. 'looking at it / watching it' (Spanish: 'mirándolo')
b. 'seeing it' (Spanish: 'viéndolo')

Further. if *-ykU* occurs with an inherently imperfective verb. the meaning may be somewhat altered. e.g., attached to *puñu-* 'to sleep' the result (puñu-ykU-) means 'to put one's self to bed'; see section 9.2.4. (This is consistent with the the general meaning of *-ykU* 'to impact upon'; see section 9.2.4 for a complete discussion of the uses of *-ykU*.)

9.5.2. Punctual-Durative Aspectual Contrast

The suffixes *-rI* 'punctual' and *-ra:* 'durative' contrast; these will be discussed in turn.

-rI marks 'punctual aspect'. i.e. the event/situation is presented as having occurred in an insignificant amount of time (usually in an instant). The suffix *-rI* 'punctual' cannot occur on a verb like *shuya-* 'to wait', (hence **shuya-ri-*) which is inherently durative.[134] *-rI* occurs with verbs like *usha-* 'finish', *lloqshi-* 'come out of', etc.

-ra: (which is glossed 'state') marks 'durative aspect', i.e., the event/situation is presented as having persisted over a significant amount of time. For example, *puñu-ra-yka-n* (sleep-state-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping/he remains asleep' differs from *puñu-yka-n* (sleep-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping' in emphasizing that the sleeper is sleeping for an extended period.

In my corpus *-ra:* is attested with the following sorts of verbs:[135]

---

[134]Presumably one cannot wait unless one passes some significant amount of time in doing so.

[135]Note that *-ra:* 'state' may passivize the verb to which it is suffixed: see section 11.1.2.

136

1. verbs (and even substantives) which state characteristics: *qarwa-ra:-* 'to be toasted/yellow' (cf. *qarwa-* 'to toast'), *yana-ra:-* 'to be black' (cf *yana* 'black'),

2. verbs stating some static relationship: *chari-ra:-* 'to be holding onto' (cf. *chari-* 'to grab'), *laqa-ra:-* 'to be stuck to' (cf. *laqa-* 'to stick to'), *kama-ra:-* 'to be attractive/fitting', *wata-ra:-* 'to be tied to' (cf. *wcta-* 'to tie'), and *aypa:-* 'to reach', as in the following example:

```
Aypa-ra:-mu-n.                                          536
reach-state-afar-3

'It is reaching (to here).'
(e.g. of a tree on the other bank of a river whose
branches reach over to the bank where the speaker is)
```

3. verbs which state some sort of emitting: *achikya-ra:-* 'to shine/be shining (of a light)', *shana-ra:-* 'to shine/be shining (of the sun)'.

4. stative verbs: *ichi-ra:-* 'to wait for' (cf. *ichi-* 'to stand'), *hama-ra:-* 'to be seated' (cf. *hama-* 'sit/rest'). *la:ta-ra:-* 'to be seated' (cf. *la:ta-* 'to crawl'). *ankalla-ra:-* 'to be lying flat on one's back'. etc.

5. verbs and substantives stating the inert position of some material: *qocha-ra:-* 'to be puddled up' (cf. *qocha* 'lake'). *mashta-ra:-* 'to be spread out' (cf. *mashta-* 'to spread out'), *qotu-ra:-* 'to pile up' (cf. *qotu* 'pile')

9.5.3. Perfective-Imperfective and Punctual-Durative

-rI 'punctual' and *-yku* 'perfective' co-occur. and *-ra:* 'state' and *-yka:* 'imperfective' co-occur. However. *-rI* does not co-occur with *-yka:* 'imperfective'.[136] Nor does *-ra:* 'state/durative' co-occur with *-yku* 'impact'.

```
 -rI-ykU  (pnct-impact)
*-rI-yka: (pnct-impfv)
*-ra-ykU  (state-impact)
 -ra-yka: (state-impfv)
```

The combinations *-rI-ykU* and *-ra-yka:* are very frequent; they will now be discussed briefly.

-ra-yka: indicates the prolonged extension in time of some state or activity. In at some cases *-ra-yka:* presenting the situation as unduly or excessively prolonged, e.g..

puñu-ra-yka-n (sleep-stat-impfv-3) 'he is sleeping (an unusually long time)',

shuya-ra-yka-n (wait-stat-impfv-3) 'he is waiting (a long time)'.

-yka: 'impfv' alone never has this meaning.

The suffixes *-rI* 'punctual' and *-ykU* 'out' frequently co-occur in what will here be considered a single, fused unit. *-rI + ykU* (which will be glossed 'sud' for 'suddenly').[137] It indicates that the action referred to by the verb is done suddenly, forcefully, intentionally, or is done so as to be finished with; e.g.:

---

[136] In cases like *qalla + rI-yka:-* 'to be beginning to', arguably *-rI* is freezing as part of the verb root.

[137] The high frequency of the co-occurrence of *-rI* and *-ykU* is not accidental. A study of *-ykU* showed that it is highly transitivity. in Hopper and Thompson's [16] notion of transitivity. In particular, *-ykU* is highly "perfective", contrasting with *-yka:* 'imperfective'. Thus. co-occurrence with a marker of punctuality natural.

137

```
Kiki-n   wañu-ri+ykU-chi-n awkin-qa.                              637
self-3P kill-sud-caus-adv old:man-TOP

Ruksu-n-ta-shi           kuchu-ri+ykU-n.
testicle-3P-OBJ-IND cut-sud-3.
```

'The old man himself kills him (in a surprising, violent way).
He cut off his testicles.'

Examples follow in which -ri+ykU is used primarily to indicate the speed with which something is accomplished:

```
Afila-pa:-ri+ykU-shu-nki.                                        638
sharpen-ben-sud-=>2-2
```

'He will sharpen it for you right now (without delay).'

```
Aywa-ri+ykU-:ri-y.                                              639
go-sud-plur-2IMP
```

'Go! (and come back without delay)'

```
Limyu ka-pti-n   qasa-q   yaku-wan   awi-ri+ykU-r   maha-n.      640
clean be-adv-3P cold-sub water-COM rinse-sud-adv spread-3
```

'When they are clean, having rinsed them slightly with cold
water, they spread them out (to dry).'

Whereas in the preceding cases -ri+ykU seemed to indicate the speed with which something was done--an aspectual use, in the following examples it seems to indicate notions like 'done on purpose' and 'forcefully'. These are different, but seem to be naturally related to the aspectual notion: perhaps the commonality is best expressed as 'unhesitatingl', which depending on the contexts will be taken to mean 'swiftly', 'suddenly', 'intentionally', 'deftly', or 'forcefully'.

In 541 the fox is prancing about haughtily showing off. The effect of -ri+ykU is to suggest that he stepped on the frog on purpose:

```
...sapu-ta   haru-ri+ykU-n "cheq"  ni-qpaq.  "Sapu-ta-chi        541
   frog-OBJ step-sud-3              say-result frog-OBJ-CNJ

ima-chi   haru-ri+ykU-: hahaa hahahaa" ni-r-shi    asi-ri+ykU-n.
what-CNJ step-sud-1                     say-adv-IND laugh-sud-3
```

'...he steps right on a frog, with the result that is
says "croak." He laughs saying, "It seems I have stepped
on a frog, haha hahaha."'

In 542 the situation is that the stooge has lodged the door in a tree, and is sleeping on top of it. An ordinary person might have accidentally stepped on the edge and dislodged it, but in 542 the effect of -ri+ykU is to indicate that it was done intentionally:

```
Upa-kuna-shi      mashta-ri+ykU-sha pampa-man   harina-ta...     542
stooge-plur-IND spread-sud-3PERF  ground-GOAL flour-OBJ
```

'The stooges spread the flour out on the ground...' (because
they did not know how to make bread)

```
...punku-pa kantu-n-ta-shi   haru-ri+ykU-sha upa-qa.            543
   door-GEN edge-3P-OBJ-IND step-sud-3PERF  stooge-TOP
```

'...the stooge stepped on the edge of the door.'
(Consequently falling with it to the ground.)

An interesting use of -ri+ykU contrasting with the use of simply -ykU is seen in the climax and anti-climax of the story of the 'Four Musicians' (Cayco [4]). At the climax the cat scratches the man raska-r usha-yku-n, the dog bites him amu-ku-rku-n, the donkey kicks him hayta-yku-n, and the

138

rooster crows *kakarakoo ni-ykU-mu-n.* Note that all but one of these has *-ykU.* When the man reports what happened to him, he exaggerates the incidents: an iron fisted man scratched *aspi-ri+yku-sha,* a man with a knife cut me *kuchu-ri+ykU-ma-sha,* a man with two wooden legs kicked me *hayta-ykU-ma-sha,* a judge was yelling *qaya-rI+ykU-mu-n.* Note that in all but one case, he uses *-rI+ykU,* which serves to enhance the suddenness, swiftness, deftness and/or forcefulness with which these things were done.

9.5.4. Iterative

ITERATIVE aspect indicates action occurring in repeated parts; a flag's flapping in the wind would be iterative on the conception of it as recurring instances of the event "flap". In HgQ, iterative aspect is often expressed with reduplication: see section 15.3. This section deals with three pre-transition suffixes which indicate iterativity: *-ykacha:, -kacha:* and simply *-cha:.*

-ykacha: and *-kacha:* both mean roughly 'back and forth'. Although they are very close in meaning, there are minimal pairs in which they contrast; e.g.:

> *kuyu-ykacha:-* 'to move back and forth from one place to another'
> *kuyu-kacha:-* 'to rock or sway back and forth in one place'

In some cases one has been judged grammatical where the other is not; e.g.:

```
a.  Kuyu-ykacha:-chi-shun.                                          544
    move-iter-caus-12IMP

b.  *Kuyu-kacha:-chi-shun.

a.  'Let's make it move (back and forth).'

a.  *Picha-ykacha-n.                                                545

b.  Picha-kacha-n.
    sweep-iter-3

b.  'He sweeps it, a little here a little there.'
```

In other cases there seems to be no contrast; e.g.:

> *tamya-(y)kacha:-* 'to drizzle' (cf. *tamya-* 'to rain')
> *qapara-(y)kacha-* 'to yell (repeatedly)' (cf. *qapara-*) 'yell'

The following three examples illustrate *-ykacha:* 'iter':

```
Chay-pita paka-ykacha-y+lla+pa qeshpi-ku-rqa-:.                     546
that-ABL  hide-iter-adv        escape-refl-past-1

'After that I escaped, hiding here and there.'

Wiya-ykacha-yka-nki imay oora chaya-mu-sha-:-ta-pis.               547
hear-iter-impfv-2   when time arrive-afar-sub-1P-OBJ-indef

'You will be listening for when I arrive.'

Chay-chaw laata-ykacha-yka-nki sapo noqa puri-ku-sha-:   oora...   548
that-LOC  crawl-iter-impfv-2   frog I    walk-refl-sub-1 time

'You are crawling about there, frog, when I am taking my walk...'
```

The following examples illustrate *-kacha:* 'iter':

nana-kacha-n
> 'it hurts at short intervals' (cf. *nana:-* 'to hurt')

koorri-kacha:-chi-

'to make to run around' (e.g. as a coach would make one run around a track) (cf. *koorri-* 'run')

puri-kacha- 'to wander about aimlessly' (cf. *puri-* 'travel. walk'): e.g.:

```
a. Chawras tapu-n-shi wachwa                                    549
   then    ask-3-IND  goose

b. "...Imanir-taq mana puri-kacha-nki qam?"
      why-??      not  travel-iter-2 you

c. "Noqa puri-kacha-: mikuy-ni:-ta ashi-r" atoq ni-n.
    I    travel-iter-1 food-1P-OBJ seek-adv fox  say-3

a. Then the goose asks,
b. "...Why don't you go away (i.e., wander off)?"
c. "I am going about (here and there) seeking my food"
   says the fox.
```

qati-kacha:-

'to chase about': e.g.:

```
Mishi qati-kacha-yka-sha      ukush-ta.                        550
cat   chase-iter-impfv-3perf mouse-OBJ
```

'The cat was chasing the mouse about.'

-cha: 'repeatedly' indicates iterativity: it is very rare as an isolated suffix, having become co-lexicalized in several other suffixes:[138] e.g.. *ñipchi-cha:-* 'blink' (cf. *ñipchi-* 'close the eye (slowly)').

9.5.5. *-kaakU* 'complete(ly)'

-kaakU 'complete(ly)' occurs with process verbs to indicate that the process was complete. *-ka:kU* both foreshortens and undergoes morphophonemic lowering: e.g.. [pukayaka:kaché:] /puka-ya:-ka:kU-chi-:/ 'I cause it to become completely red'.

From a strictly distributional perspective it could be considered *-ka:* 'passive' followed by *-kU* 'reflexive'.[139] Indeed, in some cases [-ka:kU] is really two suffixes (/-ka:-kU/): e.g.:

```
...kondor-pa puyñu-man kama-ka:-ku-n                           551
   condor-GEN jug-GOAL  arrange-pass-refl-3
```

'...he (the frog) puts himself into the condor's jug.'

And in some cases there is both a meaning of 'passive' and 'complete': e.g.. in 552 the subject is *shimin hirashan* 'sewed mouth', but this is the logical object of *rachi-* 'to rip'. Nevertheless, the meaning of completeness is also present.

```
Chawra-qa shimi-n hira-sha-n rachi-kaaku-n.                    552
so-TOP    mouth-3P sew-sub-3P rip-compl-3
```

'So his sewed up mouth rips completely open.'
(i.e. it is not just a simple tear)

In this work *-kaakU* is treated as a single suffix because its meaning is unrelated (except perhaps

---

[138]*-cha:* is probably derived from *-yta:-* as reported in Sayk [32], section 5.3, page 72.

[139]I do not know how dialectically limited *-kaakU* 'compl' is. It has not been reported outside of my work on HgQ. This may be due to the tendency in Quechua studies to "over-segment" coupled with the fact that *-ka:kU* is rather transparently derived from *-ka:-kU*. and thus it is always considered to be two suffixes.

140

historically) to -ka: 'passive' and -kU 'reflexive'. Examples follow:

chaki-kaaku-sha

> 'It completely dried out' (cf chaki- 'to dry').

chawa-kaaku-ra-n

> 'It came to full completion.' or 'It completely stopped.' (cf. chawa- 'to come to completion (e.g. in being cooked)').

chukru-ya-kaaku-n

> 'It becomes completely hard' (cf. chukru 'hard').

huk-niraq-ya-kaaku-sha

> 'His countenance fell (completely?)' (cf. huk-niraq-ya:- 'to become as another' is an idiom for 'become unhappy, disturbed,...')

pawka-kaaku-n

> 'He comes completely to' (cf. pawka- 'to struggle to one's senses (from being drunk or in a deep sleep)').

pashta-kaakU-

> 'to burst into bits' (cf. pashta- 'to burst').

shullay-ya:-kaakU- 'to become completely wet with dew'. e.g.:

<div style="margin-left:3em;">

```
Tamya-ri-pti-n     shullay-ya-kaaku-sha.                    553
rain-pnct-adv-3P   dew-become-compl-3PERF

'When it rained briefly, everything became covered with
drops of water.'
```

</div>

qeshya-kaakU-

> 'to become very sick' (i.e., more than a cold) (cf qeshya- 'be sick'),

wañu-ka:kU-

> 'to die' (cf wañu- 'to die, to become unconscious').

wara-kaaku-sha

> 'It has completely dawned (i.e., it is now day)' (cf wara:- 'to dawn').

In some cases -kaakU seems to indicate the high intensity or degree to which the action expressed by the verb is carried out: e.g.:

> mancha-kaakU- (be:afraid-compl) means 'to be extremely afraid' (cf. mancha- 'to fear, to be surprised....') as in the following:

<div style="margin-left:3em;">

```
Chawra-qa   liyun-qa  mancha-ri-kaaku-n-shi  "kapas          554
Then-TOP    lion-TOP  fear-inc-compl-3-IND    surely

wañu-yku-chi-ma-shun"      nishpa-n.
die-dir-cause-1obj-12FUT   say-adv-3

'Then the lion was really frightened saying "Surely he will
kill us (incl.)"'
```

</div>

puñu-kaakU- (sleep-compl) 'go sound asleep'[140] (cf. puñu- 'sleep')

---

[140]However, in some cases, puñu-kaakU- means 'to doze off'.

9.5.6. Aspect in Adverbial Clauses

Aspect markers used in temporal adverbial clauses may indicate the time of the adverbial clause relative relative to the time of the superordinate clauses. The following notation will be used to discuss this:

- T(adv) 'the time over which the event/situation conveyed by the adverbial clause obtains'
- T(main) 'the time over which the event/situation conveyed by the superordinate clause obtains'[141]

-ra-yka: (-stat-impfv) in the verb of the adverbial clause indicates that T(main) is coextensive with or included within T(adv). E.g., in 555 the singing and the going are coextensive:

```
Aywa-n kanta-ra-yka-r.                                                 555
go-3   sing-stat-impfv-adv

'He goes along singing.'
```

If *-yku* 'impact' or *-rku* 'up' occurs in the subordinate adverbial clause, then the favored reading is that T(adv) preceded T(main). E.g.. the following contrasts *-yku* and *-yka:* following the verb *qapara-* 'to yell':

```
a. Qapara-yku-r    wañu-sha.                                           556
   yell-impact-adv die-3PERF

b. Qapara-yka-r    wañu-sha.
   yell-impfv-adv  die-3PERF

a. 'He yelled and thereupon he died.'
b. 'He died yelling.'
```

Further consider the following minimal pair (from Weber 1976:22):

```
a. Miku-rku-r aywa-ku-:.                                               557
   eat-up-adv go-refl-1

b. Miku-ra-yka-r      aywa-ku-:.
   eat-stat-impfv-adv go-refl-1

a. 'Having eaten (immediately thereupon) I go.'
b. 'I eat as I go/while I am going.'
```

If *-rI+ykU* 'sudden' occurs in the adverbial clause it suggests that the T(adv) and T(main) were the same instant; e.g.:

```
Kuchu-ku-ri+ykU-r qapara-sha.                                         558
cut-refl-sud-adv  yell-3PERF

'Right when he cut himself, he yelled.'

Pay aru-y-ta      usha-ri+ykU-pti-n noqa aru-y-ta                      559
he  work-inf-OBJ  finish-sud-adv-3P I    work-inf-OBJ

qalla-yku-shka-:.
begin-impact-perf-1

'Right when he finished working, I began to work (at
the same moment).'
```

---

[141]In most cases this is simply the main clause.

9.6. Transitivizing Pre-Transition Suffixes

The suffixes discussed in this section (principally -pa: 'ben', -:shi 'accompany', -chi 'causative') imply the involvement of one more participant than would otherwise be the case for the root/stem to which they are suffixed. For example. wañu- 'die' involves one participant, namely the one who dies: wañu-chi- (die-caus-) 'kill' involves two participants, the one who dies and whatever causes this: wañu-chi-pa:- (die-caus-ben-) 'cause to die for the benefit/detriment of' involves yet another participant, the one for whose benefit or detriment the object was killed.

The morphological reflection of this property is that these suffixes make the root/stem to which they are suffixed transitive, thereby allowing an overt object marker to follow. For example. wañu- 'die' is an intransitive verb (and thus cannot bear an object marker: *wañu-ma:-) but wañu-chi- 'kill' is a transitive verb and can be followed by an object marker: wañu-chi-ma:- 'kill me'.

Only one object marker (-ma: or shu) may occur in a word.[142] When multiple participants are objects, which is morphologically indicated in the verb? For example, in 'He makes you work for me'. would the object marker be first or second person. (to reflect the person of the benefactor or of the causative subject (respecively)? The rule of thumb is this: the object marker reflects the person of the participant brought by the nearest transitivizing morpheme in the word. In aru-chi-pa:-OBJ- (work-caus-ben-OBJ-) 'cause to work for' nearest transitivizing suffix to the object slot is -pa: 'benefactive'. so the object reflects the person of the participant benefited: aru-chi-pa:-ma-n 'He makes you work for me'. To make explicit that he makes 'you' work (rather than someone else) would require an overt object phrase:

```
Qam-ta   aru-chi-pa:-ma-n.                                         560
you-OBJ  work-caus-ben-=>1-3

'He makes you work for me.'
```

9.6.1. -:shi 'accompaniment'

-:shi (which will be glossed 'accom') means 'to help or accompany in doing' whatever is indicated by the verb to which it is suffixed: e.g.. in example 561 puklla-:shi- means 'to accompany in play':

```
Puklla-:shi-ma-y.                                                 561
play-accom-=>1-2IMP

'Play on my team!' (lit. 'Accompany me in playing!')
```

The combination qo-:shi- 'give-accom-' is an idiom meaning 'to help'; it does not mean the literal 'accompany in giving'.

```
Qo-:shi-rku-y         tayta!                                      562
give-accom-asp-2IMP sir

'Please help him, sir.' or 'Give him a hand here, sir.'
```

---

[142]This is because the structure of the transition only allows one object marker.

143

```
a. Aru-:shi-chi-shu-nki.                                        563
   work-accom-caus-=>2-2

b. Aru-chi-:shi-shu-nki.
   work-caus-accom-=>2-2

a. 'He makes you help (someone else) work.'
b. 'By making another work for you he accompanies you in working.'
```

(563 could be used to explain that he fulfills his obligation to contribute work to you by paying another to do it.)

```
Pampa-:shi-ykU-ma-y           awkin!                            564
bury-accom-impact-=>1-2IMP old:man

'Please help me bury him, old man!'

...karqu  yayku-q-ta       ashi-:shi-naku-na-n-paq.             565
   office enter-sub-OBJ    seek-accom-recip-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to jointly seek someone to enter the office.'
(i.e., accompanying each other in seeking)

...warmi ashi-q aywa-:shiv-na-n-paq.                            566
   woman seek-sub go-accom-sub-3P-PUR

'...to accompany him in seeking the woman'
(i.e. seeking her hand in marriage)
```

9.6.2. Benefactive

9.6.2.1. -*pa:* 'benefactive'

-*pa:* means roughly 'for the benefit or detriment of. affected' and will be glossed simply 'ben'. The following are some of its characteristics:

1. -*pa:* is a pre-transition suffix. It tends to rightward within the pre-transition zone, but some other pre-transition suffixes may follow. among them -*rl.* -:*rl.* -*mu* and the directionals (-*ykU*, -*rkU*, etc.)

2. -*pa:* foreshortens; e.g., from *achikya:-* 'to shine. illuminate' one gets /achikyapa:may/ not */achikya:pa:may/ 'illuminate it for me': from *melana:-* 'to disgust' one gets /melanapa:man/ 'It disgusts him (to my detriment)[143].'

3. -*pa:* causes morphophonemic lowering: e.g.. /qarqU-pa:-ma-y/ [gargapá:may] 'expel it for me'.

4. The result of suffixing -*pa:* is always a transitive verb stem: perforce another referent. a "benefactee." is involved. For example. *michi-* 'to pasture' but *michi-pa:-* 'to pasture the animals of another'; *shuya:-ma-y* 'wait for me' but *shuya-pa:-ma-y* 'wait for him on my behalf'.

5. The object of the benefactive may be expressed with a noun phrase bearing either -*ta* 'OBJ' or -*paq* 'PUR'. In either case, there may be another object expressing the object of the verb. For example:

```
a. Pay-ta  ⎫                                                    567
   he-OBJ  ⎬
           ⎬  aru-pa-yka-:        karretera-ta.
b. Pay-paq ⎬  work-ben-impfv-1    road-OBJ
   he-PUR  ⎭

'I am working for him.
```

---

[143]E.g.. if I want to feed him something but it disgusts him.

144

6. The person benefited must either be highly topical or known in the discourse context (he is often a principle participant in the discourse) or must be expressed by an overt noun phrase. This is in contrast to -pa 'ben' for which the object of benefit may be low in topicality or unexpressed.

Some sentences explicate how the benefactee is benefited; this is usually done with a purpose clause. For example, example 1326 says that a cord is tied (wata-pa-n tie-ben-3) to the deceased, for his benefit: the sentence then goes on to explain that this is so he may fend off any dogs which might attempt to bite him. As in examples this example and 568 and 569 below, if a verb with -pa: 'ben' is followed by a purpose clause, then with overwhelming frequency the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential to the object of benefactive.

```
...alista-pa-n  ... qaruti-ta-shi chay-wan pilya-na-n-paq...              568
   prepare-ben-3   rod-OBJ-IND   that-COM fight-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...he_i prepares for him_j... rods so that he_j can fight him_k...'

```
Mana regi-ma-pti-ki      yupa-pa:-shayki   regi-na-yki-paq.             569
not  believe-=>1-adv-2°  count-ben-1=>2FUT believe-sub-2P-PUR
```

'If you don't believe me. I'll count them out for you
so that you will believe.'

The following examples illustrate -pa: where the meaning is 'to the benefit of':

```
Punku-ta wichqa-pa-rkU-ma-nki.                                          570
door-OBJ close-ben-up-=>1-2
```

'Close up the door for me.' (said by someone who could not
close the door for himself because he was carrying something)

```
...paka-y+lla+pa puri-pa:-naku-n.                                       571
   hide-adv      travel-ben-recip-3
```

'...they get together on the sly.'
(i.e., they travel to each other's benefit hidingly)

```
Chawra-qa chay yayku-q-ta      yupa-pa-n   eskirbaanu...                572
so-TOP    that enter-sub-OBJ count-ben-3 scrivener
```

'So the scrivener counts them for that (person) who is
entering (the office)...'

The following examples illustrate -pa: where the meaning is 'to the detriment of' the object:

```
Juan ollqo:-pa-q       Pablu-ta.                                       573
John become:angry-ben-NRP Paul-OBJ
```

'John became angry with Paul.'

```
...qeshpi-pa-yku-n     hatun oosu-ta.                                  574
   escape-ben-impact-3 big   bear-OBJ
```

'...they escape from the big bear (who had been keeping them
prisoner in a cave).'

```
...kampaneero suncha-pa wawa-n-man     yayka-pa-yku-n.                 575
             wasp-GEN  child-3P-GOAL enter-ben-impact-3
```

'...he went (disruptively) into (the place of) the children
of the *campanero* wasp.'

```
Manachaaqa aycha-nchii-ta usha-pa:-ma:-shun.                          576
otherwise  meat-12P-OBJ   finish-ben-=>1-12
```

'Otherwise he will finish our meat up on us.'

145

```
"Tiya-:-ta     wañu-chi-pa-ykU-ma-nki"    ni-r    chari-sha.                577
 aunt-1P-OBJ  die-caus-ben-impact-=>1-2 say-adv grab-3PERF
```

'Saying "You killed my aunt (to my detriment)" he grabbed
him.'

-pa: changes *llulla-* 'to lie' into *llulla-pa:-* 'to deceive', e.g.:

```
Chay mana musya-q-kuna-ta    llulla-pa-nki.                                 578
that not   know-sub-plur-OBJ lie-ben-2
```

'You deceive those who do not know.'

Of over 100 occurrences of the verb *chaya-* 'arrive' only two occurred with *-pa:* 'ben'; in both cases
the the subject is a protagonist who arrives with the intention of outdoing the main character:

```
Ni-yka-pti-lla-n          chaya-pa-yku-n       leetu-q-nin      kondor.     579
say-impfv-adv-just-3P arrive-ben-impact-3 litigate-sub-3 condor
```

'Just as he is saying that, the condor who is litigating
(with him) arrives.'

```
Ni-yka-pti-n-shi          chaya-pa-rku-n ukumarya.                          580
say-impfv-adv-3P-IND arrive-ben-up-3 bear
```

'As he is saying (doing) that, there arrives a bear.'

The following bit of text describes how various fathers may abuse a delegation which comes to ask for
his daughter's hand in marriage. Note the recurrence of *-pa:* 'ben' clearly indicating that the actions
were to the detriment of of the delegation:

```
Although they enter like that, some men are bad.    They  do not speak   581
(parla-pa-n-chu speak-ben-3-NEG) for  good.  Seating them by the door, having gone
inside,  they do not come out  (lloqshi-paa-mu-n-chu  leave-ben-afar-3-NEG).  Some
men escape  (qeshpi-pa-yku-n escape-ben-impact-3) to some other  place.  _
```

In some cases *-pa:* adds the idea that some action was done intentionally rather than
accidentally; e.g., in a text about a trickster who convinces a man that donkey skin can tell vital
information, the trickster taps it with his foot. The verb is *toopa-pa-sha* (tap-ben-3PERF). Without
-pa: this might have been taken to mean that he bumped it (accidentally).

A related case: *-pa:* sometimes adds that something should be done with care; e.g. in describing
the weaving of a poncho.

```
awha-wan    mashta-nchi maytu tinku-chi-pa-y+lla+pa                         582
needle-COM spread-12    very  meet-cause-ben-adv
```

'We spread it with a needle very evenly.' (i.e., the
warp threads are very evenly laid out on the loom)

```
Mishki-chi-pa-y+lla+pa miku-y!                                             583
eat-cause-ben-adv       eat-2IMP
```

'Eat savoring the flavor of it.'

```
...moqo-y-ta          qalla-yku-nchi ... kuchillu-wan kuchu-pa-y+lla+pa.   584
  disjoint-inf-OBJ begin-impact-12    knife-COM    cut-ben-adv
```

'...we begin to separate the joints...carefully cutting with a knife.'

A final observation: Some verbal roots seem to be neither transitive nor intransitive, but
depend on a following suffix--either *-pa:* 'ben' or *-kU* 'refl'--to dictate transitivity. For example, *hati-*
'to put (clothing) on' is intransitive with *-kU* (i.e., *hati-kU-* 'to dress one's self') but transitive when
followed by *-pa:* (i.e., *hati-pa:-* 'to dress (another person)').

146

9.6.2.2. -pU 'benefactive'

HgQ speakers readily recognize -pU 'benefactive', but rarely use it. -pU 'benefactive' seems to be completely synonymous with -pa: 'benefactive'. i.e. it means 'to the benefit or detriment of.[144]

Evidence seems to indicate that -pU may either foreshorten or not.[145] For example, the root shuya:- has length. as shown in 585a and 585b, yet this length is not obligatorily foreshortened by -pU as shown in 585c and 585d:

```
a.  Shuya:-ma-y.   (wait-=>1-2IMP)                              585
b.  *Shuya-ma-y.   (wait-=>1-2IMP)
c.  Shuya:-pu-n.   (wait-ben-3)
d.  Shuya-pu-n.    (wait-ben-3)

a.  'Wait for me!'
c,d. 'He waits for him (for someone else's benefit)'
```

It seems that -pu and -pa are unconditioned variants (with perhaps the restriction that -pu does not occur before a suffix which cases morpho-phonemic lowering).

```
a.  Kuya-pu-shayki.                                            586
    love-ben-1=>2FUT

b.  Kuya-pa:-shayki.
    love-ben-1=>2FUT

a.  'For you, I will love it.'
b.  'I will feel compassion for you.'

a.  Qo-yku-pu-shu-nki.   (give-impact-ben-=>2-2)               587
b.  Qo-yka-pu-shu-nki.   (give-impfv-ben-=>2-2)
c.  *Qo-yka-pa:-shu-nki. (give-impfv-ben-=>2-2)
d.  *Qo-yku-pa:-shu-nki. (give-impact-ben-=>2-2)

a,b. 'For you, I will give it to him.'
```

-pU 'benefactive' occurs with ka- 'be': e.g.. kapoqyoq 'a rich person. one who has much'. Other examples:

```
Qam-pa   ka-pu-shu-nki-chu?                                    588
you-GEN  be-ben-=>2-2-YN?

'Do you have one?'
(lit. 'Does yours exist to your benefit?')

Y    mayu-man     hita-pu-shu-na-yki     ka-yka-pti-n-qa...    589
and  river-GOAL   throw-ben-=>2-sub-2P   be-impfv-adv-3P-TOP

'and when he is about to throw you (to your detriment)
into the river...'

a.  rura-pa-shayki    (do-ben-1=>2FUT)                        590
b.  rura-pu-shayki    (do-ben-1=>2FUT)
c.  rura-pa:-shayki   (do-ben-1=>2FUT)

a. and b. 'I will do it for you.' (right away)
c. 'I will do it for you' (sometime, perhaps tomorrow)
```

---

[144]In particular. I have not found in HgQ subtle contrasts between -pa: and -pU like those reported by Parker [28]. page 52.

[145]"Foreshortening" is discussed in section 23.8.13.1.

147

9.6.2.3. *-pa* 'benefactive'

The suffix *-pa* 'ben' is very much like *-pa:* 'ben' in form, meaning and distribution. (Indeed, there are contexts where it is impossible to tell which occurs.) It differs in form in that it does not have an underlying long vowel. It is similar in morphophonemic properties in that it causes foreshortening and morphophonemic lowering. It differs in distribution in occurring much earlier in the pre-transition zone than *-pa:*; to see this consider examples 591 and 592. In 591 either *-pa* or *-pa:* may occur; in 592 only *-pa:* may occur because the presence of other pre-transition suffixes has pushed the benefactive rightward beyond where *-pa* is allowed:

```
a. allcha-pa-shayki   (fix-ben-1=>2FUT)                           591
b. allcha-pa:-shayki  (fix-ben-1=>2FUT)
```

```
'I will fix it for you.'
```

```
a.  allcha-ka:-chi-pa:-ma-y                                       592
    fix-pass-caus-ben-=>1-2IMP
```

```
b. *allcha-ka:-chi-pa-ma-y
   fix-pass-caus-ben-=>1-2IMP
```

```
'Cure him for me.'
```

There is a significant discourse-pragmatic difference between *-pa* and *-pa:*. With *-pa:*, the person benefited is either stated as an overt noun phrase[146] or it is highly topical/thematic in the discourse. (Usually it is one of the principle participants.) But *-pa* is often used when the person benefited is not highly topical. It need not be mentioned. In fact it might not be known, or it might be for the "general good."

In many case the addition of *pa* indicates some the 'institutional' carrying out of some action: in a sense this changes some *action* into an *activity*. For example, the following refer not simply to the action of e.g. weeding but to the activity of weeding:

achu-pa-   'to weed' from *achu-* 'to pull up'.

kuti-pa-   'to do the second corn cultivation' from *kuti-* 'to return',

tira-pa-   'to cultivate' from *tira-* 'to throw'.

And the following (drawn from a description of burial) refer not simply to an action of e.g. lighting a candle, but to lighting a candle in honor of the deceased, and as part of the sequence of activities that must be carried out in a proper burial:

achki-pa-   'to light, illuminate' from *achki* 'light'.

birsu-pa-   'to sing' from *birsu* 'religious verse',

kanta-pa-   'to chant (for deceased)' from *kanta-* 'to sing': e.g.:

```
Chay tapay-chaw huk kantur kanta-pa-n warayllata.           593
that wake-LOC    one cantor sing-ben-3 all:night
```

```
'At that wake a cantor sings all night.'
```

sindi-pa-   'to light a candle (in honor of someone)' from *sindi-* 'to light', and

tuka-pa-   'to play music (as part of ceremony)' from *tuka-* 'to play music'.

Other examples of *-pa:*\

chari-pa-   'to rape' from *chari-* 'to grab'.

huti-n-ta chura-pa-

---

[146]This may have either *-ta* 'OBJ' or *-paq* 'PUR' as the case marker.

	'to name' from *chura-* 'to put' and *huti* 'name'.
hita-pa-	'to cast blame on' from *to throw*.
muna-pa-	'to crave' from *muna-* 'to want',
puklla-pa-	'to tease' from *puklla-* 'to play',
qoya-pa-	'to stay much longer than appropriate' from *qoya:-* 'to pass time',
raki-pa-	'to distribute' from *raki-* 'to separate, divide'. and
wika-pa-	'to throw over (to its death)' e.g.:

```
Nirkur  taqay-ta  yaku-man    wika-pa-ri-yku-shaq.                     594
then    that-OBJ  water-GOAL  throw-bn-pnct-impact-1FUT
```

'Then I will throw that one into the water (that he die there).'

9.6.2.4. *-pa:ri* 'momentarily'

I suspect that the combination of *-pa:* 'ben' and *-ri* 'pnct' is becoming a single suffix *-pa:ri.* in which the benefactive meaning is considerably diminished (although. as a study of the examples below will show. still present). *-pa:ri* will be glossed 'moment'. Examples follow:

```
Tapu-pa:ri-n.                                                          595
ask-moment-3
```

'He enquires briefly.'

```
Miku-pa:ri-shaq.                                                       596
eat-moment-1FUT
```

'I will eat a little (and then be done).'

```
Chaki-pa:ri-chun.                                                      597
be:dry-moment-3IMP
```

'May it be really dry (so leave it a bit longer?)'

```
Hama-pa:ri-shun.                                                       598
sit/rest-moment-12IMP
```

'Let's rest a bit.'

```
Unchu-pa:ri-shun    pampa-lla-chaw-pis.                                599
squat-moment-12IMP  ground-just-LOC-indef
```

'Lets squat for a moment, even though it is just on the ground.'

```
Kiki-n   rika-pa:ri-sha-n-chaw regi-sha.                               600
self-3P  see-moment-sub-3P-LOC  know-3PERF
```

'When he himself looked intently at him, he recognized him.'

(It seems that in example 600 *rika-pa:ri-* means roughly 'to focus one's vision intently on'.)

9.6.3. *-chi* 'causative'

For a verb φ which means Φ, the meaning of *φ-chi-* (Φ-caus-) is CAUSE(Φ) or ALLOW(Φ). Many cases of *-chi* meaning 'cause' are seen below. The following illustrate the meaning 'allow':

```
Puklla-chi-ma-y.                                                       601
play-caus-=>1-2IMP
```

'Let me play.' (e.g. on your team, in your game)

```
Mana pi-ta-pis      yayku-chi-n-chu.                                      602
not  who-OBJ-indef  enter-caus-3-NEG
```

'He doesn't let anyone enter.'

```
...ima-paq-na-taq  kawa-chi-shun-pis...                                   603
   what-PUR-now-??  live-caus-12FUT-indef
```

'...why do we allow it to continue living...'

-*chi* 'caus' tends to occur far to the right in the pre-transition zone.[147] Sometimes preceding aspect suffixes refer to the temporal nature of causation (and sometimes to that of the caused event). For example, in *wañu-rI+ykU-chi-n* (die-sud-caus-3) the aspect suffix(es), indicating suddenness or forcefulness, refer not to the caused event--dying--but to the causation--the act of killing.

9.6.3.1. Grammatical relations and causatives

When causativized, the subject of an intransitive verb becomes an object: e.g., in 604a *noqa* 'I' is the subject whereas in 604b it is the object:

```
a. Noqa      puñu-:.                                                      604
   I         sleep-1

b. Noqa-ta   puñu-chi-ma-n.
   I-OBJ     sleep-caus-=>1-3
```

```
a. 'I sleep'
b. 'It makes me sleep.'
```

In 605, the members of the community are the notional subject of *qachwa-* 'dance', but *kumun-kuna* 'members of the community' is the object of *qachwa-chi-*:

```
Orkista-pis quya-n      kumun-kuna-ta          qachwa-chi-r.    ...      _   605
band-indef  pass:day-3  community-plur-OBJ     dance-caus-adv
```

'The band passes the day making the members of the community dance.'

When a causativized intransitive verb is an infinitive object, its object may (and sometimes must) become the object of the superordinate verb. For example, in 606 the (logical) subject of sleep is 'you': this becomes the object of causative, but because -*chi-shu-y-niki-* is uncomfortable[148] the object is marked in the superordinate clause:

```
Puñu-chi-y-ta          muna-shu-nki.                                     606
sleep-caus-inf-OBJ     want-=>2-2
```

'He wants to make you sleep.'

Example 607 (which strikes me as highly curious but which my language consultant insists is correct) literally says 'Want to make him sleep' but actually means 'Make him want to sleep':

```
Puñu-chi-y-ta          muna-y.                                           607
sleep-caus-inf-OBJ     want-2IMP
```

'Make him want to sleep.'

---

[147]-*mu* 'afar' and -*pa:* 'ben' follow -*chi* 'caus': -*chi* is not strictly ordered with respect to e.g. -*ykU*: in *wañu-chi-pa-ykU-ma-nki* 'you killed it to my benefit/detriment' -*chi* precedes -*ykU*: in the example given in the text -*chi* follows -*ykU*. See 7.2.

[148]In HgQ, possessive suffixes do not occur on infinitive complements.

150

When transitive verbs are causativized the situation is quite different: the subject of the causativized verb is indicated (optionally) by a substantive phrase bearing the comitative case marker -wan 'COM' and is not indicated morphologically in the verb. The object of the verb being causativized is marked as the object of the causative: e.g., in both 608a and b, the overt object phrase is noqa-ta 'I-OBJ' and the object marking suffix is -ma: '=>1':

```
a. Qam noqa-ta maqa-ma-n.                                        608
   you I-OBJ  hit-=>1-3

b. Pay gam-wan noqa-ta maqa-chi-ma-n.
   he  you-COM I-OBJ   hit-caus-=>1-3

a. 'You hit me.'
b. 'He made you hit me.'
```

(Even if there is another substantive whose case marker is -wan 'COM', the subject of a transitive is marked with -wan: see 614 below.) Examples of causativized transitives follow:

```
Kawallu-wan haru-chi-nchi triigu-ta ñuchu-na-n-yaq.            609
horse-COM   step-caus-12  wheat-OBJ come:loose-sub-3P-PUR

Nirkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.
then   wind-COM  take-caus-12 straw-3P-OBJ

(describing threshing) 'First we make the horses step on
it until the wheat comes loose. Then we make the wind carry
off the straw.'

Chay minisru-n-kuna-wan    tuka-chi-n  kabildu-chaw warayllata...    610
that minister-3P-plur-COM  play-caus-3 chapel-LOC   all:night

'He makes his ministers play (music) all night in the chapel...'

...apa-chi-sha        chay chiinu-wan  chiicha-ta.                   611
   take-caus-3PERF    that chinaman-COM chicha-OBJ

'...he had the chinaman take the chicha (to her).'

...mayurdoomu willa-chi-n  sirbinti-n-wan iskirbaanu-ta...           612
   majordomo  tell-caus-3  servant-3P-COM scribe-OBJ

'...the majordomo has his servant tell the scribe...'
```

There are exceptions to the rule that the subject of a causativized intransitive verb is marked as the object. "Phenomenological" verbs. i.e. verbs like tamya- 'to rain' and qasa:- 'to be cold' (in an ambient sense) are intransitive, but when causativized, the object is the person/object suffering the effect: e.g. speaking of the wind, one can say qasa:-chi-ma-nchi (be:cold-caus-=>1-12) 'it makes us cold'.[149] There are also exceptions to the rule that one marks the object, rather than the subject, of causativized transitives. In 613 the subject of expel is we(incl) and it becomes the object of the causativized verb:[150]

```
Hita+ri-chi-ma-nchi kuru-ta  pacha-nchi:-pita.                      613
expel-caus-=>1-12   worm-OBJ stomach-12P-ABL

'It causes us to expel the worms from our stomachs.'
(speaking of a medicinal plant)
```

---

[149]Transitive phenomenological verbs are not exceptional since the object will be marked whether or not it is causativized. ushma- 'to wet' requires something wet as the subject. Speaking of rain. one can say ushma-shu-nki (wet-=>2-2) 'it will make you wet'. Speaking of a person (who. say. is about to throw water at you) one would say ushma-chi-shu-nki (wet-caus-=>2-2FUT) 'he is going to make you wet'.

[150]Perhaps this is so in example 613 because we don't really act upon the worms.

9.6.3.2. Double causative

Double causatives are rare but possible: e.g.:[151]

```
Kuru-ta    wañu-chi-chi-sha    Juan-wan macheeti-n-wan.          614
snake-OBJ  die-caus-caus-3PERF John-COM machete-3P-COM
```

'He made John kill the snake with his machete.'

(But see the examples of section 9.6.4 below. where it seems a double causative is avoided.)

9.6.3.3. Idiomatic uses of -chi 'causative'

Quechua has a relatively small number of roots. these being multiplied by pre-transition suffixes such as -chi which modify the total meaning.[152] In some cases the meaning is a straight-forward product of the root/stem and the suffix: in others it is not. The meaning of some causativized verbs is not a simple product of -chi 'causative' and the root/stem which it follows. In the following. the meaning of the causative is not simply CAUSE(Φ) or ALLOW(Φ) (where Φ is the meaning of verb/stem):

ka-chi- (be-caus-) 'to have'. e.g.::[153]

```
Mana papa-ta    ka-chi-:-na-chu.                                 615
not  potato-OBJ be-caus-1-now-NEG
```

'I don't have any potatoes now.'

mishki-chi-pa:- (sweet-caus-ben-) 'to savor'

noochi-chi- 'pass the night (in vigil, particularly in a particular fiesta)' from noochi 'night'

penqa-ka:-chi-

'to shine in one's eye'. e.g.:[154]

```
Ñawi-:-ta    penqa-ka:-chi-n.                                    616
eye-1P-OBJ   be:ashamed-pass-caus-3
```

'It shines in my eye.'

---

[151]The following is not a double causative. but simply the repetition of -chi 'caus' in an infinitive and the verb to which it is subordinate:

```
Rika-ykU-chi-pti-n    allpa-ta    uchku-chi-y-ta
see-impact-caus-adv-3 ground-OBJ  dig-caus-inf-OBJ

qalla-ykU-chi-n.
begin-impact-caus-3
```

'When he shows it (the plot) to them, they have them begin to dig (the grave).'

[152]For example, the following are a few cases in which -chi and some root/stem do duty for what in English is a single lexical item: align qaqa-chi-. awaken rikcha-chi-. boil (tr) timpu-chi-. charge paaga-chi-. compare tinku-chi-. convince (k)rigi-chi-. diminish wallka-yka:-chi-. dry (tr) chaki-chi-. extinguish upi-chi-. frighten mancha-chi-. heal allcha-ka:-chi-. heat aka-chi-. insert ushtu-chi-. kill wañu-chi-. melt chullu-chi-. mix taku-chi-/tinku-chi-. moisten oomi-chi-. move (tr) kuyu-chi-. park kwadra-chi-. raise wiña-chi-/hata-rI-chi-. register anuta-chi-. remind yarpa:-chi-. remove witi-chi-. return (tr) kuti-chi-. seat hama-chi-. settle. arrange in place kama-ka:-chi-. show rika-chi-. take/send apa-chi-/chaya-chi-. tire uti-ka:-chi-. topple saqta-chi-. touch to toopa-chi-. wake rikcha-chi-

[153]ka-chi- 'cause to be' can also be used with complements. e.g., wamra-ynaq ka-chi- (child-without be-caus-) 'to cause to be childless'.

[154]mancha-chi- (be:frightened-caus-) can be used with roughly the same meaning as penqa-ka:-chi-.

152

pultoq-ya:-chi-
> 'to stir violently' (water so that it makes the sound "pultoq")

puri-chi- 'to take about (some inanimate object)' (from *puri-* 'walk, travel')

qeshpi-chi- (escape-caus-) 'to release' e.g. a tree which has too many young fruits releases them (self-pruning).

qoya:-chi- (pass:time-caus-) 'persist' e.g.:

```
Qoya:-chi-n        kapas   tamya.                        617
pass:time-caus-3 perhaps rain
```

'The rain will perhaps persist all day.'

rispita-chi- (respect-caus-) 'to acknowledge the authority of', e.g. shepherds who have been punished by the town official for not keeping the animals out of the crops must kiss his staff.

rura-chi- (do-caus-) 'to sponsor' e.g., *misa-n-ta rura-chi-* (mass-3P-OBJ do-caus-) 'to sponsor a mass in his honor'

taapa-chi- (cover-caus-) 'to keep vigil (at a wake)' (This probably originated as a reference to covering the casket but now refers to the whole custom of which that act is but a small part.)

tinku-chi- (encounter-caus-) has two meanings:
> 'to compare. to measure up to' e.g.:

```
Kay-man    tinku-chi-sha.                                618
this-GOAL encounter-cause-3PERF
```

'He measured it against (compared it to) this one.'

> 'to carry out some action alonga path up to some point' e.g.:

```
Tinku-chi-nchi ... X-man ... qasha-y+lla+pa.             619
meet-caus-12       X-GOAL    slash-adv
```

'We slash until the cut meets X.'

tuma-chi- (go:about-caus-) 'to parade' e.g.:

```
...santu-ta  tuma-chi-n       inteeru kalli-n-pa...      620
   saint-OBJ go:about-caus-3 all     street-3P-GEN
```

'...they parade the saint through all the streets...'

tushu-chi- (dance-caus-) 'to bounce (a child) on one's lap'

usha+chi- (finish+caus-) 'baptize' is probably no longer considered a causative, because of the considerable difference between 'cause to finish' and 'baptize'; *usha+chi-* might have originated from *ushma-chi-* (wet-caus-), which is the form in the neighboring dialect of Pachitea.

"weq weq" ni-chi-
> 'to stick a pig' (lit 'to make it squeal')

wiya-ra:-chi-
> 'to hold up. interrupt a process' (*wiya-ra:-* means roughly 'to desist from doing momentarily')

Some verbs are both intransitive and transitive, the transitive being understood as the causative of the intransitive. In these cases *-chi* may be optional: e.g., *qanra-* can be transitive: 'to soil, to make dirty' or intransitive: 'to be soiled/dirty'

153

```
Ama qanra-(chi)-y-chu.                                          621
not soil-caus-2IMP-NEG
```

'Don't make it dirty.'

9.6.4. -cha: 'make'

-cha: 'make' was probably long ago a fully productive causative marker, but it now shows very limited productivity. -cha: 'make' is roughly equivalent to 'cause to become': e.g.:

allcha-   'fix' from alli-cha:- (good-make-)

llanu-cha:- 'to make thin/fine (as when spinning)' from llanu 'thin (of long, cylindrical things)'.

llawchi-cha:-

'sharpen' from llawchi 'sharp (having a pointed end)' and -cha: 'make'.[155]

In most cases -cha:- is equivalent to -ya: followed by -chi; e.g.:

```
                    ( hatun-cha-pa:-ma-sha.                     622
                    { big-make-ben-=>1-3PERF
Chakra-:-ta         {
field-1P-OBJ        { hatun-ya:-chi-pa:-ma-sha.
                    ( big-bec-caus-ben-=>1-3PERF
```

'He enlarged my field for me.'

```
                    ( -ya-yka-chi-    )                         623
                    {   bec-impfv-caus }
Nina qushpu-        {                  } -n  aqcha-n-ta.
fire curly          { -cha-yka:-       } 3  hair-3P-OBJ
                    (   make-impfv     )
```

'The fire is making his hair curly.'

However. the following shows that -cha: and -ya:-...-chi- are not always interchangeable:[156]

```
        (*-ya-yka:-chi   )                                      624
        {  -bec-impfv-caus }
Ruyru-  {                  } -chi-:.
round   { -cha-yka:        } -caus-1
        (  -make-impfv     )
```

'I make him make it round.'

9.7. Reflexive and Reciprocals

The reflexive suffix -kU is discussed in section 9.7.1 and the reciprocal suffix -nakU in section 9.7.2.

9.7.1. Reflexives

In its strictly reflexive sense. -kU restricts the reference of the object relative to the subject: this use is discussed in section 9.7.1.1. -ku 'refl' has many extended uses with roughly the sense 'for the benefit of self': these are discussed in section 9.7.1.2.

---

[155] llawchi may in turn be derived from llaw-chi (ouch-caus).

[156] This probably reflects a preference to avoid a double causative.

9.7.1.1. Reference restricting uses of -*ku* 'refl'

In the truly reflexive use. -*kU* 'refl' indicates that the object and the subject are the same (refer to the same thing); e.g., in 625 the object and subject of 'kill' are the same person:[157]

```
(Kiki-n) wañu-chi-ku-ra-n.                                         625
 self-3p die-cause-refl-past-3

'He (himself) killed himself.'
```

In a text on bathing. bathing one's self is always expressed with -*kU* (*arma-ku-n* (bathe-refl-3) 'he bathes (himself)') while bathing a child never does (*arma-n* (bathe-3) 'he bathes (him)').

9.7.1.2. Extended uses of -*ku* 'refl'

-*ku* 'refl' occurs very frequently with a wide range of verbs with rather diffuse meaning. I have little to say about these cases: a good discussion is Swisshelm's appendix in Pantoja [25]. I will limit my comments to what I regard as the most widespread use of -*kU*, that to mean 'for the benefit/detriment of self.

To express 'for the benefit/detriment of x'. one generally uses -*pa:* 'ben' followed by an object marker to indicate the person of the beneficiary: see 626a-e:

```
a. -pa:-ma-...      (-ben-=>1...  ) 'for my/our(incl) benefit/detriment'    626
b. -pa:-shu-...     (-ben-=>2...  ) 'for your benefit/detriment'
c. -pa:-Ø...        (-ben-=>3...  ) 'for his benefit/detriment'
d. -pa:-nakU...     (-ben-recip...) 'for each other's benefit/detriment'
```

Note in particular that. as shown by 626d. it is possible to indicate mutual benefit by following -*pa:* 'ben' with -*nakU* 'reciprocal'. However. it is not possible to follow it with -*kU* 'reflexive' to indicate 'for one's own benefit'; see 627a.[158] Rather. one uses simply -*kU* 'refl':

```
a. *-pa:-kU...     (-ben-refl...  ) 'for one's own benefit/detriment'    627
b. -kU...          (-refl         ) 'for one's own benefit/detriment'
```

9.7.2. Reciprocal

-*nakU* 'recip' is a pre-transition suffix. It may occur in various orders with other pre-transition suffixes: see example 297 and the discussion with it. Four uses of the reciprocal will be discussed: (1) the truly reciprocal (reference restricting). (2) the reciprocal of distributed activity. (3) the reciprocal as a distributed reflexive. and (4) as a modifier of the meanings of certain verbs.

9.7.2.1. Each other

-*nakU* 'reciprocal' restricts the reference of the object in the following way: for every entity referred to by the subject, the relationship expressed by the predicate holds between that entity and every other entity referred to by the subject. This is clearest when the subject comprises just two entities. For example, in 628 the subject of *tapu-* 'ask' is understood as the fox and the frog:

---

[157]This is not due to having *kiki* 'self' as the object. since it is now more an emphatic than a reflexive pronoun.

[158]The sequence -*pa:* + *kU* is acceptable as a verbal pluralizer: see section 9.4.

155

```
"Ima-taq rura-nki?" tapu-naku-n.                                    628
 what-?? do-2         ask-recip-3
```

'They ask each other, "What are you doing?"'

In 628 -nakU' 'recip' indicates that the frog asks the fox what he is doing and the fox asks the frog what he is doing.

Other examples of simple reference-restricting reciprocals:

```
Y   ni-naku-n   "kanan musya-ka-nchi qam o  noqa..."              629
and say-recip-3 now   know-pass-12  you or me
```

'And they say to each other, "Now we will know (which
of us is the more powerful), you or me..."'

```
Chay-kuna ishka-n kuya-naku-n.                                     630
That-plur two-3P  love-recip-3
```

'The two of them love each other.'

```
...linda-ta   qechu-naku-r      leetu-naku-n.                      631
boundary-OBJ take:from-recip-3 litigate-recip-3
```

'...taking the boundary back and forth they battled
each other (in legal battles)'

```
...hama-rpa-yka-n    achka-q    mas mayur runa-kuna-wan ...        632
  sit-stat-impfv-3 many-human more senior man-plur-COM

kargu yayku-q-ta      ashi-:shi-naku-na-n-paq.
cargo enter-sub-OBJ seek-accom-recip-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...they sit with many of more respected men... in order
to accompany one another in seeking someone to enter the
office.'

The scope of -nakU 'recip' (i.e.. what it applies to) is sometimes more than a single root/stem. For example. in 628 the quote forms a constituent with the root tapu- 'ask': the reciprocal is added to this entire constituent:

```
["Ima-taq rura-nki?" tapu]-naku-                                   633
  what-?  do-2         ask-recip-
```

A similar case is discussed in section 14.3.3: see example 1329, 286.

When the subject of a reciprocal comprises more than two entities, it usually does not mean literally that each member did something to every other member. For example, 634 does not mean that every tooth hit every other one:

```
Kiru-n-pis      taka-naku-n.                                       634
teeth-3P-indef strike-recip-3
```

'His teeth clatter.' (lit. 'strike each other')

Three exceptional cases will be discussed: the activity is done in a distributed fashion by the group. the activity is done by each member to himself. or the members do some activity mutually, that activity being something slightly more/different than the simple activity suggested by the verb done one to the other.

9.7.2.2. Reciprocal of distributed mutual activity

In the following examples, the action indicated by the verb to which -nakU is suffixed is performed by some members of a group on other members of the group: that is, that activity is distributed among members of the group. and not necessarily performed by each member on all

156

others.

635
```
...kachi-ta chay-man    tinku-rI+ykU-chi-r qara-naku-n.
   salt-OBJ there-GOAL meet-asp-caus-adv  feed-recip-3
```

'...having mixed some salt into it, they pass the food around.'
(lit. 'they feed one another')

```
Chay-pita willa-naku-sha    sapo.                              636
that-ABL  tell-recip-3PERF frog
```

'After that the frogs told one another.'
(i.e., they spread the word among themselves)

```
Kiki-nchi pura-shi   miku-naku-shun-shi.                       637
self-12   among-IND eat-recip-12FUT-IND
```

'They say that we will eat one another.'
(jokingly said when there isn't much food)

9.7.2.3. Reciprocal as a distributed reflexive

In some cases the reciprocal is used of a group to suggest that each does something to himself:
e.g.:

```
...mayu-pita punta-yaq chura-naku-yku-n...                     638
   river-ABL peak-LIM  place-recip-impact-3
```

'...they place themselves from the river to the peak...'
(actually, each frog puts himself in a hole)

9.7.2.4. Extended meanings

The reciprocal combines with some verbs to mean something more/different than expected:
e.g.:

chari-nakU- (grab-recip) 'to take each other by the hand (e.g. to form a circle holding hands)'

```
...llapan chari-nakU-rkU-:rI-r    tumapa-n     inteeru          639
   all    grab-recip-asp-plur-adv go:around-3 entire

kantu-n-pa.
edge-3P-GEN
```

'...they all go around (the tree) hand in hand.'

llalli-nakU- (beat:in:competition-recip) 'to race'

```
Señor  Sapo, llalli-naku-shun punta-man.                       640
mister frog  beat-recip-12    peak-GOAL
```

'Mister Frog, let's race to the peak.'

rima-nakU- (speak-recip) 'to argue'

shunta-nakU- (gather-recip) 'to congregate'

ashi-nakU- (search-recip-) in example 641 refers to the formal procedure by which a couple become engaged and married:

```
Chakra runa-kuna parla-sha-n huklla     mana ashi-naku-n-chu.  641
rural  man-plur  speak-sub-3 right:away not  seek-recip-3-NEG
```

'Rural people don't seek (to get married) right upon having agreed to.'

puri-pa:-nakU- (travel-ben-recip-) 'to rendezvous'

```
...paka-yllapa puri-pa:-naku-n.                                    642
   hid-adv      walk-ben-recip-3
```

```
'...they meet on the sly.'
(lit. 'hiddenly they wa^k to each other's benefit.')
```

suwa-nakU- (steal-recip-) 'to elope': e.g.:

```
Karu-pa suwa-naku-r     aywa-ku-n.                                 643
far-GEN steal-recip-adv go-refl-3
```

```
'They go, stealing each other (i.e., they elope).'
```

9.8. Other Pre-transition Suffixes

This section deals with other pre-transition suffixes, ones that do not fit into any of the classes discussed above.

9.8.1. -na: 'desiderative'

-na: 'desiderative' is used in two cases. First, it is used with bodily functions:

chiwlla-na:-

  'to need to urinate' (cf. *chiwlla-* 'to urinate').

ishpa-na:- 'to need to urinate' (cf. *ishpa-* 'to urinate').

miku-na:- 'to be hungry' (cf. *miku-* 'to eat').

puñu-na:- 'to be sleepy' (cf. *puñu-* 'to sleep'): e.g.:

```
Puñu-na:-chi-shu-nki.                                             644
sleep-desid-caus-=>2-2
```

```
'It will make you sleepy.'
```

"Bodily Function" would not include things like combing one's hair: 645 is not a suitable way to say 'He wants to comb his hair':[159]

```
*Ñaqcha-ku-na-yka-n.                                              645
 comb-refl-desid-impvf-3
```

'He$_i$ wants to comb his$_i$ hair.'

Second, *-na:* 'desiderative' is used with expressions about the weather:

looku-na:- 'to "want" to rain furiously' (cf. *looku tamya* 'torrential rain'),

qeshya-na:- '(of the sky) to be clouded over' (cf. *qeshya-* 'to be sick'), e.g.:

```
Qeshya-na-sha  qoya-yka-n         chakay tamya-rku-r.              646
sick-desid-prtc pass:day-impfv-3 night  rain-asp-adv
```

```
'All day it is clouded over, having rained last night.'
```

tamya-na:- '(of the sky) to be as though about to rain' (cf. *tamya-* 'to rain').

---

[159]Correct would be:

```
Ñaqcha-pa-y-ta    muna-ku-yka-n.
comb-ben-inf-OBJ want-refl-impfv-3
```

'He$_i$ wants to comb his$_i$ hair.'

9.8.2. *-pakU* 'diffuse'

    -pakU modifies the meaning of the root to which it is attached to indicate that it is not directed toward a particular object. but diffusely directed toward multiple objects. *-pakU* shifts the focus from the goal/object of an activity to the activity itself: e.g.:

    aru-pakU- 'to work here and there, not for any particular person or at any particular task' (cf. *aru-* 'work'). An *arupakuq* is a day laborer.

    ashi-pakU- 'scavenger (i.e. searching for anything useful)' (cf. *ashi-* 'search. seek').

    mallwa-pakU-

        'take the mid-afternoon coca break. i.e. to rest' (cf. *mallwa-* 'to chew coca (mid-afternoon)'),

    puri-pakU- 'to go about (for some good reason)' (cf. *puri-* 'walk'); e.g.:

```
Ka-n mayur runa-kuna wakin rispita-sha-n.                    647
be-3 older man-plur  other respect-sub-3P

Chay runa-kuna simri  balumintu       puri-paku-n.
that man-plur  always representative travel-diff-3

'There are older men who are respected by others.
Those men always go about as representatives (e.g,
representing a suitor's clan to the bride's clan).'
```

    ranti-pakU-

        'shop (i.e.. to purchase a number of different things, perhaps in various places)' (cf. *ranti-* 'buy').

    tuka-pakU- 'to play music here and there' (cf. *tuka-* 'play (a musical instrument)'). *tuka-pakU-* does not refer to the playing of music itself. but to the way a musician. a *tukapakuq*, goes from fiesta to fiesta to earn his living.

As in the following examples. when an overt object phrase occurs with a verb bearing *-pakU*, that substantive is plural: this is because the activity is diffusely directed to the collection rather than individually directed toward a single object. The subject of 648 is a bad woman who is more interested in what her husband has brought her from his trip than in his being home; the effect of *-pakU* is to portray her greedly tearing into the various bundles:

```
...paska-paku-q   haku-n-kuna-ta      ima-ta.              648
   untie-diff-nar shawl-3P-plur-OBJ what-OBJ

'...she would begin to untie her shawls and whatever
(that her husband had brought her)'

...qellay-nin-ta-shi yupa-paku-rka-yka-sha...              649
   money-3P-OBJ-IND  count-diff-plur-impfv-3PERF

'...they counted their money...'
```

9.8.3. *-qtu* 'pretend'

    -qtu means 'to pretend': e.g.:

```
Asi-qtu-ku-n.                                               650
laugh-pretend-refl-3

'He pretends to laugh.'

Yanqa-lla     mutu-qtu-ka-ma-nki.                           651
in:vain-just chop-pretend-refl-=>1-2

'Pretend to chop me, but do so without force.'
```

-qtu has arisen by the collapse of *-q* 'agentive' and the verb *tuku-* 'to pretend to'.[160] Following the collapse, the /ku/ of *tuku-* has been re-analyzed as *-kU*, and so undergoes morphophonemic lowering.

9.8.4. *-chakU* 'concentratedly'

-chakU 'concen' (for 'concentratedly') adds to a verb of cognition or perception that more concentration is invested than normal.[161] For example, *yarpa:-* 'to remember' may involve no concentration at all, but *yarpa-chakU-* 'to think about' does require an effort. Similarly, *rika-* 'see, look' requires no exertion, whereas *rika-chakU-* 'to look intently at, to study visually' does.

-chakU 'concen' causes foreshortening and undergoes morphophonemic lowering; e.g. example 652a shows that the final vowel of *yarpa:-* is underlying long, and 652b shows that it is foreshortened by *-chakU*:

```
a. Yarpa:-chi-ma-nki.                                              652
   remember-caus-=>1-2

b. Yarpa-chakU-chi-ma-nki.
   remember-concen-caus-=>1-2

a. 'You will remind me.'
b. 'You will make me think.'
```

9.8.5. *-lla:* 'polite'

-lla: 'polite' indicates politeness. Not surprisingly it co-occurs frequently with *-ykU* 'impact'. which also indicates politeness (see section 9.2.4.4): e.g.:

```
Tayta lindu  mishti,  qam-pita ka-yku-lla:-chun.                   653
sir   pretty white    you-ABL  be-impact-pol-3IMP

'Esteemed one, may it belong to you.'

Tiyu-y      kondor,  horqU-ykU-lla:-ma-y aari.                     654
uncle-voc condor    remove-impact-pol-=>1-2IMP

'Uncle condor, please take me out of here.'
```

It occurs in many greetings and leave-takings, e.g.:

```
a. Aywa-lla-:.                                                     655
   go-pol-1

b. Aywa-lla-y-raq.
   go-pol-2IMP-yet

a. 'I am going.'
b. 'Go on then.'

Paasa-lla:-mu-shka-:.                                              656
pass-pol-afar-perf-1

'I have come in (i.e. passed in from outside).'
```

656 is spoken (in a folk tale) by a villain who is about to take over the town; his use of *-lla:*

---

[160]Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua also has the collapsed form. In many Quechua languages *tuku-* is still a separate word.

[161]It occurs with very few verbs: it is not a productive suffix.

160

'polite' is--I believe--very sarcastic:

657

```
Wara-kuna      shunta-rku-lla-:-na-mi.
tomorrow-plur gather-asp-pol-1-now-DIR
```

'One of these days soon, I will take it.'

-lla: 'polite' should be compared to the polite use of *-lla* 'just', which occurs on substantives and adverbs; see section 19.1.

10. CASE AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

10.1. Introduction to Case

A case marker indicates the relationship between (i) the substantive to which it is suffixed, and either (ii) the verb of the clause in which that substantive occurs, or (iii) another substantive (overt or implicit) in the same clause. Case and case-like suffixes are of roughly three kinds:

1. those which indicate the relationship of a substantive to a verb: **subjects. objects. locatives, goals. limitative, and purpose,**

2. those which may also be used to express substantive-substantive relations: (i) **genitive**, e.g.. *Hwan-pa maki-n* (John-GEN hand-3P) 'John's hand' and (ii) **comitative**, e.g. *Hwan-wan Pablu* (John-COM Paul) 'John and Paul'.

3. those which are most adverbial: **similarity** and **manner**. There is no clear boundary between these and the other case markers: both "modify" (at least in some extended sense) the verb or clause of which it is a part. Some cases could be considered either adverbs or cased substantive phrases; e.g.. *achka-ta* (much-ACC) is clearly an adverb in examples such as *achkata maqamasha* 'He hit me a lot' and *achkata puriykan* 'He travels a lot'.

For each case marker. this chapter contains a comprehensive survey of its use. The discussion is organized along the lines of the three just-mentioned kinds of case marker.

10.2. Subject

Quechua is a language for which the category/relation SUBJECT plays a major role in the grammar. This section deals with ways that the grammar is sensitive to the category of subject.

There are no formal coding devices by which subjects can be uniquely identified. Word order is very free in Quechua (particularly in main clauses) and therefore cannot be relied upon to identify the subject of a clause. Word order might be an adequate basis on which to define the subjects in doubly (or more greatly) embedded clauses because the more embedded a clause is, the more rigidly SOV it tends to be (see Weber [38] pg. 36ff): however, these cases make up only a very small percentage of all clauses.

Another possible coding device is case marking. Subjects bear no case marking (i.e., the nominative is indicated by -∅) and this distinguishes them from objects and oblique noun phrases, all of which (at least potentially) bear some case marker (e.g., *-ta* 'ACC', *-wan* 'COM', *-pita* 'ABL', etc.). However, several factors complicate the identification of a subject as that noun phrase which lacks any case marker: Temporal nouns or noun phrases (e.g., *wara* 'tomorrow', *kanan hunaq* 'this day') are also without case-markers, and usually function as temporal adverbs rather than subjects. Further, it is not unusual for the object marker to be dropped in subordinate clauses, particularly within purpose clauses subordinated by -*q* to a motion verb, as in the following example:

```
Juan warmi-(ta)  ashi-q        aywa-ra-n.                           658
John woman-(OBJ) search-sub    go-past-3
```

'John went to search for a wife.'

Cases such as these make a formal definition of subject difficult or impossible. However in practice there is almost never any problem in recognizing what the subject is. This is because of the many morpho-syntactic evidences of subjects. now to be discussed.

162

Verbal inflection constrains what noun phrase may be taken as the subject of a clause: verbs are inflected to agree in person (and optionally, in number) with the subject. For example:

```
noqa      aywa-:   (I go-1)            'I go.'               659
qam       aywa-nki (you go-2)          'You go.'
pay       aywa-n   (he go-3)           'He goes.'
noqanchi  aywa-nchi (we(incl) go-12)   'We(incl) go.'
```

For some subordinate clauses it would--at first glance--seem that verbal inflection does not constrain the person of the subject; infinitives. for example bear no inflection for subject agreement. However, by virtue of the essential coreference between the subject of an infinitive clause and the subject of the superordinate clause, the person of the subject of the infinitive is constrained by the person of the subject of the superordinate clause. The same is true of adverbial clauses whose switch reference marking is -r 'adv(ss)'.

Having considered the issue of the coding of subjects, let us proceed to other ways in which the category of subject is of concern to the grammar.

Adverbial clause subordination obligatorily indicates whether the subject of the subordinate and its superordinate clause are the same or different. For example, in 660a -r indicates that the subject of the subordinate and main clauses are the same, whereas -pti in 660b indicates that they are different:

```
a. Chaya-r          miku-shka-:.                              660
   arrive-adv(S=S) eat-perf-1

b. Chaya-pti-n       miku-shka-:.
   arrive-adv(S≠S)-3P eat-perf-1

a. 'When I arrived, I ate.'
b. 'When he arrived, I ate.'
```

(A more complete discussion of this is given in section 14.1.1.)

Relativization is sensitive to whether the "embedded coreferent" (the argument of the modifying sentence which is coreferential to the head of the relative clause) is or is not the subject of the modifying sentence. -q cannot be used (in HgQ[162]) if the embedded coreferent is anything other than the subject (of the modifying sentence). For example. 661 can only mean 'the man who hit (him)'. where the embedded coreferent is the subject of the modifying sentence:

```
maqa-q  runa                                                 661
hit-sub man

'the man who hit (him)'
```

661 could not mean 'the man who was hit'. where the embedded coreferent is the object of the modifying sentence. By contrast, 662 can mean either 'the man who was hit' (perhaps the favored reading) or 'the man who hit (him)':

```
maqa-sha-n runa                                              662
hit-sub-3P man

'the man who was hit' or 'the man who hit (him)'
```

There are two instances in which one could say--speaking in derivational terms--that a subject becomes (i.e.. is "raised to") the object of a higher clause. First, a sensory verb complement consists

---

[162]Some dialects are more rigid: for example in Ayacucho Quechua. -q is used if the embedded coreferent is the subject. and -shqa (or its reflex) if it is not.

163

of an object complement subordinated by -*q* to a sensory verb ('see', 'hear', etc.).

```
                                                                  663
Rika-ra-:  [Juan Tumas-ta maqa-yka-q]-ta.
see-past-1  John Tom-OBJ  hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

'I saw John hitting Tom.'

From 663 *Juan* may become the object of *rika-* 'to see':

```
Juan-ta   rika-ra-: [Tumas-ta maqa-yka-q]-ta.          664
John-OBJ  see-past-1 Tom-OBJ  hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

'I saw John hitting Tom.'

Second, when a verb is made causative by the addition of -*chi*, its subject becomes the object of the causative verb/clause. For example, compare 665a and 665b:

```
a. Noqa aywa-:.          (I go-1)                       665
b. Pay noqa-ta aywa-chi-ma-n. (he me-OBJ go-cause-=>1-3)

a. 'I go.'
b. 'He makes/allows me to go.'
```

In 665a the subject is *noqa* 'I', and the verbal inflection indicates a first person subject. But in 665b, *noqa* has become an object, with the verbal inflection indicating a first person object.

There are various ways to passivize, i.e., to "promote" the object of a clause so that it becomes the subject. First, this can be accomplished by the addition of -*ka:* 'passive' or -*ra:* 'state'. Compare 666a and 666b with *rika-n* 'he sees it' and *pampa-n* 'he buries it' respectively.

```
a. Rika-ka-n.  (see-pass-3)                             666
b. Pampa-ra-n. (bury-state-3)

a. 'It is seen.'
b. 'It is buried.'
```

Passivization can also be accomplished by the addition of -*sha* 'participle' followed by *ka-* 'be': compare 667a in which *noqa* is an object with 667b in which it has become the subject:

```
a. Noqa-ta rika-ma-n.                                   667
   I-OBJ    see-=>1-3

b. Noqa rika-sha ka-:.
   I     see-prtc be-1

a. 'He sees me.'
b. 'I am/was seen.'
```

This concludes our survey of the morpho-syntactic reflexes of the category of "subject."

10.3. -*ta* 'object'

This section deals with the suffix -*ta* 'OBJ' and the roles indicated by it. It is organized as follows:

- Section 10.3.1 deals with "direct" objects.
- Section 10.3.2 with "indirect" objects; it is shown that there is little evidence that direct and indirect objects are distinct categories in HgQ.
- Section 10.3.3 discusses object agreement.
- Section 10.3.4 discusses cases in which objects are not marked with -*ta*.
- Section 10.3.5 mentions the subjects of causativized verbs.
- Section 10.3.6 deals with a directional use of -*ta*.

164

- Section 10.3.7 deals with a temporal use of -ta.
- Section 10.3.8 deals with some non-systematic (idiomatic) uses of -ta.

10.3.1. Direct Object

-ta 'OBJ' marks substantives which are the DIRECT object of a clauses; for typical events, this substantive usually refers to that person/thing which is most affected by that event.

```
Nirkur papa-ta     alla-rku-r  muru-ta akra-nchi                    668
then    potatoes-OBJ dig-asp-adv seed-OBJ choose-12

minuuda-n-kuna-ta.
small-3P-plur-OBJ

'Then having harvested the potatoes, we choose the seeds
i.e., the small ones.'
```

Objects which are less affected, as the objects of perception, are also marked with -ta 'OBJ': see e.g. example 667a.

The direct object may be the subject of an intransitive verb which has been causativized with -chi 'caus': e.g.. compare the a and b sentences of 669 and 670:

```
a. wamra     puñu-n     (child     sleep-3)                        669
b. wamra-ta puñu-chi-n (child-OBJ sleep-caus-3)

a. 'the child sleeps'
b. 'he makes the child sleep (i.e., puts the child to sleep)'

a. yaku     timpu-yka-n     (water-     boil-impfv-3)               670
b. yaku-ta timpu-rI+ykU-chi-r (water-OBJ boil-sud-caus-adv)

a. 'the water is boiling'
b. 'boiling the water'
```

The direct object may be a complement: in 671 the first instance of -ta 'OBJ' is on an infinitive complement and the second is on a complement subordinated by -na:

```
...yapya-y-ta    usha-na-n-ta-shi      shuya-ra-yka-n.             671
   plow-inf-OBJ finish-sub-3P-OBJ-IND wait-stat-impfv-3

'...he waits for him to finish plowing.'
```

In example 672 the object is a sensory verb complement:

```
Qam-ta   rika-shka-: sha-yka:-mu-q-ta.                            672
you-OBJ see-perf-1 come-impfv-afar-sub-OBJ

'I saw you coming.'
```

Note that 672 contains two instances of -ta 'OBJ': why this is the case is explained in section 13.3.2.4.

10.3.2. Indirect Object

Indirect and direct objects are not distinct syntactic categories in HgQ: both trigger verbal agreement marking, both use -ta to mark the overt substantive.[163] However, indirect objects do differ semantically from direct objects: in the prototypical case, the INDIRECT object is the recipient

---

[163]Perhaps both are susceptible to morphological raising from infinitives: see Weber [39], section 4.2.2.

165

of something transferred.[164] This need not be some physical thing: in many cases it is the result of speaking. Few verbs allow indirect objects in HgQ.[165] Not all substantives which refer to recipients are marked with -*ta*: e.g., in 673 the it takes -*man* rather than -*ta*:

```
Chawra warmi-n-man  karta-ta   apa-chi-mu-sha.                            673
so      wife-3P-GOAL letter-OBJ take-caus-afar-3PERF
```

'He sent his wife a letter (over here).'

Perhaps this is because *apa-chi-* 'take DO to IO/GOAL' implies a path. the end point of which is the recipient: the notion of "endpoint of a path"[166] overrides the less semantically rich "recipient".

10.3.3. Object Agreement

The transition[167] of a verb agrees with its indirect objects in preference to its direct objects. For example. in 674 the transition is -*maran* '3=>1PAST' because the **direct** object is first person and because there is no indirect object to mark. By contrast. in 675 the transition is -*maran* '3=>1' (where the direct object is second person) because the **indirect** object is first person; the transition does not indicate the person of the second person **direct** object since it is superseded by the indirect object.

```
Pay noqa-ta maqa-ma-ra-n.                                                 674
he  me-OBJ  hit-=>1-past-3
```

'He hit me'

```
Pay qam-ta  qu-ma-ra-n.                                                   675
he  you-ACC give-=>1-past-3
```

'He gave you to me'

---

[164]I suspect that the grammar's treating "recipients" as indirect objects is a fairly recent innovation in Quechua B. In Quechua A they are treated as "goals":

	direct object	indirect object	goal
Quechua A	-ta	-man	-man
Quechua B	-ta	-ta	-man

Table 10-1: OBJECT MARKING IN QUECHUA A AND QUECHUA B

I would explain this as a case where there is different degrees of grammaticization. In Quechua A, indirect objects are treated as goals and marked with the lexically richer suffix -*man*. In Quechua B. they have been grammaticized as an object.

[165]The following verbs take indirect objects (by no means a comprehensive list): note that better than half of these are borrowed from Spanish: *gaana-* 'to beat IO out of DO'. *imbita-pa:-* 'to invite X', *indriga-* 'to turn DO over to IO', *kubra-* 'to charge IO for DO'. *kunbira-* 'serve DO to IO', *makya-* 'to hand DO to IO'. *mañaku-* 'to ask IO for DO', *ni-* 'to say to IO' (and ima+ni- 'what say to IO'), *parla-[pa:]-* 'to speak to IO'. *paaga-ykU-* 'to pay DO to IO', *piñakU-* 'to charge/upbraid IO'. *pusha-* 'to lead DO to IO'. *qara-(ykU)-* 'to feed DO to IO'. *qaya-* 'to call IO'. *qo-(ykU)-* 'give to X' (and *direechunta qo-*), *rura-* 'do DO to IO'. *ruwa-kU-* 'to beg DO of IO'. *sirbi-* 'to serve DO to IO', *tapu-* 'to ask IO for DO', *urdina-* 'to order IO to do PLR'. *willa-/willa-pa:-/willa-ykU-* 'to tell IO'.

[166]See section 10.6.1.

[167]Transitions are discussed in section 8.

166

10.3.4. Lost -*ta* 'OBJ'

The -*ta* 'OBJ' marking direct objects is sometimes omitted when the object directly precedes the verb of which it is an object. In main clauses this is largely restricted to a few expressions in which objects are closely associated with a particular verb, e.g. *papa-TA alla-* (potato-OBJ dig-) 'harvest potatoes'. This is certainly the first step toward a verb for 'dig potatoes' in which the object has been incorporated. However, object incorporation is generally regarded as being limited to indefinite objects; many cases of the loss of -*ta* cannot be considered object incorporation because the object is definite (e.g. a named person, a possessed object, etc.).

The omission of -*ta* is more frequent when the object occurs in a subordinate clause, particularly in a purpose-motion complement (see Weber [39], section 5.4.2); e.g. (where -TA signifies a "missing" case marker):

```
Cristobal-IA ashi-q    aywa-shka-:.                          ..    676
Christof      seek-sub go-perf-1

'I went to look for Christof.'

Ayku-: hara-:-IA urya-q-mi.                                        677
go-1   corn-1P   cultivate-sub-DIR

'I go to cultivate my corn.'

teeha-IA rura-y-IA   yacha-q-kuna...                               678
tile     make-inf    know:how-sub-plur

'those who know how to make tiles'
```

Throughout a text on engagement practice, either *warmi-ta ashi-* or *warmi ashi-* (as in 679) is used for the process of seeking a wife:

```
...llapan-ta warmi ashi-y-chaw  nisita-kaa-na-n-paq  ka-q-ta.      679
   all-OBJ   wife  seek-inf-LOC need-pass-sub-3P-PUR be-sub-OBJ

'they prepare everything which will be needed in the
wife-seeking'
```

Example 680 shows the utility of supposing that a basic structure with -*ta* underlies a structure without it. Assuming 680a to be the basic structure, the relative clause is moved rightward and in the process inherits the case marker of the constituent out of which it is moved (in this case -*ta*); this is discussed in 10.15.5. Subsequently the case marker on *chakra* 'field' is deleted:

```
a. [[[Marsu killa-chaw chakma-sha-:] chakra]-ta yapya-q] aywa-shka-:.    680
      March month-LOC  break-sub-1P  field  -OBJ plow-SUB go-perf-1

b. [Chakra yapya-q] aywa-shka-: [Marsu killa-chaw chakma-sha-:]-ta.
    field  plow-SUB go-perf-1    March month-LOC  break-sub-1P -OBJ

'I went to plow the field that I had broken in March.'
```

10.3.5. The Subjects of Causativized/Benefactive Verbs

As illustrated above (see example 665) the subject of a causativized, intransitive verbs becomes an object. Whether this object should be considered an indirect or a direct object is indeterminate.

The object of benefactives is[168] an indirect object:

---

[168] That is, by the criterion of verbal marking: it is morphologically marked in the verb in preference to a direct object.

167

```
chay wañu-sha runa-ta sindi-pa:-na-n-paq...                            681
that die-prtc man-OBJ light-ben-sub-3P-PUR
```

'to light (candles) for that dead person'

```
...qeshpi-pa-yku-n        hatun oosu-ta                                682
   escape-ben-impact-3 big   bear-OBJ
```

'they escape from the big bear'

10.3.6. Direction

With certain verbs of motion. -ta can mark the endpoint of the path along which the motion takes place.[169] These "objects" never trigger verbal agreement (perhaps simply because places are always third person). Examples follow:

```
punta-ta chaya-r                                                      683
peak-OBJ arrive-adv
```

'arriving at the peak'

```
Y   wakin-kaq qaqa-ta      ... iski-ka-rpu-n.                         684
and other-def boulder-OBJ      fall-pass-down-3
```

'and the others fell ... over the cliff.'

```
Mana sumaq karu-ta puri-q-chu    ka-:.                               685
not  very  far-OBJ walk-sub-NEG be-1
```

'I didn't walk very far.'
(being only five years old at the time)

```
Pillku-ta  aywa-shka-: awardenti-man.                                686
pillku-OBJ go-perf-1   firewater-GOAL
```

'I went to Pillku to get firewater.'

```
                    ⎧a. *-ta  ⎫                                      687
                    ⎪    OBJ  ⎪
Juan ka-yka-sha-n  ⎨         ⎬ aywa-n.
John be-impfv-sub-3P ⎪b.  -man ⎪ go-3
                    ⎩    GOAL ⎭
```

'He goes to where John is.'

In the following the substantive bearing -ta indicates the path itself (and not just its endpoint):

```
...puri-rka-yka-:kuna kantu-n-ta.                                    688
   walk-plur-impfv-11 edge-3P-OBJ
```

'...we(excl) walked along the bank'

10.3.7. Time lapse

-ta may occur on a substantive which refers to a length of time to indicate a lapse of that much

---

[169]The following verbs (by no means a complete list) may use -ta in this way: *apa-* 'to take'. *aywa-* 'go'. *chaya-* 'to arrive to' (but usually takes -man). *iski-* 'to fall'. *puri-* 'to walk/travel'. *ruma-* 'go about'. *oqti-* 'to scrape (out a hole)'. *uchku-* 'to dig a hole'.

time.[170] (These cases never trigger verbal agreement.) E.g., in 689 *wata-ta* indicates a lapse of one year:

```
Wakin runa-qa ashi-sha-n-pita wata-ta  mas  minus-ta kasara-n.        689
other man-TOP seek-sub-3P-ABL year-OBJ more less-OBJ marry-3

'Other men marry within a year of when they have sought
(their bride).'

Qalla-ri-sha-n-pita    soqta hunaq-ta usha-ra-n.                      690
begin-pnct-sub-3P-ABL six   day-OBJ  finish-past-3

'He'finished six days from when he started.'

...wañu-sha-n-pita pichqa hunaq-ta rura-n...                          691
   die-sub-3P-ABL fiive    day-OBJ  do-3

'...they do on the fifth day after he died...'

Allcha-ka-sha  killa-ta-raq.                           ..          692
fix-pass-3PERF month-OBJ-yet

'It healed in a month's time (but no sooner).'
```

-ta may occur on a substantive referring to either a time period or to a recurring time: it indicates recurring events at the space of those periods (e.g. 693) or at those recurring times (e.g. 694).

```
Wakin-qa arma-n  chusku hunaq pichqa hunaq-ta.                        693
some-TOP bathe-3 four    day   five    day-OBJ

'Some bathe them every four or five days.'

Y   sha-mu-nki  mirkulis  taarri-ta.                                  694
and come-afar-2 Wednesday evening-OBJ

'Come every Wednesday evening.'

Aywa-ku-yka-:    paqas-ta hunaq-ta...                                 695
go-refl-impfv-1 night-OBJ day-OBJ

'I go day and night...'

Ishkay-ta kanta-rku-pti-n pashta-r-shi aywa-ku-ra-n   kundinaadu.     696
two-OBJ   sing-asp-adv-3P burst-adv-IND go-refl-past-3 ghost

'The second time crows, bursting, the kundinaadu leaves.'
```

10.3.8. -*ta* in Non-Systematic (Idiomatic) Expressions

Some expressions which are not formed by the more systematic mechanisms of the language (e.g. loan translations from Spanish) use -*ta*, sometimes in non-systematic ways:

parabin-ta qo-n (for:good-OBJ give-3) 'he congratulated him',

kargu-ta yayku-na-n-paq (office-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR) 'in order that he enter that office'

---

[170]Some instances seem quite idiomatic. e.g. *raatunninta* 'in just a moment'. *warayllata* 'all night, right until dawn'. The following is a case where -*ta* seems to be used temporally, but not quite like the other cases of this section:

```
Wara-mi        pishta-shu-nki  qam-ta  kumpaarri-n
tomorrow-DIR slaughter-=>2-2 you-OBJ compadre-3P

chaya-mu-y-nin-ta.
arrive-afar-inf-3P-OBJ

'Tomorrow they will slaughter you for their compadre's arrival.'
```

cf.*wasi-man yayku-* (house-GOAL enter) 'to enter (into) the house',

kwinta-ta apa-ku- (account-OBJ take-refl) 'figure out/realized', and

direechunta qun means 'to offer liquor or coca' in certain formal contexts (such as administrative sessions, fiestas).[171]

10.4. -*chaw* 'locative'

The locative suffix -*chaw* is pronounced in various ways: [chaw]~[cho:]~[chu:]. The latter two have variants [cho] and [chu] in word-final position. Throughout this work the locative is written -*chaw*, as that seems to be the most basic form (the one from which the others are most easily derivable).

The uses of -*chaw* 'LOC' are discussed under the following headings:
- with physical location (section 10.4.1),
- for involvement in activity/circumstance (section 10.4.2).
- in time expressions (section 10.4.3). and
- in idiomatic usage (section 10.4.4).

10.4.1. -*chaw* with Physical Location

The most basic and most common use of -*chaw* 'locative' is to indicate position "in", "on" or "at" some indicated place/space. That which is "in/on/at" that place is either static or. if it is dynamic. the place/space indicated is the sphere of motion. Never is the place/space the *goal* of

---

[171]Some examples of this expression:

i. chay awrindi-ta   **qu-n**   **direechun-ta** chay kargu   rura-q runa-kuna...
   that firewater-OBJ give-3 right-OBJ   that office do-sub man-plur

   'The men who are entering office offer that firewater...'

ii. **direechun-ta qu-n**   mayurdoomu-kuna huk boteella awrindi-ta...
    right-OBJ   give-3 majordomo-plural one bottle   firewater-OBJ

    'The majordomo offers one bottle of firewater...'

iii. chay uchku-q-kuna-ta **direechun-ta qu-n**   kuka-ta   awrindi-ta...
     that dig-sub-plur-OBJ right-OBJ   give-3 coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ

     'They offer the (grave) diggers coca and firewater.'

some motion. this being indicated by *-man* 'GOAL'; see 10.6.[172] The place/space indicated may be of various sorts: the following is intended as a non-comprehensive list of the various possibilities:

a town given by name: *Pillku-chaw* (Pillku-LOC) 'in Pillku',

by physical/geographical characteristic: *mas altu-chaw* (more high-LOC) 'at higher altitudes'. *hanka-chaw* (peaks-LOC) 'on the snow-capped peaks'. *hanaq pacha-chaw* (high firmament-LOC) 'in the heavens'. *allpa-chaw* (ground-LOC) 'on earth', *punta-chaw* (peak-LOC) 'at the peak/ridge'. *yunka-chaw* (jungle-LOC) 'in the jungle'. *pampa-chaw* (ground-LOC) 'on the ground',

a container: *babul-chaw* (trunk-LOC) 'in the trunk', *kostal-chaw* (sack-LOC) 'in the sack', *chaka-q kwartu-chaw* (be:dark-sub room-LOC) 'in a dark room', *machay-chaw* (cave-LOC) 'in the cave', *payla-chaw* (pot-LOC) 'in the pot', *maki-:-chaw* (hand-1P-LOC) 'in my hand(s)'. *pacha-nchi:-chaw* (stomach-12P-LOC) 'in our stomachs'.

a part of a container: *altus-chaw* (upstairs-LOC) 'upstairs'. *yoora-chaw* (tree-LOC) 'in a tree'.

a building (which is a sort of container): *wasi-n-chaw* (house-3P-LOC) 'in his house'. *eskuyla-chaw* (school-LOC) 'at school', *kabildu-chaw* (chapel-LOC) 'in the chapel'. *inlisya* (church-LOC) 'in the church', *kantiina-kuna-chaw* (store-plur-LOC) 'in the stores', *panaderiya-chaw* (bakery-LOC) 'in a bakery',

by reference to the owner of a house: *Maqana-kaq-chaw* (Maqana-def-LOC) 'at Maqana's house'. *duyñu-:-chaw* (owner-1P-LOC) 'at my owner's house',

an area (usually of ground) with a special purpose: *pantiyun-chaw* (cemetery-LOC) 'in the cemetery'. *eera-chaw* (threshing:floor-LOC) 'on the threshing floor'. *kaminu-chaw* (road-LOC) or *naani-chaw* 'in the road'. *werta-chaw* (garden-LOC) 'in the garden', *punku-chaw* (door-LOC) 'in the doorway',

an area by reference to its political/demographic character: *chakra-chaw* (field-LOC) 'in the rural areas'. *marka-chaw* (town-LOC) 'in the town', *kapital-chaw* (capital-LOC) 'in the capital'. *probinsya-chaw* (province-LOC) 'in the province',

an area relative to a place or thing: *chimpa-chaw* (other:bank-LOC) 'on the opposite bank (from where we are)'. *karu-chaw-mi* (far-LOC-DIR) 'far away'.

a piece of furniture: *meesa-chaw* (table-LOC) 'at the table', *kaama-n-chaw* (bed-1P-LOC) 'in his bed'.

---

[172]Examples i-iii appear to contradict the claim made in the text. since *-chaw* 'LOC' marks what is clearly the goal of some action. However. in each case the locative phrase indicates an area within which some point is the goal: e.g. in the first. the sting was not directed at the tiger's entire forehead. but at some point on it:

```
i.  Chawra-qa  huk  suncha  tinri-ta   urku-n-chaw      ulli-yku-n.
    then-TOP   one  wasp    tiger-OBJ  forehead-3P-LOC  sting-impact-3

    'Then one of the wasps stings the tiger on the forehead.'

ii. ...raqra   kantu-n    looma-chaw  kondor  hama-yku-n.
       gorge   edge-3P    hill-LOC    condor  sit-impact-3

    '...the condor sat down on a knoll at the edge of the gorge.'

iii. Hama-sha-n-kuna-chaw    chura-yku-r...
     sit-sub-3P-plur-LOC     place-impact-adv

    'Having placed it at the resting place...'
```

(All three of these cases are from the same speaker.)

a body of water: *lamar-chaw* (ocean-LOC) 'in the ocean', *mayu-chaw* (river-LOC) 'in the river',
  qocha-chaw (lake-LOC) 'in the lake'.
in a fluid: *yaku-chaw* (water-LOC) 'in water'.

The place/space may be indicated by a definite pronoun, e.g., *chay-chaw* 'there', *kay-chaw*
'here', *taqay-chaw* 'over there': by an indefinite/interrogative pronoun, e.g. *may-chaw-taq* 'where?',
may-chaw-pis 'wherever': by a pronoun such as *hina-lla-n-chaw* 'right there'. It may also be indicated
a relative clause: e.g.:

```
chay warmi-ta  ashi-sha-n-kaq-chaw                                    697
that woman-OBJ seek-sub-3P-def-LOC

'at the place where they seek the woman
(i.e. her hand in marriage)'

puñu-sha-:-chaw                                                        698
sleep-sub-1P-LOC

'where I slept'

punku yayku-ri-na-chaw                                                 699
door  enter-pnct-sub-loc

'in the doorway'
```

The place/space may be indicated by a spatial genitive expression (as discussed in 12.3.2.3): e.g.:
  chaki-n-chaw (foot-3P-LOC) 'at the foot of it',
  kabildu chawpi-n-chaw (church middle-LOC) 'in the middle of the chapel',
  hatun sawan hana-n-chaw (big gate top-3P-LOC) 'on top of a big gate',
  kaminu kantu-n-chaw (road edge-3P-LOC) 'at the edge of the road',
  ñawpa-:-chaw (side-1P-LOC) 'beside me'.
  meesa ruri-n-chaw (table inside-3P-LOC) 'under the table'.
  departamentu serka-n-chaw (department vicinity-3P-LOC) 'near the department capital'.
  punku waqta-n-chaw (door back-3P-LOC) 'behind the door'.

10.4.2. *-chaw* for Involvement in Activity/Circumstance

When *-chaw* 'LOC' follows an infinitive it refers to being involved in the activity or
circumstance indicated by the verb. The following examples bear this out:
  warmi ashi-y-chaw (woman search-inf-LOC) 'in the engagement procedure',
  usha-paaku-y-chaw (end-diffuse-inf-LOC) 'in the closing ceremony',
  tapa-y-chaw (keep:vigil-inf-LOC) 'during the wake',
  mayuraasa chura-ku-y-chaw (mayoress place-refl-inf-LOC) 'in the installation of the *mayuraasa*'.

```
Yanapa:-naku-shun aru-y-chaw.                                          700
help-recip-12IMP   work-inf-LOC

'Let's help each other in (our) work.'

Silleeta muchu-y-chaw      ka-nchi.                                    701
chair    be:scarce-inf-LOC be-12

'We are in a scarcity of chairs.'

Ni-y-chaw-na ...                                                       702
say-inf-LOC-now

'In the process of saying it...'
```

172

```
Kanan papel-niki-kuna  tinku+chi-y-chaw lloqshi-nki alli...          703
now   paper-2P-plur    compare-inf-LOC come:out-2FUT good
```

'Now, in comparing your documents you will come out all right...'

```
...simri kumli-chi-n     ima  aru-y-chaw-pis.                        704
   always fulfill-caus-3 what work-inf-LOC-indef
```

'...they always make him fulfill (his obligations to the
community) in some sort of work.'

```
Chay-chaw aru-shka-:  tee palla-y-chaw.                              705
that-LOC  work-perf-1 tea pick-inf-LOC
```

'I worked there in the tea harvest.'

```
...yapa+y-chaw sumaq rika-na-n-paq.                                  706
   again-LOC   well  see-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...so that on another occasion he watches well.'

-*chaw* may also be the appropriate case marker when the activities/circumstances is referred to by a lexical substantive (possibly compounded or modified); e.g.:

kafee urya-chaw (coffee cultivation-LOC) 'in coffee cultivation',

kuka koseecha-chaw (coca harvest-LOC) 'in the coca harvest',

karga-chaw (cargo:bearing-LOC) 'in moving cargo',

awkin dansa-chaw (old dance-LOC) 'in the "awkin" dance',

karnabal-caw (Carnival-LOC) 'in Carnival',

fista-chaw (fiesta-LOC) 'in the fiesta',

sabra-chaw (sabra-LOC) 'in the "sabra" (dance)',

disgrasya-chaw 'to be suffering some misfortune',

ima-chaw-pis 'in whatever', e.g.:

```
...chay kargu rura-q runa-ta mas  ima-chaw-pis               707
   that cargo do-sub man-OBJ more what-LOC-indef

yanapa:-na-n-paq.
help-sub-3-PUR
```

'...in order to help that man who is carrying out the cargo in
whatever (circumstance).'

alli-chaw 'in good (circumstance/condition)'. e.g.:

```
Y    suncha  alli-chaw keeda-yku-n...                        708
and wasp     good-LOC  remain-impact-3
```

'And the wasps came out fine...'

leetu-chaw 'in litigation', e.g.:

```
...leetu-chaw       ka-shpa-n.                               709
   litigation-LOC be-adv-3P
```

'...if he is in litigation'

10.4.3. -*chaw* in Time Expressions

-*chaw* 'LOC' may occur on a substantive that refers to a period of time to indicate that some event occurred within that time period; e.g.:

chakay-lla-chaw (night-just-LOC) 'just at night',

pullan killa-chaw (half month-LOC) 'mid-month',

marsu killa qalla-yku-q-chaw(March month begin-impact-sub-LOC) 'at the beginning of March',
usha-q fibreeru-chaw (finish-sub February-LOC) 'at the end of February'.
wata-chaw (year-LOC) 'in (the space of) a year', and
semaana-chaw (week-LOC) 'in (the space of) a week'.

Or *-chaw* 'LOC' may occur on a substantivized clause to indicate that some event/activity occurred within the time indicated by the substantivized clause. Thus clauses bearing *(-yka)-sha-POS-chaw* (impfv-sub-POS-LOC) may be interpreted as temporal adverbial clauses meaning 'while, during':[173] e.g.:

```
Aywa-yka:-mu-sha-:-chaw   oqra-shka-:.                         710
go-impfv-afar-sub-1P-LOC  lose-perf-1
```

'I lost it as I was coming.'

```
Chay-ta   rura-n  kantur kanta-yka-sha-n-chaw.                 711
that-OBJ  do-3    cantor sing-impfv-sub-3P-LOC
```

'They do that while the cantor sings.'

```
Y    parla-yka-sha-lla-n-chaw       qo+pari-n-shi uysha-n-ta.  712
and  speak-impfv-sub-just-3P-LOC    kill-3-IND    sheep-3P-OBJ
```

'And right as they are speaking, he kills one of her sheep.'

10.4.4. -*chaw* in Idiomatic Usages

The following are various cases in which *-chaw* 'LOC' seems to be used in a rather idiomatic way:

in the possession of:

```
Llapan qam-chaw keeda-n.                                       713
all    you-LOC  remain-3
```

'Everything remains in your possession.'

among:

```
Chay minisru-kuna-chaw eskirbaanu...                           714
that minister-plur-LOC scrivener
```

'Among those ministers, the scrivener...'

"by" a wife/woman

```
Kimsa warmi-n-chaw ka-ra-n    pichqa wamra-n.                  715
three wife-3P-LOC  be-past-3 five    child-3
```

'By his three wives he had five children.'

in the presence of:

```
Pooku kasara-n awturidaa-kuna-chaw-qa.                         716
little marry-3 authority-plur-LOC-TOP
```

'Seldom do they get married before the authorities.' (i.e.,
they usually opt for a religious rather than a civil ceremony)

---

[173]These are discussed in detail in Weber [39]. section 5.1.

174

```
Chay awturidaa-chaw kondor kabesilla sapo-ta   ni-n...          717
that authority-LOC condor head        frog-OBJ say-3

'In the presence of that authority the condor says to
the head of the frogs...'
```

under the authority of:

```
Pay-pa muna-y-nin-chaw ka-nki-paq.                             718
he-GEN want-inf-3P-LOC be-2-fut

'You will be under his authority.'

...piñaku-n ... runa-pa mandaru-n-chaw   ka-na-n-paq.          719
   upbraid-3    man-GEN authority-3P-LOC be-sub-3P-PUR

'...they upbraid/charge her... to be under her
husband's authority.'
```

to be the prerogative of:

```
Tari-pti-n  mana tari-pti-n-pis     pay-pa kwenta-n-chaw  chay-qa.   720
find-adv-3P not  find-adv-3P-indef  he-GEN account-3P-LOC that-TOP

'Whether he finds them or not is up to him.'
```

in the name of:

```
...maña-ku-n  santu-pa  huti-n-chaw qonqur+pa-yku-r...          721
   ask-refl-3 saint-GEN name-3P-LOC kneel-impact-adv

'...they ask in the saint's name, kneeling...'
```

10.5. -*pita* 'ABL'

The uses of -*pita* 'ABL' center about the notion of the source/starting point of some path. They are discussed under the following headings:

- initial point of a path through space (section 10.5.1),
- observation (section 10.5.2),
- site of attachment (section 10.5.3).
- material (section 10.5.4).
- source (section 10.5.5).
- according (section 10.5.6),
- time (section 10.5.7).
- contrast and comparison (section 10.5.8),
- reason (section 10.5.9).
- avoidance (section 10.5.10), and
- loan translations (section 10.5.11.

10.5.1. Initial Point of a Path through Space

-*pita* 'ABL' may mark the substantive phrase which indicates the initial point of some path through space. Unless there are extraordinary circumstances (see e.g. 733 and 734 below), the verbs which use -*pita* in this way must be motion verbs.[174] Examples follow:

---

[174]In addition to the verbs in the examples given in the text. the following have been attested in this use: *aywa-* 'go'. *apa-* 'take'. *ashta-* 'carry'. *chaya-* 'arrive'. *horqU-* 'remove'. *kuti-* 'return'. *lloqshi-* 'leave', *pusha-* 'lead', *qarqU-* 'expel'. *sha+mu-* 'come'.

```
...qeshpi-r aywa-ku-n wasi-n-pita...                                      722
   flee-adv go-refl-3 house-3p-ABL
```

'...they go fleeing from their house...'

```
...llapan kasta-n-kuna-ta  pantiyun-pita hawa-man    qarqu-n...           723
   all    clan-3P-plur-OBJ cemetery-ABL  outside-GOAL expel-3
```

'...they drive all of his (the deceased's) relatives out
of the cemetery...'

```
May-pita-taq chaya-mu-sha?                                                724
where-ABL-?? arrive-afar-3PERF
```

'Where did he arrive from?'

```
...hitari-chi-ma-nchi kuru-ta  pacha-nchi:-pita                           725
   expel-caus-=>1-12   worm-OBJ stomach-12P-ABL
```

'(of a medicinal herb)...it causes us to expel the worms
from our stomachs.'

In example 726 the point from which "returning" is initiated is the midpoint of a (projected) trip:

```
...biyahi-ta aywa-yka-sha-n-pita kuti-kU-mu-sha         pullan-pita.      726
...trip-OBJ  go-impfv-sub-2P-ABL return-refl-afar-3PERF half-ABL
```

'...he returned from the trip on which he had gone half way
through.'

In 727, the process of covering the cross with flowers proceeds from the head of the cross to its foot (so that as more flowers are tied onto it they cover up the stems of the flowers tied on just above):

```
Nirkur hana-n-pita wayta-wan   chapa-n ushaqpaq.                          727
then   top-3P-ABL  flower-COM cover-3 completely
```

'Then they cover it (the cross) from top to bottom with
flowers.'

Since paths begin at the point indicated by ablative phrase, examples such as the following (with *qalla-* 'begin') are frequent:

```
Rutu-y-ta      qalla-ri-nchi  rikra-n hana-n-pita...                      728
shear-inf-OBJ  begin-pnct-12  arm-3   top-3P-ABL
```

'We begin to shear it at the top of the foreleg...'

A search conceptually initiates at the point from which one goes to search. The accepted way to search for a wife is to do it from one's home with the help of one's parents:

```
Mas  ashi-y-pa       ashi-n   tayta-n-pita mama-n-pita.                   729
more search-inf-adv search-3 father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL
```

'Usually they search from their parents.'

A substantive with *-pita* 'ABL' may express the point from which one measures some distance; e.g.:

```
Marka-chaw rus-kuna   ka-n marka-pita mas   karu-chaw.                    730
town-LOC   cross-plur be-3 town-ABL   more  far-LOC
```

'There are crosses in town, some distance out of the center of
town.'

```
...huk deedo altu-lla-pa   uysha-pa qara-n-pita...                        731
   one finger high-just-GEN sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL
```

'...one finger's length from the sheep's skin...'

When an animal is tied/tethered, the rope proceeds *from* the point of attachment on the animal

176

to the place where it is tied (e.g. a tree); see *10.6*. The act of tying a rope *to* something is always expressed with *-man*.

Usually the path through space (initiated at the referent of the ablative phrase) is a dynamic one; it may also be a static one. For example, in example 732 *ichi-* 'to stand' is conceptualized as a path initiated at the place where one stands:

```
Ichi-shaq  pampa-pita.                                                732
stand-1FUT ground-ABL
```

'I will stand on the ground. (lit. from the ground)'

Example 733 involves ellipsis; it is understood as a bid **to race** from the river to the ridge:

```
Apusti-shun mayu-pita punta-yaq.                                      733
wager-12    river-ABL ridge-LIM
```

'Let's bet (to race) from the river to the ridge.'

The ablative phrase of 734 is not directly related to the main verb (i.e., it does not indicate that the work initiates in Visaq) but rather that the worker commutes from there:

```
Kay-chaw aru-n  Visaq-pita.                                           734
here-loc work-3 Visaq-ABL
```

'He works here (commuting) from Visaq.'

10.5.2. Observation

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is the place where something was intentionally[175] observed: e.g.:

```
...punta-pita watqa-pa-ra-yka-pti-n ... kuchi-ta qaparaa-chi-mu-n=---  735
   peak-ABL   spy-ben-stat-impfv-adv-3P pig-OBJ scream-caus-afar-3
```

'...as they are spying from the ridge, ...the owners make the pig scream.'

```
Chay-ta-shi  buurru wiya-pa-raa-naq       wasi  waqta-n-pita.         736
that-OBJ-IND donkey wear-ben-stat-narpst house behind-ABL
```

'The donkey heard that from behind the house.'

10.5.3. Site of Attachment

-pita 'ABL' may indicate the site or place where something (such as a rope) is attached. (This is generally to a body, usually that of an animal). Verbs with which *-pita* is used in this way include *amu-* 'clench in teeth', *chari-* 'grab', *chuta-* 'pull', *pita-* 'wrap cord about' *raska-* 'scratch, claw'. Examples follow:

```
Huk   runa chari-pa:-ma-nchi sumaq chanaq kunka-n-pita...             737
other man  grab-ben-=>1-12   very  tight  neck-3P-ABL
```

'Another person grabs it very tightly by the neck...'

---

[175]Conceived of as a path, this is the reverse of the path of some stimulus from its source to its percepter (see 9.3.2.3). This reversal is, I believe, because the observation is intentional: the perception initiates with the observer and is focused on the object observed.

177

```
Chawra laasu-wan ruri-n-pita         chari-rkU-chi-r  kacha-n.              738
then    rope-COM  underside-3P-ABL grab-up-caus-adv let-3
```

'(of lowering a coffin into a grave) Then holding it up with
ropes which run under it (the coffin) they let it down.'

```
Wash-la:-man  kay-la:-man     chuta-nchi chanka-n-kuna-pita...             739
far-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL stretch-12 foot-3P-plur
```

'We stretch it out (from this side to that) by the legs...' (i.e.
making it spread-eagle by pulling on ropes attached to its legs)

In 740. it is significant that the verb is *amu-* 'clench in the teeth'. The objects of other verbs expressing 'bite' take *-ta* 'OBJ', but basic to the meaning of *amu-* is the notion of being attached (albeit in this case for only a moment).[176]

```
...allqu-na-shi qonqur chaki-n-pita "haq" ni-r     amu-ku-rku-n.          740
   dog-now-IND knee  foot-3P-ABL        say-adv bite-refl-asp-3
```

'...now the dog, growling bites him just below the knee.'

```
...uma-yki-pita warku-chi-shu-nki                                         741
   head-2P-ABL  hang-caus-=>2-2
```

'he will have you hung by the neck (lit. from your head)'

10.5.4. Material

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive so marked is the material out of which something is made; e.g.:

```
Punchu-ta   rura-na-paq  lomismo   puchka-nchi millwa-pita.              742
poncho-OBJ make-sub-PUR same:way spin-12      wool-ABL
```

'To make a poncho, in the same way we spin (out of) wool.'

```
Numral-kuna qeru-pita llaqlla-sha.                                        743
lintel-plur wood-ABL  shape-prtc
```

'The lintels are shaped out of wood.'
(*llaqlla-* 'to shape wood with an adze')

```
...rura-pa-n  llanqi-ta-pis   palma-pita      pillta-y-pa.               744
   make-ben-3 sandal-OBJ-also palm:fiber-ABL braid-inf-adv
```

'...they braid sandals for him out of palm fiber.'
(of the sandals with which one is buried)

10.5.5. Source

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive so marked is the source of something; e.g.:

```
Wakin-kuna kantiina-pita ranti-yka-n qellay-nin ka-pti-n.                745
other-plur store-ABL      buy-impfv-3 money-3P    be-adv-3
```

'Others buy (food) from the store, if they have money.'

```
eskirbaanu urdin-ta  hurqu-n agenti-pita...                              746
scrivener  order-OBJ remove-3 agent-ABL
```

'the scrivener gets an authorization from the agent...'

---

[176]There is a type of tick called an *amuku*.

```
...fiihu parla-n imay hunaq chaski-na-n-paq-pis ...                    747
   firm  speak-3 when day   receive-sub-3P-PUR-indef

chay ruka-y-ta      rura-yka-q    mayurdoomu-pita.
that trade-inf-OBJ  do-impfv-sub majordomo-ABL
```

'...they agree firmly as to when he should receive the
exchange (of office) from the majordomo who is doing it
(i.e. holding that position).'

```
...chakay-lla-man  hanaq-pita-shi ni-mu-n   "tuni-mu-shaq-chu?"        748
   night-just-GOAL above-ABL-IND  say-afar-3 fall-afar-1FUT-YN?
```

'...along in the night from up above there comes a voice saying
"shall I fall (down on you)?"'

10.5.6. According

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is what
dictated the course of events. The simplest example of this use is the expression *qam-pita* (you-ABL)
'it's up to you'. i.e.. whatever you decide will dictate the course of events.

```
...willa-shka-:-kuna llapan-ta tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla.             749
   tell-perf-1-plur  all-OBJ  ask-=>1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just
```

'...we told him everything just according as he asked us.'

```
...kubra-n  finaaru-pa   ima-n-pis     ka-sha-n-pita.                  750
   charge-3 deceased-GEN what-3P-indef be-sub-3P-ABL
```

'...he charges according to what belongings the deceased had.'

```
Llanu ka-y-nin-pita kwista-n.                                         751
thick be-inf-3P-ABL cost-3
```

'It costs according to how thick it is.'

```
Chay-qa   tesureeru-pita-na ayka-ta        mayuraasa-ta               752
that-TOP treasurer-ABL-now how:many-OBJ dancer-OBJ

chura-pti-n-pis.
place-adv-3P-indef
```

'It's up to the treasurer (to decide) how many *mayuraasa*s he puts
in.'

The text following 752 continues to say that 'some put in up to 12. others 7 or 8' and then says they
put in however many they can afford:

```
ayka-ta-pis          gastu-n           aypa:-na-n-paq                 753
how:many-OBJ-indef expenditure-3P reach-sub-3P-PUR

ka-sha-lla-n-pita, paaga-y-ta   aypa:-na-lla-n-paq.
be-sub-just-3P-ABL pay-inf-OBJ reach-sub-just-3P-PUR
```

'according to how much he can afford to pay.' (more literally,
'according how much expenditure he can cover, to be able to pay')

```
...mas   chanin-ta      kubra-n  quya:-chi-sha-n-pita-na.             754
   more expensive-OBJ charge-3 pass:time-caus-sub-3P-ABL-now
```

'...he charges more depending on how much time he (the buyer)
has made him spend.'

179

10.5.7. Time

-pita 'ABL' may indicate that the referent of the substantive to which it is attached is some time prior to the time of the main clause. This may be a time word or a substantive clause. Examples with substantive clauses follow:

```
Chay warmi-ta   ashi-sha-n-pita     wakin-qa kasara-n achka            755
that woman-OBJ  search-sub-3P-ABL   some-TOP marry-3  many

wamra-n-kuna   ka-pti-n-raq.  Wakin runa-qa ashi-sha-n-pita
child-3P-plur  be-adv-3P-yet  other man-TOP search-sub-3P-ABL

wata-ta  mas minus-ta kasara-n.
year-OBJ more less-OBJ marry-3

'After having searched for that woman (i.e., engagement), some
marry only after there are many children. Other men, after
searching, marry in less than a year.'

Karnabal fista  usha-sha-n-pita    birnis-lla-n-na    qalla-yku-n       756
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL  Friday-just-3P-now begin-impact-3

rusyun.
procession

'The procession begins on the first Friday following the end of
Carnival.'

Wañu-sha-n-pita pacha         asta  allpa-man   pampa-na-n-yaq...        757
die-sub-3P-abl  continuously  until ground-GOAL bury-sub-3P-LIM

'From the time he died continuously until he is buried...'
```

Examples with time words are *kanan-pita* (today-ABL) 'from today on', *laguna-pita* (one o'clock-ABL) 'anytime after one o'clock'. *timpu-pita* (time-ABL) 'ahead of time', *taarri-n-pita* (afternoon-3P-ABL) 'late in the afternoon'.

For 758. perhaps it would be better to say that *-pita* 'ABL' indicates that the substantive clause to which it is attached is a prior circumstance, rather than a prior time:

```
Pero horqo-ri-pti-n       kawari-sha     wañu-sha-n-pita-na.            758
but  remove-pnct-adv-3P   come:to-3PERF  die-sub-3P-ABL-now

'But after they pulled him out, he came to from his having
been unconscious.'
```

10.5.8. Contrast and Comparison

When one thing/circumstance/event is compared or contrasted with another, *-pita* 'ABL' marks the object to which comparison is made.[177] For example, in 759 those who know how to read are set in contrast to those who don't:

```
Chay-chaw-pis huk ka-na-n  ligi-y-ta    yacha-q  wakin kaq-pita-qa.     759
that-LOC-also one be-sub-3 read-inf-OBJ know-sub other def-ABL-TOP

'Among them there should be one who knows how to read--in
contrast to the others (who need not know).'

Chay-pita kaq-ta-qa llapan-ta manda-n eskirbaanu...                     760
that-ABL  def-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ order-3 escribano

'All the others--in contrast to that one (the aforementioned
"capilla")--the escribano gives orders to...'
```

---

[177]The use of the ablative case for this function is very common across the languages of the world.

180

For examples of comparatives, see 12.9.

10.5.9. Reason

-*pita* 'ABL' may indicate that the substantive to which it is attached is the reason that something (subsequent) was done: e.g.:

```
Qam-pita maqa-sha ka-shka-:.                                          761
you-ABL  hit-prtc be-perf-1

'I have been hit on your account.'
(Note: this does not mean 'I have been hit by you'.)

Ama mikuy-pita-qa llaki-ku-y-chu.                                     762
not food-ABL-TOP  be:sad-refl-2IMP-NEG

'Do not be disillusioned because of food (the lack of it)!'
```

This use of -*pita* 'ABL' occurs with simple substantives or with substantives derived from clauses (formed by -*y* 'inf' by -*sha* 'sub'. etc.):

```
...asta-n ... mana sumaq mikuy-pita rika-sha-n-pita...               763
   whip-3      not  well  food-ABL  see-sub-3P-ABL

'...he whips him ...because he did not watch well (to keep the
animals) out of the crops...'

Qella ka-y-pita  osyoosu ka-y-pita  chay-lla-ta    miku-n.           764
lazy  be-inf-ABL lazy    be-inf-ABL that-just-OBJ  eat-3

'Because they are lazy, they just eat that.'

Riginti  ka-sha-:-pita alli bindisyun-ta Yus qo-ma-n.               765
believer be-sub-1P-ABL good blessing-OBJ God give-=>1-3

'Because I am a believer God gives me good blessings.'
```

10.5.10. Avoidance

When -*pita* 'ABL' occurs on a clause substantivized by -*na* 'irrealis sub', that substantive indicates an unrealized event/circumstance being avoided (by doing what is described in the main clause): e.g.:

```
...chari-pa:-ma-nchi ... yawar pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita.        766
   grab-ben-=>1-12       blood splatter-ben-=>1-sub-12P-ABL

'...he grabs it for us ... lest blood splatter on us.'

...uysha-n-kuna-ta   atoq miku-na-n-pita kuyra-na-n-paq.             767
   sheep-3P-plur-OBJ fox  eat-sub-3P-ABL care-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order that they (dogs) watch lest a fox eat their
sheep.'

Kargu  ka-shpa-n-pis  mana rura-n-chu chay wasi-chaw                 768
office be-adv-3P-even  not  do-3-NEG  that house-LOC

qachwa-na-n-pita.
dance-sub-3P-ABL

'Even if he has some office he does not carry it out,
lest they dance in that house.'

..."pishtako      pay" ni-ma:-na-n-pita                              769
   slaughterer    he   say-=>1-sub-ABL

'...lest they say of me, "he is a slaughterer."'
```

181

10.5.11. Loan Translations Using -*pita* 'ABL'

There are a number of cases in which -*pita* 'ABL' seems to be part of a loan translation (calque). For example, with the verb *perduna-* 'tc forgive', that of which one is forgiven usually takes -*ta* 'OBJ'. However, some speakers use the ablative: *hucha-n-kuna-pita perduna-* 'forgive from their sins'. In Spanish this would use the preposition *de*, which has many of the same functions that -*pita* 'ABL' has in HgQ. Other examples follow:

```
Allqu  y  mishi  yarqay-pita-na-shi.                        770
dog    and cat   hunger-ABL-now-IND

'The dog and the cat are now hungry.'
(Spanish, 'estar de hambre')

Yaku-na-y-pita    ka-yka-:                                  771
water-des-inf-ABL be-impfv-1

'I am thirsty.'
(Spanish: 'estar de sed')
```

Example 772 the loan translation would be based on an identification of -*pita* 'ABL' with the Spanish preposition *por* rather than *de*:

```
Cheqlla-n-pita paasa-yka-n   raahi-n...                     772
waist-3P-ABL   pass-impfv-3 skirt-3P

'A skirt passes about her waist...'
In Spanish: "...pasa por la cintura"
```

10.6. -*man* 'GOAL'

-*man* 'GOAL' marks the endpoint of some path. This path may be real or metaphorical. A real path may be

- the motion of an object through space (see section 10.6.1),
- a static path through space (see section 10.6.2).

A metaphorical path may be

- the motion to an altered state or event (see section 10.6.3),
- the motion of a period of time to some endpoint (see section 10.6.4).

Other topics treated in this section are:

- Spanish calques (see section 10.6.5).
- A case that defies explanation (see section 10.6.6).
- To go after (see section 10.6.7),
- The interaction of -*man* with pre-transition suffixes (see section 10.6.8).

10.6.1. The Motion of an Object Through Space

With intransitive verbs[178] -*man* 'GOAL' is used to mark the endpoint of some path along which the referent of the subject travels (has travelled, will travel. etc.); e.g.:

---

[178]The following transitive verbs have been attested with goals: *aywa-* 'go', *bulka-* 'tip over', *chaya-* 'arrive'. *hama-ykU-* 'to sit', *heqa-~hye:ga-~yaqa-~yeqa-* 'fall. come from around'. *hunta-* 'gather all together', *kama-ka:-* 'to accommodate/arrange at', *kuti-* 'return'. *llalli-* 'to race to'. *lloqshi-* 'to leave'. *lluchka-* 'to slip', *pacha-kU-* 'to take lodging at', *pa:ri-* 'to fly'. *pa:sa-* 'to pass by'. *pinti-* 'to jump'. *puñu-* 'to lay down to sleep at'. *raki-ka:-* 'to be divided', *salta-* 'to jump'. *sha-mu-* 'to come', *shikwa-* 'to fall'. *wicha-* 'to climb'. *yaykU-* 'to enter'.

182

```
Pillku-man  aywa-shaq.                                                  773
Pillku-GOAL go-1FUT
```

'I will go to Pillku.'

With transitive verbs[179] -man 'GOAL' is used to mark the endpoint of some path along which the referent of the direct object (or some understood object) is caused to travel. (Of course, in the case of verbs like apa- 'take' and pusha- 'lead' the referent of the subject must also travel toward the endpoint of the path.) For example:

```
Kay-man   shunta-mu-y.                                                  774
here-GOAL gather-afar-2IMP
```

'Gather them (to) here.'

Aywa- 'to go' and chaya- 'arrive' frequently occur with a name bearing -man 'GOAL'. The meaning in this case is 'going to the place where x is' (where x is the person named). In the absence of a clear notion of where that person may be at the moment, it means 'to where x lives, to x's dwelling'. For example. Juan-man aywa-n (John-GOAL go-3) means either 'He goes to where John is' or 'He is going to John's house'.

10.6.2. A Static Path Through Space

In the following, -man 'GOAL' marks the endpoint of a static path through space:
chuta 'to stretch', e.g.:

```
Wash-laa-man    kay-laa-man    chuta-nchi.                              775
other-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL stretch-12
```

'We stretch it from here to there.'

iksi- 'to knot', e.g.:

```
Chay-ta  iksi-nchi chawpi-n  shipra-sha-nchi:-man.                      776
that-OBJ knot-12   middle-3P peel-sub-12P-GOAL
```

'We knot that in the middle of where we have peeled back
(its covering)'

pitu- 'to wrap, to tie up', e.g.:

```
Wanka-man pitu-y.                                                       777
rock-GOAL tie-2IMP
```

'Tie him up to the rock.'

to:pa- 'to abut, to touch', e.g.:

```
Toopa-ykU-chi-n        chay achikya-ra-yka-q-man.                       778
touch-impact-caus-3    that shine-stat-impfv-sub-GOAL
```

'He touches it to the place where it glows.'

---

[179] such as the following: apa- 'take', ashta- 'to carry', chaqchu- 'to sprinkle', chura- 'to place'. hati- 'to stick into/onto', hita- 'to throw', horqU- 'to remove', indriga- 'to turn over to', ishpa- 'to urinate', kacha- 'to send', kwadra-chi- 'to park (a car)', laqta- 'to smear', mashta- 'to spread out', paka- 'to hide', pampa- 'to bury', pillu- 'to wind (e.g., string) onto', pirwa- 'to store', puchka- 'to spin', pusha- 'to lead', qanra- 'to soil', qara- 'to feed', qarqU- 'to expel', qata- 'to roof', qaya-mu- 'to call to come', saqta- 'to knock over', sindi- 'to light (candles) at', sipra- 'to peel', sipu- 'to sew into?', shunta- 'to gather together', tikwa- 'to tip over', toqa- 'to spit', warda- 'to save', warkU- 'to hang up', waykU- 'to stoke', wika-pa- 'to throw over embankment', wiña- 'to pour into'.

tukna- 'to lean against'

wata- 'to tether, to tie (at the end of a rope)'. e.g.:

```
Chupa-n-man   ruyru rumi-ta   wata-ku-rku-n.
tail-3P-GOAL  round rock-OBJ  tie-refl-up-3
```
779

'He ties a round rock to his tail.'

```
Wata-shka-shu-nki  noqa-man.
tie-perf-=>2-2     I-GOAL
```
780

'He tied you to me.'

A path extended in space may be denoted by a pair of noun phrases bearing *-man* 'GOAL' referring to the endpoints. This use of the case marker may be of one of the other categories. For example, in 781 *-man* is used as the transitive verbs described above in section 10.6.1:

```
Ishkay estaaga-ta hawi-nchi wak-la:-man      kay-la:-man.
two    stake-OBJ  plant-12  there-side-GOAL this-side-GOAL
```
781

'We plant two stakes, one over on that side, one on this
side (so as to stretch string between them).'

Example 782 presents a series of animals standing one on top of the other. The donkey is standing on the ground; in 10.5.1 the use of *-pita* 'ABL' is explained as the point from which an upward path extends. But in the other cases, the place where the animal is to stand is marked with *-man*. Perhaps this is because they involve the exertion of force (i) against something sentient (as opposed to the ground) or (ii) in the direction of the focal point of the narrative (the donkey):[180]

```
Ichi-shaq   pampa-pita.  Hana-:-man      allqo ichi-nqa.
stand-1FUT  ground-ABL   on:top-1P-GOAL  dog   stand-3FUT
```
782

```
Mas   hana-n-man   mishi.  Ultimu-man qallu.
more  top-3P-GOAL  cat     last-GOAL  rooster
```

'I will stand on the ground. The dog will stand on top of
me. The cat on top of him. Finally the rooster.'

10.6.3. The Motion to an Altered State or Event

In the following there is motion (in a metaphorical sense) to some new state or the initiation of some new event:

allcha-ka:- 'to get well' e.g.:

```
Allcha-kaa-chi-ra-n    ka-sha-n-naw   saanu-man.
fix-pass-caus-past-3   be-sub-3P-SIM  health-GOAL
```
783

'He cured him (so that he became) well like he was.'

chura- 'to put' e.g.:

```
Waqay-man chura-ka-ra-n.
cry-GOAL  place-pass-past-3
```
784

'He began to cry.'

kama-ka:- 'to arrange, put one's self to'. e.g.

```
Kama-ka-sha             upu-y-man.
arrange-pass-3PERF      drink-inf-GOAL
```
785

'He put himself to drinking.'

---

[180] I offer these as wild conjectures!

184

kumlita-ka:-
    'to complete'. e.g.,

      Kumlita-ka-n huk runa enteeru-<u>man</u>.   786
      complete-pass-3 one man complete-GOAL

      'He completes himself into a man (out of dissociated body
      parts).'

ruka-ka:- 'to change (clothing)'. e.g..

      Huk roopa-lla-<u>man</u> ruka-ka-n.   787
      other clothes-just-GOAL exchange-pass-3

      'They change into other clothes.'

tikra-   'to turn into' e.g..

      Ishka-n tikra-sha huknaylla-<u>man</u>.   788
      two-3P change-3PERF just:one-GOAL

      'The two have turned into one.'

      Allpa-<u>man</u> tikra-nki-paq.   789
      earth-GOAL turn-2FUT-fut

      'You will turn into dirt.'

10.6.4. The Motion of a Period of Time to Some Endpoint

There are a number of temporal noun phrases which bear *-man* 'GOAL'. These could be regarded as simply idiomatic expression. Whether they constitute a dead metaphor or a live one, they are consistent with the use of *-man* 'GOAL' as indication of the endpoint of a path. in this case the path being an advance of time. Examples follow:

mas chaka-y-lla-man[181] (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) 'when it got dark(er)'
o:raman 'at the time', e.g.:

      Chaya-paaku-n parla-sha-n oora-<u>man</u>.   790
      arrive-plur-3 agree-sub-3P time-GOAL

      'They arrive at the time they had agreed upon.'

mas raatuman. raatuman 'a moment later. in a moment'. e.g.:

      Mas raatu-<u>man</u> sha-rI-mu-nki.   791
      more moment-GOAL come-pnct-afar-2

      'Come back in a just a minute.'

      Hama-paari-y raatu-<u>man</u>.   792
      sit-moment-2IMP moment-GOAL

      'Sit down for a moment.'

pacha warayman 'along toward morning, near dawn'

---

[181]Or *chakayllaman* or *chakayman*.

185

10.6.5. Spanish Loan Translations (Calques)

The following illustrate involving -man 'GOAL' with loan translations (calques) from Spanish:

```
Mayu-man   sirkay ka-sha    huk kantiina.                              793
river-GOAL close  be-3PERF a    store
```

'There was a store close to the river.'
Spanish: cerca *al* rio 'near *to the* river'

```
... puñu-sha-n-man      huk hachaasu qo-yku-sha.                       794
    sleep-sub-3P-GOAL a    axe:blow give-impact-3PERF
```

'...he gave an axe-blow to where she was sleeping.'
Spanish: *a* donde dormia '*to* where she slept'

```
autorida:-man   dimanda-                                              795
authority-GOAL demand
```

'to denounce before the authority' (tiñinti, agenti, etc.).
Spanish: demandar *al* autoridad 'denounce to the authority'

In 796 it seems that there is a path extending through space, namely the line of sight ending at the object seen. Nevertheless, this is probably a Spanish calque from *viendo a lejos.*

```
Karu-man rika-r  mana reqsi-shka-:-chu                                796
far-GOAL see-adv not  recognize-perf-:-NEG
```

'Seeing it afar off, I did not recognize it.'
Spanish: viendo *a* lejos 'seeing to far'

10.6.6. Residue

In example 797, *inteeru* 'all around' bears -man 'GOAL' to express '*from* all around'. -pita 'ABL' seems far more appropriate given the meaning; I do not know why -man is used rather than -pita.

```
... aypalla-ta wasi-n-chaw chara-n inteeru-man                        797
    a:lot-OBJ  house-3P-OC have-3  all:over-GOAL

mañaku-na-n-paq.
ask:for-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...He keeps a lot in his house because *from* all over people ask him for it.'

10.6.7. 'To go after'

With *aywa-* 'to go'[182] a noun phrase may bear -man 'GOAL' but the meaning is not 'to go to x' (where x is the place referred to by the noun phrase) but rather 'to go after x, to go to get (and bring back) some of x'. For example,

```
Aywa-y asukar-man.                                                   798
go-2IMP sugar-GOAL
```

'Go after sugar!' or 'Go and get some sugar!'

```
Pillku-ta   aywa-shka-: awrrinti-man.                                799
Pillku-DIR go-perf-1   fire:water-GOAL
```

'I went to Pillku to get fire water.'

---

[182]Perhaps this occurs with other verbs as well.

There is an interesting contrast between *-man* 'GOAL' and *-koq* (-kU-q) 'to get'; in example 800 means to go for firewood in the sense of getting it and bring it back. whereas in 801 it means to go to cut/work firewood (not necessarily bring it back):

```
Aywa-y   yanta-man!                                              800
go-2IMP  firewood-GOAL

'Go after firewood.' (i.e., to bring it back)

Aywa-y   yanta-koq.                                             801
go-2IMP  firewood-to:get

'Go for firewood.' (i.e., to chop it)
```

10.6.8. Interaction with Pre-Transition Suffixes

Some verbal roots (e.g., *puñu-* 'sleep', *hama-* 'sit') are inherently stative, implying no motion and rejecting a noun phrase with *-man* 'GOAL'. But if *-ykU* 'impact' or *-chi* 'cause' is added to the verb. it implies motion. either of the subject in the case of *-ykU* or of the object in the case of *-chi*.

```
a. *Chay-chaw  puñu-ykU-n.  (there-LOC   sleep-impact-3)         802
b.  Chay-chaw  puñu-yka-n.  (there-LOC   sleep-impfv-3)
c.  Chay-man   puñu-ykU-n.  (there-GOAL  sleep-impact-3)
d. *Chay-man   puñu-yka-n.  (there-GOAL  sleep-impfv-3)

b. 'He is sleeping there.'
c. 'He lays down (to sleep) there.'

Chawra  puñu-chi-n     altus-lla-man-shi.                       803
so      sleep-caus-3   second:floor-just-GOAL-IND

'So he allows/makes them sleep upstairs.'

Kawallu-n-pa waqta-n-man   hama-yku-r...                        804
horse-3P-GEN back-3P-GOAL  sit-impact-adv

'Seating himself on the back of his horse...'

Punku-n-man   hama-ykU-chi-r...                                 805
door-3P-GOAL  sit-impact-caus-adv...

'Seating them by the door...'
```

10.7. *-yaq* and *-kama* 'Limitative'

In HgQ, *-yaq* and *-kama* are synonymous. have the same range of uses, and occur with roughly the same frequency.[183] *x-yaq* or *x-kama* indicates that x is either

- the physical limit of some motion (see section 10.7.1). or
- the temporal limit of some activity or period of time (see section 10.7.2).

Whether a limitative substantive should be interpreted as spatial or temporal depends on the nature of its referent of the verb of which it is an argument.

---

[183]The Spanish preposition *hasta* 'until. up to' is sometimes used in the formation of limitive expressions. thus: *asta* [X]-*yaq* or *asta* [X]-*kama*.

187

10.7.1. Spatial Limit

In the following. a substantive with -yaq~-kama 'LIM' is the physical limit of some motion through space:

```
Noqa chaki-lla-pa  aywa-ku-shka-: Pillku-kama.                              806
I    foot-just-adv go-refl-perf-1 pillku-LIM
```

'I went all the way to Pillku on foot.'

```
Hata-rI-chi-sha         hanaq-yaq.                                         807
stand-asp-caus-3PERF high-LIM
```

'They raised (the building) high (i.e. made it very tall).'

```
Nirkur qepa ataka-n-ta  sipra-nchi ula:-kama qaracha-n-ta.                 808
then   hind foot-3P-OBJ peel-12    low-LIM   skin-3P-OBJ
```

'Then we peel back the skin of its lower hind legs as far
as the lower part.'
(ula: is a contraction of ura la:(do) 'lower side'.)

Example 809 shows two limitative expressions which are appositive. one with -yaq, the other with -kama:

```
Chay-kuna uchku-n ruri-kama  pampa-na-n-paq  alli ka-na-n-yaq.             809
that-plur dig-3   inside-LIM bury-sub-3P-PUR good be-sub-3P-LIM
```

'They dig down (into the ground). far enough to bury it.'

Substantives with -yaq~kama 'LIM' often occur paired with an ablative -pita: e.g.:

```
Nirkur mayu-pita punta-yaq-shi chura-naku-yku-n  wicha-lla-n-pa.           810
then   river-ABL peak-LIM-IND  place-recip-asp-3 slope-just-3P-GEN
```

'Then they place themselves all along the side of the mountain,
from the river to the peak.'

10.7.2. Temporal Limit

There are two types of temporal limit. First. -yaq~-kama occurrs on a substantive which refers to a time or period of time to express persistent state/activity until that time (as in example 811) or to the completion of that time period (as in example 812):

```
Duran asta  mirkulis-kama.                                                 811
last-3 until Wednesday-LIM
```

'It lasts until Wednesday.'

```
Hina       ka-shun-ran  ishkay kimsa killa-kama.                          812
like:that be-12FUT-yet two     three month-LIM
```

'We will be in that condition for two or three more months.'

```
Wakin warmi-kuna hapallan quyaa-ku-y-ta       muna-n                       813
some  women-plur single   remain-refl-inf-OBJ want-3

mas  unay-yaq.
more time-LIM
```

'Some women want to remain single longer.'
(unay 'prior or subsequent time')

```
...kiida-ku-n   duyñu asta  imay-yaq-pis.                                  814
   remain-refl-3 owner until when-LIM-indef
```

'...they remained the owners forever.'

The following are temporal uses of -yaq~-kama following a substantive which seem to be fairly

idiomatic and well on their way to being single, frozen expressions:

raatu-man-kama (moment-GOAL-LIM) 'just a second, momentarily'.

tempraanu-yaq-lla (early-LIM-just) 'very early'.

pacha wara-y-kama (firmament to:dawn-inf-LIM) 'at dawn'.

Second, *-yaq~-kama* occurs following substantivized clause. When the substantivizer is *-na*. the meaning of the whole expression is 'until'. When it is *-sha*, the meaning is 'while'. (These are also discussed in Weber [39]. section 5.1.) The difference between the *-sha*-POS-LIM and *-na*-POS-LIM is represented in 815 and 816:

```
----------------->|      time of main clause                       815
          - - - - > |     time of the -sha-POS-LIM clause

a. . . . . . . >  |         time of the main clause (punctual)      816
      - - - - - > |         time of the -na-POS-LIM clause

b. . . . . . > |------->    time of the main clause (ongoing)
      - - - - - > |         time of the -na-POS-LIM clause
```

In 815. the event/state referred to by the subordinate clause occurs until the event/state of the main clause is accomplished. i.e., *while* it is ongoing. In 816, the event/state referred to by the subordinate clause persists *until* the event/state of the main clause is intiated: this event may be punctual (816a) or an ongoing activity (816b). These will be discussed in turn.

When *-yaq~-kama* occurs on a clause substantivized by *-sha*, that clause indicates that the activity expressed by the main clause persists *until* the completion of the activity indicated by the substantivized clause. Such substantive clauses are often best translated into English by 'while'. Examples follow:

```
...awkis  ooso-qa  ashi-paku-q      aywa-ku-sha-n-kama...    ...   .-----.     817
   old    bear-TOP search-diff-sub go-refl-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...while the old bear had gone to scavenge...'

```
Kay-chaw ka-sha-yki-yaq sumaq miku-nki.                                         818
here-LOC be-sub-2P-LIM  well  eat-2FUT
```

'While (as long as) you are here you will eat well.'

```
Chay-pita wañu-sha-n-yaq wiyaraachi-nchi.                                       819
that-ABL  die-sub-3P-LIM wait-12
```

'After that we wait until it has died.'

```
Mana sooda-sha-yki-yaq aru-pti-ki-qa...                                         820
not  sweat-sub-2P-LIM  work-adv-2P-TOP
```

'Unless you work until you sweat...'

In 821 the running persists until being able to run is no longer possible:

```
Y   koorri-sha mana puyri-sha-n-kama  atoq.                                     821
and run-3PERF  not  be:able-sub-3P-LIM fox
```

'And the fox ran until he was no longer able (to run).'

When *-yaq~-kama* occurs on a clause substantivized by *-na*, it looks forward to an event/state not yet initiated; that substantivized clause indicates that the activity expressed by the main clause persists *until* the initiation of the state or activity expressed by the substantive clause. Examples follow:

```
...arma-n  kiki-lla-n   arma-ku-y-ta        yacha-ku-na-n-yaq.                       822
   bathe-3 self-just-3P bathe-refl-inf-OBJ  learn-refl-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...they bathe them until they learn to bathe themselves.'

```
...arma-n  iti     ka-sha-n-pita asta  ishkay wata-yoq                              823
   bathe-3 infant be-sub-ABL     until two    year-have

ka-na-n-yaq.
be-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...they bathe them from the time they are infants until
they are two years old.'

```
...asta    pantiyun ruri-n     kapilla-man chaya-chi-na-n-yaq.                      824
   until cemetery inside-3P chapel-GOAL arrive-caus-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...until they arrive at the chapel inside the cemetery.'

```
... kunbira-n yapa-ri-r    yapa-ri-r    awni-na-n-kama.                             825
    serve-3   add-asp-adv add-asp-adv agree-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...they serve (drink) again and again until he agrees.'

```
Mas  willa-pa:-shun-chu qasa-ka:-na-n-kama.                                         826
more tell-ben-12IMP-NEG calm-pass-sub-3P-LIM
```

'Let's not spread the news more until the situation calms down.'

pacha wara:-na-n-kama 'until dawn': e.g.:

```
Qachwa-n pacha wara:-na-n-kama.                                                     827
dance-3  firmament dawn-sub-3P-LIM
```

'They dance until dawn.' (*pacha waraanan* is very early
in the morning when it is barely light)

10.8. -paq 'PUR'

-paq 'PUR' has a wide range of uses: at the heart of these seem to be the notions of *purpose* and *benefit/detriment*. This section is organized in terms of the following uses of -paq 'PUR':

- to express 'for the benefit of' (see section 10.8.1),
- to express 'purpose' or 'reason' (see section 10.8.2),
- with purpose complements (see section 10.8.3),
- with the concept of 'exchange' (see section 10.8.4),
- with compound tenses (see section 10.8.5,
- in time expressions (see section 10.8.6),
- to mean 'concerning' or 'about' (see section 10.8.7),
- to mean 'for x to do' (see section 10.8.8),
- to carry out some role/office (see section 10.8.9).

10.8.1. -paq to Express 'for the benefit of'

If φ refers to Φ then φ-paq may mean 'to the benefit (or detriment) of Φ'. For example, in example 828, money is contributed for the benefit of the saint:

```
Ni qellay-ta-pis  chura-n-chu santu-paq-qa.                                         828
nor money-OBJ-even place-3-NEG saint-PUR-TOP
```

'Nor does he contribute any money for the saint.

Other examples of this use follow:

190

```
...kanta-chi-n finaaru-paq.                                          829
    sing-caus-3 deceased-PUR
```

'...they have him (the cantor) sing for the deceased.'

```
...llapan pobri-paq wakcha-paq yus-ninchi ka-yka-n                   830
    all    poor-PUR orphan-PUR God-12P    be-impfv-3

maña-ku-q-paq-qa        arrpinti-ku-q-paq-qa
ask-refl-sub-PUR-TOP repent-refl-sub-PUR-TOP
```

'...God benefits (is for) the poor, the orphans, those
who ask, and those who repent.'

```
Punku-kuna-paq lumismo   chura-nchi numral-kuna-ta...               831
door-plur-PUR  same:way  place-12   lintel-plur-OBJ...
```

'In the same way we place lintels (in the wall which is
being constructed) for the doors.'

10.8.2. -*paq* to Express 'purpose' or 'reason'

A PURPOSE CLAUSE is formed by -*na*-POS-*paq*, where POS is a possessive suffix. It may be used in a variety of ways (as listed in the introduction): the most basic is to express the *reason* or *purpose* for which something was done. For example, in 832, the reason for coming (and hence arriving) to a particular place was to be able to go from there to Pillku:

```
...chaya-mu-ra-n ... wara-nnin     Pillku-ta aywa-na-n-paq.         832
    arrive-afar-past-3 tomorrow-super pillku-OBJ go-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...he arrived ... to go to Pillku the following day.'

(This use is discussed more fully in Weber [39], section 5.4.1.)

-*paq* 'PUR' may also indicate reason or purpose with a simple substantive; e.g. *ima-paq* 'for what reason' in the following example:

```
Taqay awkis buurru-ta  ima-paq-na-taq kawa-chi-shun-pis.            833
that  old   donkey-OBJ what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12-even
```

'Why (for what reason) should we let that old donkey live
any longer?'

-*paq* 'PUR' may be used to indicate that some thing is good forr some purpose: as e.g. a chair is good for the purpose of resting:

```
Kay-qa    utika-r  hama-ku-na-:-paq-mi.                             834
this-TOP  tire-adv sit-refl-sub-1P-PUR-DIR
```

'This (is) for me to sit on when I get tired.'

```
Chay-kuna-ta  adibina-na-yki-paq qam mana ka-nki.                   835
that-plur-OBJ divine-sub-2P-PUR  you not  be-2
```

'You are not able to divine those things.' (lit. 'You
are not for divining/foretelling those things.')

A common use for this is in saying what remedy is good for a particular illness; e.g.:

```
Ruymatismu-paq ahinkus y   matiku.                                 836
rheumatism-PUR (plant) and (plant)
```

'(A cure) for rheumatism is *ahinkus* and *matiku*.'

191

```
Choqa-y-paq   tos+conbolsiillu-paq chay-ta-mi   upu-nchi          837
cough-inf-PUR convulsive:cough-PUR that-OBJ-DIR drink-12

chakra-chaw-qa.
rural:areas-LOC-TOP
```

'We take (drink) that in the urban areas for cough and for
convulsive cough.'

10.8.3. *-paq* with Purpose Complements

The purpose clause structure has become the basis of a type of complement.[184] This differs from the use described in section 10.8.2 in that it does not convey a strong notion of 'purpose': the purpose structure has simply become the grammatical mechanism for forming the complement. (In most cases, it is fairly transparent that the complement originated from a purpose complement: thus, the complement is not void of the notion of 'purpose'.) For example, *parla-* 'converse' followed by *-kU* 'reflexive' occurs with a purpose clause to mean 'to agree to x' where x, the purpose clause, expresses that to which the parties agreed: e.g.:

```
... wañu-chi-ma:-na-n-paq     parla-ku-sha.                      838
    kill-caus-=>1-sub-3P-PUR  converse-refl-3PERF
```

'... they agreed to kill me.'

A command may be indirectly quoted as a purpose clause complement to *ni-* 'say': e.g.:

```
Pi-taq ni-shka-shu-nki aywa-na-yki-paq?                          839
who-?? say-perf=>2-2   go-sub-2P-PUR
```

'Who told you to go?'

10.8.4. *-paq* with the Concept of 'exchange'

With the notion of exchanging goods and services, *-paq* 'PUR' may mark the substantive referring to what was received in return:

```
Chawra runa nobillu-n-ta qellay-paq rantiku-yku-r...            840
so     man  oxen-3P-OBJ  money-PUR  sell-impact-adv
```

'So the man, having sold his team of oxen for money...'
(i.e., to get money in exchange for the team)

```
Chay misa-paq paaga-n kasara-q-kuna.                            841
that mass-PUR pay-3   marry-sub-plur
```

'The ones who are getting married pay for that mass.'

In examples 842 and 843, the expressions *paaga+paq* 'to do for pay' *ranti+paq* 'to be for sale' are morphologically anomalous in that *-paq* 'PUR' directly follows the verb root (with no substantivizer):

```
Simri  chay papil-ta  paaga+paq rura-n.                         842
always that paper-OBJ for:pay    make-3
```

'They always write that document in exchange for pay.'

---

[184]This is discussed more fully in Weber [39], section 4.3.

```
Chay murtahi ka-n ranti+paq Pillku-lla-chaw.                          843
that shroud  be-3 for:sale  pillku-just-LOC
```

'There are such shrouds for sale in Pillku.'

10.8.5. -*paq* with Compound Tenses

-*paq* 'PUR' is used in the formation of (i) the imminent future (see 8.11). and (ii) the true future relative clause (see Weber [39]. section 2.3.2.3). An example of each follows:

```
Tuni-na-:-paq    ka-yka-:.                                            844
fall-sub-1P-PUR  be-impfv-3
```

'I am about to fall.'

```
Rika-chi-shayki  wara     rantiku-na-:-paq ka-yka-q     kuchi-ta.     845
see-caus-1=2>FUT tomorrow sell-sub-1P-PUR  be-impfv-sub pig-OBJ
```

'I will show you the pig that I will sell tomorrow.'

10.8.6. -*paq* in Time Expressions

-*paq* may be used with a word referring to a time[185] to express various temporal concepts such as 'by the time that'. 'at the time'. 'before lapsing of a certain amount of time'. etc.[186] Examples follow:

```
Kanan mallway-paq      yapya-ta          usha-ri-:.                   846
today mid:afternoon-PUR cultivation-OBJ  finish-pnct-1
```

'I (will) finish my cultivation by the middle of this afternoon
(by the time of the mid afternoon coca break).'

```
...sha-mu-n     listun-wan-na    parla-sha-n  oora-paq-qa ...         847
   come-afar-3 list-3P-COM-now  speak-sub-3P time-PUR-TOP
```

'...they come with their list by time agreed upon...'

```
Chawra-q kontratu-ta  rura-shun pusaq hunaq-paq.                      848
so-TOP   contract-OBJ do-12     eight day-PUR
```

'Let us fulfill the contract eight days hence.'

```
...maña-ku-n  tesureeru-kuna ishkay kimsa hunaq-paq                   849
   ask-refl-3 treasurer-plur two    three day-PUR

santu-ta  adurna-chi-na-n-paq
saint-OBJ decorate-caus-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...the treasurers ask him to have the saint decorated within
two or three days.'

---

[185]E.g.. *mallway* 'mid afternoon'. *oora* 'moment'. *hunaq* 'day'. *diya* 'day'. *wata* 'year').

[186]These meanings are quite distinct from the meanings with the limitative 'until, while': e.g.:

```
a. Wara-paq      ⎫
   tomorrow-PUR  ⎪
                 ⎬ rura-shaq.
b. Wara-kama     ⎪ do-1FUT
   tomorrow-LIM  ⎭
```

a. 'I will do it by tomorrow.'
b. 'I will do it until tomorrow.'

193

```
"Aywa-shun" ni-sha-n   diya-paq listu ka-na-n  llapan...              850
go-12FUT   say-sub-3P day-PUR  ready be-sub-3 all
```

'Everything should be ready by the day they are going.'

```
Palla-rku-r  chaki-chi-nchi. Nirkur chura-nchi                        851
pick-asp-adv dry-caus-12     then   place-12

watan-nin-paq-na.
next:year-3P-PUR-now
```

'Having picked them (beans) we dry them. Then we
store them for the following year.'

```
Kimsa killa ishkay killa fista-paq pishi-yka-pti-n...                 852
three month two    month fiesta-PUR lack-impfv-adv-3P
```

'Two or three months before the fiesta...' (lit. 'Lacking
two or three months before the fiesta...')

See Weber [39], section 5.1. for brief mention of temporal expressions using -*na-POS-paq*
(-sub-possessive-PUR) in the sense of 'by the time that'.

10.8.7. -*paq* to Mean 'concerning' or 'about'

-*paq* 'PUR' may mark a substantive 'about which' or 'concerning which' something is said.
Verbs with which -*paq* has this meaning are *ni-* 'say', *parla-* 'converse'. *rima-* 'to speak good or bad
of. *willa-* 'tell'. Examples follow:

```
"...wikapa-riyku-shaq"  ni-sha     sunsu-paq yapay mayur-nin.         853
    throw:over-sud-1FUT say-3PERF stooge-PUR again older-3P
```

'Again his older brother said concerning the stooge.
"... I will throw him over (a cliff)"'

```
... mana alli-paq-qa   parla-pa-n-chu.                                854
    not  good-PUR-TOP converse-ben-3-NEG
```

'...they do not speak kindly to them (i.e., not concerning
anything good).'

```
Ama pi-ta-pis     willa-pa-y-chu     noqapaq.                         855
not who-OBJ-even tell-ben-2IMP-NEG me-PUR
```

'Do not tell anyone about me.'

```
Mana rispita-q    ka-q-paq-qa     willa-n huti-n-pa                   856
not  respect-sub be-sub-PUR-TOP tell-3 name-3P-GEN

"mana rispita-ma-sha-chu"   ni-r.
not  respect-=>1-3PERF-NEG say-adv
```

'They tell by name about those who have not
been respectful saying, "He did not respect me."'

Verbs which express states of mind (e.g. *kushi-* 'be happy,' *llaki-* 'be sad,' *qonqa-* 'forget') often
occur with a direct quote expressing the state of mind. It is not surprising then, that these verbs may
occur with a substantive bearing -*paq* referring to what was thought; e.g.:

```
Ima-paq-taq llaki-ku-nki?                                             857
what-PUR-?? be:sad-refl-2
```

'Why are you sad?'

```
Ama qonqa-shun-chu ... nuybu bawtisaadu-kuna-paq.                     858
neg forget-12FUT-NEG   new   baptized:ones-plur-PUR
```

'Let's not forget about the newly baptized ones.'

194

```
Y   awturidaa rabya-sha-na              kondor-paq-qa.                    859
and authority become:angry-3PERF-now condor-PUR-qa
```

'And the authority became angry with the condor.'

10.8.8. -*paq* to Mean 'for x to do'

In 860 -*paq* 'PUR' indicates the person to whom a task corresponds:

```
Pay-paq-qa mas   huk-naw   kustumri-n.                                    860
he-PUR-TOP more other-SIM custom-3P
```

'There is still another custom for him (to do).'

10.8.9. -*paq* to Express 'to carry out some role/office'

Verbs such as *ya-ykU-* 'enter' and *chura-* 'place' are used with -*man* to indicate the goal of spatial motion. see example 861a. By contrast. -*paq* is used with these verbs indicating the office that someone enters or into which he is put. see 861b. (Note. this is not physical entry into an office. but taking on that office as a role or responsibility.)

```
a. Wasi-man    chura-sha.                                                861
   house-GOAL place-3PERF

b. Manda-q-paq    chura-sha.
   order-sub-PUR place-3PERF

a. 'He put it into the house.'
b. 'He put him in as boss.'

...apa-ku-ra-n  ...  chunyaq hirka-man      warmi-n-paq.                  862
   take-refl-past-3 deserted mountain-GOAL wife-3P-PUR
```

'...he took her ... to a deserted mountain for his wife.'

```
Chay runa-kuna-ta balumintu-paq ruwa-ku-n ...                            863
that man-plur-OBJ liaison:man-PUR beg-refl-3
```

'They beg various men to be their representative... (to represent a suitor's clan to the family of the prospective bride)'.

10.9. -*pa* 'GEN'

-*pa* 'GEN' marks a diffuse orientation (in space. in time....) with respect to the referent of the -*pa*-marked substantive. This manifests itself in various ways. among them the following:

- Through/By way of (see section 10.9.1).
- Along a defined course (see section 10.9.2).
- In the area of (see section 10.9.3),
- Diffuse Goal (see section 10.9.4).
- Admixture (see section 10.9.5).
- Various senses of 'over' with *hana* (see section 10.9.6.).
- Orientation to geographical features (see section 10.9.7).

-*pa* has other uses discussed in various places in this work:

- -*pa* adverbializer (see section 5.6.1.2).
- -*y(lla*pa) adverbializer (see section 14.4).
- -*naw* + *pa* manner adverbials (see section 10.12). and
- -*pa* 'GEN' used in the possessive construction (see section 12.3).

195

10.9.1. *-pa* to Mean 'through/by way of'

In the following examples. the referent of the subject of the clause passes through or goes by way of the referent of the *-pa*-marked substantive:

```
Noqa heqa-mu-shaq          huk punta-pa...                               864
I    come:over-afar-1FUT a   ridge-GEN
```

I will come over a ridge (afar off)...

```
Niykur Llaksa-pa  paasa-nchi.                                           865
then   Llaksa-GEN pass:through-12
```

'Then we go through Llaksa (on our way to Wahaq).'

```
Achki rika-rI-mu-sha        ka-sha    bintaana-pa-shi.                  866
light see-state-afar-prtc be-3PERF window-GEN-IND
```

'The light had been seen through a window.'

In 867. the object passes through that referred to by the substantive to which *-pa* is suffixed:

```
Chay-pita waska-ta ushtu-nchi uchku-sha-nchii-pa.                       867
that-ABL  rope-OBJ poke-12     make:hole-sub-12P-GEN
```

'Then we poke the rope through the hole we made.'

In 868 the area through which the light passes is not specified as a particular place. but is specified as to its size:

```
Mas    hatun-pa  achikya:-mu-n.                                         868
more large-GEN shine-afar-3
```

'The light shines through a larger (opening)'
(when the curtains are drawn back)

10.9.2. *-pa* to Mean 'along a course'

In the following examples. some course is prescribed along which the subject moves. This motion may be of many types; e.g. in 869 it is sewing a border onto the edge of a poncho and in 870 it is attaching ornaments all around the edge of the platform on which a saint is carried in a fiesta:

```
Huk rebeetin-ta      awa-nchi punchu-pa  kantu-n-pa                     869
one edge:strip-OBJ weave-12 poncho-GEN edge-3P-GEN

hira-na-n-paq.
sew-sub-3-PUR
```

'We weave a strip to sew around the edge of the poncho.'

```
Chay-man  wata-rkU-:ri-r   inteeru kantu-n-pa tumari-q                  870
that-GOAL tie-asp-plur-adv all     edge-3P-GEN go:about-ADV

adurnu-wan     adurna-n.
ornaments-COM decorate-3
```

'Having tied that to it. they decorate it with ornaments all around its edge.'

871 describes a group of people in a fiesta who form a circle around a tree by holding hands. Then hand in hand they circle around the tree:

196

```
Kumun      yoora-ta saqta-na-n-paq llapan                                871
community  tree-OBJ fell-sub-3P-PUR all

chari-nakU-rkU-:ri-r tuma-pa-n inteeru kantu-n-pa.
grab-recip-plur-adv  go:about  entire border-3P-GEN

'For the community to fell the tree, having all takun
hands they go around the entire border of the tree.'
```

In 872 the course is the two sides of a fox's mouth. (to form a hole in the middle so the fox can whistle like a bird):

```
Shimi-ki-ta   hira-shun  ishka-n-la:-pa.                                 872
mouth-2P-OBJ  sew-12     two-3P-side-GEN

'We will sew up your mouth along its two sides.'
```

In 873 the motion is around the edge of town, along its boundaries:

```
Kampu tuma-n        marka-pa kantu-n inteeru linda-n-pa              ..  873
campo go:about-3 town-GEN edge-3P entire  boundary-3P-GEN

pullan chawpi-pita.
half   center-ABL

'The campo (administrator responsible for crops) goes about
the entire boundary of the town's edge, half way between.'
```

In 874 the course is 'about the waist':

```
Nirkur cheqlla-n-pa wata-pa-n kurdun-ta.                                 874
then   waist-3P-GEN tie-ben-3 cord-OBJ

'Then they tie a cord about his waist.' (of preparing a body
for burial)
```

In 875 two courses are contrasted, *wayra-pa* 'through the air, along the wind' and *allpa-pa* 'along the ground':

```
Qam sha-mu-nki  wayra-pa buyla-y-pa  y    pay sha-mu-n                   875
you come-afar-2 wind-GEN fly-inf-ADV and he  come-afar-3

allpa-pa    laata-y-lla-pa.
ground-GEN crawl-inf-just-GEN

(of a condor and a frog who have raced) 'You come flying
through the air and he comes crawling along the ground.'
```

Similarly, in 876 *hanaq-pa* means (roughly) 'through the sky':

```
Noqa aywa-: hanaq-pa buyla-y-pa...                                       876
I    go-1   high-GEN fly-inf-GEN

'I go flying way up (in the air)'
```

10.9.3. *-pa* to Mean 'in the area of'

In the following examples, the substantive to which *-pa* is attached refers to an area; *-pa* indicates that the event/state described in the clause took/takes place within this area.[187]

---

[187] The difference between the use of *-pa* 'GEN' and *-chaw* 'LOC' is subtle: with *-pa* the area is less precisely delineated. i.e., more diffuse. than with *-chaw*. For example. in 877. the vicinity of the town is not a precisely defined area. If *-chaw* had been used. it would have indicated motion within a narrower. better defined region (i.e. the town as the concentration of houses about the church and municipality).

```
Rigidur-na  tuma-n         hinan marka sirka-lla-n-pa.            877
rigidur-now circulate-3 same  town  close-just-3P-GEN
```

'The *rigidur* makes rounds right in the vicinity of the town.'

```
Mas  qechwa-pa  llapan runa armaku-n kara  semaana             878
more valley-GEN all    men  bathe-3P every week

warmi ollqo-pis.
women man-also
```

'Farther down in the valleys .11 persons bathe each
week, women and m..n alike.'

```
Chay-wan qonqur-ni: chaki-n-pa  kuchu-rI-ykU-ma-sha.¹⁸⁸
that-COM knee-1P    foot-3P-GEN cut-asp-asp-=>1-3PERF
```

'With that he cut me in the area just below my knee.'

```
Washa-kaq punta-qa iskerra-kaq laadu-pa huk punta ka-n,        880
other-def peak-TOP left-def    side-GEN one peak be-3

Waqra Willka
(name)
```

'(Considering) the peak on the left, on the left side
of it there is a peak, (named) Waqra Willka.'

```
Achka yaku-yoq   ka-ra-n   chay raqra+n aywa-q-pa-qa.          881
much  water-have be-past-3 that valley  go-sub-GEN-TOP
```

'There was lots of water along that valley.'

```
Chari-q-kaq  ñawpa-n-pa  ichi-n.                               882
grab-sub-def side-3P-GEN stand-3
```

'The one grabs it stands along side it.'

```
Awkin-na-shi      ollqo-yka-n            ruri-lla-pa-qa.  ··    ···  ··     883
old:man-now-IND become:angry-impfv-3 inside-just-GEN-TOP
```

'The old man is now becoming very angry, but just inside
(i.e., he conceals his anger).'

In 884, *hatun-pa* indicates the area in which the tearing took place--not a particular area but its size--and in 885, *altu-lla-pa* indicates the area in which the sheeps wool is cut--not a particular place, but a distance relative to the sheep's skin:

```
Chawra mas  hatun-pa  rachi-sha rika-ku-n.                     884
so     more large-GEN tear-prtc see-refl-3
```

'So the tear became greater.'
(lit. 'It was seen to be torn larger.')

```
...huk deedo altu-lla-pa  uysha-pa qara-n-pita                 885
   one finger high-just-GEN sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL

...pullan deedo altu-pa.
   half   finger high-GEN
```

'...about a finger's (length) above the sheep's skin,
...half a finger high'

10.9.4. *-pa* to Mean 'diffuse goal'

To indicate the goal of some motion. if the destination is definite some case marker other than *-pa* is used (e.g. *-man* 'GOAL' or *-ta* 'OBJ'). *-pa* indicates a diffuse goal: it indicates that the destination is to the area of some place. not to a particular place. For example, in 886 the destination is anywhere far off. and in 887 it is some other place:

```
Karu-pa suwa-naku-r      aywa-ku-n.                                    886
far-GEN steal-recip-adv  go-refl-3

'(of a couple eloping) Stealing each other to some far place,
they go off.'

Wakin runa-qa huk-la:-pa   qeshpi-pa-yku-n.                            887
other man-TOP one-side-GEN escape-ben-impact-3

'Other men escape to some other place.'
(to the detriment of those who have come to ask for his
daughter's hand in marriage)
```

In 888 the musicians travel to many towns (no particular one):

```
Alli tuka-paku-r    puri-ku-na-paq      fista-n  fista-n             888
good play-inst-adv  travel-refl-sub-PUR fiesta-3P fiesta-3P

marka-kuna-pa.
town-plur-GEN

'(It would be) good for us to go about playing from fiesta
to fiesta among the towns.'

Chay ishkay kaq-qa  kara uunu-n-pa mandu-n,        ima-man           889
that two    def-TOP each one-3P-GEN subordinate-3P what-GOAL

may-pa-pis      muna-sha-n  oora kacha-ku-na-n-paq.
where-GEN-even  want-sub-3P time send-refl-sub-3P-PUR

'The two of them each has his own subordinate, so that he can
send them after whatever and to wherever when they want.'

Wara      apa-nki washa         pampa-pa.                            890
tomorrow  take-2  over:there    plain-GEN

'Tomorrow take it to that plain over there.'
```

To say 'to return home' one says *wasi-n-pa kuti-ku-*: this could indicate returning to live in the vicinity of one's parent's house. not right in it. To use *-man* or *-ta* rather than *-pa* would indicate return right to a particular house.

The expression *kaminu-POS-pa aywa-kU-* 'to go on one's way' is consistent with the *-pa*'s use as indicating a diffuse goal.

In 891. it is sight directed toward a goal (rather than physical motion toward a goal) which is diffuse:

```
Noqa rikcha-ku-yka-:    inteeru-pa.                                  891
I    look-refl-impfv-1  entire-GEN

'I am looking (intently) all about.'
```

10.9.5. *-pa* in Reference to Admixtures

-pa 'GEN'. in combination with *-wan* 'COM'. occurs on a substantive referring to a substance mixed with or employed in combination with some other: see examples 892 and 893:

```
Nirkur yaku-n-pa-wan      pampa-man    mitu-wan taku-chi-sha.                    892
then    water-3P-GEN-COM ground-GOAL mud-COM   mix-caus-3PERF
```

'Then he mixed it with mud along with water on the ground.'

```
...arma-n  wakin yaku-lla-wan      wakin habun-nin-pa-wan                        893
   bathe-3 some  water-just-COM other soap-3P-GEN-COM
```

'...they bathe. some with just water, others along
with soap.'

10.9.6. -pa with hana 'above'

-pa 'GEN' occurs frequently with hana. Various notions are indicated thereby. In 894 hana-pa means (roughly) 'uphill':

```
...hana-pa ura-pa    aywa-sha-n-chaw...                                          894
   up-GEN  down-GEN go-sub-3P-LOC
```

'...as one went up the hill and the other went down...'

In example 895. hana-n-pa means (roughly) 'above. over (non-contiguously)':

```
...kurral hana-n-pa    paasa-qpaq.                                               895
   corral over-3P-GEN pass-result
```

'...so that he passed over the corral.'

In examples 896 and 897. hana-n-pa means (roughly) 'on top of (contiguously)':

```
Luusa-n    hana-n-pa    hati-ku-sha        puka llachapa-ta...                   896
blouse-3P over-3P-GEN put:on-refl-prtc red  clothing-OBJ
```

'On top of her blouse she has put on (an item of) red
clothing.'

```
Niykur mantay hana-n-pa    awa-nchi chaqlia-wan                                  897
then   rafter over-3P-GEN weave-12 sticks-COM

teeha qata-na-n-paq-na
tiles roof-sub-3P-PUR-now
```

'Then we weave with roofing sticks on top of the rafters,
so as to roof it with tiles.'

In examples 898 and 899 hana-lla-n-pa means (roughly) 'on the surface of':

```
Chay-ta    hana-lla-n-pa    kuchu-nchi tumari-q                                 898
that-OBJ over-just-3P-GEN cut-12       encircle-sub

ruri-n-kaq-ta      mana daaña-y-lla-pa.
inside-3P-def-OBJ not   damage-inf-just-GEN
```

'We cut that just on its surface all the way around,
(being careful) not to cut that which is inside.'

```
Rebuka-sha-n    hana-n-pa    pinta-sha yoraq pintuura-wan.                       899
plaster-sub-3P over-3P-GEN paint-prtc white paint-COM
```

'On top of where it has been plastered, it is painted with
white paint.'

10.9.7. -n+pa in Orientation to Geographical Features

-n+pa (into which -pa 'GEN' has become frozen) indicates a geographical feature (such as slope) along which some motion takes place: e.g.:

200

```
Nirkur  mayu-pita punta-yaq-shi chura-naku-yku-n        900
then    river-ABL peak-LIM-IND  place-recip-asp-3

wicha-lla-n+pa.
climb-just-3P+GEN
```

'Then from the river to the peak they place themselves
along the slope.'

```
Llacon-pita Wahaq-man  aywa-na-n-paq kaminu-pa         901
Llacon-ABL  Wahaq-GOAL go-sub-3P-PUR road-GEN

lloqshi-nchi wicha-n+pa    Llacon-pita.
leave-12     climb-3P+GEN Llacon-ABL
```

'To go from Llacon to Wahaq we take the road
going up from Llacon.'

```
Chawra atoq-qa kuchpa-r-shi aywa-ku-n tunan-pa.        902
So     fox-TOP roll-adv-IND go-refl-3 slope-GEN
```

'So the fox goes rolling down the slope.'

'Geographical feature' as used above should be broad enough to include *hiilu* 'string' in 903: the
string is established as an indicator along which the bricks are laid:

```
...hiilu-ta    chuta-yku-r.    Hiilu-lla-n+pa      perqa-nchi        903
   string-OBJ stretch-asp-adv string-just-3P+GEN stack-12

rumi-ta.
rock-OBJ
```

'...stretching a line. We stack the rocks right along the
line.'

```
Yaku-n+pa      aywa-sha.                               904
water-3P+GEN go-3PERF
```

'He went along the water.'
(i.e. along its surface, as in a boat)

10.10. -wan 'COM'

-*wan* 'COM' has various uses. among them the following:

- Instruments (see section 10.10.1).
- Co-Participants (see section 10.10.2).
- Conjunctions (see section 10.10.3).
- Subjects of causatives (see section 10.10.4).
- Circumstances (see section 10.10.5).
- Under the authority of (see section 10.10.6).

10.10.1. Instrument

-*wan* 'COM' is used to mark instruments (and is the only case marker which does so).
Examples follow:

```
Ushachi-sha-n iharu-n-kur,a        beela-wan achki-pa-n kara       905
baptize-sub-3 step:child-3P-plur candle-COM shine-ben-3 each

kanta-y-lla-n.
sing-inf-just-3
```

'His stepchildren by baptism (to whom he is godfather)
shine a candle for him every time (the cantor) sings.'
```

```
...piyun-ta ashi-yku-r      arma-chi-n    yaku-wan.                906
   peon-OBJ search-asp-adv bathe-caus-3 water-COM
```

'...having searched (successfully) for a peon, they have him
bathe (the body) with water.'

```
Chaki-n-ta taka-yku-sha   tabla-wan.                              907
foot-3P-OBJ strike-asp-sub plank-COM
```

'He struck his foot with a plank. (of a child who was picking
up a plank and dropped it on his foot)'

```
Kuura  kasara-chi-n misa-wan.                                    908
priest marry-caus-3 mass-COM
```

'A priest marries with a mass.'

```
...yaku-ta     manka-kuna-wan    achka-ta ashta-ku-yku-r         909
   water-OBJ pot-plur-COM      lots-OBJ carry-refl-asp-adv

arma-ku-n      pushillu-wan hana-n-man  wiña-ku-y-lla-pa.
bathe-refl-3 cup-COM      top-3P-GOAL pour-refl-inf-just-GEN
```

'...bringing lots of water with pots, they bathe pouring it
over themselves with a cup.'

```
...rutu-y-ta     qalla-yku-nchi tihira-wan...                    910
   cut-inf-OBJ begin-asp-12    scissors-COM
```

'...we begin to cut it with scissors...'

```
...muula-pa waska-n-wan-shi wata-ku-rku-sha...                   911
   mule-GEN rope-3P-COM-IND tie-refl-asp-3PERF
```

'...tying it up with the mule's rope...'

```
Chusku-q wintu-n kahun-wan  pampa-ku-pti-n.  Kahun-niynaq-lla    912
four-hum carry-3 casket-COM bury-refl-adv-3P box-without-just

pampa-ku-pti-n    ishka-q-lla  apa-n kirma-wan.
bury-refl-adv-3P two-prs-just take  stretcher-COM
```

'Four persons carry it if they are going to bury him with the
casket. If they are going to bury him without a casket, just
two persons take him with a stretcher.'

```
Y    runa atoq-pa konsehu-n-wan  nobillu-n-ta libra-yku-n        913
and man  fox-GEN counsel-3P-COM oxen-3P-OBJ  free-asp-3
```

'And the man was able to free his oxen with the fox's
counsel.'

```
...awi-ku-n   ...   qasa-q   yaku-wan habun-nin-pa-wan.          914
   rinse-refl-3    cold-sub water-COM soap-3P-GEN-COM
```

'...they rinse themselves ... with cold water and soap.'

-wan 'COM' may mark the material with or from which something is made or done; e.g.:

```
...awa-nchi chaqlla-wan          teeha-wan qata-na-paq-na.       915
   weave-12 roofing:sticks-COM tile-COM  roof-sub-PUR-now
```

'...we cover (the rafters) with roofing sticks in order to
roof it with tiles.'

```
Noqa pecho-:-ta     puka-ya:-chi-shka-: uchu-wan.                916
I    breast-1P-OBJ red-bec-caus-perf-1 hot:pepper-COM
```

'I made my breast red with hot pepper. (bird to inquisitive fox)'

```
Nuwal-wan tiñi-rku-r atapa-nchii-raq.                            917
walnut-COM dye-asp-adv form:skein-12-yet
```

'Having dyed it with walnut (leaves) we then make a skein.'

202

```
...pinta-sha    yoraq pintuura-wan.                        918
   paint-3PERF white paint-COM
```

'...painted with white paint.'

10.10.2. Co-Participant

Some verbs require a conjoined subject. i.e.. two (or more) co-participants. For example. when *kasara-* 'to marry' is used to express that a man and a woman marry, then one or the other (depending on perspective) will be marked with *-wan*:[189] e.g.:

```
Churi-ki-wan kasara-shaq.                                  919
son-2P-COM   marry-1FUT
```

'I will marry your son.'

pilya- 'to fight', *parla-* 'to converse' and *tinku-* 'to encounter' are other verbs which take co-participant subjects:

```
...chay-wan pilya-na-n-paq    kundinaadu-wan.              920
   that-COM fight-sub-3P-PUR condemned-COM
```

'...in order to fight the condemned spirit with that.'

```
Chay yayku-q-kuna-lla-wan     parla-n rimeeru.             921
that enter-sub-plur-just-COM speak-3 first
```

'First they speak with those who are entering (office).'

tinku- has two meanings. 'to encounter' and 'to be similar to' both of which take co-participating subjects: First, in the sense of 'encounter':

```
Atoq-wan-shi wanchaq        tinku-ra-n  huk hunaq.         922
fox-COM-IND  type:of:bird meet-past-3 one day
```

'A fox and a bird met one day.'

Second. in the sense of 'be equal to':

```
Rura-yka-sha-nchi mana tinku-nqa-paq-chu   ka-yka-q-wan.  923
make-impfv-sub-12 not   equal-3FUT-fut-NEG be-impfv-sub-COM
```

'What we are making will not be the same as the one which is.'

The comitative substantive may co-participate in indicating something which--along with the other participant(s)--is attractive:

```
Chuku-wan kama-ra-nki.                                     924
hat-COM   fit-state-2
```

'It looks good with the hat.'
(lit. 'You are fitting with the hat.')

ka- 'to be', *tiya-* 'to reside' and *qoya:-* 'to pass time' may all be mean 'to live with (as man and wife)' when used with co-participating subjects. e.g.:

```
Mana huk-wan    warmi-: ka-n-man-raq-chu.                 925
not  other-COM wife-1P be-3-cond-yet-NEG
```

'It just could not be that my wife is living with (having an affair with) another (man).'

---

[189]When *kasara-* 'to marry' is used in the sense of a priest performing the act of marriage. then those married by that act will be the object of that act: *-wan* is not used in this case.

203

```
Chay-naw ni-pti-n    hipash warmi mana muna-r-qa    "mana-mi         926
that-SIM say-adv-3P young  woman not  want-adv-TOP not-DIR

qam-wan tiya-:-man-chu" ni-n.
you-COM live-1-cond-NEG say-3
```

'When he says that (i.e. proposes marriage) if she does not
want to (marry him), the young woman says, "I would not live
with you."'

```
...runa warmi-wan mana alli qoya-pti-n                               927
   man  woman-COM not  good pass:time-adv-3P

pay arrigla-na-n-paq
he  fix-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...for him to reconcile matters if the man and
woman do not live compatibly.'

In examples 928 and 929 there is a co-participant, but of a different kind: the participant
marked by -wan is taken (in hand) by the principle participant:

```
Eskirbaanu urdin-ta  hurqu-n       agenti-pita chay urdin-wan        928
scrivener      order-OBJ take:out-3 agent-ABL    that order-COM

tuma-na-n-paq.
go:about-sub-3P-PUR
```

'The scrivener gets an order from the agent in order to go
about with that order.'

```
Chay-pita-qa chay runa-qa sha-mu-n     listu-n-wan-na...            929
that-ABL-TOP that man-TOP come-afar-3 list-3P-COM-now
```

'After that, that man comes with a list...'

10.10.3. Conjunction

-wan 'COM' is used in the conjunction of substantives: this is discussed in section 18.1.2. In
this use, -wan co-occurs with other case markers: e.g. in 930 it co-occurs with -ta 'OBJ' and in
931 with -pa 'GEN':

```
Pushpu-ta ... hara-ta-wan                                           930
beans-OBJ     corn-OBJ-COM
```

'beans ... and corn'

```
rihidur-pa  alwasir-nin-pa-wan                                      931
rigidor-GEN alguacil-3P-GEN-COM
```

'of the the rigidur and of his alguacil'

In examples 932-934, -wan marks the conjunction of an object:

```
...arrus-nin-ta-wan miku-ma:-na-n-paq                              932
   rice-3P-OBJ-COM  eat-=>1-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...in order to eat me along with rice.'

```
Ichik  ramita-lla-ta     upu-nchi konaka-wan ichik-lla-ta.          933
little (plant)-just-OBJ drink-12 cognac-COM little-just-OBJ
```

'We drink a little ramita with a little bit of cognac.'

```
Desayuno-:-ta-qa      upu-:    pobri-qa kamcha-lla-ta-wan.          934
breakfast-1P-OBJ-TOP drink-1 poor-TOP corn-just-OBJ-COM
```

'(Being) poor, we drink our breakfast just with
toasted corn.'

The subjects of verbs made reciprocal by the addition of *-nakU* 'recip' sometimes have co-participant subjects conjoined by *-wan* 'COM': e.g.:

```
Hwan-wan Pablu rika-naku-n.                                    935
John-COM Paul  see-recip-3
```

'John and Paul see each other.'

10.10.4. Subject of Causativized (Transitive) Verb

When rn intransitive verb is causativized its subject becomes the object of the causative. But when a (di)transitive verb is causativized, its subject is made a comitative (instrumental) (and its object remains as the object of the verb). Examples:

```
Qam mentira-yki-wan noqa-ta kriyi-chi-ma-nki.                  936
you lie-2P-COM      I-OBJ  believe-caus-=>1-2
```

'You make me believe (it) with your lies.'

```
Nirkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.                      937
then   wind-COM  take-caus-12 straw-3-OBJ
```

'Then we make the wind take the straw.' (of threshing)

```
...mayurdoomu willa-chi-n sirbinti-n-wan iskirbaanu-ta...      938
   majordomo tell-caus-3 servant-3P-COM scrivener-OBJ
```

'...the majordomo has his servant inform the scrivener...

```
Chawra agenti-na mandun-kuna-wan       qaya-chi-mu-n   chay    939
so     agent-now subordinate-plur-COM call-caus-afar-n that

uyshiiru-pa tayta-n-ta    mama-n-ta    multa-ta
shepherd-GEN father-3P-OBJ mother-3P-OBJ fine-OBJ

paaga-chi-na-n-paq.
pay-caus-sub-3P-PUR
```

'So the agent has his subordinates go off and tell the shepherd's parents to come, so as to make them pay a fine.'

This is also discussed in section 9.6.3.1.

10.10.5. Circumstance

When *-wan* 'COM' occurs following an infinitive (formed with *-y* 'INF') or a clause subordinated by *-na*, it may mean 'in the circumstance of' or 'being in the condition or circumstance': e.g.:

```
Rabya-sha ka-y-niki-wan maqa-shka-nki.                         940
angry-prtc be-inf-2P-COM hit-perf-2
```

'Being angry, you hit him.'

```
Kuyraa           kiru-yki-ta paki-na-n-wan.                    941
be:careful:lest teeth-2P-OBJ break-sub-3P-COM
```

'Be careful lest it break your teeth' (the very hard bread you are chewing on)

205

```
...tinri looku-ta-y-lla-wan      yaqa-ku-sha    chay                          942
    tiger crazy-bec-inf-just-COM fall-refl-3PERF that

laguuna-man.
lake-GOAL
```

'...the tiger, (with the circumstance of) becoming crazy,
fell down into that lake.'

```
Chawra buurru-ta qayku-pa-yka:-sha-:-wan                                      943
then   donkey-OBJ drive-ben-impfv-sub-1P-COM

...yaku  apa-ku-n.
   water take-refl-3
```

'Then, as we were driving the donkey (into a
swollen river) ...the water took it.'

```
Kanan-qa tuna-shun chanka tuka-y-lla-wan-pis      rikra                       944
now-TOP  dance-12   leg   play-inf-just-COM-even arm

hichka-y-lla-wan-pis.
scrape-inf-just-COM-even
```

(a frog to other frogs) 'Now let us dance, playing
our legs and scraping our arms.'

10.10.6. Under the Authority of

muna-y (want-inf) may express the ideas of authority, power, or responsibility: e.g.:

```
Muna-y-niki-chaw ka-:                                                         945
want-inf-2P-LOC  be-1
```

'I am under your authority.'

In the following examples, to express "have authority over x" or "be responsible for x" the
substantive phrase denoting x bears *-wan* 'COM':

```
Eskirbaanu llapan fista-kuna-wan  muna-y-niyoq.                               946
scrivener all    fiesta-plur-COM want-inf-having
```

'The scrivener has authority over all the fiesta.'

```
Muna-y-niyoq     ka-nqa llapan wamra-:-kuna-wan.                              947
want-inf-having be-3FUT all    child-1P-plur-COM
```

'He will be responsible for all my children.'

10.11. -naw 'Similarity'

-naw 'SIM' is used to express similarity, either real or hypothetical. This section includes
discussions of the following:

- the order of *-naw* and other post-transition suffixes (see section 10.11.1),
- *-naw* indicating simile (see section 10.11.2),
- *-naw* to indicate manner (see section 10.11.3),
- *chay-naw* and *kay-naw* referring to events (see section 10.11.4),
- *chay-naw* and *kay-naw* referring to speech (see section 10.11.5),
- *-naw* in 'about to' (see section 10.11.6),
- *-naw* to mean 'approximately' (see section 10.11.7),
- *huk-naw* 'different(ly)' (see section 10.11.8).

Section 10.12, concerning *-naw-pa* 'manner' reports another use of *-naw*.

10.11.1. The Order of -*naw* and Other Post-Transition Suffixes

-*naw* 'SIM' may (and frequently does) co-occur with the other case markers, e.g..

```
Wañush-ta-naw rika-shka-:.                                      948
dead-ACC-SIM  see-perf-1
```

'I saw him as one who had died (but he was actually alive)'

The order of -*naw* 'SIM' with the other case markers is not well defined: consider for example the following in which either order is permissible (with no detectable difference in meaning):

```
a. wawqe-n-naw-kuna-ta  (brother-3P-SIM-plur-OBJ)              949
b. wawqe-n-kuna-ta-naw  (brother-3P-plur-OBJ-SIM)
```

```
a. 'to those who were like his brothers'
b. 'as though to his brothers'
```

```
                                  ⎧ a. -man-naw                950
Ishka-n tikra-sha  huknaylla-  ⎨ b. -naw-man.
two-3P  turn-3PERF just:one       ⎩ c. -man
```

```
a.b. 'The two of them have become as though one.'
c.   'The two of them have (indeed) become one.'
```

10.11.2. -*naw* Indicating Simile

The primary use of -*naw* in HgQ is to make hypothetical comparisons, i.e., to liken a thing, a manner, an event,... to some other.

```
Haacha-wan-naw mutu-n machiita-wan.                            951
axe-COM-SIM    chop-3 machete-COM
```

'He chops with a machete as though it were an axe.'

```
...sabra-wan kapitaana rasun+pa rima-naku-q-naw               952
   sabra-COM kapitaana really   speak-recip-sub-SIM
```

```
iwal      iwal      rima-naku-n.
together together speak-recip-3
```

'...the *sabra* and the *kapitaana* (two positions in a certain fiesta ceremony) argue back and forth as though they were really arguing.'

```
...hati-pa-n     murtaahi-ta ... pasay+pa    uma-pita asta     953
   put:on-ben-3 shroud-OBJ      completely head-ABL to
```

```
chaki punta-yaq kuura-pa    llachapa-n-ta-naw.
foot  point-LIM priest-GEN clothes-3P-OBJ-SIM
```

'...they put a shroud on him ... which, like a priest's clothes runs completely from his head to the tips of his feet.'

```
Parabin ni-n  kargu yayku-q    runa-pa maki-n-ta   hawkalla    954
parabin say-3 cargo enter-sub man-GEN hand-3P-OBJ (greeting)
```

```
ni-q-naw     chari-pti-n.
say-sub-SIM grab-adv-3P
```

'A "parabin" is when they take the hand of the man who is entering the office as though to greet him.'

```
Hama-ku-q-naw      rura-pa:-ma-nki.                            955
rest-refl-sub-SIM do-ben-=>1-2
```

'Do it for me as though resting.'
(i.e., 'Don't work hard at it.')

```
...ishka-n-pa ka-n baara-n-kuna  qaruti-naw.                          956
   two-3P-GEN be-3 staff-3P-plur stick-SIM
```

'...both of them have a *baara*, like a walking stick.'

```
Runa sigaaru-ta    muka-q-naw  aywa-n                                 957
man  cigarette-OBJ suck-sub-SIM go-3
```

```
achikya achikya achikya-r.
flash   flash   flash-adv
```

'It (a fire fly) goes along flashing like a man
smoking a cigarette.'

The following is an instructive example:

```
Puchu-q-kuna-ta       shunta-ra-n   qanchis kanasta               958
exceed-sub-plur-OBJ gather-past-3 seven   basket
```

```
aypa-q-ta(-naw).
suffice-sub-OBJ(-SIM)
```

'They gathered up what was leftover, enough to fill
seven baskets.'

Without -*naw*. 958 means that there were seven baskets present. and the leftovers filled them: but if -*naw* is added. it means that the quantity of the leftovers would have filled seven baskets. and does not imply that the baskets were present.

10.11.3. -naw Meaning 'manner'

-*naw* 'SIM' may be used to mark the substantive (phrase) which indicates the manner in which an action was done: e.g.. in 959 *chay-naw* 'like that' indicates the maner in which a frog walks:

```
Hina      noqa puri-: chay-naw.   Kustumri-: noqa-pa chay-naw.         959
like:that I    walk-1 that-SIM    custom-1P  I-GEN   that-SIM
```

'I just walk like that. Its my custom to walk that way.'

The more common way to indicate the manner of an action is with -*naw-pa* (-SIM-GEN): see section 10.12. I suspect that in this case -*naw-pa* could have been used instead of -*naw*, with no appreciable difference in meaning.

Example 960 shows a rather different sort of 'manner': the substantive with -*naw* reports the manner of telling. not in the sense of how spoken. but in the sense that the telling responded directly to a series of questions:

```
...willa-shka-:kuna llapan-ta tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla.          960
   tell-perf-11      all-OBJ   ask-=>1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just
```

'...we told him everything just as he asked us.'

I suspect that in this case -*naw-pa* could not have been used, since it indicates 'manner' in a much narrower sense.

10.11.4. *Chay-naw* and *Kay-naw* Referring to Events

Events are referred to with *chay-naw* (that-SIM). for a previously mentioned event, and *kay-naw* (this-SIM). for an event to be mentioned.

```
...fista-ta    rura-na-n-paq kama+ri-ku-r      kay-naw rura-n.              961
  fiesta-OBJ do-sub-3P-PUR prepare-refl-adv this-SIM do-3
```

'...preparing himself to carry out the fiesta, he does this:'
(followed by a description of what he does to prepare)

```
Yapay wasi-n-man      chaya-sha      chay-naw-na.                           962
again house-3P-GOAL arrive-3PERF that-SIM-now
```

Again he arrived to his house that way
(as he had previously done)

```
"Noqa marka-kuna-chaw rika-sha-:-naw yayku-shun-qa..."                      963
  I    town-plur-LOC    see-sub-1P-SIM enter-12IMP-TOP

Chawra chay buurru ni-sha-n-naw-shi...
then    that donkey say-sub-3P-SIM-IND
```

'"Let's enter like I saw in the towns..."
Then as the donkey had said...'

The event referred to may not have been previously mentioned. but must be an actual event happening: e.g.:

```
...sapo kontesta-n, "Saltando brinkando kay-naw  kay-naw".                 964
  frog answer-3       jumping   hopping   this-SIM this-SIM
```

'...the frog replies, "Jumping, hopping, like this,
like this." (as he demonstrates by jumping)

After telling all that is done to prepare a body for burial. one text continues:

```
Chay-naw rura-rkU-:ri-r      kahun-man wiña-n.                             965
that-SIM do-impact-plur-adv box-GOAL  put:in-3
```

'Having done that, they put into the box.'

```
Taksha-kuna hina      chay-naw.                                            966
small-plur like:that that-SIM
```

'Small children are just like that.'
(of children squabbling)

Following a description of some ways to circumvent the traditional customs for marriage (e.g. elopement), the text continues:

```
Pooku  chay-naw-qa  rura-n.                                                967
little that-SIM-TOP do-3
```

'Little do they do that.'

10.11.5. *Chay-naw* and *Kay-naw* Referring to Speech

With *ni-* 'say', *rima-* 'speak (badly of)', *willa-* 'tell', and *parla-* 'speak' one refers to something previously said with *chay-naw* and to something about to be said with *kay-naw*. This is like referring to events (discussed in section 10.11.4) except that what is referred to in these cases is not the act of speaking, but the speech itself. Examples follow:

```
Atoq ni-n  kay-naw, "Ima-taq rura-nki kanan?"                              968
fox  say-3 this-SIM  what-?? do-2     now
```

'The fox says (like this), "What are you doing now?"'

```
"... Wara     wañu-chi-shun." Chay-naw ni-sha    duyñu-:.                   969
    tomorrow die-caus-12FUT  that-SIM say-3PERF owner-1
```

'"... Tomorrow we will kill him." My owners said (like) that.'

```
Chay-naw willa-yku-pti-n...                                        970
that-SIM tell-impact-adv-3

'When he told them (like) that,
```

10.11.6. *-naw* in 'about to'

The combination *-q-naw ka-* (-sub-SIM be-) means 'about to', 'on the verge of', or 'as though to': e.g.:

```
Taripa-q-naw       ka-pti-n  mas-raq-shi  koorri-y-ta          971
encounter-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND run-inf-OBJ

qalla-yku-n.
begin-impact-3

'When he (the fox) was about to catch up to him
(the frog). he (the frog) began to run faster.'

Kargu-ta  yayku-na-n-paq  awni-q-naw   ka-pti-n-qa...           972
cargo-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR agree-sub-SIM be-adv-3P-TOP

'When he is about to agree to enter the cargo....'
```

10.11.7. *-naw* to Mean 'approximately'

-naw 'SIM' may be used to hedge quantities: e.g.:

```
Ayka-naw-ta-taq      tanta-ta  chara-nki?                       973
how:many-SIM-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ have-2

'About how many (pieces of) bread do you have?'

Tapa-sha-n    tuta    almusa-y          oora-naw...             974
watch-sub-3P morning eat:breakfast-inf time-SIM

'On the morning after they have watched (at the wake), about
breakfast time...'

Santu-pa  diya-n hunaq-qa chaqcha    inti-naw hurqu-n           975
saint-GEN day-3P day-TOP  chew:coca sun-SIM  remove-3

rusyun-ta.
procession-OBJ

'On the day of the Saint's celebration day, about the time
of the coca break (approximately 10:30AM) they take out the
procession.'
```

10.11.8. *huk-naw* 'different(ly)'

huk-naw (one/other-SIM) means 'differently, in a different manner'. (This meaning is due to the 'other' sense of *huk*, so *huk-naw* might be glossed 'like another'.) Examples follow:

```
Chakra runa warmi-ta   ashi-n huk-naw.                          976
rural  man  woman-OBJ seek-3 one-SIM

'Rural men seek (to marry) a woman in a different way.'

Tesureeru huk-naw kargu kustumri-ta rura-n.  Mayurdoomu        977
treasurer one-SIM cargo custom-OBJ  do-3      majordomo

mas  huk-naw tesureeru-pita kustumri-ta rura-n.
more one-SIM treasurer-ABL  custom-OBJ do-3

'The treasurer carries out his cargo in one way; the
majordomo carries out his differently from the treasurer.'
```

210

```
Karnabal-chaw kustumri-n achka kasta huk-naw kara rura-q-pa.          978
carnival-LOC  custom-3P many  kind one-SIM each  do-sub-GEN
```

'In Carnival, their customs are of many kinds, each one who
participates having a different custom.'

10.12. *-naw + pa* 'Manner/Means'

-naw + pa (-SIM-GEN) forms adverbs of "manner" or "means", i.e. the manner in which
something was done or the means by which something was achieved. This is very similar uses of *-naw*
'SIM', but *-naw + pa* refers much more narrowly to the manner in which some action was carried out,
whereas *-naw* has many uses that do not refer specifically to the manner of some action. There are
cases in which *-naw + pa* is possible but *-naw* is not; e.g.:

```
a. *Chay-naw    ⎞                                                      979
      that-SIM  ⎟
                ⎬ musya-ra-n.
                ⎟ know-past-3
b.  Chay-naw+pa ⎟
      that-MAN  ⎠
```

'In that way he knew.' (i.e. '...he came to know')

Other examples follow:

```
Y   chay-pita chaya-mu-sha       TinguMaria-pita hermaanu.            980
and that-ABL  arrive-afar-3PERF Tingo:Maria-ABL brother

"Kay-naw+pa-mi maña-ku-nchi Dyos-ninchi:-ta.  Kay-naw+pa-mi
 this-MAN-DIR  ask-refl-12 God-12P-OBJ        this-MAN-DIR

Dyos-ninchi:-ta qaya-ku-nchi."
God-12P-OBJ     call-refl-12
```

'And after that a brother arrived from Tingo Maria (saying):
"This is the way we (should) pray to God. This is the way
we should call to God."'

```
"...puñu-sha-n-man       huk hachaasu qo-yku-shaq.                    981
    sleep-sub-3P-GOAL one axe:blow give-impact-1FUT

Y   chay-naw+pa-mi taqay sunsu-ta    wañu-chi-shaq.
and that-MAN-DIR   that  stooge-OBJ die-caus-1FUT

Mana-mi ima-naw+pa-pis wañu-chi-:-chu" ni-r...
not-DIR what-MAN-indef die-caus-1-NEG say-adv
```

'...I will give an axe blow to where he is sleeping.
And in that way I will kill that stooge.
I can't kill him no matter how I try.'

Extremely common: *ima-naw + pa* 'how, in what way'; e.g.:

```
...ima-naw+pa-taq salba-ku-shaq.  Ima-naw+pa-taq                      982
   what-MAN-??    save-refl-1FUT  what-MAN-??

alli runa ka-shaq?
good man  be-1FUT
```

'How shall I be saved? How shall I be a good person?'

```
...mana ima-naw+pa waha-ku-y-ta-pis         puydi-n-chu.              983
...not  what-MAN   shield-refl-inf-OBJ-indef be:able-3-NEG
```

'...he wasn't able to shield himself.'

```
Chay runa musya-n-na ima-naw+pa warmi-pa  tayta-n-man            984
that man  know-3-now what-MAN   woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL

chaya-na    ka-sha-n-ta-pis...
arrive-sub  be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
```

'That man knows in what manner one should approach the
woman's father... (to ask for her hand in marriage).'

```
...ima-naw+pa wañu-sha-n-ta-pis      sumaq musya-na-n-paq.      985
   what-MAN   die-sub-3P-OBJ-indef   well  know-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...in order to know precisely how he died.'
(i.e., what caused his death)

10.13. *-niraq* 'Like'

In HgQ, usually *-niraq* 'like' is a phonological part of the word it follows, the combination bearing only one stress. Sometimes it occurs as a separate word (with stress both on it and on the preceding word).[190]

Like *-naw* and *-naw—pa, -niraq* is both case-like and adverbial, and expresses similarity. However, unlike *-naw* 'SIM', *-niraq* is limited to ascribing a characteristic (usually a physical one) to a physical object. The contrast can be seen in 986:

```
                    ⎧ a.  -niraq                                986
Pay miku-n kuchi    ⎨ b.  -naw+pa
he  eat-3  pig      ⎩ c.  -naw

           ⎧ a. like a pig (in some physical characteristic).
'He eats   ⎨ b. in the manner of a pig (e.g. sloppily)
           ⎩ c. like a pig/as though he were a pig.
```

With a substantive which indicates some degree on a scale, as e.g. "old" indicates a degree on the scale of maturity, *-niraq* hedges that degree, i.e., it brings the indicated degree closer toward the mid-point of the scale:

```
Hipash-lla         warmi ka-sha.  Awkin-niraq runa ka-sha.      987
young:woman-just   wife  be-3PERF old-like    man  be-3PERF
```

'His wife was just a young woman.
The man was like old (but not all that old).'

Later the man disguises himself as very old, and goes to spy on his wife:

```
...chaya-sha       awkin pu:ru        chachash-niraq warmi-n-man.    988
   arrive-3PERF old completely incl ined-like    wife-3P-GOAL
```

'...he arrived to his wife's house as a completely old
man, bent over (with age).'

Here *chachash niraq* means 'somewhat inclined'. *chachash niraq* can be said of an elderly person or some thing which has an upward orientation, such as a post.

In 989, I believe *-niraq* is used to avoid speaking too insultingly of those who don't bathe, hedging *inuutil* 'humble, worthless':

```
Wakin inuutil niraq runa-kuna-qa mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu...       989
other humble  like  man-plur-TOP not-now bathe-3-now-indef-NEG
```

'Other humble-like men don't bathe at all...'

---

[190]In many dialects this is the general case.

In the following *-niraq* is part of an idiomatic expression (i.e. one whose meaning is no longer a product of the parts from which it is formed):

tukuy niraq 'all sorts of', and

hukniraqya:-

'(of someone's countenance) to fall'; e.g.:

```
Chay-naw ni-q-ta      wiya-r   huk-niraq-ya-kaaku-ra-n.           990
that-SIM say-sub-OBJ hear-adv one-like-bec-compl-past-3
```

'When he heard what was said, his countenance fell.'

10.14. *-pura* 'between/among'

-pura 'among' is a dying suffix. There are now only two cases in which it is used. First, it is used in the expression *pullan-pura* 'half and half, in equal parts'; e.g.:

```
Ishkan qellay-ta chura-n pullan-pura.                             991
two-3P money-OBJ put-3   half-among
```

'The two of them pay the money half and half.'

```
Rihidur-wan kampu chay-ta gasta-ku-n   pullan-pura.              992
rigidor-COM campo that-OBJ spend-refl-3 half-among
```

'The *rigidor* and the *campo* pay for that, half and half.'

Second, it is used with *kiki* 'self' inflected for person; e.g.:

```
Kiki-n-pura    pilya-n                                            993
self-3P-among fight-3
```

'They fight among themselves.'

```
Kiki-nchi:-pura-shi miku-naku-shun-shi.                          994
self-12P-among-IND  eat-recip-12FUT-IND
```

'They say that we are going to eat one another.'
(an expression jokingly used when there is not much food)

10.15. More About Case

In the rest of this section various facts about case marking are considered: the co-occurrence of case markers (section 10.15.1), the interaction of case relationships and pre-transition suffixes (section 10.15.2), instances where choice of case marker significantly affects the meaning of a verb (section 10.15.3), and a situation in which the choice of case marker dictates a logical property (section 10.15.4).

10.15.1. Co-occurrence of Case Markers

Generally only one case marker occurs per substantive phrase. However there are several cases in which more than one occurs. Both *-pa* and *-wan* frequently co-occur with other case markers. One common case is when *-wan* is used used to indicate conjunction, and the substantive phrase already bears a case marker. For example, in 995, *Juan-ta* is being conjoined with *-wan* 'COM' to *Pablu-ta*, with the result that it bears two case markers:

```
Hwan-ta-wan  Pablu-ta rika-shka-:.                               995
John-OBJ-COM Paul-OBJ see-perf-1
```

'I saw John and Paul / I saw Paul with John.'

213

Another common case is when a possessor of a genitive expression, bearing *-pa* 'GEN', is further case marked to indicate its relationship to the verb. For example, in 996. *Hwan-pa* 'of John' is a possessor; because the possessed part of the genitive construction (e.g. *wasi-n* 'his house') does not occur, multiple case markers results:

```
Hwan-pa-man    aywa-yka-:.                                    996
John-GEN-GOAL  go-impfv-1
```

```
'I am going to John's (house).'
```

Noted that the co-occurring case markers function in quite different ways: the function of *-wan* in 995 is to indicate conjunction: the function of *-pa* in 996 is to indicate possession.

A third case involves the markers which are more "adverbial" in function. These co-occur freely with the other case markers; e.g., see *-naw* 'SIM' in 997:

```
a.  Kiki-n-pa-ta        ⎫                                     997
                        ⎬  maqa-sha.
b.  Kiki-n-pa-ta-naw    ⎭  hit-3PERF
    self-3P-GEN-OBJ-SIM
```

```
a.  'He hit his own.'
b.  'He hit it as though it were his own.'
```

Again in 997. the co-occurring case markers function in different ways: *-naw* does not indicate the relationship of 'his own' to 'hit'--which is marked by *-ta* 'OBJ'--but indicates that the act of hitting something other than his own was as though it were his own.

Weber [39] (section 3.1.3) deals with a type of relativization in which the case marker of the embedded coreferent is retained (when the embedded coreferent is deleted) and is "floated" to the end of the relative clause. A similar process is involved in example 998, in which the case marker *-wan* 'COM' follows the purpose clause (which ends with the case marker *-paq* 'PUR') to indicate that "money" bears a role (instrument) with respect to "buy":

```
Qellay-ta-pis      apa-nki mas  achka-ta                      998
money-OBJ-indef    take-2  more much-OBJ

[yapay ranti-mu-na-yki-paq-wan].
 again buy-afar-sub-2P-PUR-COM
```

```
'Also take much more money with which to again buy.'
```

The final clause of 998 comes about from 999a by the deletion[191] of *qellay* 'money' (999b) and the retention and subsequent "floating" of *-wan* 'COM' (999c):

```
a.  [yapay qellay-wan ranti-mu-na-yki-paq]                    999
           again money-COM  buy-afar-sub-2P-PUR

    ↓ deletion

b.  [yapay  Ø    -wan ranti-mu-na-yki-paq]

    ↘ floating of -wan

c.  [yapay  Ø         ranti-mu-na-yki-paq]-wan
     again                     buy-afar-sub-2P-PUR -COM
```

```
'...with which to again buy.'
```

---

[191]Perhaps it would be better to say that *qellay* is replaced with a null anaphor: its absence is clearly due to the high degree to which *qellay* is the theme of this sentence.

10.15.2. Pre-Transition Suffixes Changing Case Relationships

Consider the effect of *-yku* in the following:

```
a.   Chay-chaw  puñu-yka-n.   (there-LOC   sleep-impfv-3)          1000
b.  *Chay-man   puñu-yka-n.   (there-GOAL  sleep-impfv-3)
c.  *Chay-chaw  puñu-yku-n.   (there-LOC   sleep-YKU-3)
d.   Chay-man   puñu-yku-n.   (there-GOAL  sleep-YKU-3)

a.  'He is sleeping there.'
d.  'He puts (himself) to rest there.'
```

The effect of *-yku* is to change the meaning (and the aspect) of the verb *puñu-* 'sleep'. which of itself is an inherently durative verb.

Another case of pre-transition suffixes influencing case marking involves *-ra:* 'state'. When this suffix occurs on a verb of "placement"[192] the oblique locative relation is changed from *-man* 'GOAL' to *-chaw* 'LOC'. This is due to a change in the meaning from one of 'motion ending at some place' to 'static location at some place'.[193] Thus we find the following combinations:

```
          ⎧a.  -man    ⎫                                           1001
          ⎪      GOAL  ⎪
Chay     ⎨            ⎬   chura-n.
there    ⎪b. *-chaw   ⎪   place-3
          ⎩      LOC    ⎭

a.  'He puts it there.'

          ⎧a. *-man    ⎫                                           1002
          ⎪      GOAL  ⎪
Chay     ⎨            ⎬   chura-ra-n.
there    ⎪b.  -chaw   ⎪   place-state-3
          ⎩      LOC    ⎭

b.  'It is placed there.'
```

Examples:

```
Chay-man     pampa-y.                                              1003
there-GOAL   bury-IMP

'Bury him there.'

Chay-chaw  pampa-ra-yka-n.                                         1004
there-LOC  bury-state-impfv-3

'He is buried there.'
```

---

[192] These are transitive verbs which entail an object coming to be at some place. They include *chura:-* 'place'. *wiña-* 'pour/dump into'. *pampa-* 'bury'. *paka-* 'hide',...: see examples 1061-1064 in chapter 11.

[193] The notional object also become the grammatical subject. Perhaps these changes are best captured by lexical redundancy rules like the following:

```
verb-                                   verb-ra:-
+transitive                             -transitive
+motion                      ⟺          -motion
[___subj:NP₁ obj:NP₂ goal:NP₃]          [___subj+NP₂ loc:NP₃]

verb-                                   verb-ra:-
-transitive                             -transitive
+motion                      ⟺          -motion
[___subj:NP₁ goal:NP₂]                  [___subj+NP₁ loc:NP₂]
```

Perhaps this should be collapsed into one rule. The change in the feature [±motion] can be defended by testing the verbs with the cis-/trans-locative suffix *-mu* and with the purpose-motion construction. which requires a motion verb.

215

An interesting fact about this role change is that with *-ra:* it is always effected, whereas the advancement of the object to subject is *not* always effected by the addition of *-ra:*. For example in 1005 the verb is intransitive and thus there is no passivization when *-ra:* is added as in 1006:

```
Kay-man    hama-yku-y.                                         1005
here-GOAL  sit-dir-IMP
```

'Sit down here.'

```
Kay-chaw  hama-ra-yka-n.                                       1006
here-LOC  sit-state-impfv-3
```

'He is sitting here.'

10.15.3. Case Markers and Meanings

The meaning of a verb may be significantly altered by the case marker with which it occurs. For example, some verbs which take noun phrases bearing *-man* 'GOAL' have different (but related) meanings when they occur with another case marker. For example, when *chura-* occurs with *-man* it means 'to put at some physical place' But when it is used with *-paq* 'PUR' it means 'to put into some office/role':[194]

```
a.  Wasi-n-man     chura-sha.                                 1007
    house-3P-GOAL  place-3PERF

b.  Manda-q-paq    chura-sha.
    order-sub-PUR  place-3PERF

a.  'He placed it into his house.'
b.  'He made/put him as boss.'
```


10.15.4. Referential vs. Non-referential Readings

In a sentence like *John wants to marry a Swede,* *a Swede* may refer either to a particular person (who happens to be a Swede) or to any member of the class of Swedes. These are sometimes referred to as the "referential" and "opaque" interpretations respectively; they are possible in "opaque" contexts, created by verbs like *want, search find,* etc. In HgQ, the choice of case marker on a substantive may dictate whether it is referential or opaque. Consider the difference in 1008 between using *-ta* 'OBJ', which has a referential interpretation, and *-paq* 'PUR', which has an opaque interpretation:

```
a.  Kawallu-ta ashi-yka-n.                                    1008
    horse-OBJ  seek-impfv-3

b.  Kawallu-paq ashi-yka-n.
    horse-PUR   seek-impfv-3
                                     ⎧ a.  a particular one
    'He is looking for a horse.'     ⎨
                                     ⎩ b.  any one
```

In 1009, *chakin* does not refer to the leg which the unfortunate man lost, but to the prosthesis which a friend (the speaker) is seeking for him; *-paq* 'PUR' is used (rather than *-ta* 'OBJ') to give an opaque reading:

---

[194]Same for *yaykU-* 'enter': physical entrance vs. entering an office.

```
Tapu-kacha-shka-:      ushu    runa-pa chaki-n-paq.                    1009
ask-iterative-perf-1 maimed man-GEN leg-3P-PUR
```

'I asked around about the maimed man's leg'

10.15.5. The Scope of Case Markers

Case markers have the whole substantive phrase to which they are attached in their SCOPE. i.e.. semantically and syntactically the case marker applies to the whole phrase. In support of this proposition. two arguments are given:

First, while the nominal modifiers (adjectives. relative clauses) generally precede their head. they also occur in the opposite order. But note: the case marker stays on the rightmost element. For example, see 1010:

```
[Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta  ⎫                                              1010
 hit-sub-3P man   -OBJ ⎪
                       ⎬  rika-:.
[Runa maqa-sha-n]-ta   ⎪  see-1
 man  hit-sub-3P -OBJ  ⎭
```

'I see the man who hit him.'

To describe the change of order of modifier and head, if the scope of the case marker is regarded as including all the substantive phrase, then it is unnecessary to mention the case marker. By contrast. if the case marker is regarded as having only the head in its scope. then the rule must mention how the case marker becomes dissociated from the head and ends up on the modifier. Thus. by simplicity of rule we can reason that the case marker has the whole phrase in its scope.

Second. elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously. but when this is the case. each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. For example, 1010 could also be said as any of the possibilities in 1011:

```
a. [maqa-sha-n]-ta  rikaa  runa-ta                                   1011

b. [runa]-ta  rikaa  maqa-sha-n-ta

c. [runa]-ta  maqa-sha-n-ta  rikaa
```

'I see the man who hit him.'

A simple rule (which will be called "case copy") can handle all these cases:

A constituent moved out of the scope of a case marker receives a copy of that marker.

Such a simple rule is possible only because the substantive phrases is recognized to be within the scope of the case marker.

The case copy rule can apply more than once. For example, in 1012. *hatun* is moved out of the genitive as well as out of the object: in the process it "inherits" first a copy of the genitive marker and then a copy of the object marker:

```
a. [[Hatun wamra]-pa  pelota-n]-ta  rika-:.                          1012
     big   boy  \-GEN ball -3p -OBJ see-1
             \

b. [[ Ø   Wamra]-pa  pelota-n]-ta  rika-:  hatun-pa-ta.
      boy    -GEN ball -3P -OBJ see-1   big-GEN-OBJ
```

a.b. 'I see the big boy's ball.'

Compare 1012 with 1013. in which *hatun* comes out of the object phrase but not out of the genitive portion of it: in this case case copy only applies to add -*ta* 'OBJ' to *hatun* 'big':

a. [Wamra-pa [hatun pelota-n]]-ta rika-:.   1013
   big   -GEN boy   ball -3p -OBJ see-1

b. [Wamra-pa [Ø   pelota-n]]-ta rika-: hatun-ta.
   boy   -GEN   ball -3P -OBJ see-1 big-OBJ

a,b. 'I see the boy's big ball.'

11. PASSIVES

The following characterization of passive sentences will be assumed here: A PASSIVE sentence is one whose grammatical subject is its logical (understood) object. For example. example 1015 is a passive of 1014: the logical object of 1014 is *wasi* 'house'; in 1015 this has become the grammatical object:

```
Hwan wasi-ta   rika-ma-n.                                          1014
John house-OBJ see-=>1-3

'John sees the house.'

Wasi  rika-ka-n.                                                   1015
house see-pass-3

'The house is seen.'
```

This chapter depends crucially on the properties of subjects outlined in section 10.2: the reader is advised to read it before this chapter. The discussion here is divided into two main sections, the first dealing with the two morphological passives. the second dealing with the syntactic passive.

11.1. Morphological Passives

There are two morphological passives in HgQ. The suffixes involved are *-ka:* 'pass' and *-ra:* 'state'. These pre-transition suffixes are introduced in section 7.1.1. The aspectual use of *-ra:* 'state' is discussed in section 9.5.2.

Both *-ka:* and *-ra:* fore-shorten. and of course. both undergo foreshortening: e.g.:[195]

```
Yanapa-ka-sha. [yanapakásh] from  /yanapa:-/ + /-ka:/ + /-sha/    1016
help-pass-3PERF

'He was helped.'

Chara-ra-ra-n.    [chararáraŋ] from /chara:-/ + /-ra:/ +          1017
/-ra/ + /-n/
hold-stat-past-3

'It was in its place / It was being held.'

Chari-pa:-ra:-shayki.    [charipara:sháyki]                       1018
grab-ben-stat-1=>2FUT

'I will be holding it for you.'
```

-ka: 'passive' and *-ra:* differ in that *-ka:* is as more way to form passives while *-ra:* 'state' is more restricted, perhaps because it always bears a rather restricted aspectual meaning (stative/durative).

Passive formed with *-ka:* and *-ra:* will now be discussed in turn.

11.1.1. *-ka:* 'passive'

\

---

[195] *-sh(a)* '3PERF' is the reflex of proto-Quechua *-*shqa* and thus. it too fore-shortens.

219

11.1.1.1. Subject properties of -ka: passives.

If -ka: forms passives, then the apparent subject must indeed demonstrate the subject properties listed section 10.2. This section is dedicated to showing that this is the case.

In example 1019 the passive verb agrees with the passive subject (achki 'light') rather than the logical subject ('we'):

```
Mas  mas  aywa-pti-nchi  mas  hatun-na-shi                              1019
more more go-adv-12P     more big-now-IND

rika-ka:-mu-n    achki.
see-pass-afar-3 light

'The farther on we go, the bigger the light is seen.'
```

Example 1019 also shows that the switch reference marking of the adverbial clause is sensitive to the passive subject (achki 'light') rather than to the logical subject ('we'). If instead switch reference were sensitive to the logical subject, the verb of the adverbial clause would have been subordinated by -r 'adv (same subject)' since the subject of the subordinate clause is 'we'.

While example 1019 shows that the switch reference marking is sensitive to the passive subject of the *superordinate* verb. 1020 shows that switch reference marking is sensitive to the passive subject of a *subordinate* clause in preference to a logical subject. In 1020, the passive verb is maya-ka:- 'be heard': its grammatical subject is duyñu 'owner' and its logical subject is understood as the animals who put themselves to sleep in the house. The switch reference marking is -pti 'adv (different subject)'. reflecting the difference between the subject of the main clause and grammatical subject rather than the coreference with the logical subject:

```
Mana duyñu maya-ka-pti-n    puñu-ku-yku-:ri-n-shi    chay wasi-chaw.      1020
not  owner hear-pass-adv-3P sleep-ref-dir-plur-3-IND that house-LOC..

'Not hearing the owners, they went to sleep in that house.'
```

Example 1021 is similar. except that in this case passivization brings about a subject (not represented by an overt substantive) which is coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause (the monster[196]); thus it is subordinated by -r 'adv (same subject)' rather than -pti 'adv (different subject)':

```
Ushaqpaq    kumlita-ka-rku-r      maqa-y-ta-na-shi                       1021
completely  complete-pass-imm-adv hit-inf-OBJ-now-IND

qalla-yku-n Juan del oosu-ta.
begin-dir-3 John of bear-OBJ

'Upon being completely completed, he began to hit John
the bear.'
```

Thus, whether passivization occurs in the subordinate or in the superordinate clause, switch reference marking is always with respect to the passive (grammatical) subjects and not with respect to the logical subjects.

Examples 1022 and 1023 show that relativization with -q 'sub' is possible with a passivized verb.

---

[196]The logical object of the complement is a monster who drops from the ceiling in pieces which finally attach themselves to each other. thereby completing the monster. It is this monster which begins to hit John-the-Bear.

Relativization with -*q* is limited to relativizations *into the subject*:[197] see section 13.1.3. Thus, it is natural to ask whether relativization with -*q* is into the logical subject or into the passive subject (logical object). Examples 1022 and 1023 show that the latter is the case, i.e. it is into the grammatical subject. This confirms that the passive subject is indeed the grammatical subject.

```
...y chay shunta-ka-q      yaku-ta    "lamar" ni-ra-n.                      1022
 and that gather-pass-sub water-OBJ "sea"   say-past-3
```

'...and he called that gathered-together water "sea".'

```
...iskirbi-sh     ...allcha-ka-q-paq.                                       1023
...write-3PERF    ...fix-pass-sub-PUR
```

'..he wrote ...concerning (for) the healed one.'

Examples 1024 and 1025 show that a passive subject becomes the object of a causativized verb just like a "regular" subject:[198]

```
Allcha-ka:-chi-ma-ra-n.                                                     1024
fix-pass-caus-=>1-past-3
```

'He/It healed me. He/It caused me to get well.'

```
shunta-ka:-chi-mu-na-n-paq                                                  1025
gather-pass-caus-afar-sub-3P-PUR
```

'in order to cause that they be gathered (here).
 in order to cause that they congregate (here)'

Again. this adds support for the claim that passive subjects are indeed the grammatical subject of their clause.

Finally, passive subjects--like "regular" subjects--require infinitivalization when the subject of a complement is coreferential with the subject of (an appropriate) superordinate-verb; e.g.:

```
Maqa-ka-y-ta      muna-n.                                                   1026
hit-pass-inf-OBJ want-3ps
```

'He wants to be hit.'

```
Maqa-ka:-na-n-ta     muna-n.                                               1027
hit-pass-nom-3P-OBJ want-3
```

'He wants him to be hit.'

In conclusion. it has been shown that the subjects of passives formed with -*ka:* are indeed grammatical subjects.

11.1.1.2. Limitations on objects made into subjects by -*ka:*

What sorts of objects can be passivized? Four cases will be discussed--although I lack evidence to decide the issue in each case. First, can an indirect object be passivized? Negative evidence is seen in 1028. which is ungrammatical on the meaning 'I will be given (it).' but grammatical on the rather idiomatic meaning given:

\

---

[197]Relativization *into the subject* means that the embedded coreferent of the modifying sentence/clause is its subject.

[198]In the examples given. the passive suffix may now be co-lexicalized with the root: see section 11.1.1.3.

```
*Qo-ka:-shaq.                                                              1028
 give-pass-1FUT
```

'I will be transferred (from one job to another).'

Despite 1028. I suspect that indirect objects--like direct objects--can be passivized, as there is generally no syntactic distinction between direct and indirect objects.

Second. can objects which result from the causativization of intransitive verbs be passivized? Yes. they can. as shown by 1029 in which the subject of *wañu-* 'die' becomes the object of *wañu-chi-* 'kill' and then. by passivization, becomes the subject of *wañu-chi-ka:-* 'be killed':[199]

```
Mana wañu-chi-ka:-na-n-paq.                                                 1029
not  die-caus-pass-sub-3P-PUR
```

'in order that he not be killed'

Third. can complement objects (nominalized/relativized clauses) be passivized? Yes. they can: e.g.:

```
[alli-man  tikra-sha-yki] musya-ka:-na-n-paq                                1030
 good-GOAL turn-sub-2P    know-pass-sub-3P-PUR
```

'in order that it be known that you have turned to the good'

1030 corresponds to 1031. in which the complement is a direct object:

```
[Alliman  tikra-sha-yki]-ta  musya-:.                                       1031
 good-GOAL turn-sub-3P   -OBJ know-1
```

'I know that you have turned to he good.'

Further examples:

```
Wasi-chaw ka-sha-n  maya-ka-ra-n.                                           1032
house-LOC be-sub-3P perceive-pass-past-3
```

'It was known that he was at his house.'

```
Wiya-ka:-mu-ra-n         kay-naw  ni-mu-sha-n "shamuy".                     1033
hear-pass-afar-past-3 this-SIM say-afar-sub-3P
 "come!"
```

'What he said, "Come!" was heard from afar.'

Example 1033 is the passive of a sentence like 1034:

```
"Shamuy" ni-mu-sha-n-ta         wiya-ra-:.                                  1034
"Come!"  say-afar-sub-3P-OBJ hear-past-1
```

'I heard him say (from afar) "Come!"'

Some subject complements which are subordinate to a passive verb have no corresponding active. For example. the subject of example 1035 is the substantivized clause *dembaldilla arooshimaanayki*:

```
Dembaldilla  aru-:shi-ma:-na-yki    mana-mi kama-ka-n-chu...                1035
without:pay  work-accom-=>1-sub-2P not-DIR arrange-pass-3-NEG
```

'It is not just/fitting that you help me work without being paid...'

One would expect that example 1036. the corresponding active sentence in which the the

---

[199]A further example: *rika-chi-ka-ra-n* (see-caus-pass-past-3) 'It was shown.' It might be argued that such cases involve lexicalization of the causativized verb.

substantivized clause is an object, would be grammatical, but it is not:

```
                                                            1036
*[Dembaldilla aru-:shi-ma-na-yki]-ta    mana-mi kama-n-chu.
 without:pay work-accom-=>1-sub-2P-OBJ  not-DIR arrange-3-NEG
```

Fourth, there is a morphological object-to-object "raising" process which occurs with infinitives. (This is discussed in detail in Weber [39]. section 4.2.2.) For example, 1038 is synonymous with 1038, in which the *-ma:* '=>1' occurs in the superordinate verb. (*-ma* is optional in the infinitive if it occurs in the superordinate verb.)

```
Maqa-ma-y-ta      muna-n.                                   1037
hit-=>1-inf-OBJ want-3

'He wants to hit me.'

Maqa-(ma)-y-ta      muna-ma-n.                              1038
hit-(=>1)-inf-OBJ want-=>1-3

'He wants to hit me.'
```

Can such a raised object be passivized? Example 1039 shows that it cannot:

```
*Maqa-(ma)-y-ta    muna-ka-:.                               1039
hit-(=>1)-inf-OBJ want-pass-1

'I am wanted to be hit (by him).'
```

But this is simply because *muna-* 'want' does not allow passivization. And the only other verb which allows morphological object raising, *puydi-* 'be able'. does not allow passivization.

In conclusion, there are probably no restrictions on what sort of object may become a subject by *ka:*-passivization. Direct objects. even those which are complements, and probably indirect objects. may become subjects. The apparent restrictions on the morphologically- raised objects of infinitive complements are due to restrictions on the verb and not the object.

11.1.1.3. *-ka:* co-lexicalized with verb roots.

-ka: 'pass' has become co-lexicalized with many verb roots.[200] Example follow:
allcha + ka:-
  'to get well/over' is derived from *allcha-* 'to fix'.[201]

```
Rabya-sha-yki-pita allcha+ka-y.                             1040
enrage-sub-2P-ABL  recover-2IMP

'Get over your anger.'  (lit. 'Be fixed from you having become
angry.')
```

---

[200] That is. the verb root and the suffix have become (or are becoming) a single. fused unit. In some of the examples which follow. *-ka:* occurs on an intransitive verb. and could therefore not be used passively.

[201] Evidence that *allcha + ka:-* is frozen is that it can occur in the frame [ ]-*chi-naku-* ([ ]-caus-recip-) 'to do [ ] to each other' where a verb + passive combination cannot. Thus i. is acceptable but ii. is not:

```
i.  Allcha+ka:-chi-naku-n.
    heal-caus-recip-3

    'They heal each other.'

ii. *Maqa-ka:-chi-naku-n.
    hit-pass-caus-recip-3

    'They cause each other to be hit.'
```

kama + ka:-

'to be fitting/just. to set to (doing). to be accomodated' from *kama-* 'to arrange/prepare': e.g.:

```
Y    chawras  kama+ka-sha      upu-y-man       atoq.                    1041
and then      to:set:to-3PERF  drink-inf-GOAL  fox
```

'And then the fox set to drinking (it).'

```
Chaka-rku-pti-n      hatun qeru  chaki-lla-n-man-shi    kama+ka-n.     1042
be:dark-asp-adv-3    big   tree  foot-just-3P-GOAL-IND  be:set-3
```

'When it got dark, they were accommodated themselves at the foot of a big tree.'

See also example 1035.

laqa + ka:- 'to cohere' from *laqa-* 'to stick to'

lluchka + ka:-

'to slip' from lluchka- 'to stomp mud (as in preparing mortar)'. e.g. *lluchka + ka-yka-:* (slip-impfv-1) 'I am slipping!'

mancha + ka:-

'to be frightened' from *mancha-* 'to fear/bother': e.g.:[202]

```
Ama mancha+ka-y-chu      wardiya-ta.                                    1043
not be:afraid-inf-NEG    policeman-ACC
```

'Don't be afraid of the policeman.'

musya + ka:-

'to determine' from *musya-* 'to know'. With a first person plural inclusive subject. this verb means roughly 'we'll resolve the issue':

```
Kanan musya+ka-nchii qam o  noqa ishkan kabesilla...::---           1044
now   be:known-12    you or I    two       leaders
```

'Now we will resolve the issue (of who is the greater) you or I, both of us chiefs...'

```
...hatun awtoridaa-chaw-raq-mi musya+ka:-shun...                     1045
   big  authority-LOC-yet-DIR  resolve-12FUT
```

'yet at the higher authority we will resolve the issue (as to whose it is)...'

penqa + ka:-

'to iritate (the eye)' 'to cause pain to the eyes (of a piercing light)' from *penqa-* 'to be ashamed': e.g.:

```
Mancha-chi-ma-n.   ñawi-:-ta  penqa+ka:-chi-n.                       1046
fear-caus-=>1-3    eye-1P-OBJ  ??-caus-3
```

'It bothers me. It shines in my eyes' (said of the glare of a light shining on the page of a book.)

puñu + ka:- 'to doze (off)/to fall asleep' from *puñu-* 'to sleep': e.g.:

---

[202]C.f. *manchakaaku-* 'to be really frightened'.

224

```
Rikcha-yka-y    illaqpita chaya-mu-r    puñu+ka-sha-ta          1047
look-impf-2IMP suddenly  arrive-far-adv doze:off-prtc-OBJ

tari-shu-na-yki-ta.
find-=>2-sub-OBJ
```

'Be vigilant lest arriving all of a sudden he
find you having dozed off.'

qasa + ka:- '(for an angry person) to cool off' from *qasa:-* 'to be cold to': e.g.:

```
Mas   rura-shun-chu gasa+ka:-na-n-kama.                         1048
more do-12IMP-NEG   cool:off-sub-3P-LIM
```

'Let's not do more until they have cooled off.'

raki + ka:- 'to separate' from *raki-* 'to choose, divide, set apart': e.g.:

```
Ollqo runa warmi-n-pita raki+ka:-na-n    konbeeni-n-chu?        1049
male  man  woman-3P-ABL separate-sub-3P be:just-3-YN?
```

'Is it right that a man separate from his wife?'

```
Mehur   qam-wan noqa raki+ka:-shun   shuyni-kama              1050
better you-COM I    separate-12IMP apart-LIM

tiya-ku-na-paq.
live-ref-sub-PUR
```

'Better that you and I separate in order to live apart.'

rura + ka:- 'to happen' from *rura-* 'to do, to make'

```
Imay-taq chay rura+ka:-nqa?                                    1051
when-??  that happen-3FUT
```

'When will that happen'

ruraka:- is used somewhat idiomatically with expressions about health:

```
Mas   piyur rura+ka-yka-ra-n.                                  1052
more worse become-impfv-past-3
```

'He was becoming worse (i.e.. sicker).'

shunta + ka:-

'to congregate' from *shunta-* 'to gather'

```
Aypalla runa-kuna chay wasi-pa    punku-n-man   shunta+ka-ra-n.  1053
many    man-plur  that house-GEN door-3P-GOAL gather-past-3
```

'Many people congregated at the door of that house.'

tinku + ka:-

'encounter. happen to meet' from *tinku-* 'to encounter' e.g.:[203]

```
Tinku+ka-ra-n sooru-wan kondor-shi...                          1054
meet-past-3   fox-COM   condor-IND
```

'(The) condor and (the) fox met...'

_____

[203]Example 1054 begins a text. Another text begins with the following. in which the verb is simply *tinku-* rather than *tinku + ka-*:

```
Atoq-wan-shi wanchaq tinku-ra-n  huk hunaq.
fox-COM-IND  (bird)  meet-past-3 one day
```

'The wanchaq and the fox met one day.'

225

uti ÷ ka:- 'to be tired' from **uti-*[204] e.g.. *utika:-chi-ma-n* (be:tired-caus-=>1-3) 'It makes me tired.'

```
Hama-ra-y-ta       uti+ka-shka-:-na.                              1055
sit-stat-inf-OBJ  be:tired-perf-1-now
```

'I have tired of sitting.'

usha + ka:- 'to end. to run out/be used up. to be destroyed' from *usha-* 'to finish': e.g.:

```
Chay usha+ka-pti-n-raq  kara+uunu-n wasi-n-man               1056
that finish-adv-3P-yet  each:one-3P house-3P-GOAL

kama aywa-ku-n.
resp go-refl-3
```

'Each one returns to his own house only when that (fiesta) ends.'

```
Tapay-chaw usha+ka:-na-n-paq  ranti-n awrindi-ta...          ·    1057
wake-LOC   use:up-sub-3P-PUR  buy-3   fire:water-OBJ
```

'They buy lots of fire-water and ... to use up in the wake.'

```
Llapan usha+ka-ra-n      haamay-yoq  kaq-kuna-qa  shenqa-y+pa.    1058
all    be:ended-past-3  breath-have def-plur-TOP drown-adv
```

'all those with breath (i.e.. who breathed) were destroyed by drowning.'

yama + ka:-
    'to be fed up with' from *yama-* 'to tire of':[205] e.g.:

```
Juan-pita pasaypa yama+ka-sha-na   ka-yka-:.                 1059
John-ABL  really  fed:up-prtc-now be-impfv-1
```

'I am really fed up with/on account of John.',

yacha + ka:-
    'to acclimate' from *yacha-*[206]

```
Kay-chaw yacha+ka:-shka-:-na.                                1060
here-LOC acclimate-perf-1-now
```

'I have acclimated/adjusted to this place.'

---

[204]This root is used in dialects other than HgQ to mean "to be tired. to give out."

[205]Two examples of the verb *yama-* 'to tire of' follow:

```
Puklla-y-ta yama-n-chu.
play-inf-OBJ tire:of-3-NEG
```

'He doesn't get tired of playing.'

yama-q (tire-sub) 'a person who is gravely ill'.

[206]This verb has a wide range of meanings. with various suffixes: *yacha-* 'to know how to'. *yacha-kU-* 'to learn . *yacha-chi-* 'to teach' *yacha-pa:-* 'to imitate'.

11.1.1.4. *-ka:* fused with other suffixes

In the just-cited examples, *-ka:* has become intimately attached to some root. Such intimacy is not limited to roots: *-ka:* has also become fused with other suffixes to yield new suffixes:

1. *-kacha:-* from *-ka:-cha:* (-pass-intent): see section 9.5.4.

2. *-ka:kU* from *-ka:-kU* (-pass-refl) means roughly 'completely': see section 9.5.5.

11.1.1.5. Conclusions on *-ka:* passives

To summarize this section on *-ka:* passives. we have seen that:

1. The object of a verb becomes the subject when *-ka:* is suffixed.

2. Such subjects are the grammatical subjects of their clauses.

3. *-ka:* is lexicalized with many roots (some of which are intransitive).

11.1.2. *-ra:* 'stative'

Aspectual uses of *-ra:* are discussed in section 9.5.2. The use of *-ra:* to mean 'exhibit (some property)' is discussed in section 3.2.6. This section deals with uses of *-ra:* 'stative' to form passives.

11.1.2.1. Subject properties with *-ra:* passives

We will now demonstrate that the passive subjects (logical objects) of clauses passivized with *-ra:* 'state' are indeed subjects.

First. the passive subject has no case marker and controls the verbal agreement of the verb. For example.

```
Chay  sunsitu  wiña-ra-yka-sha        kostal-chaw.                    1061
that  stooge   dump:in-stat-impfv-3PERF sack-LOC

'That stooge remained dumped in that sack.'

runa-kuna  pampa-ra-sha-n    kaq-lla-pa                               1062
man-PL     bury-stat-sub-3P  det-just-GEN

'around (where) people were buried'
```

Second. the switch reference marking of adverbial clauses is sensitive to the passive subject (logical object) brought about by passivization with *-ra:*. For example, in 1063 the subordinator is *-r* 'adv (same subject)' because of the coreference of the passive subject of *puñu-ra:-* 'be hidden' and the subject of the main clause:

```
Paka-ra-r    puñ-ra-:.                                               1063
hide-stat-adv sleep-past-1

'Hidden, I slept.'
```

Third, the passive subject (logical object) may trigger infinitivalization: e.g., in 1064, the passive subject of *pampa-ra:-* 'to be buried' (i.e., the logical object of *pampa-* 'to bury') is coreferential to the subject of *muna-* 'to want', and thus the complement must be subordinated with *-y* 'inf (rather than with *-na* 'sub'. which would be used if the subjects of the complement and main clauses were not coreferential):

```
Kay-chaw pampa-ra-y-ta      muna-:.                                   1064
here-LOC bury-stat-IMP- ACC want-1

'I want to be buried here.'
```

227

Fourth, the passive subject may be relativized with *-q* 'agentive':

1065

```
Chapa-ra-yka-q          kicha-ka-nqa.
cover-stat-impfv-sub    open-pass-3FUT
```

'That which is covered up will be opened.'

Examples 1061-1064, and perhaps 1065, have verbs which entail that the object comes to be at some place or in some position.[207] *-ra:*-passives are not restricted to such verbs, as examples 1066 and 1067 show:

```
Chaki-n-chaw wata-ra-q-ta-pis        aqolla-q.                    1066
foot-3P-LOC  tie-stat-sub-OBJ-even   crush-NARPST
```

'He crushed even the (irons) which were tied on his leg(s).'

```
Chay pururuku-n    ruri-n-chaw    laqa-ra-n.                       1067
that cartilage-3P  inside-3P-LOC  stick-stat-3
```

'That is attached (is stuck to) the inside of the
pururuku.'

(In example 1067, 'that' refers to the esophagus: 'pururuku' is the harder, outer part of the throat. This example is taken from a description of how to butcher a sheep.)

11.1.2.2. The plural form of *-ra:*

To *-ra:* 'stative' there corresponds a plural form of that suffix *-rpa:* e.g., compare example 1068, which has a singular subject, with 1069 in which it is plural:

```
Punku wichqa-ra-yka-n.                                            1068
door  close-stat-impfv-3
```

'The door is closed.'

```
Punku-kuna    wichqa-rpa-yka-n.                                   1069
door-plural   close-state+plural-impfv-3
```

'The doors are closed.'

This pluralization--like all plural marking in the verb--is optional; e.g., see example 1062, which has a plural subject but no pluralizer in the verb. Another examples of *-rpa* 'state+plural' follows:[208]

```
a.  Rima- ⎫                                                      1070
b.  Pilya- ⎬ -yka-q-ta   qasa-rpa-chi-n.
c.  *Aru- ⎭

a.  argue- ⎫
b.  fight- ⎬ -impfv-sub-OBJ   be:cold-state+plural-caus-3
c.  work- ⎭
                        ⎧a.  arguing ⎫
'He caused those who were ⎨b.  fighting⎬ to be calmed down.'
                        ⎩c.  *working ⎭
```

---

[207] When *-ra:* 'stative' occurs with these, the logical object become the grammatical subject and the oblique locative relation is changed from *-man* 'GOAL' to *-chaw* 'LOC'; see section 10.15.2.

[208] This example should be compared with the lexicalized verb *qasa-ka:-;* see section 11.1.1.3, example 1048.

228

11.1.2.3. -*ra:* co-lexicalized with verb roots

Section 11.1.1.3 gave examples of *kama-* 'to arrange. prepare' co-lexicalized with -*ka:* 'pass'. These should be compared with examples 1071-1073 in which -*ra:* 'state' has lexicalized with *kama* to mean 'to be comely/attractive/fitting/prepared':

```
Chuku-wan      kama+ra-nki.                                        1071
that-COM/INSTR be:comely-stat-2

'You look good with the hat.'

Ñawi-n mana kama+ra:-chi-ra-n-chu      Marucha-ta.                 1072
eye-3P not  be:comely-caus-past-3-NEG Mary-OBJ

'Mary's eyes were not befitting to her. (i.e., she was not
good-looking on account of her eyes.)

Chay-pita uchu-ta-shi    ashi-mu-n      atoq-pa peechu-n-man       1073
that-ABL  pepper-OBJ-IND search-afar-3 fox-GEN breast-3P-GOAL

laqta-na-n-paq    puka peechu kama+ra-na-n-paq.
smear-sub-3P-PUR red  breast be:comely-sub-3P-PUR

'Then they look for hot pepper to smear on the fox's
breast to arrange that he have a red breast.'
```

11.1.2.4. Conclusions on -*ra:* passives

To summarize these comments on the -*ra:* passive. -*ra:* may be used to form passives. though it has other uses as well. The subjects of -*ra:*-passives are indeed subjects. and undergo the processes typical of subjects. There is a plural suffix. -*rpa.* which corresponds to -*ra:* 'state'. And, -*ra:* may co-lexicalize with some verb roots (e.g. *kama-* 'arrange') to form fused lexical items.

11.2. Syntactic Passive

In addition to passives formed with the suffixes -*ka:* 'pass' and -*ra:* 'state'. HgQ has a passive formed by syntactic means. This passive is widely applicable. but limited semantically in that brings along the notion 'anterior'.[209]

The syntactic passive is structurally a participle + auxiliary consturction.[210] It is formed from an active by:

1. suppressing the logical subject (except as mentioned below).
2. making the logical object the new subject.
3. substituting -*sha* 'participle' for any tense and person marking (subject as well as object) of the verb. and
4. adding the auxiliary verb *ka-* 'be' which--being syntactically the main verb of that clause--bears the tense/subordinator and subject agreement suffixes (of that clause).

(In the examples of this section. the participle and auxiliary will be underlined to help the reader identify it.) For example. 1074b and 1075b are the syntactic passives which correspond to 1074a and 1075b respectively:

---

[209] That is. it implies that the event indicated in the verb occurred prior to the time from which it is viewed.

[210] This is also used to form the past perfect (past anterior): see 8.8. What the past perfect and syntactic passive share semantically is 'resultant state': this could be said to be the meaning of the participle + auxiliary construction.

```
a. Pay chay runa-ta salba-ra-n.                                          1074
   he  that man-OBJ save-past-3

b. Chay runa salba-sha ka-ra-n.
   that man  save-prtc be-past-3

a. 'He saved that man.'
b. 'That man was saved.'

a. ...chay runa-ta salba-na-n-paq                                        1075
   ...that man-OBJ save-sub-3P-PUR

b. ...chay runa salba-sha ka-na-n-paq
   ...that man  save-prtc be-sub-3P-PUR

a. '...in order that he save that man.'
b. '...in order that that man be saved.'
```

Various observations about the syntactic passive will now be made.

First, it is possible to elicit examples like 1076 which suggest that the logical subject of a passivized verb may be indicated in an oblique substantive phrase (in this case ablative):[211]

```
Yanapa-sha ka-nqa  chay runa qam-pita.                                   1076
help-prtc  be-3FUT that man   you-ABL

'That man will be helped by you.'
```

However, I have never seen a spontaneous instance of this. And when asked, different speakers use different case markers. (I have heard *-pita* 'ABL', *-pa* 'GEN' and *-wan* 'COM'.) I therefore doubt that HgQ affords allows the logical object of a passivized verb to be indicated with an oblique substantives.

In rare cases, the logical subject may survive as a sort of compound with the verb. The subject must immediately precede the verb and must not be followed by any suffixes. For example:

```
...[uywa              miku]-sha ka-yka-sha-n-ta-pis                       1077
... domestic:animal   eat-prtc  be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

rika-na-n-paq.
see-sub-3P-PUR

'in order to see if they have been animal-eaten'
```

Second, the verb-turned-participle need not directly precede the auxiliary *ka-*, but may be separated by some other constituent:

```
Botella-n ka-ra-n     rumi-pita rura-sha.                                1078
bottle-3P be-past-3 stone-ABL make-prtc

'Its bottle (i.e. the perfume's) was made from stone.'
```

Third, the participialized verb may be followed by other suffixes; for example:

```
Llapan wasi-kuna  saqta-sha-mi        ka-nqa.                            1079
all    house-plur knock:down-prtc-DIR be-3FUT

'All the houses will be knocked down.'
```

---

[211]The following show that the ablative phrase is not necessarily understood as a passive agent:

```
Qam-pita maqa-sha ka-shka-:.
you-ABL  hit-prtc be-perf-1

'I have been hit on your account/*by you.'
```

```
Llapan-pis chay-naw kuchu-sha-lla-na ka-ra-n.                          1080
all-indef  that-SIM cut-prtc-just-now be-past-3
```

'All of them were cut like that--right then and there.'

Fourth. an object which comes about by causativization may subsequently be passivized. In example 1081. *llapan runa-kuna-pis* 'all men' is the logical subject of *ñaka-* 'suffer' and becomes the object of *ñaka-chi-* 'cause to suffer': then. by passivization. it becomes the subject of *ñaka-chi-ka:-* 'be caused to suffer':

```
Llapan runa-kuna-pis    ñaka-chi-sha    ka-nqa.                        1081
all    man-plural-indef suffer-caus-prtc be-3FUT
```

'All men will be made to suffer.'

Fifth, with some Spanish loans. the participle may be formed. not by *-sha* 'part', but as in Spanish. For example. the participle of HgQ *rispita-* 'to respect' (from Spanish *respetar*) is *rispitaaru.* where in Spanish it is *respetado.* In 1082 this participle forms the basis of a passive:

```
Kay  hunaq rispita-:ru   ka-nqa.                                       1082
this day    respect-prtc be-3FUT
```

'This day will be respected/observed(?).'

Sixth. it is possible to have passivization apply to the same argument twice. provided a process like causativization intervenes.[212] In example 1083. by passivization. the object of *allcha:-* 'to heal' becomes the subject of *allcha-ka:-* 'be healed': then by causativization. it becomes the object of *allcha-ka:-chi-* 'cause to be healed' predicate may again be passivized: and then by passivization with *-sha ka-*. it again becomes the subject:

```
Allcha-ka:-chi-sha ka-shka-:.                                         1083
fix-pass-caus-prtc be-perf-1
```

'I have been healed.' lit 'I was caused to be fixed.'

It seems that the second passivization must be syntactic passivization; cf. 1084:

```
*Allcha-ka:-chi-ka-shka-:.                                            1084
fix-pass-caus-pass-perfect-1
```

'I have been healed.'

A factor which facilitates multiple passivizations is the degree to which the first passivization is lexicalized. For example. in 1083. where the *-ka:* 'passive' is co-lexicalized with the verb. the second passivization is easier than in 1085 where *-ka:* is not:

```
*Wata-ka:-chi-sha   ka-yka-:.                                         1085
tie-pass-caus-prtc be-impfv-1
```

'I am being caused to be tied.'

We now discuss a few of the subject properties of syntactic passives. Above (1074. 1075, 1076, 1078, 1079. 1080) we have seen that these subjects bear no case marking suffixes and that they trigger the appropriate person-agreement suffix on the verb *ka-*. A further example is the following, in which the passive subject (logical object) *noqa* 'I' bears no case marker and the person marker on the verb (*-shaq*) is first person (merged with 'future'):

---

[212]Example 368 shows that the participle+auxiliary construction may directly follow a morphological passive. but when it does. it must be interpreted as a compound tense rather than as a passive.

```
Noqa runa-kuna-pa muna-y-nin-man     indriga-sha   ka-shaq.            1086
I    man-plur-GEN want-inf-3P-GOAL hand:to-prtc  be-1FUT
```

'I will be handed over to/into the power/authority of men.'

The switch reference marking of adverbial clauses is sensitive to the subjects created by the syntactic passive. For example in example 1087 the logical subject of the adverbial clause is the owners, but the grammatical subject after passivization is the speaker, who is also the subject of the main clause. Thus the adverbial clause is subordinated with -r`adv (same subject)`:

```
Duyñu-:-chaw miku-shka-: taarri   tuta    mana                         1087
owner-1P-LOC eat-perf-1  afternoon morning not
```

```
alli rima-sha    ka-r-pis.
good speak-prtc be-adv-indef
```

'At our owner's (house) we ate morning and afternoon
inspite of our being spoken to badly.'

Further examples follow. 1088 shows a different subject adverbial clause with passivization in the subordinate clause: 1089. a different subject adverbial clause with passivization in the main clause: 1090. a same subject adverbial clause with passivization in the main clause:

```
Maqa-sha ka-pti-yki willa-ma-y.                                        1088
hit-prtc be-adv-2P   inform-=>1-IMP
```

'If you are hit, inform me (of that).'

```
Muna-pti-yki arma-sha   ka-shaq.                                       1089
want-adv-2P  bathe-prtc be-1FUT
```

'If you want, I will be bathed (by someone else).'

```
Mana muna-r-pis     arma-sha   ka-nki-paq.                             1090
not  want-adv-even bathe-prtc be-2FUT-future
```

'Even though you do not (so) desire, you will be
bathed, (by another).'

The passive subjects of the syntactic passive may be relativized with -q `sub`: e.g. the relative clause (with no following head) in 1091 is into the logical object of rusfika- `crucify`, which has become the grammatical subject of rusfika-sha ka- `be crucified`:

```
Pay-wan rusfika-sha  ka-yka-q-pis       insulta-ra-n.                  1091
he-CON  crucify-prtc be-impfv-sub-even insult-past-3
```

'Even those who were being crucified with him insulted him.'

A sensory verb complement may be a passive. as in 1092 where the verb is passivized with -sha ka- and the logical object (qaqa `boulder`) is the grammatical subject:

```
Rika-ra-n [qaqa     witi-chi-sha   ka-yka-q]-ta.                       1092
see-past-3 boulder move-caus-prtc be-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

'He saw that the boulder was moved/was being moved.'

The subjects of sensory verb complements may be raised (indeed, are preferably raised) to become the object of the verb of perception.[213] A more natural way to express 1092 is 1093, in which the passive subject of the complement has been raised to become the object of the verb of perception:

---

[213]See Weber [39]. section 4.2.5.2.

```
Qaqa-ta      rika-ra-n [witi-chi-sha   ka-yka-q]-ta.                    1093
boulder-OBJ be-past-3  move-caus-prtc be-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

'He saw that the boulder was moved/was being moved.'

This is evidence that the passive subject of the complement is indeed its grammatical subject.

Subjects created by the syntactic passive may trigger infinitivalization. e.g.:

```
Yanapa-sha ka-y-ta     muna-:.                                          1094
help-prtc  be-inf-OBJ want-1
```

'I want to be helped.'

Since infinitivalization is limited to cases where the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate clauses are coreferential. this is evidence that the passive subject of the subordinate clause is indeed its grammatical subject.

11.3. Summary

There are two sorts of passive in HgQ: *morphological* passives are formed by suffixing either -*ka:* 'passive' or -*ra:* 'state'. and *syntactic* passives are formed by making the main verb into a participle (with the suffix -*sha*) and making this participle the complement of the auxiliary verb *ka-* 'be'. It has been shown that the passive subjects are indeed the grammatical subjects of their clauses.

12. SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES

Substantive phrases are formed by some substantive head (which might be a simple noun-adjective. a nominalized verb. another substantive phrase....) and zero or more modifiers. Modifiers may be of many kinds: a simple noun-adjective. a quantifier, a numeral, an indefinite-interrogative phrase. another substantive phrase. etc. Rarely. a modifier will be followed by a case marker as e.g. in *rumi-pita wasi* (stone-ABL house) 'a house made of stone'.

Modifiers often occur without their understood head: e.g. To say 'I see the big cow'. 1095b is just as good as 1095a if the speaker assumes the hearer knows he is speaking of cows:

```
a. Hatun waaka-ta rika-:.                                    1095
   big   cow-OBJ  see-1

b. Hatun-ta rika-:.
   big-OBJ  see-1

a. 'I see the big cow.'
b. 'I see the big one.'
```

This subject is dealt with in considerably more detail in Weber [39] (particularly in section 3.1.4).

12.1. Modifiers and Heads: Order and Constituency

Substantival modifiers (adjectives. relative clauses) generally precede their head. However. they may also follow them. Example 1096 illustrates this for a simple substantive. and 1097 for a relative clause:

```
a. [Hatun runa]-ta  ⎤                                        1096
   [big   man ]-OBJ ⎥
                    ⎬ rika-:.
b. [Runa hatun]-ta  ⎥ see-1
   [man  big  ]-OBJ ⎦

'I see the man who hit him.'

a. [Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta   ⎤                                  1097
   [hit-sub-3P man ]-OBJ  ⎥
                          ⎬ rika-:.
b. [Runa maqa-sha-n]-ta   ⎥ see-1
   [man  hit-sub-3P]-OBJ  ⎦

'I see the man who hit him.'
```

The bracketing in these examples is intended to indicate that the case marker applies to the entire phrase. and not simply to the final substantive. As discussed in section 10.15.5. the simplest formulation of the change of order of modifier and head is possble only on that assumption.

Elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously, but when this is the case each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. This is illustrated for 1096 in 1098 and for 1097 in 1099: Ø is added to indicate the place where the element occurs in the non-discontinuous version.[214]

---

[214]The examples presented in this summary are obviously "made-up" ones: Weber [39] section 3.1.5 gives a great many found in texts.

234

```
a. [Hatun runa]-ta    rikaa.                                          1098
b. [Hatun  Ø  ]-ta  rikaa  runa-ta.
c. [  Ø   Runa]-ta  rikaa  hatun-ta.
d. [  Ø   Runa]-ta  hatun-ta  rikaa.

a-d. 'I see the big man.'

a. [Maqa-sha-n runa]-ta rikaa.                                       1099
b. [Maqa-sha-n  Ø   ]-ta  rikaa  runa-ta.
c. [    Ø      Runa]-ta  rikaa  maqa-sha-n-ta.
d. [    Ø      Runa]-ta  maqa-sha-n-ta  rikaa.

a-d. 'I see the man who hit him.'
```

The following simple generalization can handle all these cases: A constituent moved out of the scope of a case marker receives a copy of that marker. This rule is simple because it is assumed that entire substantive phrases are within the scope of the case marker: see section 10.15.5 for more details.

12.2. Compound Substantives

There are various ways to combine substantives (both phrases and words):

```
Substantive-GEN Substantive-POS   (Genitive construction)

Substantive      Substantive-POS   (Genitive construction without -pa)

Substantive Substantive (Compound Substantive)
```

This section focuses on the last category. These generally follow a [modifier head] pattern. i.e.. (i) the first substantive is understood as a modifier of the second. and (ii) the referential properties of the second substantive are dominant. i.e. the compound generally refers to a thing or things of the sort referred to by the second substantive. This is widely illustrated below. .

I have attempted a rough taxonomy of compounds based on the relationship of the two substantives. This taxonomy may be taken as a guide to some of the types which exist.

12.2.1. Localizer-Area

In the following examples. the second of the compounded substantives refers to some area; the first "localizes" some part of this area:

hawa punku pampa-man (outside door ground-GOAL) 'to the ground just outside the door'
[raqra kantu-n] looma (canyon edge-3P hill) 'the hill at the edge of the canyon'[215]
In the following. the order is inverted:

pampa inlisya punku-n (ground church door-3P) 'the ground at the foot of the church door'
The following seem to be related, but is somewhat different from the other cases of localizer-area compounds:

ñawpa-: kullu (beside-1P stump) 'the stump which is beside me'
with *uchku* 'hole': e.g.:

```
[[[chay machay]-pa ruri-n]    uchku]-man                             1100
   that cave-GEN   inside-3P hole -GOAL

'into the interior of that cave'
```

---

[215]The brackets indicate that *raqra* and (kantu-n) are joined (in a spatial genitive) before this is compounded with *looma*.

12.2.2. Source-Object

In the following the first substantive characterizes the source of the second:

haka aycha (guinea:pig flesh) 'guinea pig meat'.

wallpa aycha (chicken flesh) 'chicken meat'.

In the following very similar cases, the first substantive gives the material out of which is made a thing of the sort referred to by the second substantive:

hacha kaldu (wild:plant soup) 'a soup made of the leaves of certain (uncultivated) plants'.

ichu wasi (type:of:grass house) 'house roofed with *ichu*'.

tapya wasi (rammed:earth house) 'house made of rammed earth'.

And in the following, the first lists the principle ingredient of the second, which names some action directed against that ingredient to yield the object referred to by the whole:

yaku timpu (water boil) 'a thin broth'.

papa yanu-y (potato cook-inf) 'potato soup'.

12.2.3. Gender Classifier

The first substantive may characterize the sex of the entity referred to by the compound:

warmi dansa (woman dancer) 'woman dancer'.

12.2.4. Occupation-Actor

The first substantive may characterize the profession of the entity referred to by the compound:

hariiru runa (one:who:drives:pack:animals man) 'a man who by profession is a travelling salesman'.

12.2.5. Part-Part

The first substantive may refer to a body part to uniquely characterize some organ/part (e.g. a joint) named by the second:

kunka moqo (neck joint) 'neck joint'.

pacha millwa (stomach wool) 'the wool on the stomach'.

12.2.6. Substance-Container

The first substantive may characterize a container used for the referent of the second:

yaku puyñu (water jug) 'water jug'.

12.2.7. Quantifier-Substance

A quantifier expression may be used to characterize the amount of the second:

[[huk tinaaha] waraapu] (one basin cane:beer) 'a basin of cane beer',

[[huk boteella] awrindi] (one bottle firewater) 'a bottle of firewater'.

The substantives compounded may be complex:

236

```
[huk arroba]  [lasa-q        hirru qaruti]                                1101
 one aroba     be:heavy-sub  iron  bar
```

'an aroba of heavy iron bars'

12.2.8. Quantifie '-Measure

When the second substantive is an expression of measure such as *altu* 'high'. the first may quantify it:

[[huk deedu] altu] (one finger height) 'one finger high'.

[[pullan deedu] altu] (half finger height) 'half a finger high',

[[huk runa ichi-y] altu] (one man stand-inf height) 'one man high (the height of one man)'.

12.2.9. Time-Object

The first substantive may characterize the time of the second:

chaka-y qasa-y (be:dark-inf be:cold-inf) 'the night cold'.

Time expressions may be formed by the reduplication of a temporal word followed by *-n* (see 15.2.2): e.g.:

wata-n wata-n (year-3 year-3) 'year after year'.

wara-n wara-n (tomorrow-3 tomorrow-3) 'day after day'.

12.2.10. Parallel Numerically Quantified Substantive Phrases

"Indefinite" numbers (see section 12.5.2) exhibit the following patterns: ---   --

```
a. [[number number] head]-CASE

b. number-CASE number-CASE

c. [[number head]  [number head]]-CASE

d. [number head]-CASE [number head]-CASE
```

An example of type a:

```
...[[ishkay kimsa] hunaq]-paq santu-ta  adurna-chi-na-n-paq         1102
    two     three   day    -PUR saint-OBJ adorn-caus-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...to adorn the saint within two or three days.'

An example of type b:

```
...balumintu-paq ruwa-ku-n ishkay-ta kimsa-ta...                    1103
...liaison-PUR    beg-refl two-OBJ   three-OBJ
```

'...they ask two or three (men) to be liaison...'

An example of type c:

```
...arma-n [[chusku hunaq] [pichqa hunaq]]-ta                        1104
   bathe-3  four   day     five   day    -OBJ
```

'...they bathe every four or five days'

Examples of type d:

```
[ishkay hunaq]-yaq [kimsa hunaq]-yaq                                1105
 two    day   -LIM  three day    -LIM
```

'three or four days'

237

The following examples would not occur with an overt case marker because they are functionally time ad erbs: nonetheless they are instances of parallel. numerically-quantified. compounded substantive phrases:

```
...hama-n [huk wata] [ishkay wata]...                                    1106
   rest-3 one year  two     year
```

'...they rest one or two years...'

```
...awi-ku-n      semaana-chaw [ishkay kuti] [kimsa kuti]...              1107
   rinse-refl-3 week-LOC        two    time   three time
```

'...they rinse themselves two or three times a week...'

In the following example the numbers are--quite strangely--not consecutive:

```
ux(Chusku-ta soqta-ta) runa-kuna-ta wañu-chi-sha   chay-chaw.           1108
four-OBJ  six-OBJ  men-plur-OBJ die-caus-3PERF there-LOC
```

'They killed approximately four to six men there.'

In example 1395 (section 15.2.3) the same number is repeated.

12.3. Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is one of the most frequent (and useful) constructions. Weber [38] gives a complete discussion with many examples: this section is a brief summary of the major facts.

12.3.1. Form and Structure

The structure of the genitive construction is basically

```
[possessor-pa possessed-POS]                                           1109
```

where the possessive suffix indicates the person of the possessor: e.g.:

```
Hwan-pa  wasi-n                                                        1110
John-GEN house-3P
```

'John's house'

The possessor is optional. e.g.. if the speaker assumes the hearer knows he is referring to John. he can simply use wasi-n (house-3P) to refer to John's house.

The possessed substantive is also optional: e.g.. if the speaker assumes that the hearer knows he is talking about houses. he could refer to John's house simply with Juan-pa 'John's' (followed. of course. by the appropriate case marker): e.g.:

```
Juan-pa-ta    rika-:.                                                  1111
John-GEN-OBJ see-1
```

'I see John's (house).'

When a case marker follows a genitive construction. it applies to the whole substantive so formed:

```
[Hwan-pa  uma-n ]-ta  rika-:.                                          1112
 John-GEN head-3P-OBJ see-1
```

'I see John's head.'

As discussed in 13.1.5 for substantive phrases in general. the parts may occur discontinuously. As an instance of this. the possessor of a genitive construction may occur separated from the possessed: e.g.

see *Hwanpata* in the following:

```
Hipash-nin-ta     kuya-:  Hwan-pa-ta
daughter-3P-OBJ   love-1  John-GEN-OBJ

'I love John's daughter'
```

12.3.2. Uses of the Genitive Construction

Five categories of use will be discussed:

1. General: part-whole, ownership, social-kinship, etc.
2. Components of a whole.
3. Spatial.
4. Temporal.
5. With quantifiers.

12.3.2.1. General

Part-Whole

    qam-pa uma-yki (you-GEN head-2P) 'your head'

Ownership *suwa-pa wasi-n* (thief-GEN house-3P) 'the thief's house'

Social-Kinship

```
pay-pa wamra-n / mama-n   / kumpaarri-n / aruqmasi-n
he-GEN child-3P  mother-3P compadre-3P   fellow:worker-3P

'his child / mother / co-parent / fellow:townsman'
```

Origin   *qam-pa bus-niki* (you-GEN voice-2P) 'your voice'

Abstract nouns

```
qam-pa   surti-ki / munay-niki   / suyñu-yki
you-GEN  fate-2P    authority-2P   dream-2P

'your fate / authority / dream'
```

12.3.2.2. Components of a whole

When something is conceived of as having components, the whole may spoken of as possessing one of the components. For example, in example 1114 coffee and cookies is conceived of as a whole and cookies as one component:

```
Kafee-ta     upu-shun   galliitas-nin-ta-wan.
coffee-OBJ   drink-12IMP cookie-3P-OBJ-COM
```

1114

```
'Let's drink coffee along with "its" cookies.'
```

Example 1115 speaks of harvested wheat, composed of chaff and stalk:

```
Nirkur wayra-wan apa-chi-nchi paaha-n-ta.
then   wind-COM ' take-caus-12 straw-3P-OBJ
```

1115

```
Y    shunta-nchi graanu-lla-n-ta-na.
and gather-12    grain-just-3P-OBJ-now

'Then we make the wind take its straw.
 And we gather up its grains.'
```

12.3.2.3. Spatial relationships

In this use of the genitive construction. the "possessed" is always a spatial expression. These are principally formed from *hana* 'up. above. top'. *washa* 'at the same level' or *ura* 'down. below': e.g.:

<pre>
Hwan-pa   hana-n-chaw ka-yka-n.   1116
John-GEN top-3P-LOC   be-impfv-3
</pre>

'It is on top of John.'

<pre>
Tuni-mu-sha   noqa-pa hana-:-man.   1117
fall-afar-3PERF I-GEN   top-1P-GOAL
</pre>

'It fell on top of me.'

The possessor in 1116 (*Hwan*) and in 1117 (*noqa*) is followed by -*pa* 'GEN'. Compare 1118 in which it is absent:

<pre>
Hama-ra-yka-n   huk qaqa hana-n-chaw.   1118
sit-stat-impfv-3 one rock top-3P-LOC
</pre>

'He is sitting on top of a rock.'

The generalization is this: -*pa* 'GEN' is obligatorily present if the possessor is a person. and otherwise is obligatorily absent.[216]

The "up" "same level" and "down" defined by *hana. washa* (same level) and *ura* are oriented with respect to gravity. But these words contract with /qa/[217] to form spatial expressions oriented to slope. i.e.. the side of the hill.[218]

han'qa-POS$_x$ 'above x on the hillside'

ur'qa-POS$_x$ 'at the same level as x on the hillside'

wash'qa-POS$_x$ 'below x on the hillside'

These follow the same generalization concerning the occurrence of -*pa* 'GEN'. Examples follow:

<pre>
inlisya han'qa-n-chaw   1119
church above-3P-LOC
</pre>

'above the church'

<pre>
noqa-pa wash'qa-:-chaw o tiya-sha-:   wash'qa-n-chaw   1120
I-GEN   level-1P-LOC   or live-sub-1P level-3P-LOC
</pre>

'on beyond me (at the same level) or on beyond where I live'

The following is a list (certainly not complete) of the substantives which head a spatial genitive:

chaki-POS$_x$ 'at the foot of x'. e.g.. *punta chaki-n-chaw* (peak foot-3P-LOC) 'at the foot of the peak'.

ñawpa-POS$_x$ 'beside/in front of x'. e.g.. *tullpa ñawpa-n-chaw* (hearth side-3P-LOC) 'beside the hearth',

qepa-POS$_x$ 'behind x', e.g..

---

[216] It is no accident that -*pa* 'GEN' may not be absent when the possessor is highly animate. Comrie [9]. page 38 discusses essentially the same phenomenon for Yidiny of Australia.

[217] This /qa/ probably derived from an old substantive (probably a spatial pronoun): it no longer occurs freely.

[218] See section 23.8.6.2 regarding the pronunciation of these: [han^{e}qa-] < hana+qa. [ur^{e}qa-] < ura÷qa. and [wash^{e}qa-] < washa−qa.

```
...mama-n-pa      qepa-n-ta      aywa-ku-sha.                          1121
   mother-3P-GEN  behind-3P-OBJ  go-refl-3PERF
```

'...he went along behind his mother.'

ruri-POS$_x$ 'inside x' e.g., *meesa ruri-n-chaw* (table inside-3P-LOC) 'underneath the table', *punsha ruri-n-kuna-ta* (debris inside-3P-plur-OBJ) 'in amongst the debris'.

chawpi-POS$_x$ 'in the middle of x', e.g., *ishka-n chanka-n chawpi-n-pita* (two-3P thigh-3P middle-3P-ABL) 'from between its two thighs',

siki-POS$_x$ 'at the base/foot of x', e.g., *kawitu siki-lla-n-man* (bed base-just-3P-GOAL) 'to the foot of the bed'.

serka-POS$_x$ 'in the vicinity of x', e.g.,

```
...noqa-pa serka-lla-:-chaw      tiya-na-yki-paq                      1122
   I-GEN   vicinity-just-1P-LOC  live-sub-2P-PUR
```

'...in order that you live close to me.'

waqta-POS$_x$ 'behind x': e.g.:

```
punta wash+waqta-n-pa          ura-y+pa    ura-anchi.                 1123
ridge far:back:side-3P-GEN  go:down-adv go:down-12
```

'We descend by way of the the back side of the ridge.'

kantu-POS$_x$ 'at the edge of x', e.g.:

```
Munti  kantu-n-man  chaya-r...                                        1124
forest edge-3P-GOAL arrive-adv
```

'Arriving at the edge of the forest...'

I believe that spatial relationships form an important part of the Quechua world view.[219] Support for this claim is that the spatial orientation in terms of slope is always defined for the Quechua person: even in a city which is for all intents and purposes flat "downhill" is toward the river, "up hill" is toward the closest ridge and "at the same level" is perpendicular to these (or parallel to the flow of the nearest river): from a boat in the middle of a lake "uphill" is toward the inlet, "downhill" is toward the outlet, and "at the same level" is toward the banks which are neither toward the inlet or the outlet.

12.3.2.4. Temporal relationships

In the temporal use of the genitive expression, the "possessed" substantive is a (relational) temporal expression such as those listed below:[220]

wara(nnin) 'the next day'.

qanyan(nin) 'the previous day'.

tuta(nnin) 'the next morning'.

wata(nnin) 'the next year'.

---

[219]Related to this, I suggest that the fear of falling is a major preoccupation: the motif of someone falling (usually after having unbalanced or stepped on the edge of one's support) is a recurring motif in Quechua folk tales. An indirect fact: while suicide (usually by ingesting poison) is not uncommon, I have never heard of suicide by throwing one's self over a precipice.

[220]Some of these end in /n/ in this unpossessed form, e.g. *qanyan* 'yesterday'. I have listed them with parentheses around the possessive suffix, with what I regard as the basic form preceding: thus both /n/'s following *wara* 'tomorrow' are part of the possessive, while only *qanyan* 'yesterday' has one of those /n/'s as part of it.

If present, the "possessor" must be another expression referring to time, and the expression is interpreted relative to that time. Used without a following possessive suffix, the expression is interpreted relative to the time of speaking. Examples follow:

```
Miku-sha-n waran-nin wañu-sha.                                    1125
eat-sub-3P morrow-3P die-3PERF

'He died the day after he ate them.'

Nirkur chura-nchi watan-nin muru-na-paq-na.                       1126
then    store-12   next:year plant-sub-PUR-now

'Then we store them (see potatoes) to be planted the
following year.'
```

Days of the week may "possess" other days, so e.g. one can refer to Tuesday as "Monday's next day":

```
lunis-pa    waran-nin                                             1127
Monday-GEN  morrow-3P

'the next day with respect to Monday, i.e., Tuesday'
```

Combined with -ntin (see section 4.2.1.13), wara- and qanya- form expressions for referring to two days subsequent/previous:

warantin 'two days hence (with respect to)'.

qanyantin 'two days prior to (with respect to)'.

Without a possessive suffix these mean (respectively) 'day after tomorrow' and 'day before yesterday':
e.g.:

```
Warantin aywa-ku-shaq.                                            1128
day:after:tomorrow go-refl-1FUT

'I will leave the day after tomorrow.'
```

They may be the possessors or the possessed of a temporal expression, so expressions like the following are possible:

wara-ntin-pa waran-nin (tomorrow-tog-GEN tomorrow-3P) 'two days after tomorrow'.

wara-pa wara-ntin-nin (tomorow-tog tomorro-tog-3P) 'the day after two days after today'.

(lunis-pa) wara-ntin-nin (Monday-GEN tomorrow-tog-3P) 'two days after Monday, i.e., Wednesday'.

12.3.2.5. Quantifiers

Quantifiers such as *huk* 'one', *achka* 'many', *wallka* 'few', etc. may have a possessive suffix to indicate the person of the set being quantified: e.g.:

huk-niki (one-2P) 'one of you',

llapa-niki (all-2P) 'all of you',

mayqa-niki (which-2P) 'which of you'.

These never have substantive phrase as possessor. Section 12.4.1 describes their use.

12.4. Pronominal Reference

This section deals with some topics pertaining to pronominal reference. By no means is it intended as complete. The pronominal elements are introduced in section 4.1.

242

12.4.1. Possessed Quantifier/Referential Words

The following words take possessive suffixes to indicate the person of the object(s) to which the expression so formed makes reference.[221]

huk~hukni-	'one/other'	waki-~wakin	'others'
ishka-~ishkani-	'two'	ka:ra-u:nu-	'each'
kimsa	'three'	kiki	'self(emphatic)'
llapa-~llapani-	'all'	hapalla-	'alone/only'

If a possessive suffix is added to a word which ends in a consonant, the meaningless suffix *-ni* intervenes between that final consonant and the suffix. We will now consider one by one these words, exemplifying their use in referential expressions.

12.4.1.1. *Huk* 'one/other'

Huk 'one/article' may be used as an article:

```
Huk saapo ka-yka-sha    mayu-chaw.                          1129
a   frog  be-impfv-3PERF river-loc
```

'There was a frog in the river.' (to begin a text)

It may be used as a quantifying adjective:

```
...huk deeru altu-lla-pa     uysha-pa  qara-n-pita          1130
...one finger high-just-GEN  sheep-GEN skin-3P-ABL
```

'..just one finger high from the sheep's skin,...'

Huk may be used to refer, or to contrast one person or thing with another: e.g.:

```
Huk       runa chari-pa:-ma-nchi...                         1131
other man grab-ben-=>1-12
```

'Someone else (lit. other man) holds it for us...'

In this use, *huk* may take a possessive suffix to indicate the person of the set with respect to which "one/other" is defined:[222] e.g., in *huk-ninchi* (one-12P) the set with respect to which "one/other" is defined is comprised of the speaker and the hearer. The person or thing referred to by *huk-POS* may or may not be member of the set whose person is indicated by the possessive suffix. Thus, *huk-ninchi* could mean 'one of us(incl)' or 'one other than us(incl)'. This is further illustrated in the examples below.

For example, if John, Tom, and Paul are somehow closely associated (e.g., they share a room), then John could say example 1132 to Tom and thereby be blaming Paul.

```
Noqanchi mana rura-shka-nchi:-chu. Huk-ninchi rura-sha.     1132
we(incl) not  do-perf-12-NEG        other-12P  do-3PERF
```

'We(incl) didn't do it. The other (with respect to us) did it.'

Or if someone else accuses John and Tom of something, then they could reply with example 1133:

---

[221] The hyphen indicates that the word cannot occur unless followed either by a possessive suffix or by *-q* 'human'. *ishka-* is also followed by *-y*, but this is not a productive suffix.

[222] In the third person *huk* is used rather than *huknin*. Whenever a possessive suffix follows, since *huk* ends in a consonant, the *-ni* intervenes between the final consonant and the possessive suffix.

243

```
Mana rura-shka-:-chu noqa-kuna-qa.  Huk(-ni:)  rura-sha.              1133
not  do-perf-1-NEG   I-plur-TOP      other-1P   do-3PERF
```

'We(excl) didn't do it. Someone else (with respect to us) did it.'

Or John or Tom might reply with example 1134 and thereby blame Paul:

```
Noqa-kuna  mana suwa-pa-shka-:-chu.   Mas  huk-ni:-kaq               1134
I-plur     not  steal-ben-perf-1-NEG  more other-1P-def

suwa-pa-shka-shu-nki.
steal-ben-perf-=>2-2
```

'We(excl) didn't steal it on you. The other of us(excl)
stole it on you.'

Further, if two persons are sent to do some task. and then the boss checks up on them, one might say 1135:

```
       ⌈ishka-:-qa    ⌉                                                1135
       │two-1P-TOP    │
Mana  ⟨              ⟩ rura-shka-:-chu.  Huk-ni-lla-:  rura-shka-:.
not    │             │  do-perf-1-NEG     one-just-1P   do-perf-1
       │ishkani-:-qa  │
       ⌊two-1P-TOP    ⌋
```

'The two of us(excl) didn't do it. Just I (the
one of me) did it.'

Although *huk* may have a possessive suffix it never occurs with an overt genitive phrase: one cannot say **Juan-pa huk(-ni-n)* 'one other than John'.

12.4.1.2. Other numerals

The numbers *ishka(ni)*-POS. *kimsa*-POS. *chusku*-POS may be used as *huk* was used in the previous example. to mean 'the two of x'. 'the three of x'. 'the four of x' respectively. where x is of the person indicated by the possessive suffix: see table 4-1. Examples are 1135 and the following:

```
...alli ka-yka-nki chusku-nchi musikeeru puri-na-paq...              1136
   good be-impfv-2 four-12P    musician  travel-sub-PUR
```

'...you are good for the four of us to travel around as
musicians.'

12.4.1.3. *Wakin* 'others'

waki- ~ *wakin* is the plural counterpart of *huk*. and often interchangable with *huk...kuna* (one...plural). Examples follow:

```
            wakin-niki-qa?                                            1137
            others-2P-TOP
May-chaw-taq
where-loc-?
            huk-niki-kuna-qa?
            other-2P-plur-TOP
```

'Where are the others (with respect to you)?'

```
            kastiga-shaq.                                             1138
            punish-1=>3FUT
Wakinni-ki-ta
others-2P-OBJ
            kastiga-shayki.
            punish-1=>2FUT
```

'I will punish the others (with respect to you).'

Example 1138 would be used if the hearer is a member of some group (in the speech context) and the

244

speaker intends to punish the others of the group exclusive of the hearer.

Usually *wakin* is used as the third person form rather than *wakinnin*. Example 1139 shows that the reference of *wakin* is with respect to a third person, (i.e. it means 'the others with respect to him'):

```
Chawra  buurru  ni-n-shi,  "Watqa-rku-shaq-chu?"  Wakin-kuna-qa          1139
then    donkey  say-3-IND  spy-up-1FUT-YN?         other-plur-TOP

chawra  ni-n-shi.  "Maa        watqa-rku-y"  ...nirkur
then    say-3-IND  let's:see   spy-up-2IMP      then

rika-sha-n-ta-shi    willa-pa-n  wakin-kaq   kumpañi:ru-n-ta.
see-sub-3P-OBJ-IND   tell-ben-3  other-def   companion-3P-OBJ
```

'Then the donkey says, "Shall I spy a little?" *The others*
then say, "Let's see, spy a little." ....Thereupon he tells
the others of his companions what he saw.'

12.4.1.4. *Mayqan* 'which'

Followed by the appropriate possessive suffix. *mayqa(ni)-* is used in various ways:

1. in questions. e.g..

```
Mayqa-nchi:-taq  hucha-yoq     ka-nchi?                              1140
which-12P-?      guilt-having  be-12
```

'Which of us(incl) is guilty?'

2. in indefinite pronouns. e.g.. *mayqa(ni)-yki-pis* (which-2P-indef) 'whichever of you'; or suppose that in jointly doing something (e.g.. passing a bowl of soup) something gets knocked over (e.g.. a glass of milk) and we don't know exactly which of us did it; then one of us could say:

```
Mayqa-nchi:-pis   noqanchi   rura-shka-nchi.                  ____    1141
which-12P-indef   we(incl)   do-perf-12
```

'Whichever of us did it.' i.e. 'One or the other
of us(incl) did it.'

3. negative pronouns. e.g.. *mana mayqa(ni)-yki-pis* (not which-2P-indef) 'none of you'.

12.4.1.5. *Kiki* 'self'

The emphatic pronoun *kiki* is virtually always followed by a possessive suffix.[223] Examples follow:

```
Chawra  "Llulla-ku-nki-chari.  Kiki-:-raq-mi                          1142
then     lie-refl-2-surely     self-1P-yet-DIR

warmi-:-ta   watqa-yku-shaq."  ni-n-shi.
wife-1P-OBJ  spy-impact-1FUT   say-3-IND
```

'Then "You must be lying. Yet *I* will spy on my wife."
he said.'

```
Llulla-pa:-ma-pti-ki  kiki-ki-ta   wañu-chi-shayki.                   1143
lie-ben-=>1-adv-2P    self-2P-OBJ  die-cause-1=>2FUT
```

'If you are lying to me, I will kill *you* (yourself).'

---

[223] By elicitation I have gotten assent to examples where *kiki* is not followed by a possessive suffix. but I have never seen such a case in a text or heard one in a conversation.

12.4.1.6. *Llapan* 'all'

Examples of *llapa(ni)-* follow:

```
Y    llapani-:  soqta ka-:.  kimsa ollqo y   kimsa warmi.                        1144
and  all-1      six   be-1   three male and  three female
```

'And we all(excl) are six. three boys and three girls.'

```
Llapa-yki  qam-kuna   fiyu  ka-nki.                                             1145
all-2P     you-PL     bad   be-2
```

'All of you(plural) are bad.'

```
Llapa(ni)-nchi  aywa-shun.                                                      1146
all-12P         go-12IMP
```

'All of us(incl) will go. / Let's all of us go!'

12.4.1.7. *Hapallan* 'alone'

hapa + lla- means roughly 'by one's self':[224] e.g.:

```
Noqa  hapa+lla-:  mana aywa-:-chu.                                             1147
I     alone-1P    not  go-1-neq
```

'I am not going by myself.'

```
Hapa+lla-n  aywa-sha.                                                           1148
alone-3P    go-3PERF
```

'He went alone.'

12.4.1.8. *kara-u:nu* 'each one'

The Spanish expression *cada uno* has been borrowed into Huallaga Quechua as one word. a word that belongs to the class of words under discussion. Thus. *kara-u:nu-n* 'each one of them' *kara-u:nu-yki* 'each one of you' etc.

12.4.1.9. Unmotivated *-ni* alternation

The following words. which must be followed by a possessive suffix as just discussed. generally are free variants.

```
ishka-POS ~ishkani-POS   'two of x'                                            1149
         x           x
mayqa-POS ~mayqani-POS   'which of x'
         x           x
llapa-POS ~llapani-POS   'all of x'
         x          x
```

Note that the phonological motivation for the presence of *-ni* discussed in 23.8.12 is absent in these cases.

Generally. *-ni* is a meaningless suffix. Example 1150 shows the only type of case where there is a clear contrast between a form with *-ni* and one without:

---

[224] *hapa + lla-* is certainly historically two morphemes: *hapa-lla-*.

$$\text{Maria muna-n Juan} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. } \underline{\text{llapa}}\text{-n-ta} \\ \quad \text{all-3P-OBJ} \\ \text{b. } \underline{\text{llapani}}\text{-n-ta} \\ \quad \text{all-3P-OBJ} \end{Bmatrix} \text{mucha-na-n-ta.} \qquad 1150$$

Mary want-3 John   kiss-sub-3P-OBJ

$$\text{'Mary wants John to kiss} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. all of them.} \\ \quad \text{(with or without Mary)} \\ \text{b. all of them.} \\ \quad \text{(including Mary)} \end{Bmatrix}.$$

12.4.2. Disjoint Reference Forced by a Noun Phrase

Consider 1151 and 1152, both of which contain object complements. In both, a substantive in the complement (in the first case a pronoun, in the second a name) must be interpreted as not coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause. By contrast, the absence of a substantive at these positions allows an interpretion in which this the object of the complement is understood as coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause:

$$\text{Pay musya-n} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. } \varnothing \\ \text{b. } \text{pay} \\ \quad \text{he} \end{Bmatrix} \text{qeshya-yka-sha-n-ta.} \qquad 1151$$

he know-3   be:sick-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ

$$\text{'He}_i \text{ knows that} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. he}_{i/j} \\ \text{b. he}_{j \ *i} \end{Bmatrix} \text{is sick.'}$$

$$\text{Maria muna-n} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. } \varnothing \\ \text{b. } \text{Maria-ta} \\ \quad \text{Mary-OBJ} \end{Bmatrix} \text{mucha-na-:-ta.} \qquad 1152$$

Mary want-3   kiss-sub-1P-OBJ

$$\text{'Mary}_i \text{ wants me to kiss} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{a. her}_{i/j} \\ \text{b. Mary}_{j \ *i} \end{Bmatrix}$$

I am at present not able to characterize the class of environments in which a substantive must have disjoint reference. am optimistic that a properly elaborated theory of reference could do a lot toward that end.[225]

12.4.3. Word-Order Constraining Coreference

This section explores briefly the interplay of word-order and reference. Judgements were elicited to alternative word orders for the Quechua sentence corresponding to 'John(J) saw Tom(T) hitting his(?) son': in particular I asked whether *wamra-n* (son-3P) 'his son' refers to John's son or to

---

[225]There may be a factor which complicates matters in HgQ: in some cases the pronouns occur seemingly for no other reason than to support some suffix. For example, i believe that (in contrast to 1152b) a coreferential interpretation is possible in the following. in which the pronoun is present to support -*pis* 'also':

Marucha muna-n pay-ta-<u>pis</u>   mucha-na-:-ta.
Mary   want-3 her-OBJ-also kiss-sub-1P-OBJ

'Mary$_i$ wants me to kiss her$_{i/j}$ too.'

If this is correct. then there is no hope of giving a structural characterization of such contexts.

Tom's son.[226] In the discussion below, J > T indicates that in the preferred reading *wamran* 'his son' refers to John's son, and T > J indicates a preference for Tom's son. J = T indicates that *wamra-n* can equally refer to either John's or Tom's son, without preference for either. J *T indicates that *wamra-n* can refer to John's son but not Tom's. Consider 1153 and 1154:

```
Hwan [Tumas wamra-n-ta(T>J) maqa-yka-q]-ta    rika-ra-n.            1153
John  Tom   son-3P-OBJ        hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3
```

'John saw Tom hitting his child.'

```
Hwan rika-ra-n [Tumas wamra-n-ta(T>J) maqa-yka-q]-ta.              1154
John see-past-3 Tom   son-3P-OBJ       hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

I assume that 1153 is the most "basic" order. Neither 1153 nor 1154 involves any raising. 1154 differs from 1153 only in that the complement object follows rather than precedes the main verb. Note that in both, *wamra-n* preferentially refers to Tom's rather than John's son (as indicated by the notation T > J). This seems to be because in both, *Tumas* is the referential element which most immediately precedes *wamra-n*. (For this reason I have underlined *Tumas*.)

Consider what happens when *wamra-n* is raised into the higher clause (see section 13.3.2.4) and *Hwan* rather than *Tumas* precedes:

```
Hwan wamra-n-ta(J *T) rika-ra-n  [Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta.           1155
John child-3P-OBJ      see-past-3 Tom   hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

```
Hwan rika-ra-n wamra-n-ta(J *T), [Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta.          1156
John see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ      Tom   hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

In 1156, both *Hwan* and the person marker on *rikaran* are underlined, as I both are referential elements. Since in either case an element referring to John most immediately precedes *wamra-n*, it refer only to John's son.

Let us see what happens when neither *Tumas* nor *Hwan* are clausemates of *wamra-n*. In the following, *Tumas* has been raised to become the object of *rika-ra-n* 'he saw':

```
Hwan Tumas-ta [wamra-n-ta(T>J) maqa-yka-q]-ta    rika-ra-n.       1157
John Tom-OBJ   child-3P-OBJ      hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3
```

```
Hwan rika-ra-n Tumas-ta [wamra-n-ta(T>J) maqa-yka-q]-ta.         1158
John see-past-3 Tom-OBJ   child-3P-OBJ      hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

```
Hwan [wamra-n-ta(J>T) maqa-yka-q]-ta    rika-ra-n Tumas-ta.      1159
John  child-3P-OBJ      hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3 Tom-OBJ
```

In each of these cases the possessive suffix of *wamra-n* prefers the most immediately preceding noun phrase as its referent.

A further case of this sort is the following, which is structurally ambiguous between *wamra-n-ta*

---

[226] I consider this methodology as somewhat suspect but highly suggestive, and it was the best that I could do for this study. I am grateful to Hernán Quiñones for contributing the judgements given below. Hernan speaks Huari (Ancash) Quechua, which I regard as close enough to HgQ to be valid for the results below, given that they are meant as suggestive and not definitive

being a member of the subordinate or of the main clause.[227]

1160

```
Hwan  wamra-n-ta(J>T)  [Tumas  maqa-yka-q]-ta    rika-ra-n.
John  child-3P-OBJ      Tom    hit-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3
```

The conclusion we reach on the basis of 1157-1160 is that the possessive suffix of *wamra-n* prefers the most immediately preceding referential element. However. there are some apparent counter-examples to this claim. Consider the following:

```
Hwan  Tumas-ta rika-ra-n [wamra-n-ta(T=J) maqa-yka-q]-ta.      1161
John  Tom-OBJ  see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ    hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

```
Tumas-ta rika-ra-n  [wamra-n-ta(T=J) maqa-yka-q]-ta     Hwan.   1162
Tom-OBJ  see-past-3 child-3P-OBJ     hit-impfv-sub-OBJ John
```

Here we might expect a preference for John since the third person subject marker on *rikaran* is the closest preceding noun phrase. but instead we find no preference at all. I conjecture that this is because a bound pronoun is less referential than an overt substantive phrase: it seems that in 1161-1162 a balance is achieved because the bound pronoun (refering to John) is closer than the substantive (refering to Tom).

In the last two examples to be discussed (1163 and 1164) the rule of "most immediately preceding referential element" fails. Example 1163 is like 1156 except for "comma intonation." which I assume to reflect a clause boundary):

```
Hwan  rika-ra-n. [wamra-n-ta(T>J) Tumas maqa-yka-q]-ta.        1163
John  see-past-3  child-3P-OBJ     Tom   hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

In example 1163. the possessive suffix of *wamra-n* refers to *Tumas*. which follows. but which is a clausemate.

I have no idea why. in example 1164 T = J rather than the expected J > T:

```
Tumas-ta rika-ra-n  Hwan. [wamra-n-ta(T=J) maqa-yka-q]-ta.     1164
Tom-OBJ  see-past-3 John   child-3P-OBJ     hit-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

This concludes our discussion of such phenomenon. a discussion which has obviously just barely scratched the surface. A great deal of work is needed to (i) verify the facts presented here. (ii) expand the body of such facts. and (iii) incorporate these facts into a theory of reference.

---

[227]The two bracketings would be as follows:

```
Hwan            [wamranta Tumas maqaykaq]-ta rikaran.
```

```
Hwan wamranta [        Tumas maqaykaq]-ta rikaran.
```

Evidence of this ambiguity is seen if we replace *wamra-n-ta* by *qam-ta* (you-OBJ): the transition of *rika-* 'see' can be either 3=>3 (for the case that *qam-ta* (you-OBJ) is the object of *maqa-*) or 3=>2 (for the case that it is the object of *rika-*):

```
                                    ⎧ rika-ra-n. (3=>3)
                                    ⎨ see-past-3
Hwan qam-ta  Tumas maqa-yka-q-ta    ⎪
John you-OBJ Tom   hit-impfv-sub-OBJ⎨ rika-shu-ra-yki. (3=>2)
                                    ⎩ see-=>2-past-2
```

'John saw Tom hitting you.'

249

12.5. Number Formation

12.5.1. Basic Numbers

The Quechua number system is quite well preserved in HgQ. (In areas to the west and south. it has largely been replaced by Spanish numbers.) For example. the following are possible numbers in HgQ:

			1165
11	--	chunka huk	
13	--	chunka kimsa	
20	--	ishkay chunka	
90	--	isqon chunka	
500	--	pichqa pachak	
3000	--	kimsa waranqa	
20,000	--	ishkay chunka waranqa	
900,000	--	isqon pachak waranqa	

A NUMBER is a digit or a number expression. There names for the digits (the numbers from one to nine). are as follows:

			1166
1	--	*huk*	
2	--	*ishkay*	
3	--	*kimsa*	
4	--	*chusku*	
5	--	*pichqa*	
6	--	*soqta*	
7	--	*qanchis*	
8	--	*pusaq*	
9	--	*isqon*	

A NUMBER EXPRESSION has three parts:

(MULTIPLIER) NUCLEUS (ADDER)

The NUCLEUS is a power of ten: the possible nuclei are:

			1167
10	--	*chunka*	
100	--	*pachak*	
1000	--	*waranqa*	

The MULTIPLIER and ADDER are numbers. and (as indicated by the parentheses) are optional. The value of a number expression may be calculated by multiplying its multiplier by the nucleus and then adding the adder.

To illustrate where the multiplier and adder are digits. in *chunka pichqa* (ten five) 'fifteen', *chunka* 'ten' is the nucleus and *pichqa* 'five' is the adder. In *kimsa pachak* (three hundred) 'three hundred'. *kimsa* 'three' is the multiplier and *pachak* 'hundred' is the nucleus. In *pusaq chunka ishkay* (eight ten two) 'eighty two'. *pusaq* is the multiplier. *chunka* 'ten' is the nucleus, and *ishkay* 'two' is the multiplier.

When the multiplier or adder is a number expression, its nucleus must be smaller than the nucleus of the number expression of which it is a part, so e.g.. if the nucleus is *pachak* 'hundred', then the nuclei of a multiplier or adder could only be *chunka* 'ten'. See examples 1168 and 1169 and the corresponding analysis into multiplier. nucleus and adder:

12,345   1168

```
chunka ishkay waranqa kimsa pachak chusku chunka pichqa
  10     2    1000    3    100    4     10     5

multiplier: |nucleus: 10 chunka
            |-----------------------------
            | adder:  2 ishkay
----------------------------------------------
nucleus: 1000 waranqa
----------------------------------------------
adder:  | multiplier: 3 kimsa
        |-----------------------------
        | nucleus: 100 pachak
        |-----------------------------
        | adder:  | multiplier:  4 chusku
        |         |---------------------
        |         | nucleus: 10 chunka
        |         |---------------------
        |         | adder:  5 pichqa
```

987,001   1169

```
isqon pachak pusaq chunka qanchis waranqa huk
  9    100    8     10     7    1000    1

multiplier:  | multiplier: 9 isqon
             |-------------------------
             | nucleus: 100 pachak
             |-------------------------
             | adder:  | multiplier: 9 pusaq
             |         |-------------------
             |         | nucleus: 10 chunka
             |         |-------------------
             |         | adder:  7 qanchis
----------------------------------------------
nucleus: 1000 waranqa
----------------------------------------------
adder: 1 huk
```

When a number is used as a pre-nominal modifier. and when it has an adder whose nucleus is *chunka* '10'. then -*n* may be added either after the entire adder (see 1170a and 1171a) or after *chunka* (see 1170b and 1171b). This -*n* (as with -*n* '3P') is -*nin* following consonants.[228]

```
a. pachak pusaq chunka    pichqa-n wata
b. pachak pusaq chunka-n pichqa    wata
   100    8     10        5        year
```
                                            1170

'185 years'

```
a. kimsa pachak chusku chunka    qanchis-nin wata
b. kimsa pachak chusku chunka-n qanchis     wata
   3     100    4     10        8           year
```
                                            1171

'348 years'

Of course. when no adder follows *chunka* then -*n* directly follows; e.g. in *pachak chunka* (hundred ten) '110' the adder is *chunka* so *pachak chunka-n wata* '110 years'; similarly *pachak pichqa chunka-n wata* (hundred five ten-N year) '150 years'. *isqon pachak kimsa chunka-n wata-yoq* (nine hundred three ten-N) '930 years old'.

---

[228] I do not identify this -*n* with e.g. the third person suffix, nor do I give it a gloss. I regard it as simply a marker within the system of forming numbers: whether it is related to some other suffix (either synchronically or diachronically) is a very moot point.

12.5.2. Indefinite Numbers

Two consecutive digit numbers indicate a rough idea of number:[229] e.g.. *ishkay kimsa* (two three) means roughly two or three (not necessarily exactly two or three): *pichqa soqta* (five six) 'five or six'. Other examples follow:

```
Chay-pita ashi-pa-sha   kimsa chusku awkis muula-kuna-ta-shi.           1172
that-ABL  seek-ben-3PERF three four   old   mule-PL-OBJ-IND
```

'After that he looked for three or four old mules.'

12.5.3. Number Roots/Stem

In the preceding sections *ishkay* has been treated as a single morpheme. Actually it is formed from the root *ishka+* 'two', which combines with three suffixes:

```
          ( -y 'two'              (the quan.ity)                        1173
  ishka+  { -n 'the two of them'  (a pronoun. see 12.4.1.2)
          ( -q 'two persons'      (see 4.2.1.10)
```

If *-lla* 'just' occurs with *ishka+n*. it precedes the *-n*: *ishka+lla+n* 'just the two of them'. As with some other quantifying roots (e.g. *llapa+* 'all'. *mayqa+* 'which'). *ishka+* 'two' may be followed by *-ni*[230] and a possessive suffix to refer to various sets of two: see sections 12.4.1.1 and 12.4.1.2. (The forms preceded by question marks are acceptable. but much less preferred to the corresponding form.)

```
?ishka-:      ishka+ni-:      'the two of us (excl)'                    1174
?ishka-yki    ishka+ni-ki     'the two of you'
 ishka-n      ?ishka+ni-n     'the two of them'
 ishka-nchi:  ?ishka+ni-nchi: 'the two of us (incl)'
```

12.6. *-kama* 'respectively'

(*#*)*kama* 'respective' is a postposition which may (or may not) be cliticized to the preceding word. Following possessive suffix. *kama* restricts its reference.[231] Consider 1175:

```
Juan raki-ra-n        wamra-n-kuna-ta                                   1175
John separate-past-3  child-3P-plur-OBJ
```

```
a. wamra-n-kuna-ta-wan.
   child-3P-plur-OBJ-COM
```

```
b. willka-n-kuna-ta-wan.
   grandchild-3P-plur-OBJ-COM
```

```
c. wamra-n-kuna-ta-wan   kama.
   child-3P-plur-OBJ-COM  resp
```

```
d. willka-n-kuna-ta-wan       kama.
   grandchild-3P-plur-OBJ-COM  resp
```

---

[229] This applies only when there are fewer than nine. This is not used in e.g.. *qanchis chunka pusaq chunka* (seven ten eight ten) 'seventy or eighty'.

[230] This *-ni* is not motivated (as in most cases) by a need to avoid a cluster of three consonants between the preceding stem and the following suffix.

[231] It is not clear whether this restriction is structurally or syntactically determined: it might be definable in terms of "wide" or "narrow scope". it seems more likely that the "scope" is inferentially rather than structurally determined.

1175a means 'John separated his children and *their* children' and would be used if John had separated his children together with his children's children into one group out of some larger group. 1175b means 'John separated his children and his grandchildren' and would be used if John separated his children and *his* grandchildren into one group out of some larger group. Thus, 1175a and 1175b show that the third person possessive suffix *-n* in the last word can be coreferential to either the subject of the sentence or to the immediately preceding noun phrase (as in 1175b).

1175c means 'John separated his children and their respective children' and would be used if John had separated his children and their offspring into various groups such that each group consisted of one (and only one) of his children together with that person's own children. 1175d means 'John separated his children and their respective grandchildren'; it could not be used if only three generations are involved (that of John, that of his children, and that of his grandchildren). But 1175d may be used if John's children have grandchildren to indicate that John separated his children and their grandchildren into groups such that each group consisted of one (and only one) of John's children together with that person's grandchildren. Thus, 1175c and 1175d show that *kama* restricts (at least in this case) the reference of the third person possessive suffix *-n* immediately preceding *kama* to the referent of the most immediately preceding noun phrase. Whereas in 1175a and 1175b it was seen that it could be coreferential with either the subject or object noun phrase, in 1175c and 1175d. it may only be coreferential with the object noun phrase.

The following example further documents the effect of *kama* to restrict reference:

```
                                             a. Ø                        1176
Kimsa warmi-n-chaw ka-ra-n    pichqa wamra-n-kuna
three wife-3P-loc  be-past-3 five   child-3P-plur b. kama
                                                     respective

'By his three wives (literally "in" his three          ..      · ..     ·—   ··
wives) there were his five children.'
```

When *kama* is absent (as in 1176a) it means he had five children in all: when *kama* is present (as in 1176b). it means he had five children by each wife, for a total of fifteen! *Kama* restricts the possible reference of the preceding third person possessive suffix (the one that is underlined): in 1176a. *-n* may refer to the wives (so a meaning of three children by each wife is possible), whereas in 1176b it can only refer to the husband.

In 1177. the effect of *kama* is to indicate that for each member of some presupposed set there corresponds one element (as e.g.. if someone were to pass out hats, where for each person there was one hat):

```
kara-uunu-n-pa  huk-kama                                              1177
each-one-3P-GEN one-resp

'one for each'
```

This use is possible with higher numbers as well (as e.g.. if someone were passing out shoes, and to each person there corresponded two):

```
kara-uunu-n-pa  ishkay-kama                                          1178
each-one-3P-GEN two-resp

'two for each'
```

253

12.7. -*kaq* 'Definite'

(-)*kaq* is historically the verb *ka*- 'to be' followed by the substantivizer -*q*: it has become a marker of (approximately) "definiteness". It is sometimes a suffix: e.g.:

```
Hatun-kaq-ta  qo-ma-y.                                         1179
big-def-OBJ   give-=>1-2IMP
```

```
'Give me the big one.'
```

Sometimes it is a separate word: e.g.:

```
Chay-chaw ka-q-ta      qo-yku-y.                               1180
there-LOC be-sub-OBJ give-impact-2IMP
```

```
'Give it to those who are there.'
```

```
...hama-rpa-yka-n    llapan chay-chaw ka-q   runa-kuna-qa.    1181
   sit-plur-impfv-3 all    that-LOC be-sub man-plur-TOP
```

```
'...all the men that are there are sitting.'
```

In 1179. -*kaq* is glossed 'def' for 'definite': in 1180 and 1181 it is the root *ka*- 'be' followed by the substantivizer -*q*. 1182 and 1183 are indeterminate between these two alternatives:

```
Qeru-pita-kaq-ta  rupa-chi-shun.                              1182
wood-ABL-def-ACC  burn-caus-12IMP
```

```
'Let's burn that/those which are made of wood.'
```

Note that 1179 and 1182 show that -*kaq* (as a suffix) has no strict ordering with respect to the case marking suffixes.

```
ollqu-pa kasta-n kaq-kuna-qa                                  1183
male-GEN clan-3P def-plur-TOP
```

```
'the man's relatives'
```

When native speakers of HgQ write their language. they are often uncertain whether *ka* + *q* should be written as part of the word it follows or as a separate word.

In some cases *ka* + *q* is clearly a suffix. and in others it is a separate word. It is a suffix when:

1. it shifts stress: [magamáshaŋ] 'which hit me' becomes [magamasháŋkax] 'the one which hit me' rather than [magamáshaŋ káx];

2. it is phonologically contracted with the preceding morpheme; e.g. /(y)ki-kaq/ (2P-def) may become [(y)kʸax] (with varying degrees of palatalization of the [k]). so *kaq* must be considered a suffix. An instance: /aywa-sha-yki-kaq-man/ [aywashaykʸáxmaŋ] 'to the place where you are going'.

The following are rough guidelines for when -*kaq* should be considered a suffix and when a separate word:

1. When *kaq* directly precedes *kaq*, the first will be considered a separate word *ka-q*; the second is considered a suffix: e.g.:

```
Chay-chaw ka-q-kaq-qa      wara-ra-n    punta-lla-chaw.       1184
there-LOC be-sub-def-TOP dawn-past-3 ridge-just-LOC
```

```
'Those who were there came into the new day right there
on the ridge.'
```

2. Except in the case of *ka-q-kaq*. whenever *kaq* follows /q/ 'sub'. it is a separate word: e.g.:

```
Chawra chay saqta-q     kaq...                               1185
then    that topple-sub def
```

```
'Then the one who toppled it...'
```

254

In many cases the issue of whether *kaq* is a suffix or a separate word is complicated by a secondary stress occurring on a preceding syllable when *kaq* has following suffixes. In general, the more suffixes *kaq* bears, the more likely it is a separate word from the word it follows.

Perhaps the issue must be settled on other than phonological grounds. A reasonable distinction would be this: when *ka+q* follows X, if X would not have a referent without *kaq* then it should be considered a separate word *ka-q* 'be-sub', whereas if it would have the same referent without *kaq* then it should be considered as a suffix *-kaq* 'def'.

In the examples below, *kaq* is treated as *-kaq* 'def' or as *ka-q* 'be-sub', with little importance attached to whether it is cliticized to the preceding word.

12.7.1. *ka + q* Marks Definite Reference

-kaq makes the substantive it follows definite, corresponding roughly to a definite article: e.g.:

```
a. Hatun-ta        ⎫                                              1186
                   ⎬ muna-:.
b. Hatun-kaq-ta    ⎭ want-1
   big-def-OBJ

a. 'I want a/the big one.'
b. 'I want the big one.'
```

It is natural that *ka-q* should be a marker of definiteness if by "definite" one means a claim of existence and of uniqueness. *ka-q* 'be-sub' very literally means 'which is': i.e., it is a claim of existence. This does not explain a claim of uniqueness, but it is not clear that *kaq* really makes such a claim.[232] 1187 suggests that *kaq* is more appropriate when the object referred to by the substantive which *kaq* follows is definite:

```
a. Kawallu-kaq-ta     ⎫                                           1187
   hours-def-OBJ      ⎪
                      ⎬ ashi-yka-n.
b. Kawallu-n-kaq-ta   ⎪ search-impfv-3
   horse-3P-def-OBJ   ⎭
                        ⎧ a. the horse.'
'He is looking for     ⎨
                        ⎩ b. his horse.'
```

1187a sounds strange, something like 'He is looking for the thing which is a horse.'[233] But 1187b is quite natural, something like "He is looking for the horse which is his."

kaq is often used in cases where two or more referents have been introduced together, and then a particular one is singled out by reference to some distinguishing property. For example, in describing a picture of a man and woman, the text runs as follows:

Those two are a man and a woman. The woman (*warmi-kaq* woman-def) is holding the 1188 man's (*ollqo-kaq-pa* male-def-GEN) left arm. Both have put on new clothes... The man (*ollqo-kaq* male-def) has put on blue pants... The woman (*warmi-kaq* woman-def) ...'

A text on butchering runs as follows:

---

[232] The use of English "the" for does not make a claim of uniqueness: *the* in *The man who beats his wife probably doesn't love her*. does not imply either the uniqueness of the man nor the existence of any such man.

[233] It would probably sound fine in a universe in which there was only one horse.

<u>Another person</u> (*huk runa* one man) holds it very tightly by the neck... <u>The one</u> 1189
<u>who cuts it with the knife</u> (*kuchillu-wan kuchu-q-kaq* knife-COM cut-sub-def) grasps
the sheep's jawbone. <u>The one who holds it</u> (*chari-q-kaq* grab-sub-def) stands by
its side...

1190 (from section 12.9, example 1219) considers alternatives for referring to one particular pencil out of a set of four pencils of varying sizes: *-pita...kaq* makes the definite reference based on size relative to the largest (or smallest):

```
a.  Hatun-pita   mas    taksha+rpu+q  kaq-ta   qo-ma-y.                    1190
    big-ABL      more   smaller       def-OBJ  give-=>1-2IMP

b.  Taksha-pita  mas    hatu+lla+n    kaq-ta   qo-ma-y.
    small-ABL    more   bigger        def-OBJ  give-=>1-2IMP
```

a. 'Give me the one which is a little smaller than the biggest.'
b. 'Give me the one which is a little bigger than the smallest.'

```
Chawra-qa  parla-n  chay awni-q     runa-wan  mayqa-n-kaq             1191
then-TOP   speak-3  that agree-sub  man-COM   which-3P-def

mayordoomu-ta yayku-na-n-paq-pis.
majordomo-OBJ enter-sub-3-PUR-indef
```

'Then they speak with that man who has agreed about which
one of them should enter as the majordomo.'

Anther example:

```
...sirbin  llapan-ta  warmi-pa  kasta-n  kaq-kuna-ta-qa     usha+qpaq.      1192
    serve  all-OBJ    woman-GEN clan-3P  def-plur-OBJ-TOP  completely
```

'...they serve all of the woman's relatives (which are there).'

See also 1332.

12.7.2. *-kaq* to Refer to Place

Substantives followed by *kaq* often refer to a place where the referent of that substantive is located; e.g.:

```
tullpa ka-q-chaw                                                           1193
hearth be-sub-LOC
```

'in the place where the stove is/was'

```
...chay warmi-ta  ashi-sha-n  kaq-chaw-qa...                               1194
   that woman-OBJ seek-sub-3P def-LOC-TOP
```

'...at the place where they are seeking that woman'
(i.e., seeking her hand in marriage for another)

```
...apa-sha      tinri-ta   siwraa-man  paarrinu-n   kuura  kaq-man         1195
   take-3PERF   tiger-OBJ  city-GOAL   godfather-3P priest def-GOAL
```

'...he took the tigers to the city, to where his godfather the
priest lived.'

12.7.3. *-pita kaq* 'those except'

The sequence X-*pita kaq* may mean 'those except the members of X';[234] e.g.:

---

[234]Other meanings are possible. e.g. 'the one descended from X'.

```
Chay-pita kaq-ta-qa    llapa-n-ta manada-n eskirbaanu          1196
that-ABL  def-OBJ-TOP all-3P-OBJ order-3  scribe

rigidur-ta  kampu-ta  sakristan-ta fiskal-ta.
rigidor-OBJ kampu-OBJ sacristan-OBJ fiskal-OBJ
```

'Except for him (the aforementioned *kapiilla*), the scribe is over ("orders") all of them, the *rigidur*, the *kampu*, the *sakristan* and the *fiskal*.'

12.7.4. *huk-kaq* 'the other'

The combination of *huk* 'one/other' and *kaq* 'def' is now largely frozen as simply *hukaq* 'the other one'; e.g.:

```
...kargu-ta  hukaq-ta      ruka-na-n-paq.                      1197
   cargo-OBJ the:other-OBJ exchange-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...in order to exchange the office with the other one.'

```
Hukaq-man       taku-chi-shaq.                                 1198
the:other-GOAL  mix-caus-1FUT
```

'I will mix it into the other.'

In some cases *hukaq* means 'a particular one' of various possible referents: e.g.:

```
Chay-pita huk mayur    suwa ni-n  hukaq suwa-ta...             1199
that-ABL  one superior thief say-3 one   thief-OBJ
```

'After that one of the boss thieves says to (a particular) one of the other thieves...'

```
Hukaq nobillu-yki-ta qo-ma-y       miku-na-:-paq.              1200
one   oxen-2P-OBJ    give-=>1-2IMP eat-sub-1P-PUR
```

'Give me one (a particular one) of your oxen so I can eat it.'

After introducing a group of referents. if the first reference to one member of that group is made with *huk-kaq*. then this creates the expectation that one or more other members will be similarly singled out for discussion. For example. if one says 'There were two boys.' and continues with *hukkaqpa hutin Pablo* 'The name of one of them was Paul', it creates the expectation that subsequently the name of the other boy will be given. But continuing with *hukpa hutin Pablo* 'The name of one of them was Paul' creates no such expectation.

12.7.5. *wakin-kaq* 'the others'

Corresponding to *huk-kaq* 'the other' is the plural form *wakin-kaq* 'the others'. This is frequent in a text such as "The Four Musicians", in which there are multiple, interacting participants, often with one participant interacting with the other three:

```
Then the others (wakin-kaq other-def) say.... Then he tells the others, his   1201
companions (wakin-kaq   kumpañiiru-n-ta  other-def  companion-3P-OBJ) what  he
saw.... Then the others (wakin-kaq-qa  other-def-TOP) say....
```

Similarly, an explanation of how fiestas are administered speaks of the group of ministers, often contrasting one with the others: e.g.:[235]

---

[235]Compare example 1202 to 1211. page 259.

257

```
Chay minisru-kuna-chaw eskirbaanu manda-n waki-n-kaq                          1202
that minister-plur-LOC scrivener  order-3 other-3P-def

minisru-kuna-ta.
minister-plur-OBJ

'Among those ministers, the scrivener is over ("orders") the
other ministers.'
```

They look for five men, all of whom know how to dance... ...there   should be   1203
one   who   knows   how   to   dance   better   than   the   others   (*wakin-kaq-pita-qa*
(other-def-ABL-TOP)).

12.7.6. *chay-kaq* 'the other'

At best. the combination of *chay* 'that' and *kaq* 'def' in *chay-kaq* seems redundant. since *chay* is a definite pronoun and *kaq* is a marker of definiteness. *Chay-kaq* means roughly 'that one (in contrast to the aforementioned one)' (where 'that' bears heavy stress); e.g.. *chay-kaq* in the following bit of text refers to the second-mentioned servant and not the first-mentioned:[236]

```
There is one servant at the table.  There is another servant to  feed those   1204
that are seated on the ground.  That servant  (chay-kaq sirbinti that-def servant)
serves them starting at one edge until he finishes.
```

The text preceding 1205 describes various ways some fathers react negatively to a delegation coming to ask for their daughter's hand in marriage: 1205 describes a positive reaction:

```
Wakin runa-kuna-qa alli.  Chay-kaq-qa hama-chi-n...                           1205
other man-plur-TOP good   that-def-TOP sit-caus-3

'Other men are good.  Those (in contrast to the afore-mentioned)
seat them...'
```

A further example illustrating this point:

```
...eskirbaanu ashi-n-na   alkaldeesa-ta rihidoora-ta                          1206
   scrivener      seek-3P-now mayoress-OBJ  rigidora-OBJ

ruka-na-n-paq       watan      chay-kaq-na  rura-na-n-paq.
exchange-sub-3P-PUR next:year  that-def-now do-sub-3P-PUR

'...the scrivener seeks women to become mayoress and rihidoora,
so that the following year those (the new ones found, not the
afore-mentioned women who are presently carrying out the roles)
do it.'
```

12.7.7. *mana-kaq* 'insignificant'

The combination of *mana* 'no, not' and *kaq* 'def' means 'insignificant, worthless'. This idiomatic expression undoubtedly has its origin in *mana ka-q* 'which is not'. For example,

```
Mana+kaq        papel-lla-n-wan-mi     gaana-ma-sha...                        1207
insignificant paper-just-3P-COM-DIR beat-=>1-3PERF

'He beat me just with his worthless paper...'
```

1208 is how the tiger insults the wasp:

---

[236](Followig this. the text then describes how the first-mentioned servant serves: to the scrivener first. who passes the dish on according to rank...)

258

```
Ima-taq qam ka-ra-yki  ichiknaylla mana+kaq.                           1208
what-?? you be-past-2P tiny         insignificant
```

'What have you been, tiny and insignificant.'

12.8. *-pacha* 'continuous'

Another postposition which applies to substantive phrases is (#)*pacha* 'continuous'. It cliticizes to some degree or another (with some variation from speaker to speaker) to the preceding word. *Pacha* must co-occur with the case markers *-pita* 'ABL' or *-man* 'GOAL', which as seen in chapter 10. may indicate a path (in space or time), and indicates that the event referred to by the main verb of that clause happened continuously along this path. If φ is a substantive referring to Φ, then φ-*pita#pacha* means 'continuously from Φ' and φ-*man#pacha* means 'continuously to Φ'. An example follows:

```
Wañu-sha-n-pita pacha waqa-sha.                                       1209
die-sub-3P-ABL  cont  cry-3PERF
```

'She has cried ever since he died.'

12.9. Contrast, Covariation and Comparison

This section comments on contrast. covariation and comparison.

First. the use of *-qa* 'TOP' to express contrast is discussed in considerable detail in section 20.2.3.2.

Two referents may be contrasted: the one which is the basis of contrast is marked with *-pita* 'ABL'. as in 1210 and 1215:

```
Chay-naw ka-rka-yka-sha-n-pita  wakin runa-qa mana ashi-n-chu..      1210
that-SIM be-PL-impfv-sub-3P-ABL other man-TOP not  seek-3-NEG
```

'By contrast to those who are like that, other people don't seek...'

```
Chay-pita ka-g-ta-qa    llapan-ta manda-n   eskirbaanu rigidur-ta....  1211
that-ABL  be-sub-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ  order-OBJ scrivener  rigidor,...
```

'With the exception of that one, the scrivener is the boss of (orders) all of them, the rigidor,...'

Second, COVARIATION expresses a variation of some object/event as a function of (according as) some other variation. Example 1212 illustrates this: the size of the light is said to vary with the progress of the participants toward it:

```
Mas  mas  aywa-pti-n mas  hatun-na-shi rika-ka:-mu-n    achki.        1212
more more go-adv-3P  more big-now-IND  see-pass-afar-3 light
```

'The farther they went, the larger the light was seen (to be).'

Third, COMPARATIVES are formed with

- *mas* 'more' before the phrase expressing the QUALITY or GROUND OF COMPARISON (e.g.. size, color, speed. manner...). and
- the STANDARD OF COMPARISON (i.e. the object to which compared) as an ablative (substantive) phrase.

For example:

```
Noqa mas  hatun  ka-yka-:   pay-pita.                                    1213
I    more big    be-impfv-1 he-ABL
     GROUND                 STANDARD
```

'I am bigger than he.'

```
Tesureeru ... qellay-ta mas  achka-ta gasta-n                            1214
treasurer     money-OBJ more lots-OBJ spend-3

majordomo gasta-sha-n-pita-qa.
mayordomo spend-sub-3P-ABL-TOP
```

'The treasurer spends lots more money than what the majordomo
spends.'

```
Koorri-y-ta yacha-n mas  wakin-kuna-pita.                                1215·
run-INF-OBJ know-3   more other-PL-ABL
```

'He knows how to run better than the others.'

```
Huk-pis  ka-na-n  mas  dansa-y-ta    yacha-q  wakin kaq-pita-qa.         1216
one-indef be-sub-3 more dance-INF-OBJ know-sub other def-ABL-TOP
```

'There should be one who knows how to dance better than the rest
of them (i.e., with respect to the others)'

```
Mayurdoomu mas  huk-naw   tesureeru-pita kustumri-ta rura-n.             1217
majordomo  more other-SIM treasurer-ABL  custom-OBJ  do-3
```

'The majordomo does a custom different than the treasurer (does).'

The expression *taksharpuq* means 'slightly smaller':[237]

```
Chay punchu noqa-pa punchu-:-pita mas  taksha-rpu-q.                     1218
that poncho me-GEN  poncho-1P-ABL more small-up-sub
```

'That poncho is somewhat smaller than mine.'

Suppose that there are four pencils of different size. To refer to one by its size relative to the others
one would say (from the largest to the smallest):

```
a. hatun                         kaq                                     1219
b. hatun-pita   mas taksha-rpu-q kaq
c. taksha-pita  mas hatu-lla-n   kaq
d. taksha                        kaq
```

```
a. 'the big one'
b. 'the one which is a little smaller than the big one'
c. 'the one which is a little bigger than the small one'
d. 'the small one'
```

---

[237]Perhaps this is really *taksha-rpu-q* (be:small-up-sub)?

13. SUBORDINATE SUBSTANTIVIZED CLAUSES

This chapter includes sections on the following topics:
- relative clauses (see section 13.1).
- participles (see section 13.2).
- complementation (see section 13.3). and
- adverbial uses of substanivized clauses (see section 13.4).

All these topics are treated in greater detail in Weber [39].

13.1. Relative Clauses

This chapter contains the following sections:
- Basic Concepts and Definitions (see section 13.1.1).
- Basic Relativization in Quechua (see section 13.1.2).
- Choice of Substantivizer (see section 13.1.3).
- Relative Juxtaposition (see section 13.1.4). and
- Discontinuous Modifiers (see section 13.1.5).

There is much more that could be said about relative clauses in Quechua. The reader is referred to chapter 3 of Weber [39] for a more complete treatment.

13.1.1. Basic Concepts and Definitions

A RELATIVE CLAUSE is a modifier of a substantive derived from a clause (or sentence). For example, consider two sentences *The man is coming* and *He hit you.* Suppose one wants to specify which man is coming by reference to the event of his hitting you. In English we could say *The man [who hit you] is coming.* The sentence *He hit you* has been made a modifier of *man.* *He.* the COREFERRING EXPRESSION in the MODIFYING SENTENCE, has been replaced with the relative pronoun *who.* The relative clause so formed is placed after the noun it modifies.

In this example *he* is the subject of *He hit you* so we can say we have RELATIVIZED ON the subject. If *he* were the object, as in *You hit him* we could relativize on the object; the result would be *The man [who(m) you hit] is coming.*

13.1.2. Basic Relativization in Quechua

The simplest sort of Quechua relative clauses is formed by:
1. making the transition of the verb of the modifying sentence be the appropriate substantival form.
2. deleting the coreferring expression in the modifying sentence (along with any suffixes it might have), and
3. placing the clause so formed before the substantive it is to modify.

For example, suppose we wish to modify *runa* in 1220 with 1221 (where it is assumed that *pay* 'he' refers to the man):

261

```
Runa sha-yka:-mu-n.                                              1220
man  come-impfv-afar-3

'A/The man is coming.'

Pay qam-ta  maqa-shka-shu-nki.                                  1221
he  you-OBJ hit-perf-=>2-2

'He hit you.'
```

Substituting the appropriate (substantivizing) transition and deleting the coreferring expression. the modifying sentence becomes *qam-ta maqa-shu-q* (you-OBJ hit-=>2-sub). Placing this before the substantive to be modified results in 1222:

```
[Qam-ta  maqa-shu-q] runa sha-yka:-mu-n.                        1222
 you-OBJ hit-=>2-sub man  come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'
```

Qamta is optional (the idea of a second person object being adequately indicated by the object marker) and would ordinarily not occur. so more naturally one would say 1223:

```
Maqa-shu-q  runa sha-yka:-mu-n.                                1223
hit-=>2-sub man  come-impfv-afar-3

'The man who hit you is coming.'
```

Suppose the modifying sentence is 1224 in which the coreferring expression is an object:

```
Qam pay-ta maqa-shka-nki.                                       1224
you he-OBJ hit-perf-2

'You hit him.'
```

The modifying sentence becomes *Qam maqa-sha-yki* (you hit-sub-2P) so the complete sentence is 1225:

```
[Qam maqa-sha-yki] runa sha-yka:-mu-n.                         1225
 you hit-sub-2P     man  come-impfv-afar-3

'The man whom you hit is coming.'
```

(Again. one would ordinarily omit *qam* 'you'.)

13.1.3. Choice of Substantivizer

How does one determine which is the appropriate substantivizer? There are two considerations:

1. the grammatical role of the coreferring expression in the modifying sentence. The principle constraint is this: *-q* can only be used when the coreferring expression is the subject of the modifying sentence.
2. the time of the event referred to by the modifying sentence relative to the time of speaking (or the time of the superordinate verb).

The following diagram summarizes the main facts:

```
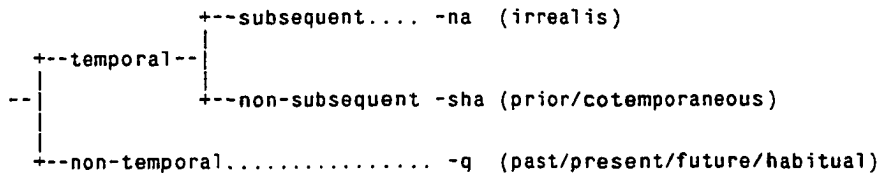              +--subsequent.... -na  (irrealis)
              |
  +--temporal--|
  |           |
--|           +--non-subsequent -sha (prior/cotemporaneous)
  |
  |
  +--non-temporal................ -q (past/present/future/habitual)
```

Table 13-1: THE CHOICE OF SUBSTANTIVIZER

13.1.4. Relative Juxtaposition

RELATIVE JUXTAPOSITION is simply placing the relative clause after the modified substantive rather than before it. For example, 1226 and 1227 correspond to 1222 and 1225 respectively:

```
Runa  maqa-shu-q    sha-yka:-mu-n.                         1226
man   hit-=>2-sub   come-impfv-afar-3
```

'The man who hit you is coming.'

```
Runa  maqa-sha-yki  sha-yka:-mu-n.                         1227
man   hit-sub-2P     come-impfv-afar-3
```

'The man whom you hit is coming.'

Since case markers in Quechua are attached to a whole substantival phrase, when a modified substantive and the modifying sentence are juxtaposed, the case marker does not go along with the modified substantive. For example, application of relative juxtaposition to 1228a yields 1228b rather than 1228c:

a. [Maqashoq runa]-ta rikaa.   1228

b. [Runa maqashoq]-ta rikaa.

c. *Runa-ta maqashoq rikaa.

Application to 1229a yields 1229b:

a. [Maqashayki runa]-ta rikaa.   1229

b. [Runa maqashayki]-ta rikaa.

13.1.5. Discontinuous Modifiers

As discussed in section 12.1. the elements of a single noun phrase may occur discontinuously.[238] When this is the case each element bears (a copy of) the case marker of the noun phrase. An example involving a relative clause is 1099, (page 235).

I wish to make a few speculative remarks about the utility of discontinuities in HgQ. I feel that they provide a way organize a sentence so that it is easier to process. Since HgQ generally observes SOV word order, the verb is often late (i.e.. far to the right) in the sentence. Until a hearer/reader idenifies the main verb of a sentence or clause. he is unable to integrate its parts. So if adverbs, adverbial clauses, modifiers. complements. etc. always occurred pre-verbally. then the hearer/reader would often face an excessive number of words before finding the main verb. This is seen quite clearly in the reading of newly literate persons: given a long sentence with the verb far toward the end, they are not able to read through the sentence to the main verb.[239] So. HgQ affords (among others) the mechanism described above for deferring some of the complexity to after the verb. For example, compare 1230. the basic order, and 1231, in which constituents have been moved. For example, I believe that 1231. with the verb as the third word, is substantially easier to process than 1230, with the main verb as the sixth word:

---

[238] The parts must not be interrupt other constituents. but beyond this there seems to be little constraint on where the parts may occur in a sentence.

[239] They experience what in computational terms is called "stack overflow". i.e.. they cannot keep the various parts active until they are to process them.

```
Maria kañi-ma-sha-n  allqu-ta qara-y-ta     qalla+ri-na-:-ta muna-n.      1230
Mary  bit-=>1-sub-3P  dog-OBJ  feed-inf-OBJ begin-sub-1P-OBJ want-3
```

'Mary wants me to begin to feed the dog that bit me.'

```
Maria qalla+ri-na-:-ta muna-n  allqu-ta qara-y-ta     kañi-ma-sha-n-ta.   1231
Mary  begin-sub-1P-OBJ want-3  dog-OBJ  feed-inf-OBJ bit-=>1-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'Mary wants me to begin to feed the dog that bit me.'

(See also examples 1260 and 1261, page 271.)

13.2. Participles

PARTICIPLES are de-verbal substantives which characterize an object as persisting in some state; in HgQ, three suffixes can be considered to form participles:

1. -sha 'part' forms PAST PARTICIPLES: the object characterized by the participle persists in a state brought about by a prior event/action (as indicated by the verb to which -sha is suffixed): see 13.2.2.

2. -:ni 'without' forms NEGATIVE PARTICIPLES: the event/action indicated by the verb to which -:ni is suffixed is indicated as not having happened. and consequently not having changed the state of the object characterized by the participle; see 13.2.3.

3. -q 'subordinator' forms ACTIVE PARTICIPLES:[240] the object characterized by the participle persists in the state indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed: see 13.2.4.

Participles are like relative clauses in that both are substantives. and both may modify other substantives. but they contrast with relative clauses both structurally and semantically. For example. structurally. the participle in example 1232a differs from the relative clause in 1232b by not being followed by a possessive suffix: that these differ semantically can be seen by comparing the glosses:

```
                              ⎧ a.  wañu-sha-ta.                  1232
                              ⎪      die-prtc-OBJ
Uysha-ta    tari-shka-:       ⎨
sheep-OBJ   find-perf-1       ⎪ b.  wañu-sha-n-ta.
                              ⎩      die-sub-3P-OBJ
```

a. 'I found the sheep dead.'
b. 'I found the sheep which had died.'

13.2.1. The Syntax of Participles

The facts mentioned in this section apply to all participles. despite all the examples being formed with -sha 'part'.

It is tempting to say that the verbs from which participles may be derived are limited to those which imply some change of state; however. virtually any verb may imply a change of state. I would not have said that tiya- 'live, reside at' could involve a change of state. but it can: a house can (or can not) be in the state of having been lived in (see example 1247).

Participles are not limited to characterizing the logical subject or object of the verb from which they are formed: in example 1247. the "house" being characterized is the location of the event indicated by verb (tiya- 'to live') which is participialized. I doubt that there are formal consraints on

---

[240]This is only one of the various ways that -q 'sub' is used.

how the object caracterized must relate to the verb from which a participle is formed; perhaps it is constrained only by the imagination of the speaker or hearer.[241]

While participles (as all de-verbal substantives) are formed by the addition of a suffix to a verb, they may be formed from verb phrases: e.g., in 1233 the phrase *qerupita llaqlla-* 'hew from wood' is made a participle:[242]

```
[Qeru-pita llaqlla]-sha ka-n numral.                              1233
 wood-ABL  hew-prtc       be-3 lentil
```

'It has a lentil hewn from wood.'

When an object forms part of a participle, it loses its object marker,[243] e.g., *uchu aqa-sha-wan* (pepper grind-prtc-COM) 'with the ground pepper' rather than **uchu-ta aqa-sha-wan* (pepper-OBJ grind-prtc-COM).

When a participle modifies a substantive, it may precede it, follow it, or occur discontinuously from it; e.g.:

```
a. wañu-sha runa-ta                                               1234
   die-prtc man-OBJ

b. runa wañu-sha-ta
   man  die-prtc-OBJ

c. runa-ta ... wañu-sha-ta
   man-OBJ     die-prtc-OBJ

a,b,c. 'dead man (object)'
```

However, there seems to be a strong preference for not placing the participle directly before the head.

A participle may be pluralized and may be followed by a case marker; e.g. see *-kuna* 'plur' and *-ta* 'OBJ' in example 1235 and *-niraq* 'SIM' in 1236:

```
...muna-: chay-naw llaki-sh-kuna-ta alli-ta willa-pa:-na-:-paq.    1235
   want-1 that-SIM sad-prtc-plur-OBJ good-OBJ tell-ben-sub-1P-PUR
```

'...I want (to know) so that I can tell good news to those who are sad like that.'

```
...chaya-sha    awkin puuru   chacha-sh-niraq  warmi-n-man.        1236
   arrive-prtc old   complete incline-prtc-SIM wife-3P-GOAL
```

'...he arrived to his wife really old, as though stooped (with age).'

A participle may be a complement to *ka-* 'be': e.g.:

---

[241] I made this claim in Weber [39]: an English example much to the point is *a wind blown single*: the relationship between *single* and *the wind blew (the ball)* involves considerable interpretation guided by a knowledge of baseball (that singles are achieved by moving a ball), that wind can help move a ball, etc.

[242] An example from the Quechua of southern Dos de Mayo:

```
[Tsay [[atoq miku-sh(qa)] kwerpu-n]]-ta rika-r-shi...
 that   fox  eat-prtc      body-3P-OBJ see-adv-IND
```

'Upon seeing those their fox-eaten bodies,....'

[243] This is the only step toward object incorporation taken in these cases: the object and the verb are clearly maintained as distinct words.

```
Pero ishka-n-pis ka-yka-n   mushoq llachapa-n hati-sha                    1237
but  two-3P-indef be-impfv-3 new    clothes-3P put:on-prtc

ruka-sha.
change-prtc
```

'But both of them have put on new clothes, changed into them.'
(lit. '...are having put on...')

13.2.2. Past Participles (with -sha 'part')

13.2.2.1. Forms of the participializer -sha

-sha 'part' is derived from proto-Quechua */-shqa/. Despite the loss of the /q/ in HgQ, this morpheme continues to fore-shorten: e.g., wara:- 'dawn' followed by -sha 'part' becomes warasha '(having) dawned'.

The /a/ of -sha 'part' may drop. If the preceding syllable would have been the penultimate (before dropping /a/) then stress is maintained on it: e.g.. kushi-sha (become:happy-prtc) 'happily' may be pronounced [kushisha] or [kushish]. If -sha 'part' would have born the stress. when /a/ is dropped the stress shifts to the preceding syllable. e.g.. wañu-sha-ta (die-prtc-OBJ) 'dead' may be pronounced [wañusháta] or [wañúshta]. The dropping of /a/ will not impede the "pulling" of stress by another morpheme: e.g.. wara-sha-raq 'dawn-prtc-yet' may be pronounced [warashárax]. [waráshra.x] (with /a/ dropped and stress shifted to the preceding syllable) or [warashrá:] (with stress pulled by -raq). Of course, in cases like wañu-sha-kuna-ta (die-prtc-plur-OBJ) 'dead ones'. the dropping of /a/ will not affect stress: [wañushakunáta] or [wañushkunáta].

When followed directly by ka- 'be'. the /a/ of -sha 'part' is virtually always dropped: e.g.. aywa-sha ka-ra-n (go-prtc be-past-3) 'he had gone' is pronounced [aywásh kára
ŋ]. [aywásha kára
ŋ] is probably a possible pronunciation. but a very strange one.

13.2.2.2. Meaning and use of -sha

The object referred to by a participle persists in a state brought about by a prior event/action. that event/action being indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed.

To classify the types of verbs from which participles are formed would serve no useful purpose (and is probably impossible anyway). However. one common case deserves special mention: A common use of participles is to express states of mind brought about by some change. e.g., kushisha 'happy' from kushi- 'become happy', llakisha 'sad' from llaki- 'become sad', haqasha 'sad, resentful' from haqa- 'be sad', manchasha 'frightened, afraid' from mancha- 'be afraid', machasha 'drunk, intoxicated' from macha:- 'to become intoxicated', upyasha 'drunk, intoxicated' from upya- 'to drink (something intoxicating)'. etc.

```
...chay-chaw kushi-sha          qoya-shka-:.                              1238
   there-LOC become:happy-prtc pass:time-perf-1
```

'...I stayed there happily.'

```
...tari-n ...huk awkis allqu-ta haqa-sh-ta.                              1239
   find-3    one old   dog-OBJ turn:sad-prtc-OBJ
```

'...they found ... an old dog, very sad.'

Other examples of past participles follow:

kacha-ka-sha (release-pass-prtc) 'loosed, untied'

kawru-sha 'to be cold to the bone'; e.g.:

```
Chawra ushma-sha aywa-shka-:-kuna kawru-sha-na    tamya-wan.     1240
so     soak-prtc go-perf-1-plur   be:cold-prtc-now rain-COM
```

'So we went on sopping wet and cold to the bone with the rain.'

qaqu-sha 'united, standing together' (from *qaqa-* 'to be side-by-side'; e.g.:

```
Miku-n warmi-wan-qa, ishka-n, qaqa-sha.                          1241
eat-3  woman-COM-TOP two-3P    put:parallel-prtc
```

'He and the woman eat, the two of them, together (side by side,
as one)'

taku-sha 'mixed together' from *taku-* 'mix',

tallu-sha 'mixed together' from *tallu-* 'mix'.

13.2.2.3. Other uses of -*sha* 'part'

-*sha* 'participle' has a special use to indicate that an article of clothing is put on. If the substantive ends in a consonant (e.g. *pantalun* 'pants') then -*ya:* 'become' precedes -*sha*:[244] otherwise -*sha* directly follows the substantive: e.g.:

```
Ollqo-kaq ka-yka-n    asul pantalun-ya-sha, yana   sapatu-sha   1242
male-def  be-impfv-3  blue pants-bec-prtc   black shoe-prtc

yana   saaku-sh yoraq kamisa-sha yana   korbati-sha.
black coat-prtc white shirt-prtc black tie-prtc
```

'The man had on blue pants, black shoes, black coat,
white shirt, and black tie.'

-*sha* 'participle' is used in the formation of the perfect tenses: e.g.:

```
Kanan-qa leetu-ta gaana-shqa-na-mi ka-nchi.                      1243
now-TOP  suit-OBJ win-prtc-now-DIR be-12
```

'Now we have won the suit.'

The formation of the present and past perfect tenses are discussed in section 8.8.

-*sha* 'participle' is used in the formation of the "syntactic" passive; e.g.:

```
Rika-sha ka-ra-:.                                               1244
see-prtc be-past-1
```

'I was seen.'

Syntactic passives are discussed in section 11.2.

13.2.3. Negative Participles with -:*ni*

Negative participles are formed with -:*ni* 'without having'; the event/action indicated by the verb to which -:*ni* is suffixed is indicated as not having happened, and consequently not having

---

[244]Since -*sha* 'part' derives from */shqa/. the intervening of -*ya:* would have been necessary to avoid the cluster of three consonants that would have resulted if -*shqa* followed directly a substantive ending in a consonant.

changed the state of the object characterized by the participle.[245] For example, in 1245, the speaker persisted in the state of not having eaten (the action of eating not having taken place) when he came:

```
Miku-:ni-lla      sha-mu-shka-:.                                    1245
eat-without-just come-afar-perf-1
```

'I came without eating.'

In 1246, he persisted in the state of being dressed (his undressing not having taken place) for the time that he slept:

```
Lloqti-ku-:ni-lla ·         puñu-shka-:.                           1246
undress-refl-without-just sleep-perf-1
```

'I slept without undressing.'

In examples 1245 and 1246 the referent characterized by the participle was the logical subject (agent) of the verb from which the participle was formed: 1247a,b show that this is not necessarily so, since in no sense is the house the subject of buy or sell:

```
a. Wasi-ta    ranti-shka-: tiya-:ni-ta.                           1247
   house-OBJ buy-perf-1    live-without-OBJ

b. Tiya-:ni-ta         rantiku-sha.
   live-without-OBJ sell-3PERF

a. 'I bought the house without anyone having lived in it.'
b. 'He sold it (a house) unlived in.'
   (i.e. before anyone lived in it)
```

Of an incomplete tournament one can say:

```
Chusku partiidu puklla-:ni   keera-sha.                           1248
four    matches  play-without remain-3PERF
```

'Four games were not played (i.e., remained unplayed).'

```
Chira-:ni-man          muru-pti-n-qa     mana papa   wayu-n-chu.  1249
fertilize-without-GOAL plant-adv-3P-TOP not   potato produce-3-NEG
```

'If they plant where it has not been fertilized, the potatoes
will not produce.'

```
...poqo-n    urya-:ni-lla-na           kaasi.                     1250
   mature-3 cultivate-without-just-now almost
```

'...they mature (and produce fruit) almost without our
thereafter cultivating them.'

The syntax of negative participles is roughly the same as that of other participles; see 13.2.1.

The negative participle of 1251a is equivalent to the negated participle in 1251b. Note how these differ from the active participle of 1251c:

---

[245]A negative participle is probably present in most varieties of Quechua B, although it has been little reported. The following is from the department of Pasco:

```
i. Llaabi-:ni-la          ka-ya-n     pwerta.
   be:locked-without-just be-impfv-3 door
```

'The door is not locked.'

The form may be different: for Llata (Huanuco) Quechua Solá (in Solá [35], pg. 37) gives the following example:

```
ii. yaku-yni-shqa-qa
    water-without-prtc-top
```

'without water' (Sp. 'sin agua')

```
a. Rika-:ni-naw      ⎫
b. Mana rika-sha-naw ⎬  ka-nki.                              1251
c. Mana rika-q-naw   ⎭
```

a,b. 'You are as though you had not seen it.'
c.   'You are as one who does not see.'

In 1252. the participle is equivalent to the relative clause with the participle as the complement of *ka-* 'be':

```
a. Miku-:ni-lla-ta          ni-pti-:...                      1252
   eat-without-just-OBJ     say-adv-1P

b. Miku-:ni     ka-yka-q-ta          ni-pti-:...
   eat-without  be-impfv-sub-OBJ     say-adv-1P
```

a,b. 'If I say (that) to those who have not eaten...'

13.2.4. Active Participles (with *q*)

Active participles are formed with *-q* 'subordinator'. The object characterized by the participle persists in the state indicated by the verb from which the participle is formed: e.g.. in 1253b. whatever is found persists in the process of dieing. The past participle is given for contrast in 1253a; note that it implies that whatever is found died at some prior time.

```
a. Tari-n wañu-sha-ta.                                       1253
   find-3 die-prtc-OBJ

b. Tari-n wañu-yka-q-ta.
   find-3 die-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

a. 'He finds it dead.'
b. 'He finds it dieing.'

Note. 1253b could also be interpreted as a relative clause. one without an overt head. in which case the meaning would be something like 'He finds the one which is dieing'.

The syntax of active participles is as discussed above in section 13.2.1.

13.3. Complementation

Substantivized clauses may be the subject. the object. or play some other role (e.g. purpose) in a clause/sentence. They are only summarized here.[246]

13.3.1. Subject Complements

In 1254, the bracketed portion is a clause, substantivized by *-na* 'sub', which is the subject of the clause in which it is embedded:

```
[Millu-na-n] pishi-n.                                        1254
 wind-sub-3P need-3
```

'It needs to be wound.'

---

[246]See chapter 4 of Weber [39] for a detailed discussed.

13.3.2. Object Complements

A substantivized clause may be the (direct) object of the clause/sentence in which it is embedded. There are various possibilities. now to be discussed.

13.3.2.1. -na complements

When the subject of the object complement is not the same as the subject of the superordinate verb. the appropriate subordinator is -na: e.g. in 1255 the subject of the substantivized clause (the one who is to do the kissing) and the subject of the main clause (the one who wants the kissing done) are different. and so -na is the appropriate substantivizer:

```
[Mucha-ma:-na-n]-ta   muna-n.                              1255
 kiss-=>1-sub-3P-OBJ   want-3

'He  wants him  to kiss me.'
    i         j
```

13.3.2.2. Infinitive object complements

When the subject of the object complement is the same as the subject of the superordinate verb. the appropriate subordinator is -y 'inf'. These are referred to as INFINITIVE OBJECT COMPLEMENTS. An example follows:

```
[Mucha-y]-ta   muna-:.                                     1256
 kiss-inf-OBJ   want-1

'I want to kiss her.'
```

13.3.2.3. Factive complements

Another sort of object complement is the FACTIVE COMPLEMENT: these are subordinate to verbs like musya- 'know' which presuppose the truth of their complement. The appropriate subordinator for factive complements is -shqa.

```
[Qanyan      aywa-sha-yki]-ta musya-:.                     1257
 yesterday   go-sub-2P-OBJ     know-1

'I know that you went yesterday.'
```

13.3.2.4. Sensory verb complements

Sensory verb complements report some perceived action. The appropriate subordinator is -q: e.g.:

```
Rika-shka-: [Hwan Marya-ta mucha-yka-q]-ta.               1258
see-perf-1  John Mary-OBJ  kiss-impfv-sub-OBJ

'I saw John kissing Mary.'
```

The logical subject of a sensory verb complement may be coded as the object of the verb of perception (i.e.. the superordinate one):[247] compare 1258 with 1259:

```
Juan-ta   rika-shka-: [  Ø  Marya-ta mucha-yka-q]-ta.     1259
John-OBJ  see-perf-1       Mary-OBJ  kiss-impfv-sub-OBJ

'I saw John kissing Mary.'
```

---

[247]This object raising process is discussed in Weber [39]. section 4.2.5.2.

270

Placing a sensory verb complement after the verb while placing its object before the verb seems to make it considerably easier to process. (See discussion in section 13.1.5.) For example. compare 1260 and 1261 (in which the bracketed is a sensory verb complement):

```
Maria [noqa Pablu-pa mishi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta]    rika-ra-n.            1260
Mary   I    Paul-GEN cat-3P-OBJ feed-impfv-sub-OBJ see-past-3
```

'Mary saw me feeding Paul's cat.'

```
Maria noqa-ta rika-ma-ra-n [Pablu-pa mishi-n-ta qara-yka-q-ta]          1261
Mary  I-OBJ   see-=>1-past-3 Paul-GEN cat-3P-OBJ feed-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

'Mary saw me feeding Paul's cat.'

Example 1261 seems to be far easier to process than 1260 in large measure--I conjecture--because main verb (which is underlined) is the third rather than the sixth word. The interpretation of the main clause early in the sentence provides the hearer/reader something in terms of which to assimilate the other parts.

13.4. Adverbial Uses of Substantivized Clauses

Substantivized clauses have a wide range of uses which are adverbial in nature.[248] These are discussed at length in Weber [39]. chapter 5. The following list is given to illustrate the range of possibilities.

13.4.1. Time

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the time of an event/state; e.g.:

```
chaya-mu-sha-n-pita                                                    1262
arrive-afar-sub-3P-ABL
```

'since he arrived'

```
aru-y-ta      usha-sha-n-pita-raq                                      1263
work-inf-OBJ  finish-sub-3P-ABL-yet
```

'(some time) after he finished working'

```
qanra lloqshi-na-n-yaq                                                 1264
dirty leave-sub-3P-LIM
```

'until the dirtiness comes off'

```
mana puydi-sha-n-kama                                                  1265
not  be:able-sub-3P-LIM
```

'until he was no longer able'

```
ishkay wata-yoq    ka-na-n-yaq                                         1266
two    year-having be-sub-3P-LIM
```

'until he is two years old'

```
Puklla-shun tamya-sha-n-yaq.                                           1267
play-12FUT  rain-sub-3P-LIM
```

'Let's play while it is raining.'

---

[248] That is *functionally* they are adverbs while syntactically they are substantival.

271

```
kay-chaw ka-sha-yki-yaq                                              1268
here-LOC be-sub-2P-LIM
```

'while you are here'

```
aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw                                                 1269
go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC
```

'as/while they were going along'

```
tayta-n    chaya-mu-na-n-paq                                        1270
father-3P arrive-afar-sub-3P-PUR
```

'by the time their father returned'

13.4.2. Place

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the place where an event takes place; e.g.:

```
puñu-sha-:-chaw                                                     1271
sleep-sub-3P-LOC
```

'where I slept'

```
uchku-sha-nchi:-pa                                                  1272
hole-sub-12P-GEN
```

'through where we have made a hole'

13.4.3. Circumstance

Substantivized clauses may be used to indicate the circumstances of an event/state: this includes both the time and place of an event: e.g.:

```
eskuyla-chaw ka-yka-sha-:-pita                                      1273
school-LOC    be-impfv-sub-1P-ABL
```

'after/from being in school'

13.4.4. Purpose

There are three types of purpose clause. (i) the common type formed with -na 'sub' and -paq 'PUR'. (ii) purpose-motion clauses formed with -q 'sub'. and (iii) negative purpose clauses (which lack an overt negative morpheme). These will now be discussed in turn.

13.4.4.1. Common purpose clauses

The common type of purpose clause is substantivized by -na 'sub' and marked with the case marker -paq 'PUR'; e.g.:

```
alli-ta    willa-pa:-na-:-paq                                      1274
good-OBJ tell-ben-sub-1P-PUR
```

'in order that I tell them good'

13.4.4.2. Purpose motion clauses

The purpose motion complement is subordinated by -q. It has several restrictions:

- the subject of the purpose clause must be coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause.

- the verb to which it is subordinate must be a motion verb, and
- the event indicated by the purpose clause must be understood as happening at the end point of the path of motion indicated by the superordinate clause.

An example follows:

```
Hurqu-n-na     pampa-q.                                             1275
remove-3-now bury-sub
```

'They take him out to bury him.'

13.4.4.3. Negative purpose clauses

In some cases--as illustrated in example 1276--a substantivized clause subordinated by -na 'sub' is interpreted as a negative purpose clause, despite the absence of any overt negative morpheme (like *mana* 'not'):

```
qeshpi-na-n-ta                                                     1276
escape-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'so that he won't escape'

```
atoq miku-na-n-pita                                                1277
fox  eat-sub-3P-ABL
```

'lest a fox eat it'

```
pillchi-pa:-ma:-na-nchi:-pita                                     1278
splatter-ben-=>1-sub-12P-ABL
```

'so that it won't splatter on us'

Of course, 1276 could be expressed as a common purpose clause with an overt negative morpheme:

```
mana qeshpi-na-n-paq                                              1279
not  escape-sub-3P-PUR
```

'so that he won't escape'

13.4.5. Result

A clause subordinated with $-q + paq$ (-sub + PUR) indicates the result of the event indicated by the superordinate clause: e.g.:

```
Shikwa-sha paki-q+paq.                                            1280
fall-sub    break-sub+PUR
```

'It fell with the result that it broke.'

```
Ñiti-sha  wañu-q+paq.                                             1281
press-sub die-sub+PUR
```

'It crushed him so that (with the result that) he died.'

13.4.6. Reason

A substantivized clause may indicate the reason something (as indicated in the superordinate clause) is done: e.g.:

```
maqa-ma-sha-n-pita                                               1282
hit-=>1-sub-3P-ABL
```

'because he hit me'

```
mana rispita-sha-n-pita                                              1283
not  respect-sub-3P-ABL

'because he didn't respect him'

tamya-na-n-pita                                                      1284
rain-sub-3P-ABL

'because it is going to rain'
```

13.4.7. Manner

A substantivized clause may indicate the manner in which the event indicated by the superordinate clause was done:

```
Rura-shun rika-sha-:-naw.                                           1285
do-12IMP  see-sub-1P-SIM

'let's do it like I saw (them do it)'

mana qeshya ka-sha-:-naw                                            1286
not  sick   be-sub-1P-SIM

'not like when I was sick'
```

13.4.8. Hypothetical Comparison

A substantivized clause. in conjunction with -naw 'SIM'. may be a simile. This is discussed at length in section 10.11.2. An example follows:

```
Haacha-wan-naw mutu-n machiiti-wan.                                 1287
axe-COM-SIM    chop-3 machete-COM

'He chops with a machete as though it were an axe.'

Runa sigaarru-ta  muka-q-naw   aywa-n achikya achikya achikya-r.    1288
man  cigarette-OBJ suck-sub-SIM go-3  flash  flash   flash-adv

'It (a lightning bug) goes flashing like a man smoking a cigarette.'

Kuntista-pa-n wañu-ra-yka-q-naw.                                    1289
answer-ben-3  die-state-impfv-sub-SIM

'He answers as one dying.'
```

13.4.9. Correlation "according as"

A substantivized clause may be used to indicate the correlation of one activity/event with another: e.g.:

```
Kubra-n finaaru-pa  ima-n-pis   ka-sha-n-pita.                      1290
charge-3 deceased-GEN what-3P-even be-sub-3P-ABL

'He charges according to the wealth of the deceased.'

tapu-ma-sha-n-pita-naw-lla                                          1291
ask-=>1-sub-3P-ABL-SIM-just

'just according as he asked us'
```

274

13.4.10. Comparison

A substantive clause may be the standard of a comparison: e.g.:

```
Mas    achka-ta gasta-n mayurdoomu gasta-sha-n-pita-ga.                    1292
more   much-OBJ spend-3 majordomo   spend-sub-3P-ABL-TOP

'He spends more than the majordomo spends.'
```

14. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

This chapter deals the adverbial clauses formed by the suffixes *-r, -shpa. -pti.* and the combination *-y+(lla)+pa.* These differ from the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses--which *functionally* are adverbs but *structurally* are substantives--in that these are not substantives and thus are not followed by suffixes like *-kuna* 'plural' and by the case markers. Further. the adverbial discussed here evidence switch reference phenomena (the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses do not) and this will be a major topic in this chapter.

The adverbial clauses formed by *-y+(lla)+pa.* discussed in section 14.4, in some sense stand midway between the adverbial uses of substantivized clauses and the adverbial clauses formed with *-r. -shpa. -pti.* This is because *-y+(lla+pa)* is derived from the substantivizer *-y* 'infinitive' and the case marker *-pa* 'GEN'. But it is becoming (or has become) frozen as a single adverbializer, and is treated here as such.

Adverbial clauses of the type discussed here and the adverbial uses of substantivized clause cover many of the same functions: e.g.. both can indicate 'reason'. It is not possible to say when and why a speaker chooses to use one or the other.

14.1. The Basic Facts

14.1.1. The Adverbial Clause Markers and Switch Reference

Adverbial clauses are formed with an appropriate transition on the clause-final verb: see sections 8.16.1. 8.16.2. and 8.16.3. The adverbial clause markers indicate whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same or different as the subject of the superordinate clause. Some must be followed by a possessive suffix. and others may not. The subordinators for HgQ are as given in 14-1:

```
            +-----------+
            |   -pti    |    DIFFERENT SUBJECT        .
REQUIRE -POS +-----------+
            |   -shpa   |
            +-----------+
            |    -r     |    SAME SUBJECT
REFUSE -POS +-----------+
            | -y+lla+pa |
            +-----------+
```

Table 14-1: ADVERBIAL CLAUSE MARKERS

Consider examples 1293-1295:

```
Maqa-rkU-ma:-        ( a.  *pti-n   (adv-3P) )   hayta-shu-ra-yki.        1293
hit-thereupon-=>1   { b.   shpa-n  (adv-3P)  }   kick-=>2-past-2P

b. 'After he_i hit me, he_i kicked you.'

Maqa-rkU-ma:-        ( a.   pti-ki   (adv-2P) )   hayta-shu-ra-yki.       1294
hit-thereupon-=>1   { b.  *shpa-yki (adv-2P)  }   kick-=>2-past-2P

a. 'After you hit me, he kicked you.'

Maqa-rkU-ma:-        ( a.   pti-n   (adv-3P) )   hayta-shu-ra-yki.        1295
hit-thereupon-=>1   { b.  *shpa-n  (adv-3P)  }   kick-=>2-past-2P

a. 'After he_i hit me, he_j kicked you.'
```

276

Examples 1293-1295 show the following:

1. *-pti* and *-shpa* both require a following possessive suffix (see 1293b and 1294a).

2. *-shpa* may only be used when the subject of the subordinate and of the superordinate clause is the same: thus it is acceptable in 1293b because the subjects are the same. but not in 1294b and 1295b because they are different.

3. When the subject of both the subordinate and superordinate clauses is third person. then *-shpa* is appropriate if they refer to the same person/object (see 1293b) and *-pti* is appropriate if they refer to different persons/objects (see 1295a).

4. Neither the subject of the subordinate clause nor that of the superordinate clause need be expressed by an overt noun phrase.

14.1.2. The Difference Between *-shpa* and *-r*

Example 1296 shows that either *-r* or *-shpa* may be used to form adverbial clauses with a subject the same as the superordinate clause. But note. *-shpa* requires a following possessive suffix (see 1296a) whereas *-r* does not allow one (see 1296c):

$$
\text{Maqa-rku-}\atop\text{hit-thereupon-}
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
-\text{shpa} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & \text{*-}\varnothing \\ \text{b.} & \text{-n} \end{array} \right\} \\
-\text{r} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{c.} & \text{-}\varnothing \\ \text{d.} & \text{*-nin}^{249} \end{array} \right\}
\end{array}
\right\}
{\text{hayta-ma-ra-n.}\atop\text{kick-=>1-past-3}}
\qquad 1296
$$

b.c. 'After he$_i$ hit him$_j$. he$_i$ kicked me.'

There seems to be no appreciable semantic difference between *-r* and *-shpa*: example 1297 shows that the two can be used in completely parallel ways:

```
Qam binsi-ma-r     noqa-ta miku-ma:-nki y    noqa         1297
you beat-=>1-adv   me-OBJ  eat-=>1-2    and I

binsi-shpa-:  qam-ta-pis    usha-shayki.
beat-adv-1P   you-OBJ-also  finish-1=>2FUT

'If you beat me, you will eat me, and if I beat you,
I will finish you.'
```

While *-shpa-POS* and *-r* are semantically equivalent. *-shpa* allows person marking and *-r* does not. Since *-shu '=>2'* is preferably followed in the same word by an explicit second person suffix. 1298a is marginally acceptable while 1298b is fully acceptable:

$$
\text{Maqa-rkU-shu-}\atop\text{hit-thereupon}
\left\{
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a.} & \text{?-r} \\
\text{b.} & \begin{array}{c} \text{-shpa-yki} \\ \text{adv-2P} \end{array}
\end{array}
\right\}
{\text{hayta-ma-ra-n.}\atop\text{kick=>1-past-3}}
\qquad 1298
$$

'After hitting you, he kicked me.'

\

---

[249] /ni/ is required following a consonant: see 23.8.12.

14.1.3. Switch Reference and Subject Inflection

Recall the subject marking anomaly discussed in 8.1.2: in the $3=\!>\!2$ and $3=\!>\!12$ transitions. the person or possessive suffix agrees in person with the object. so for example. the combination -*shu-nki* ($=\!>\!2\text{-}2$) indicates a second person object and a **third** person subject. despite the person marker being second person.

Switch reference marking is not sensitive to surface grammatical person marking. but to same or different referent. This can be seen in example 1293 and 1294:

1. The possessive suffix of 1294b is -*(y)ki* '2P' in both the adverbial and main clauses: nevertheless. -*shpa* (same subject) is unacceptable because these suffixes indicate different referents.
2. The possessive suffixes in the adverbial and main clauses of 1293a are different (third person and second person respectively): nevertheless. -*pti* is not acceptable because these indicate the same referent.

Again. in example 1299 the subordinate clause is marked as having a same subject even though the possessive suffixes of the adverbial and superordinate clauses are different. This is. again. because in the system they indicate the same person:[250]

```
Maqa-ma-shpa-nchi hayta-shu-ra-yki.                              1299
hit-=>1-adv-12P    kick-=>2-past-2

'After he hit us(incl). he hit you.'
```

A final example: the possessive suffix of the adverbial clause in example 1300 is second person. but since it follows -*shu* '$=\!>\!2$' it indicates a third person subject. Similarly. in the main clause. -*yki* '2P' refers to a third person. Consequently either -*pti* or -*shpa* may be used. with the corresponding meanings of same or different subject:

```
                     ⎧ a.  pti ⎫                                 1300
Maqa-rkU-shu-        ⎨         ⎬ -yki   hayta-shu-ra-yki.
hit-thereupon-=>2    ⎩ b. shpa ⎭  2P    kick-=>2-pst-2P

          ⎧ a. he_j ⎫
'After    ⎨         ⎬   hit you. he_i kicked you.'
          ⎩ b. he_i ⎭
```

To reiterate: the switch reference system is not working in terms of the superficial person markers. but in terms of the logical subjects.

14.1.4. Switch reference and Subordination

Switch reference is not defined in terms of the order of clauses (as say. by reference to the immediate following clause, or to the preceding clause, or to the last clause of the sentence....). Rather. it is based on the relation of subordination. i.e.. same/different subject is always with

---

[250] Both the subordinate and superordinate clauses have third person subjects even though the possessive suffixes used are 12P and 2P (respectively).

278

reference to the immediately superordinate clause.[251]

It is not always obvious what is subordinate to what. In fact. it can sometimes be quite subtle. Although there are some formal constraints on what can be subordinate to what. it is probably not possible to give a formal procedure for determining the subordination relations. Extra-syntactic considerations certainly enter into determining the chains of subordination.

To indicate subordination relations. labelled bracketing such as the following will be used:

<div style="text-align:right">1301</div>

a. $[A(x)]_{ss} B(x)$

b. $B(x) [A(x)]_{ss}$

c. $[A(x)]_{ds} B(y)$

d. $B(y) [A(x)]_{ds}$

The subscript "ss" indicates same subjects; "ds" indicates different subjects. For example. 1301c indicates that A is an adverbial clause whose subject is x: it is is subordinate to B. whose subject y. is different. The subordination of example 1297 would be diagrammed as follows:

$[[beat(you)]_{ss} eat(you)]$ AND $[[beat(I)]_{ss} finish(I)]$

There is sometimes ambiguity about which clause an adverbial clause is subordinate to. In 1302. it is not clear whether the first clause is subordinate to the main clause or to the infinitive clause:

<div style="text-align:right">1302</div>

```
Taripa-q-naw          ka-pti-n mas-raq-shi
catch:up:to-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND

koorri-y-ta qalla-yku-n.
run-inf-OBJ begin-dir-3

'When he_i was about ("as though") to catch up to him_j.

he_j began to run even harder ("yet more").'
```

The following express these two possibilities:[252]

a. [[be:about:to:catch:up(i)]$_{ds}$ run(i)]$_{INF}$ begin(i)

b. [be:about:to:catch:up(i)]$_{ds}$ [[run(i)]$_{INF}$ begin(i)]

There are sometimes formal constraints on what the subordination relations are. We shall now see one case. Certain clitics occur only on constituents of the main clause. These are sometimes clues to the subordination relations of a sentence. One such clitic is the so-called "topic marker" -qa. Consider the following example:

```
Toopa-ykU-chi-pti-n    mishi-ga   "chash" ni-r                          1303
touch-dir-caus-adv-3P cat-TOP             say-adv

kaara-n-pita-shi runa-ta raska-r     usha-ykU-n
face-3P-abl-IND  man-OBJ scratch-adv finish-dir-3

shillu-n-wan.
fingernail-3P-with

'When he$_i$ caused it to touch him$_j$. the cat$_j$ spitting

(lit.:saying "chash"). scratching the man$_i$ in his face,

damages (lit.:finishes him$_i$ with his$_j$ claws.'
```

In example 1304. c = cat and m = man:

a.   [touch(m)]$_{ds}$ [c-qa [[say(c)]$_{ss}$ scratch(c)]$_{ss}$ damage(c)]   1304

b. [[[touch(m)]$_{ds}$ c-qa   say(c)]$_{ss}$ scratch(c)]$_{ss}$ damage(c)

Example 1304a is correct: 1304b is not correct because NP-qa does not occur as a constituent of a subordinate clause in HgQ.

14.1.5. The Order of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses usually precede the clause to which they are subordinate, as seen above. but they may also follow: e.g. the adverbial clause of 1305 (used as a conditional, see section 14.2) follows the main clause:

```
Waki-n-kuna    kantiina-pita ranti-yka-n [qellay-nin              1305
other-3P-plur store-ABL      buy-impfv-3  money-3P

ka-pti-n].
be-adv-3P

'Others buy from the store if they have money (lit.:
if their money is).'
```

14.1.6. Identity or Inclusion Defining Switch Reference

Is strict identity of the subjects of the adverbial clause and the main clause required to use the same subject marking? A test can be made with the first person plural inclusive (12) which includes the speaker. the hearer. and possibly others associated--in the context--with the speaker or hearer. Example 1306 shows that inclusion is not sufficient; despite the subject of the main clause (the speaker) being included in the subject of the adverbial clause (the speaker and the hearer). the switch

---

[252]The subscript "INF" is intended simply to signal that the bracketed portion is subordinated as an infinitive complement.

reference marks these with -*pti* 'adv (different subject)':[253]

1306

```
         ( a.  *-r        )
Chaya    {                }  qoyku-shaq.
arrive-  ( b.  -pti-nchi  )  give-1FUT
              -adv-12P
```

'When we(incl) arrive, I will give it to him.'

In example 1306, the set (we = {I,you}) is in the adverbial clause and the member included in it is in the superordinate clause. What if the set (we = {I,you}) is the subject of the main clause and a member of it is the subject of the adverbial clause? Example 1307 shows that, again in this case, having one subject included in the other is not a sufficient condition for them to be treated as the same subject.[254]

1307

```
                    ( a.  *-r         )
Qam-ta   apari-     {                 )  mana-mi  chaya-shun-chu.
you-OBJ  carry      ( b.  -pti-:-pis  )  not-DIR  arrive-12FUT-NEG
                          -adv-1P-indef
```

'Even if I carry you, we will not arrive.'

Thus, *identity* of subjects—and not *inclusion*—is a necessary condition to marking an adverbial clause as having the same subject as the superordinate clause.

14.1.7. Switch Reference and *kuyraa* 'be careful lest'

Kuyra: 'be careful lest' is borrowed from Spanish *cuidado*. It takes complements to indicate that against which someone is cautioned. If the (logical) subject of the complement is the hearer, then subordination is with -*r* 'adv (same subject)', as e.g. in 1308:

```
Kuyra:                tuni-r!                              1308
be:careful:lest       fall-adv(ss)
```

Otherwise (i.e., if the subject of the complement is not the hearer) the complement is given as a substantive clause with -*na* followed by a comitative case marker, as e.g. in 1309 and 1310:

```
Kuyra:            pay  pusha-shu-na-yki-wan.               1309
be:careful:lest   he   lead-=>2-sub-2P-COM
```

'Be careful lest he lead you astray.'

```
Kuyra:            kiru-yki-ta   paki-na-n-wan.             1310
be:careful:lest   tooth-2P-OBJ  break-sub-3P-COM
```

'Be careful lest it break your tooth/teeth.'

Kuyra: is the only verb in HgQ (of which I am aware) that can take a same-subject adverbial clause but not a different-subject adverbial clause. (I take this as a highly idiosyncratic property of *kuyraa*.)

---

[253]Example 1306a is acceptable to say 'When I arrive, I will give it to him.'.

[254]The starred variant of 1307 is ill-formed in all cases.

281

14.1.8. -pti + 12 Reduced to -sha

Ordinarily. a different subject adverbial clause with a first person plural inclusive subject will be subordinated by -pti-nchi (-adv-12). In rare cases, however. one finds instead simply sha, which will be glossed 'prtc' (for 'participle').[255] These cases all occur in contexts where it is clear that the subject is 12 'we(inclusive)'. Examples follow:

```
                                          ( a. ka-rka-yka-sha.                 1311
                                          {    be-plur-impfv-prtc
Noqakuna-paq alli-mi  ka-yka-n  qam-kuna-wan {
us(excl)-PUR good-DIR be-impfv-3 you-plur-COM ( b. ka-rka-yka-pti-nchi.
                                          (    be-plur-impfv-adv-12P
```

a,b. 'It is good for us to be with you.'

```
Mayna    usha-yka-shwan-na        ka-ra-n    mana                 1312
already  finish-impfv-12COND-now  be-past-3  not

wiya+ra:-chi-ma-sha-qa.
interrupt-caus-=>1-prtc-TOP
```

'We would have been finishing now if he had not interrupted us.'

```
Kapas    ura-yka-sha-qa      maña-ku-yka-sha-qa       kiki-n        1313
perhaps  pray-impfv-prtc-TOP ask-refl-impfv-prtc-TOP  self-3P

tiñinti-pis       chiki-ku-yka-r-pis        rigi-ku-nqa      kapas.
lieutenant-even   hate-refl-impfv-adv-even  believe-refl-3FUT perhaps.
```

'Perhaps if we pray and ask (God), the lieutenant. in spite of his persecution will believe.'

```
Qam-ta   mana ima-pis     qo-ku-shu-nki-chu     noqanchi         1314
you-OBJ  not  what-indef  give-refl-=>2-2-YN?   we(incl)

tallpu-ka-yka-sha-pis?
swamp-pass-impfv-prtc-even
```

'Doesn't it matter at all to you if we sink?'

14.1.9. Other Switch Reference Mechanisms

Switch reference is primarily a feature of adverbial clauses formed with -r, -shpa and -pti. However. there are other phenomena that serve to indicate a change of referent, among them the following:

infinitivalization

---

[255]This phenomenon is not limited to HgQ: the following example is from Pantoja [25], text 97, line 73:

```
Noqantsik yuri-kU-tsi-pu-shqa-qa          llapa-ntsik-ta-chi
we(incl)  appear-refl-caus-ben-prtc-TOP  all-12P-OBJ-CNJ

rey wanu-ykU-tsi-ma:-shun.
king die-impact-caus-=>1-12FUT
```

'If we make it (the ring) appear, surely the king will have us all killed.'

This is found in more distantly related Quechua languages as well: the following is from F. Quesada's *Gramática Quechua: Cajamarca-Cañaris* (Ministerio de Educación. Lima Perú. 1976). page 88:

```
Chay puyñu-qa-m   paki-ra-n    llamka-shqa-qa.
that jug-TOP-DIR  break-past-3 touch-prtc-TOP
```

'That jug broke when/because we touched it.'

The subjects of the infinitive clauses must be the same whereas those of -na-complements must be different; see sections 13.3.2.1 and 13.3.2.2. Adverbs formed with -y + lla + pa also respect a same subject condition; see section 14.4.

overt pronouns
See section 12.4.2.

14.2. The Uses of Adverbial Clauses

An adverbial clauses may be related to the superordinate clause either temporally or logically.

Many temporal relationships can be expressed; e.g.:

while/during

1315

Aywa-ra-yka-r   parla-shun.
go-state-impfv-adv converse-12IMP

'Let's converse as we go along.'

immediately thereupon

1316

Miku-rku-r aywa-ku-shaq.
eat-asp-adv go-refl-1FUT

'I will go right after I eat.'

before

1317

Mana-raq sha-mu-r   arma-ku-y.
not-yet come-afar-adv bathe-refl-2IMP

'Bathe before you come!'

Which time relation is intended (or indicated) is a matter of interpretation, but one that is influenced by the pre- and post-transition suffixes used with the adverbial clause. For example. -ra-yka:- (state-impfv) in the adverbial clause (as in example 1315) biases the interpretation toward 'while', and -rkU 'asp' (as in example 1316) biases it toward 'thereupon' as a natural consequence of the aspectual meaning of those suffixes. (This is discussed in more detail in section 9.5.6.)

Among the logical inter-clausal relations which may be indicated by an adverbial clause are the following:

reason. e.g.:

Chiki-ma-r-qa   maqa-ma-n.   1318
hate-=>1-adv-TOP hit-=>1-3

'He hits me because he hates me.'

concession/adversative, e.g.:

Chay-naw ni-ma-pti-n-pis   simri aywa-shaq.   1319
that-SIM say-=>1-adv-3P-indef always go-1FUT

'Even though he told me that, I still intend to go.'

condition, e.g.:

Shamu-pti-ki qo-yku-shayki.   1320
come-adv-2P give-impact-1=>2FUT

'If you come, I will give it to you.'

283

Again. which relation is indicated is a matter of interpretation. but one that is influenced by the pre- and post-transition suffixes used with the adverbial clause. For example, *-pis* 'indef' on the adverbial clause (as in 1319) biases the interpretation toward 'adversative/concession'. while *-qa* 'TOP' biases it toward 'reason': I do not know why.

Adverbial clauses are also used as a cohesive device, as discussed in section 14.6.1.

14.3. Adverbialization in Relation to Other Processes

This section explores the interaction of adverbial clause formation (with switch reference) and other syntactic processes. It will be argued that in some cases adverbial clauses are within the scope of the morphemes which form (i) causatives (see section 14.3.1). (ii) substantive clauses (see section 14.3.2). and (iii) reciprocals (see section 14.3.3).

14.3.1. Causativization

Compare examples 1321 and 1322:

```
Palla-rkU-r        chaki-chi-nchi.                          1321
pick-thereupon-adv dry-cause-12

'Having picked them, we(incl) dry them.'

Ñaka-r      qoya:-chi-ma-n.                                 1322
suffer-adv  abide-cause-=>1-3

'He causes me to pass time suffering.'(favored reading)
'He suffers in causing me to pass time.'
```

Example 1321 is straightforward in respect to the marking of adverbial clause: the "pickers" and those who "cause to dry" are the same persons. and hence the use of *-r* 'same subject'.

Example 1322 seems to be a counter-example to the claim that *-r* is used when the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate clauses are the same. since the one who suffers and the one who causes the suffering are two different persons. It is understandable though. if one allows adverbialization (with switch reference marking) to apply within the scope of causativization (since causativization is responsible for making the understood subject of *qoya:-* 'abide/pass time' the object). The bracketing which reflects this is 1323:[256]

```
[ñaka-r      qoya:]-chi-ma-n.                               1323
 suffer-adv  abide-cause-=>1-3

'He causes me to pass time suffering.'
```

14.3.2. Substantivization

Adverbial clauses may be within the scope of substantive clauses. In example 1324 the subject of the adverbial clause (*utikar*) is coreferential to the subject of the (substantivized) purpose clause (*hamakunaapaq*): both refer to the speaker. The subject of the main clause, the chair. is not coreferential to the subject of *utikar.*

---

[256]Using the notation described above and [X]-CAUSE(y) for 'y cause X'. this is:

```
[ [ A(I) ] ss B(I) ]-CAUSE(HE)
```

284

```
Utika-r   hamaku-na-:-paq-mi   kay   silleeta  (kaykan).                    1324
tire-adv  rest-sub-1P-PUR-DIR  this  chair     (it:is)
```

'This chair is for me to rest on when I get tired.'

If the structure were 1325b, then -r 'adv (same subject)' would be used for different subjects (the speaker and the chair), contrary to its meaning. The correct structure is 1325a:

```
a. [[TIRE(I)]ₛₛ   REST(I)]_PURPOSE  BE(chair)                              1325
```

```
b.  [TIRE(I)]ₛₛ [[REST(I)]_PURPOSE  BE(chair)]
```

Similarly, in 1326, adverbialization--with switch reference considerations--occurs within the scope of the formation of the purpose clause. There are two cases. First, *infirnuman aywar* 'going to the infierno' is subordinate to *asta-* 'whip'; they have the same subject and thus -r 'adv (same subject)' is the appropriate adverbializer. Second, *kañiptin* 'if they bite' is subordinate to *asta-* 'to whip'; they have different subjects, so -*pti* 'adv (different subject)' is the appropriate adverbializer. Note that *kañikuq allqukunata* is the object of *asta-* 'whip', and is thus not part of the adverbial clause *allqukunata kañiptin*.

```
Chay-ta    wata-pa-n       [[infirnu-man  aywa-r]                          1326
that-OBJ  tie-to:him-3      inferno-GOAL  go-adv(ss)

[kañiku-q  allqukuna-ta  kañi-pti-n]      asta-ku-na-n-paq].
 bite-sub  dogs-OBJ       bite-adv(ds)-3P  whip-refl-sub-3P-PUR
```

'They tie that to him so that as he goes to the inferno,
if they attack him, he can whip the biting dogs.'

The purpose clause can only be analyzed as follows:

```
[[go to the inferno]ₛₛ biting dogs [if they bite]_ds he whip]_PURPOSE      1327
```

14.3.3. Reciprocal formation

I will assume that a prototypical reciprocal is a verb phrase, marked as reciprocal; the referents of the subject of which it is predicated are understood as carrying out the action referred to by the predicate one to another. Diagrammatically, 1328a is understood as the two propositions in 1328b, where ϕ is a transitive verb which refers to the two-argument proposition $\Phi(x,y)$, and -RECIP is reciprocal marking:

```
a. [ φ ]-RECIP  Subj:{x,y}                                                1328
```

```
b. [ Φ(x,y) ] AND [ Φ(y,x) ]
```

For example, to the propositions HIT(x,y) and HIT(y,x) there corresponds the verb phrase *hit each other*, where *each other* is the reciprocal marking. The reciprocal corresponding to HIT(I,you) and HIT(you,me) would be *We hit each other* where $we = \{I,you\}$.

Consider example 1329:

```
Mayqa-nchi:-si   mas:naw:puntata  chaya-r    miku-naku-shun.              1329
which-12-indef   first            arrive-adv eat-recip-12
```

'Whichever of us(incl) arrives first will eat the
other.' (lit.: Whichever of us arrives first, we
will eat each other.)

The only way to make sense of example 1329 is to consider that adverbialization (along with switch

reference marking) is within the scope of the reciprocal.[257] 1329 is understood as the following propositions:

```
[([If x arrives first]ss x eat y) where x=me and y=you]
                        AND
[([If x arrives first]ss x eat y) where x=you and y=me]
```

Therefore the scope of the reciprocal includes the entire conditional:

```
[[If x arrives first]ss x eat y]-RECIPROCAL where x={you,me}                  1330
```

Indeed, 1329 clearly means that it is the relation of eating the other on the condition of arriving first which holds reciprocally between the speaker and the hearer, and not the relation of mutually eating one another!

To conclude, adverbial clauses are sometimes within the scope of reciprocals.

14.4. Adverbial Clauses Derived by -y(+lla)+pa

A clause formed by substantivizing with -y 'inf' and then followed by -pa 'GEN' may be used adverbially. In rare cases, a possessive suffix may come between -y 'inf' and -pa 'GEN': e.g.:

```
Mana musya-y-ni:-pa  willa-shka-: llapan-ta...                                1331
not  know-inf-1P-ADV tell-perf-1 all-OBJ

'Unwittingly (lit 'not knowing') we told him everything...'
```

This mechanism for forming adverbial clauses via substantivization has given rise in HgQ to another adverbializer: -y...-pa. Because -lla 'just' frequently comes between -y and -pa, I will write -y(lla)-pa and treat this combination as a single suffix, one which forms adverbial clauses. It will be glossed simply as 'adv'. I will also write -y+pa 'adv' and -y+lla+pa 'adv': whether -lla 'just' occurs seems to make no appreciable difference in meaning.

The subject of adverbial clauses formed by -y+lla÷pa always have the same subject as the verb they modify. This is due to the infinitive marker -y from which they are formed: the subject of an infinitive clause must be coreferential to the subject of the superordinate clause.

In most cases -y(lla)pa derives one-word adverbs; but as examples 1332-1334 show, they may be longer.[258]

```
...kuchu-nchi ... [ruri-n    ka-q-ta    mana daaña-y+lla+pa].                 1332
   cut-12          inside-3P be-sub-OBJ not  damage-adv

'...we cut it ... not damaging that which is inside.'

Wakin runa-kuna [mana tistamintu-ta rura-y+lla+pa] wañu-n.                    1333
other man-plur   not  will-OBJ       make-adv        die-3

'Other people die without making a will.'
```

---

[257]Some Quechua speakers have judged 1329 to be marginal--although the more they think about it the more they accept it. I assume that it is acceptable since it is from a tape recorded story by a native Quechua speaker.

[258]Thus, -y(lla)pa cannot be considered simply a derivational suffix.

```
...arma-ku-n      [pushillu-wan hana-n-man  wiña-ku-y+lla+pa].        1334
   bathe-refl-3   mug-COM       top-3P-GOAL pour-refl-adv
```

'...they bathe pouring water over themselves with a cup.'

Adverbial clauses formed by -y+lla+pa are used most frequently to express "manner" or "means", though their use runs considerably beyond these. We will now sketch the range of uses of these adverbs.

14.4.1. Manner

In the following cases, the adverbial clause formed by -y(lla)pa indicates the manner of the action of the superordinate clause.

```
Weqru-y+lla+pa puri-nki.                                              1335
limp-adv        walk-2
```

'walk limpingly'

```
Wenqu-y+pa aywa-yka-n yaku.                                           1336
twist-adv  go-impfv-3 water
```

'the water is going along twisting (whirlpools)'

```
aywa-na-nchi:-paq llalli-naku-y+pa                                   1337
go-sub-12P-PUR     race-recip-adv
```

'so that we can go racing'

```
Rusa-chi-y+lla+pa awlli-nchi.                                        1338
cross-caus-adv     form:warp-12
```

'we form the warp crossingly'
(i.e. each new pass of the thread crosses the old)

```
Tapri-y+pa tupa-y+pa usha-yku-n.                                     1339
tip-adv    knock-adv finish-impact-3
```

'He is knocking it this way and that.'

```
Wañu-chi-sha    illapa-y+pa.                                         1340
die-caus-3PERF  shoot-adv
```

'he killed it, shooting it.'

```
...pampa-pa    koorri-y+lla+pa                                       1341
   ground-GEN  run-adv
```

'(go) running along the ground'

```
mishki-chi-pa-y+lla+pa miku-                                         1342
sweet-caus-ben-adv      eat-
```

'to eat savoringly (causing to be tasty)'

```
ronka-y+lla+pa puñu-                                                 1343
snore-adv       sleep-
```

'to sleep snoring'

```
shawata-y+pa              apa-                                       1344
carry:over:shoulder-adv take-
```

'to carry hung over the shoulder'
(something like a bag with a strap)

```
Rima-naku-y+pa  parla-n.                                                    1345
speak-recip-adv converse-3
```

'They converse arguing.'

```
...rura-pa-n   llanqi-ta-pis     palma-pita pillta-y+pa                     1346
   make-ben-3 sandal-OBJ-indef palm-ABL   braid-adv
```

'...they make sandals for him, braiding them out of palm (fiber)'

```
Noqa apari-y+pa           apa-shayki.                                       1347
I    carry:on:back-adv take-1=>2FUT
```

'I will take you by carrying you on my back.'

```
Qam shamu-nki wayra-pa buyla-y+pa y    pay shamu-n allpa-pa                 1348
you come-2    air-GEN fly-ADV    and he  come-3 ground-GEN

laata-y+lla+pa
crawl-ADV
```

'You come flying through the air, and he comes crawling
along the ground.'

```
Awha-wan    mashta-nchi may::ytu tinku-chi-pa-y+lla+pa.                     1349
needle-COM spread-12   very      meet-caus-ben-adv
```

'We spread it out evenly with a needle.'

The adverbial clause of 1350 indicates the manner of resting:

```
Chay-ta  kumli-rku-r     simri  hama-n huk wata ishkay wata               1350
that-OBJ finish-asp-adv always rest-3 one year two    year

[mana ima  awturidaa-pis    ka-y+lla+pa].
 not  what authority-indef be-adv
```

'Having finished that, they rest a year of two, not being any
authority.'

In examples 1351-1355. the action of the main clause was carried out in a manner that
concealed it from someone else:

```
...yupa-pa-n    chawra-qa llulla-pa-y+lla+pa.                              1351
   count-ben-3 so-TOP    lie-ben-adv
```

'...so he counts them for him, deceivingly.'

```
Paka-y+pa rura-sha                                                         1352
hide-adv  do-3PERF
```

'he did it on the sly (hiddenly)'

```
Tayta-n-ta    mama-n-ta     mana musya-chi-y+lla+pa                        1353
father-3P-OBJ mother-3P-OBJ not  know-caus-adv

paka-y+lla+pa puri-paa-naku-n.
hide-adv      walk-ben-recip-3
```

'Not letting their parents know they get together hiddenly.'

```
Chay-pita paka-ykacha-y+lla+pa qeshpi-rqa-:  noqa.                         1354
there-ABL hide-iter-adv         escape-past-1 I
```

'I escaped from there hiding here and there.'

```
...wasi-n-man      pusha-ku-n mana pi-ta-pis      willa-pa-y+lla+pa.       1355
   house-3P-GOAL lead-refl-3 not  who-OBJ-indef tell-ben-adv
```

'...he leads her to his house without telling anyone.'

In the following cases. an adverb formed with -y(lla)pa is immediately followed by the
superordinate verb expressing the result of the action expressed by the adverb:

288

qasha-y+pa kuchu- (slash-adv cut-) 'to cut slashing'

roqo-y+pa paki- (rip-adv break-) 'to part tearing'

shenqa-y+pa wañu- 'to die drowning'

```
     Mayu-chaw shenqa-y+pa-na-shi wañu-n atoq.        1356
     river-LOC drown-adv-now-IND  die-3  fox

     'The fox dies drowning in the river.'
```

By contrast, in 1357 the adverbial clause formed by *-y(lla)pa* seems to express the result of the action expressed in the superordinate clause: the main clause expresses breaking; the adverbial clause expresses that this did not result in a clean break.

```
Mana qasha-y+pa rachi-sha-chu.                        1357
not  slash-adv  break-3PERF-NEG

'It didn't break cleanly.' (i.e., it didn't part
with a smooth motion, leaving a smooth edge)
```

14.4.2. Means

Adverbs formed by *-y(lla)pa* may indicate the means by which the action/event of the superordinate clause was accomplished: e.g., in 1358 the condor was able survive the cold by thawing out his feet (under the fox's tail):

```
Y   kondor-qa chaki-n-ta  chulla-chi-pa-y+lla+pa       1358
and condor-TOP foot-3P-OBJ melt-caus-ben-adv

awanta-yka-n       qasa-y-ta        hanka-chaw.
tolerate-impfv-3 be:cold-inf-OBJ peak-LOC

'And the condor, by thawing his feet survived the
cold on the snow-capped peak.'
```

Other examples follow:

```
...tinku-chi-nchi chawpi qasha-sha-nchi:-man qasha-y+lla+pa.   1359
   meet-caus-12   middle slash-sub-12P-GOAL  slash-adv

'...we make the cut meet the middle where we have cut
by slashing.' (lit. 'we cause it to meet by slashing...')

...ashi-nchi qewa ulta-na-n-ta      ... kunka-n-pa  ura-n-pa   1360
   seek-12   grass swallow-sub-3P-OBJ  neck-3P-GEN below-3P-GEN

qasha-y+pa kuydaadu-lla.
slash-adv  careful-just

'...we search for its grass swallower ... carefully slashing
on the underside of its neck.'

Qam chaki-chi-nki-man-chu kay  yaku-ta   upu-y+lla+pa?        1361
you dry-caus-2-cond-YN?   this water-OBJ drink-adv

'Could you dry up this lake by drinking it?'

Uma-lla-n-ta-shi       kañi-y+lla+pa horqo-ku-ri-n    mishi.  1362
head-just-3P-OBJ-IND   bite-adv      remove-refl-asp-3 cat

'The cat takes his head off by biting it.'
```

```
Llachapa-n-kuna-ta  taqsha-ku-n  yaku-ta  timpu-rI-ykU-chi-r          1363
clothes-3P-plur-OBJ wash-refl-3P water-OBJ boil-asp-asp-caus-adv
```

```
qasa-q        yaku-wan  tibya-pa-v+lla+pa.
be:cold-sub  water-COM luke:warm-vrb-adv
```

'They wash their clothes, having boiled water, mixing it with
cold water to make it luke warm.'

14.4.3. Other Uses

In this section, various other uses of adverbial clauses formed with -y(lla)pa are illustrated.

In example 1364 the adverbial clause expresses the color that something shines. i.e., it shines
blue-ly:

```
Nina-naw hana-n-kuna achikya-n asul-ya-v+lla+pa.                       1364
fire-SIM top-3P-plur shine-3   blue-bec-adv
```

'Its top shines blue like a flame.'
(describing a type of light-emitting worm)

In 1365 the adverbial clause expresses the color of a skirt:

```
...qarcha-v+lla+pa rahi-sha    qarwash-wan puka raya raya              1365
   drag-adv        skirt-prtc yellow-COM  red  line line
```

'...dressed in a red and yellow stripped skirt.'
(lit 'skirted strippedly alternate red and yellow')

In example 1366 the adverbial clause formed by -y(lla)pa expresses the length of time (into the
evening) of the event expressed by the main clause (stay, pass time):

```
Lunis  hunaq-pis puri-yka-r     qoya-n       tardi-pa-v+pa-na-qa.      1366
monday day-even  walk-impfv-adv pass:time-3 late-vrb-adv-now-TOP
```

'They pass Monday walking about until it gets late (in evening).'

Similarly, the adverbial clauses of 1367 and 1368 indicate that the event/action of the superordinate
clause is carried out unceasingly:

```
...beela-qa    rata-yka:-na-n    mana pishi-v+pa                       1367
   candle-TOP burn-impfv-sub-3  not  be:lacking-adv
```

'...a candle should be burning unceasingly/constantly'

```
...mana ultimu chawa-v+pa                                             1368
   not  final  complete-adv
```

'...never ending'/'never coming to completion'

In examples 1369-1371 the adverbial clause formed by -y(lla)pa indicates the direction of
motion or orientation of the action/event expressed in the superordinated clause:

```
...ura-v+pa     aywa-shun.                                            1369
   go:down-adv go-12IMP
```

'...let's go downhill.'

```
Atoq-shi ura-v+pa      apuraado koorri-na-n-paq...                     1370
fox-IND  go:down-adv  fast     run-sub-3P-PUR
```

'The fox, in order to run fast downhill...'

```
Ama ukpa-v+pa.        Tiyachi-v+pa     tiyachi-y.                      1371
not be:inverted-adv  put:upright-adv put:upright-2IMP
```

'Not upside down. Set it upright.'

The adverbial clause of 1372 seems to be a complement to *qallay-* 'begin':

1372

```
...qalla-yku-nchi [maki-n   chaki-n moqo-n-pita  kuchillu-wan
   begin-asp-12      foot-3P hand-3P joint-3P-ABL knife-COM

kuchu-pa-y+lla+pa].
cut-ben-adv
```

'...we begin cutting from the joints of its forelegs and hind
legs with a knife.'

14.4.4. Reduplication with *-y(+lla)+pa* 'adv'

Subordination with *-y+lla+pa* may serve as the mechanism by which a verb is reduplicated, i.e. if φ is a verb root/stem, then φ--*y(lla)pa* φ- is one way to reduplicate φ. Examples follow:

```
Y    punta  wash+waqta-n-pa ura-y+pa     ura-nchi.                             1373
and  ridge  far+back-3P-GEN go:down-adv go:down-12
```

'And we go down on the backside of the ridge.'

```
...usha-y+pa  usha-r      kanta-nki...                                        1374
   finish-adv finish-adv sing-2
```

'...crow again and again without ceasing...'

See also the examples of section 15.3.2. which discusses this type of reduplication.

14.5. Dialect Differences in Use of Adverbial Clauses

Across Quechua dialects there are many differences in the switch reference systems. Here I will consider only those differences which involve dialects closely related to HgQ. There are several interesting differences between HgQ and Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua (HzQ), a dialect far to the west.

First, whereas in HgQ *-r* does not allow a following possessive person marker and *-shpa* requires one, in HzQ almost the opposite obtains: *-shpa* does not allow a following possessive marker; *-r* allows (but does not require) one. This remains a supreme mystery!

Second, whereas in HgQ the complements of phasal verbs ('begin'. 'continue'. 'finish'...) are infinitives. in HzQ they are subordinated by *-r*. Thus the difference:

```
HgQ: aru-y-ta usha- (work-INF-OBJ finish)                                    1375

Huaraz: yapya-r usha- (work-adv(ss) finish)

      'to finish working'
```

This is not the case for complements to non-phasal verbs: in both HgQ and Huaraz Quechua an infinitive object complement would be used for expressions like the following (with the difference that Huaraz Quechua allows a possessive person marker following the infinitive and HgQ does not):

```
Maqa-ma-y-(ni:)-ta muna-n.                                                   1376
hit-=1-INF-(1P)-OBJ want-3
```

'He wants to hit me.'

Third, in certain temporal adverbial expressions it seems that an adverbial clause is used as the modifier of a temporal head (looking--except for the subordinator--like a relative clause). An example (from Pantoja [25] Vol. 2, p. 376. 82:65):

```
qo-ri-ya-pti-n          ora                                    1377
give-asp-plural-adv-3P time

'when he arrived'
```

14.6. Discourse Function of Adverbial Clauses

Two ways that adverbial clauses are used in discourse are discussed below. Section 14.6.1 deals with "recapitulative" adverbial clauses; these contribute heavily to the cohesiveness of a discourse. Section 14.6.2 deals with very long sentences ("mega-sentences") which occur at the peak of a folk tale/narrative.

14.6.1. Recapitulative Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses formed with -r and -pti play a major role in giving discourse cohesion. An adverbial clause often recapitulates--in a very summary way--the contents of the preceding sentence. The resultant pattern is as follows:

```
..A happened. A having happened, B happened. B having happened...
```

For example. 1378 is a familiar pattern:

```
...mikuran.    Mikurkur, ...                                   1378
   eat-past-3 eat-asp-adv

...he ate.  Having eaten,....
```

We will refer to such adverbial clauses as RECAPITULATIVE adverbial clauses.

The verb of the recapitulating adverbial clause need not be identical to the main verb. There are two common cases:

1. The recapitulating clause has some sort of "pro-verb." In some cases this is ni- 'say', even though the action/event it recapitulates is not one of speaking. For example. one text begins 'One day a man was working his plot with his team' and continues:

```
Ni-yka-pti-n-shi      chaya-pa-rku-n    ukumarya.             1379
say-imprv-adv-3P-IND arrive-ben-asp-3 bear

'As he was doing so (literally "saying"), there arrived a bear.'
```

Of course ni- 'say' cannot be taken literally in 1379: it is a pro-verbal form referring to the man's plowing.[259]

2. The recapitulating adverbial may indicate a related event; e.g. "going" can be recapitulated by its completion. namely "arriving":

```
..Pillku-man  aywa-ra-n.  Chaya-rku-r...                       1380
  Pillku-GOAL go-past-3   arrive-asp-adv

'...he went to Pillku.  Upon arriving,....'
```

The adverbial clause does not recapitulate the action of going, but it does directly relate to it in that it states the terminal point of the going, and thus indirectly recapitulates the "going". (Note: it sounds exceedingly strange to the Quechua ear to hear something like "John went to

---

[259]The use of ni- 'say' as a "pro-verb" in recapitulative adverbial clauses has given rise to one of the most common "links" (i.e.. sentence initial words which provide juncture to the preceding sentence). This is nirkur. which might be glossed 'then. thereupon'. Historically it was certainly ni-rku-r (say-aspect-adv). but it is now taken as a single word.

the store and bought a shirt." Rather one says--in Quechua--"John went to the store. Having arrived he bought a shirt." Quechua seems to have an intense preoccupation with getting people to where they are going.)

The recapitulating adverbial clause need not immediately follow the clause/sentence that it recapitulates. In example 1767 (page 358) it is separated from it by about 110 words of explanatory (background) material. Indeed, the function of the recapitulative adverbial of 1767b is to return to the spatial/temporal orientation of 1767a which were suspended in the intervening material.

The reader may get the impression that adverbial clauses are used exclusively for recapitulating prior assertions. That is not the case; an adverbial clause may bear new information. A speaker may make many of his primary assertions in the form of adverbial clauses.[260] Indeed, sometimes it seems that adverbialization is simply the mechanism for conjoining two clauses.[261] For example, rather than say "John came home and went to bed", the Quechua speaker is more likely to say "Having come home. John went to bed" making one clause an adverbial.

The mechanism of adverbial clauses allows the speaker to tailor his text to his hearer, balancing factors of the rate of information flow and thematicity.

Let us consider various alternatives. using "$[X]_{ss/ds}$" to symbolize an adverbial clauses with same or different subject marking. 1381 shows three alternatives (among others) for organizing four clauses A. B. C and D:

a. A. B. C. D...   1381

b. A. $[A]_{ss/ds}$. B. $[B]_{ss/ds}$. C. $[C]_{ss/ds}$. D...

c. $[[[A]_{ss/ds}\ B]_{ss/ds}\ C]_{ss/ds}$ D...

1381a may result in a very disjointed text. where the hearer is given no help in getting from one sentence to the other. If 1381b is followed to an extreme, i.e., too many recapitulative clauses are introduced. then the text becomes tedious and "talks down" to the hearer ("as though to a child"). One can equally go overboard in the direction of 1381c: the speaker packs too much into one sentence using the rich mechanisms of subordination afforded by the language. Then the text becomes difficult to understand. (But 1381c is appropriate at the peak of an episode: see section 14.6.2.)

Not surprisingly. a fair amount of the editing which must be done to get from colloquial speech to good written Quechua (or the other way around) involves the juggling of the possibilities afforded by "recapitulating" adverbial clauses.

14.6.2. Mega-sentences

The second discourse role of adverbial clauses is in the formation of appropriately long sentences used at critical points in the discourse. Typically. at the peak of an episode in a Quechua story there is a "mega-sentence" like 1382 which involves a great deal of subordination, mainly adverbial clauses:

---

[260]This is certainly constrained by many factors.

[261]Sometimes the choice of which clause is to be main and which is to be subordinate seems quite arbitrary.

293

```
Chawra-ga  salteadur-kuna-ga  "Ima-taq chay tuni-yka:-mu-n?"                    1382
then-TOP   highwayman-pl-TOP   what-?? that fall-impfv-afar-3

ni-r-shi     qeshpi-r aywaku-sha llapan qellay-nin-ta
say-adv-IND  flee-adv go-3PERF   all    money-3p-OBJ

yupa-yka-sha-n-ta            kacha-riyku-r.
count-impfv-sub-3p-OBJ       leave-aspect-adv
```

'The highwaymen, saying "What is that falling on
us?" left fleeing, leaving behind all their money
which they had counted.'

The structure is as follows (where h = highwaymen):[262]

So-ga h-ga ["..." say(h)]-shi$_{ss}$ [flee(h)]$_{ss}$ go(h) [leave(h,money)]$_{ss}$

While mega-sentences usually involve adverbial clause formation to achieve length and complexity, other subordination mechanisms come into play as well. For example 1383a is a mega-sentence at the climax of a folk tale which uses a purpose clause (the bracketed portion) to achieve complexity. Note that the anticlimax (1383b-1383d) is a series of very short, disjointed sentences:

a. Atoqshi [uraypa apuraado koorrinanpaq] chupanman ruyru rumita watakurkun.   1383

b. Y rumi apakurkur aywakun.

c. Mayuyaq paasachikun.

d. Wañushanashi.

e. Chayasha mayuman atoq.

f. Sapo gaanasha apustita atoqta.

a. And the fox, in order to run downhill fast, tied a round
   stone to his tail.
b. And taking the stone, he went.
c. It made him pass on into the river.
d. He died.
e. The fox arrived to the river.
f. The frog won the bet with the fox.

---

[262]Because -qa occurs only on constituents of a main clause we know that *salteadurkunaqa* 'the highwaymen' is the subject of *aywakusha* 'they went' rather than the subject within one of the subordinate clauses.

15. REDUPLICATION

Reduplication, the repetition of an element either identically or in a highly similar form, is an important process in HgQ. This discussion is organized in terms of what sort of unit is reduplicated and by what mechanism. Sections 15.1 and 15.4 deal with reduplication in the formation of lexical items. Section 15.2 deals with various sorts of reduplication of non-verbal words. Section 15.3 deals with various sorts of reduplication in which the first occurrence of the element is subordinate to the second as an adverbial clause. Section 15.5 deals with cases in which the first occurrence of the reduplicated element is an incomplete verb stem. Section 15.6 deals with cases in which both occurrences of the reduplicated element are finite verbs. Section 15.7 deals with the reduplication of infinitives.

15.1. Reduplication Within Lexical Items

Many lexical items transparently involve the reduplication of some element: e.g.:

machamacha 'a wild berry (reputed to make one dizzy or drunk)', cf. *macha-* 'to be drunk'.

pakapaka 'a species of bird (regarded as a bad omen)' cf. (paka-) 'hide'.

Many other lexical items suggest reduplication, but less transparently than those just illustrated. The interested reader is referred to Willem Adelaar's careful treatment of such cases in his grammar of Tarma Quechua: see Adelaar [1].

15.2. Reduplication of Simple Words

This section treats various ways in which non-verbal words are reduplicated.[263] Words may simply be repeated, 15.2.1: they may be repeated with *-n* following each word. 15.2.2: and they may be repeated with a case marker following each word, 15.2.3.

15.2.1. Word-Word Reduplication

Substantives which refer to a property of an object may be reduplicated to indicate various occurrences of that property: e.g.:

mukru-mukru
　　　'uneven (part thin, part thick, e.g. wool which has been spun unevenly)' cf. *mukru* 'a small ball' (e.g. a lump of food)'.

kapti-kapti '(of the edge of cloth) fluted, pinked' from *kapti* 'a small cut in the edge';[264] e.g., *taksha kapti kapti* (small cut cut) 'fine fluted edge',

raya raya 'striped' from *raya* 'line'; e.g.,

qarwash-wan	puka	raya raya	1384
yellow-COM	red	line line	

'red and yellow (alternating) stripes'

Quantitfiers may be reduplicated, in which case the expression so formed indicates an

---

[263] Verbal reduplication is discussed in sections 15.3 and 15.5, and 15.6.

[264] *kapti* may be a verb which means 'to cut into the edge of'.

approximation to the quantity expressed in the quantifier. (These are frequently followed by *-lla* 'just'.) For example:

wallka-wallka-lla
    'roughly a few' from *wallka* 'few',
ichik-ichik-lla
    'few. a little bit' from *ichik* 'small',
mas mas-lla 'just a bit more than, roughly' from *mas* 'more'; e.g.:

```
...uchku-n  ruri-ta     huk runa ichi-y     altu-ta                1385
   dig-3    inside-OBJ  one man  stand-inf  tall-OBJ

mas  mas-lla-ta.
more more-just-OBJ

'...they dig down just a little more than the height of a man
standing.'

Mas  mas  aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi  tari-n...                     1386
more more  go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND find-3

'As they are going farther on, they find...'
```

In the following, the reduplicated expression indicates a reduced intensity relative to the meaning of the word from which it is formed:

chaka-chaka-lla
    'pre-dawn when it is still dark' from *chaka* 'dark'.[265]
rama-rama-lla
    'just enough light to make out shapes'.[266]

The following indicate various instances scattered in space of the object referred to by the substantive from which the reduplication is formed:

chakra chakra
    'from field to field' from *chakra* 'field';[267]

```
Pay-kuna tuma-n      chakra chakra miku-y-kuna-ta  rika-r...        1387
he-plur  go:about-3  field  field  eat-inf-plur-OBJ see-adv

'They go about from field to field checking the crops...'
```

munti munti-lla 'scattered brush' from *munti* 'forest'; e.g.:

```
...chunyaq-pa-na-shi       aywa-rka-yka-n  munti munti-lla-pa.      1388
   wilderness-GEN-now-IND  go-plur-impfv-3 woods woods-just-GEN

'...in the wilderness now they are going along through the
scattered woods.'
```

Adverbs may be reduplicated: e.g. from *iwal* 'together' one gets *iwal iwal* 'back and forth, one to another':

---

[265]Perhaps this is derived from *chaka- chaka-y-lla* (be:dark be:dark-inf-just), reduplicating the verb root *chaka-* 'be dark' where *-y* 'inf' has been dropped?

[266]I do not think there is a free word *rama*.

[267]*chakra chakra* of 1397 should be compared with the reduplications discussed in section 15.2.2: semantically it is like them but does not have *-n* on the reduplicated element.

```
iwal      iwal       pilyasha  /  rimanakun                              1389
together  together   fight-3PERF  talk-recip-3
```

'they fought / argue back and forth'

The negative word *ama* 'no' may be reduplicated: in 1395 *ama ama* 'no no' is a way to plead:

```
Ama  ama  maqa-ma-y-chu.                                                 1390
no   no   hit-=>1-2IMP-NEG
```

'Don't hit me!'

15.2.2. Reduplication with *-n*

A substantive may be reduplicated, putting *-n* on each occurrence of the reduplicated element. This *-n* seems to be little more than a mechanism for binding the reduplicated froms together; it contributes little or nothing to the meaning of the reduplicated expression.

If the reduplicated element refers to a time expression, the reduplication indicates a sequence of times: e.g.. *waran waran* 'day after day. daily' as used in the 1398:

```
Wakin arma-n  wara-n      wara-n.                                        1391
some  bathe-3 tomorrow-N tomorrow-N
```

'Some bathe daily.'

```
Pooku  arma-n  wara-n      wara-n.   Mas  arma-n  karu karu.             1392
little bathe-3 tomorrow-N tomorrow-N more bathe-3 far  far
```

'Little do they bathe daily. More commonly they bathe
infrequently.'

If the reduplicated element refers to a place. the reduplication refers to a path going from one such place to another, and then another...: e.g."

marka-n marka-n
    'from town to town' from *marka* 'town'.

raqra-n raqra-n
    'from one gorge/valley to another' from *raqra* 'gorge, valley',

punta-n punta-n
    'from one peak/ridge to another' from *punta* 'peak, ridge',

wasi-n wasi-n
    'from house to house' from *wasi* 'house': e.g.:

```
Chay-kuna puri-n   wasi-n  wasi-n.  Chaya-n  eskirbaanu-pa              1393
that-plur travel-3 house-N house-3  arrive-3 scrivener-GEN

wasi-n-man,    kapilla-pa wasi-n-man,   rihidur-pa  wasi-n-man...
house-3P-GOAL kapilla-GEN house-3P-GOAL rigidor-GEN house-3P-GOAL
```

'Those go from house to house. They arrive at the scrivener's
house, at the *kapilla*'s house, as the *regidor*'s house...

```
Wasi-ki-kuna-ta    rika-chi-ma-y     mayqa-n mayqa-n-ta-taq.            1394
house-2P-plur-OBJ see-caus-=>1-2IMP which-N which-N-OBJ-??
```

'Show me which are your houses.'
(when they are spread out throughout town)

15.2.3. With Case

When a reduplication formed from non-verbal forms is in a case relationship that merits a marker, this occurs on each of the reduplicated elements; e.g., in 1395 *huk....huk* is the object of *ashta-* and *apa-*:

```
...ashta-n  runa-ta  huk-ta   huk-ta   yoora-ta  mutu-na-n-paq.          1395
   pull-3   man-OBJ  one-OBJ  one-OBJ  tree-OBJ  chop-sub-3P-PUR

...Chay-naw  huk-ta   huk-ta   apa-yka-pti-lla-n...
   that-SIM  one-OBJ  one-OBJ  take-impfv-adv-just-3P
```

'...pulls she leads in men one by one to cut the tree.'
'...taking them one by one in that way...'

```
Chawra  hanag-ta  hanag-ta  hanag-ta-na-shi  rinka-yka-n.              1396
then    up-OBJ    up-OBJ    up-OBJ-now-IND   jump-impfv-3
```

'So then she jumps (going up a rope) up, and up, and up.'

```
Buurru-ta   pas  ura-ta    ura-ta-na    apa-yka-n.                    1397
donkey-OBJ  expl down-OBJ  down-OBJ-now  take-impfv-3
```

'(The river) is carrying the donkey farther and farther down.'[268]

```
...ni-r     salta-yku-n   karu-man  karu-man  karu-man.               1398
   say-adv  jump-impact-3  far-GOAL  far-GOAL  far-GOAL
```

'...so saying he (a frog) jumps far, far, far'

```
...hana-n-man     hana-n-man     wicha-sha.                           1399
   top-3P-GOAL    top-3P-GOAL    climb-3PERF
```

'they climbed one on top the other'

15.3. Adverb Verb Reduplication

One of the most common ways to reduplicate a verb is to make the first occurrence an adverbial clause subordinate to the second occurrence. Since the reduplicated verbs have the same subject, the appropriate adverbializer is either *-r* (illustrated in section 15.3.1) or *-y+pa* (illustrated in section 15.3.2).

This type of reduplication indicates the repetition of what is indicated by the reduplicated element.

15.3.1. Verb-*r* Verb- Reduplication

Among the ways for adverbializing the first of reduplicated forms, the most common is with the suffix *-r* 'adverbializer (same subject)'. Various possibilities are discussed.

15.3.1.1. Verb-*r* main verb

In the following, reduplication serves to indicate that the going was not by means of a direct trip; it is equivalent roughly to "I worked my way to Cayumba Chico":

---

[268][urát:::uratána] bears very heavy stress on the first [a], with the following [t] held unreleased for considerable time.

298

```
Primer punto aywa-r aywa-ra-: kayumba chiku-man.          1400
first  point go-adv go-past-1 Cayumba Chico-GOAL
```

'First I went to Cayumba Chico.'
(lit. 'First point, going I went to Cayumba Chico.'

15.3.1.2. Verb-*r* verb-*r* reduplication

Reduplications of the form verb-*r* verb-*r* are adverbs indicating repetition.

```
Chawra miku-n asi-rku-r      asi-rku-r.                   1401
then   eat-3  laugh-asp-adv laugh-asp-adv
```

'Then they eat, laughing and laughing.'

Note that in 1402 *ruri-ta* applies to the reduplication as a whole.

```
Chawra mas  ruri-ta    oqti-r oqti-r oqti-r              1402
then   more inside-OBJ dig-adv dig-adv dig-adv

aru-rka-yka-sha-n-chaw...
work-plur-impfv-sub-3P-LOC
```

'Then, as they are working, digging down deeper and deeper...'

```
...kondor chaya-rku-r     shikra-ta rachi-r rachi-r...    1403
   condor arrive-asp-adv  sack-OBJ  rip-adv rip-adv
```

'...the condor, arriving, ripping away at the sack...'

```
Huk warmi-shi wayta-ta   ashta-q       siwraa-man punta-kuna-pita    1404
one woman-IND flower-OBJ take-narpst  town-GOAL  peak-plur-ABL

ashi-rku-r   ashi-rku-r.
seek-asp-adv seek-asp-adv
```

'A woman took flowers to the city from the peaks, looking for
them here and there.'

Note that in 1405 *karuman* applies to the entire reduplication:

```
...liberti-ku-n     karu-kama witi-rku-r   witi-rku-r.   1405
   liberate-refl-3 far-LIM   move-asp-adv move-asp-adv
```

'...he took his liberty, moving far off here and there.'

Frequently Verb-*r* Verb-*r* reduplication is used to indicate action carried out until some result is achieved: such cases give rise to reduplication followed by a result clause.

```
Habun-wan kupa-rku-r   kupa-rku-r   llachapa-n-kuna-ta  kupa-n      1406
soap-COM  rub-asp-adv rub-asp-adv clothes-3P-plur-OBJ  rub-3

qanra      lloqshi-na-n-yaq.
dirtiness  leave-sub-3P-LIM
```

'They scrub their clothes with soap until the dirtiness comes off.'

In 1407 the following clause is a purpose clause which expresses the desired result:

```
...asta-n... rinsaaru-wan...willa-paa-ri-r    willa-paa-ri-r      1407
   whip-3    whip-COM      tell-ben-asp-adv tell-ben-asp-adv

yapay-chaw sumaq rika-na-n-paq.
again-LOC  well  see-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...he whips him ... with a whip ... repeatedly warning him
so that next tim he will watch well (so the animals don't
get into the crops).'

Examples 1408 and 1409 show the use of *yaparir yaparir* 'repeatedly':

```
...mas-ta  awrindi-ta     kunbira-n yapa-ri-r     yapa-ri-r          1408
   more-OBJ fire:water-OBJ offer-3   again-asp-adv again-asp-adv

awni-na-n-kama.
agree-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...they offer him firewater again and again until he agrees.'

```
...mutu-r   usha-yku-n     uma-n     uma-lla-n                       1409
   chop-adv finish-impact-3 head-3P head-just-3P

yapa-ri-r     yapa-ri-r     wañu-sha-n-yaq.
again-asp-adv again-asp-adv die-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...he finishes him chopping again and again on his head until he has died.'

15.3.1.3. Verb-*r* verb-*rkU-r*

In cases such as examples 1401 and 1404 the verb is reduplicated with an aspectual suffix. In examples 1410 and 1411 the aspectual suffix occurs only on the second of the reduplicated elements: this leads me to believe that the structure is [[puklla-r puklla-]-rku-].

```
...chaqcha-n    kawitu-chaw puklla-r puklla-rku-r-shi.               1410
   chew:coca-3 bed-LOC      play-adv play-asp-adv-IND
```

'...they were chewing coca, playing around in bed.'

```
...hana-n-chaw  kondor paasa-n tuma-r::     tuma-rku-r.             1411
...above-3P-LOC condor pass-3  go:about-adv go:about-asp-adv
```

'...the condor passes overhead circling round and round.'

Example 1412 has the words of an old man who "chews" coca by rubbing it in his hands to break it up:

```
kupa-rku-lla-r    chaqcha-:-mi   maki-:-chaw                        1412
rub-asp-just-adv chew:coca-1-DIR hand-1P-LOC

kupa-rku-r  kupa-rku-lla-r-qa
rub-asp-adv rub-asp-just-adv-TOP
```

'I chew coca just rubbing and rubbing it between my hands.'

15.3.2. Verb-*y + pa* Verb-

Verbs may be reduplicated by making the first an adverb with -*y+pa*: e.g.:

ikchu-y+pa ikchu-r[269]

'sobbing' from *ikchu-* 'heavy sigh'.

I am uncertain how these differ from reduplications using -*r*. Other examples follow:

```
qarinta-y+pa         qarinta-r              kuchpa-:-ku-n           1413
turn:end:for:end-adv turn:end:for:end-adv  roll-refl-3
```

'It rolls down the hill end for end.'

```
Mas  ashi-y+pa  ashi-n    tayta-n-pita mama-n-pita.                 1414
more search-adv search-3 father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABl
```

'More (commonly) they seek (a wife) from their parents' (home)' (rather than eloping)

---

[269]Pronounced [ikchuyp:íkchur] with the release of the [p] held into the [i].

Example 1415 is probably a case formed by adverbialization with -*y*+*lla*+*pa* with the [pa] elided from [urayllapa]:

```
...ura-y-lla      ura-shun                                              1415
   pray-inf-just pray-12IMP
```

'...let's pray fervently'

Other cases are mentioned in section 14.4.4: see examples 1373 and 1374.

15.4. Adverbial Clause Reduplication

Example 1416 is an unusual case in that an adverbial clause is reduplicated which has an adverbial clause within it: what is reduplicated is [[*horqorkur*] *kutirkachir*]. But note, like all the other cases of this sort of reduplication it indicates a repetition of what is indicated by the reduplicated element.

```
Chawra mishi alpurha-pita    horqo-rku-r    kuti-rkU-chi-r             1416
then   cat   saddle:bag-ABL  remove-asp-adv return-asp-caus-adv

horqo-rku-r    kuti-rkU-chi-r        huk uma-lla-n-ta-shi
remove-asp-adv return-asp-caus-adv  one head-just-3P-OBJ-IND

chunka ishkay-ta yupa-yku-n.
ten    twelve-OBJ count-impact-3
```

'Then the cat, repeatedly removing the head from the saddlebag and returning it, counts the one head twelve times.'

15.5. Reduplication with Incomplete Verb Stems

A verb may be reduplicated as an incomplete verb stem followed by the verb, which as a combination bears some transition; e.g.:

```
Rusa-chi-    rusa-chi-y+lla+pa awlli-nchi.                             1417
cross-caus- cross-caus-adv     wind:warp-12
```

'We wind the warp crossing (the thread) back and forth.'
(/Rusachi rusachiyllapa/ is pronounced [rusachi::rusachi:llapa].)

The following example is from a description of a worm that glows (*nina kuru*):

```
Pacha-n-chaw    paari-pti-n nina-naw  achikya-  achikya-r aywa-n.     1418
stomach-3P-LOC fly-adv-3P   flame-SIM flash     flash-adv go-3
```

'It goes flashing like a flame on its stomach when it flies.'

In the following, note that -*mu* 'afar' does not occur on each of the reduplicated elements, but only on the second. This leads me to believe that reduplication is a stem-formation process.[270]

```
[wara-rk  wara-rkU]-mu-q     oqa-ta  usha-sha-lla...                  1419
 dawn-asp dawn-asp-afar-sub  oca-OBJ finish-prtc-just
```

'day after day he came into the new day (over there) the oca being finished'

---

[270]A similar comment is made in section 15.3.1.3 below.

15.6. Verb Verb

A finite verb may be reduplicated. This indicates the repeated occurrence (on different occasions) of the event indicated by the reduplicated verb; e.g.:

```
Chawra-qa wata-pti-n-si    kacha-ka-sha           kacha-ka-sha.           1420
then-TOP   tie-adv-3P-indef release-pass-3PERF release-pass-3PERF

'Then, even though they tied it, again and again it would get
loose.'

"..." ni-sha       ni-sha      huk runa-kuna-qa, rika-q-nin-kuna-qa.       1421
      say-3PERF say-3PERF one man-plur-TOP  see-sub-3P-plur-TOP

'"..." said various people who had seen them (on different
occasions).'

Wamra masi-n-kuna-ta        upa-ya-q            upa-ya-q.                  1422
child fellow-3P-plur-OBJ deaf-bec-narpst deaf-bec-narpst

Laqya-ri-q          puklla-pa-pti-n.
slap-pnct-narpst play-ben-adv-3P

'Again and again he would make his young companions deaf.
He would slap them when they made fun of him.'
```

15.7. Infinitive Infinitive

In the following examples an infinitive is reduplicated; e.g.:

```
...kanta-y-ta    kanta-y-ta    yacha-ku-nki.                              1423
   sing-inf-OBJ sing-inf-OBJ know-refl-2

'...you know how to sing them again and again'
```

16. QUESTION FORMATION

HgQ has the following types of question:

- "yes/no" questions, e.g. *Do you like toqosh?* (see section 16.1),
- "content" questions, e.g. *What did you have for lunch?* (see section 16.2),
- "alternative" questions, e.g. *Did you have spaghetti or ravioli?* (see section 16.3),
- "tag" questions, e.g. *You had ravioli, right?* (see section 16.4),
- "what+do" questions, e.g. *What did he do to you?* (see section 16.5),
- "negative" questions, e.g. *You didn't eat lunch?* (see section 16.6).
- "embedded" questions (see 16.7). These include:
  - * embedded content questions, e.g. *Do you know what's for lunch?* (see section 16.7.1),
  - * embedded alternative questions, e.g. *I don't know whether he came.* (see section 16.7.2). and
  - * non-finite embedded questions, (see section 16.7.3)
- "third person" questions (What does John say is good to eat?), see section 16.8.

The intonation with which questions are spoken has not been a focus of this study, but I will venture the following as vague impressions. Questions generally have rising pitch toward the end of the sentence.[271] The pitch probably rises more with validation questions than with content questions. With alternative questions (see section 16.3) it generally rises to the end of the first alternative, the second having a decline in pitch and intensity. The "questioned element" (see definition below) does not have any special status in the intonation contour.

16.1. Validation Questions ("Yes/No Questions")

A validation question generally has a "questioned element"; this is the constituent which is in focus, the one which the speaker does not assume to be correct and for which he is requesting verification. Validation questions may be formed by the simple addition of *-chu*, which I gloss 'YN?', to the questioned element.[272] For example, the questioned element in 1424 is *kay* 'this':

```
Kay-chu  runa-yki,  Señora?                                    1424
this-YN? husband-2P Mrs.

'Is this your husband, Mrs.?'
```

The questioned element may be any major constituent of the sentence. (It cannot be an interjection, an expletive, a conjunction or link (e.g., *y* 'and', *chawra* 'then',....), etc. It may follow *mana* 'not' in the formation of alternative questions (see section 16.3) or negative questions see section 16.6).) For example, in 1425 it is an adverb:

```
Rasun-chu  wañu-shqa?                                          1425
really-YN? die-3PERF

'Has it really died?'
```

---

[271] This is probably not as pronounced as it is in languages like English, where intonation can be the sole indicator that a sentence is interrogative.

[272] *-chu* is glossed 'YN?' here and 'NEG' when it is used in negatives: this is intended as an aid to the reader, and should not be taken to mean that these are two different morphemes.

Validation question are possible in which no particular element is questioned; in this case. -*chu* 'YN?' is placed on the verb, as in 1426:

```
Runa-yki    illa-yka:-n-chu.   Señora?                                      1426
husband-2P  absent-impfv-3-YN? madame
```

'Is your husband absent, madame?'

Another way to form validation questions is to put -*qa* on the focal element and -*chu* on the main verb of the sentence: see section 20.2.3.3. For example, compare 1427a with 1427b, which differs in that -*qa* 'TOP' is on the questioned element and -*chu* 'YN?' is on the verb:

```
a.  Hwan-ta-chu    rika-sha?                                                1427
    John-OBJ-YN?  see-3PERF

b.  Hwan-ta-qa     rika-sha-chu?
    John-OBJ-TOP  see-3PERF-YN?

a,b 'Did he see John?'
```

Another example is 1843 (page 381).

Validation questions can be formed for any tense, e.g. with the future tense as in 1428 or the conditional tense as in 1429:

```
Tuni-mu-shaq-chu?                                                           1428
fall-afar-1FUT-YN?
```

'Shall I fall?' (a threat to fall on someone)

```
Qam chaki-chi-nki-man-chu kay yaku-ta    upu-y+lla+pa                       1429
you dry-caus-2-cond-YN?   this water-OBJ drink-adv
```

'Could you dry up this water by drinking it?'
(a challenge to drink a lake dry)

With compound tenses, when the questioned element is the verb, the -*chu* occurs on the subordinate verb, rather than on the auxiliary. For example, where the perfect is uncollapsed (see section 8.8.2) one finds examples like 1430:

```
Uti+ka-sha-chu ka-yka:-nki?                                                 1430
tire-prtc-YN?  be-impfv-2
```

'Have you (gotten) tired?'

-*chu* + *raq* 'dubitive' is used to make a querie, expressing doubt about the questioned element, to which it is suffixed:

```
Qam-pa  surti-ki noqa-pa surti-:-naw-chu+raq                                1431
you-GEN fate-2P  me-GEN  fate-1P-SIM-dubit
```

```
o    mas  piyur-chu+raq?
or   more worse-dubit
```

'Might your fate be like mine or might it be worse?' or
'Is your fate perhaps like mine, or perhaps worse?'

```
Kanan hunaq tamya-nqa-chu+raq?                                             1432
today day   rain-3FUT-dubit
```

'Might it rain today?' or 'Will it perhaps rain today?'

304

16.2. Content Questions

Content questions are formed with a question word (like English *who, what, where, when,* etc.) followed by a question marker (*-taq* or *-raq*[273]). The question words are as follows:

pi	'who'	may	'where'
ima	'what'	mayqan	'which'
imay	'when'	ayka	'how much/many'
ima+ni+r	'why (motive)'	ima+paq	'what for'

Generally the questioned element is fronted (i.e., occurs initial in the sentence). The question marker may occur directly on the question word (but following a pluralizer, case markers): e.g.:[274]

```
Ima-ta-taq  rura-shaq?                                          1433
what-OBJ-?? do-1FUT
```

'What shall I do?'

```
Ayka-naw-ta-taq    tanta-ta  chara:-nki?              ..        1434
how:much-SIM-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ have-2
```

'About how much bread do you have?'

Or it may occur at the very end of the questioned constituent: e.g., in 1435 it occurs at the end of the adverbial clause which contains the question word:

```
Ima-ta    yarpa-yka:-r-taq    rura-sha?                         1435
what-OBJ  think-impfv-adv-?? do-3PERF
```

'What was he thinking when he did it?'

As a general rule. the question marker occurs on the largest possible constituent.[275] Thus 1436b is preferred to 1436a. However. *-taq* '??' could not follow *tanta-ta* in 1436c because *ayka* and *tanta* are discontinuous constituents (as evidenced by the *-ta* 'OBJ' following both *ayka* and *tanta*):

```
a.  Ayka-taq    tanta-ta  chara:-nki?                          1436
    how:much-?? bread-OBJ have-2
```

```
b.  Ayka       tanta-ta-taq chara:-nki?
    how:much   bread-OBJ-?? have-2
```

```
c.  Ayka-ta         tanta-ta-taq chara:-nki?
    how:much-OBJ-?? bread-OBJ-?? have-2
```

a.b.c. 'How much bread do you have?'

Other examples of questions follow:

```
Imay-taq aywa-nki?                                             1437
when-??   go-2
```

'When will you go?'

```
Ima-paq-taq apa-mu-nki  punku-ta, upa   bu:rro bestya?         1438
what-PUR-?? take-afar-2 door-OBJ  dummy donkey beast
```

'What did you bring the door for, dummy donkey beast?'

---

[273]The difference between these is discussed on page 306.

[274]In the following. the question word and the question marker are underlined.

[275]The same is true for *-pis~-si* 'indef': see example 1690. page 344.

```
Kanan ima-naw+pa-taq horqo-shun?                           1439
now   what-manner-?? remove-12FUT
```

'Now how shall we get it out?'

```
May-lla-man-taq       pampa-:shi-ykU-ma:-nki, awkin?       1440
where-just-GOAL-?? bury-assist-dir-=>1-2    old:man
```

'Where will you help me bury him (polite), old man?'
(Politeness is signalled here by *-lla* and *-ykU*.)

```
Pi  runa-taq chay?                                         1441
who man-??    that
```

'Who is that?'

```
May-taq  qam ka-nki?                                       1442
where-?? you be-2
```

'Where are you from?   (i.e., your place of origin)'

```
Ima  aru-y-taq   mas  sasa?                                1443
what work-sub-?? more difficult
```

'What work is the most/more difficult?'

```
Avka       qam-pa-ka+q-taq?                                1444
how:many you-GEN-def-??
```

'How many are yours?'

```
Pi-taq chay marka-chaw qara-ma:-shun?                      1445
who-?? that town-LOC    feed-=>1-12FUT
```

'Who will feed us in that town?'

Diana Weber [41] analyzes the difference between *-taq* and *-raq* as follows: *-taq* is used when the speaker assumes that the addressee knows the answer to the question: *-raq* is used when he does not assume so. For example, if you ask the time of someone who has a watch, it is appropriate to say *Imay ooranataq?* 'What time is it', but if you ask someone who obviously does not have access to a time piece (so he will take a guess, say, from the position of the sun) it is more appropriate to use *-raq* '??':

```
Imay o:ra-na-raq?                                          1446
when time-now-??
```

'What time might it be?'

Obviously, given its meaning, *-raq* '??' is the really appropriate way when there are uncertainties: e.g.:

```
Imay o:ra-raq kaarru chaya-mu-nqa?                         1447
when time-??  car    arrive-afar-3FUT
```

'When might the car arrive?'

16.3. Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are formed by juxtaposing two alternatives (with *o* 'or' optionally intervening) each of which bears *-chu* '?' (or, in cases like example 1431, *-chu + raq*). Examples follow:

```
Kanan-chu  o  wara-chu?                                    1448
today-YN?  or tomorrow-YN?
```

'today or tomorrow?'

306

```
Qam-chu  o  noqa-chu aywa-shun?                                          1449
you-YN?  or I-YN?     go-12FUT
```

'Should you or I go?'

Yes/no questions are really a type of truncated alternative question, where the alternative *mana-chu* 'not-YN?' is left implicit: 'Are you going?' is really 'Are you going (or not)?'

```
Aywa-nki-chu mana-chu?                                                   1450
go-2-YN?     not-YN?
```

'Are you going or not?'

16.4. Tag Questions

Tag Questions are simple declarative sentences (generally without rising intonation) followed by *aw* 'yes', which has rapidly rising pitch. Examples follow:

```
Pillku-ta  aywa-yka:-nki, aw?                                            1451
Pillku-DIR go-impfv-2     yes
```

'You are going to Pillku, right?'

```
Rasun-pa    ka-sha,  aw?                                                 1452
really-adv  be-3PERF right
```

'It was really so, right?'
(to someone who had doubted beforehand)

16.5. What-say/do Questions

The verbs *na-* 'do' and *ni-* 'say' fuse with *ima* 'what' to form interrogative verbs; they form *ima+na-* 'what+do', *ima+ni-* 'what+say'. The questions formed from these will be called "what+do questions". Examples follow:

```
Ima+na-sha-taq?                                                          1453
what+do-3PERF-??
```

'What has happened?'

```
Wamra-lla-:    ima+na-n-taq?                                            1454
child-just-1P what+do-??
```

'What's my child doing?'

```
Ima+ni-shu-pti-ki-taq  maqa-shka-nki?                                    1455
what+say-=>2-adv-2P-?? hit-perf-2
```

'What did he say to you that you hit him?'

It is also possible to form questions where the questioned element is the verb with *ima* 'what' and a verbalizing suffix; e.g., in 1456 with *-ya:* 'become' and in 1457a with *-na:* 'desiderative':

```
Ima-ya:-chi-ma:-nqa-raq?                                                1456
what-bec-caus-=>1-3FUT-??
```

'What might it cause me to become?'

Note that in example 1457, *ima+na-* 'what+do' and *ima-na:-* (what-desid) 'what desire' differ only in vocalic length, but differ considerably in their meaning:

307

```
a. Ima-na:-chi-ma:-nqa-raq?                                          1457
   what-desid-caus-=>1-3FUT-??
```

```
b. Ima+na-chi-ma:-nqa-raq?
   what+do-caus-=>1-3FUT-??
```

a. 'What effect will it have on me?'
   (i.e. will it make me thirsty...)

b. 'What will he/it cause me to do?'
   (i.e., will it make me throw up...)

16.6. Negative Questions

Negative questions are formed by putting -chu 'YN?' on mana 'not'. Examples follow:

```
Mana-chu noqa willa-rqa-:?                                           1458
no-YN?   I    tell-past-1
```

'Didn't I tell you?' (= 'See, I told you so!')

```
Mana-chu chay-naw+pa wañu-ykU-chi-nchi?                              1459
no-YN?   that-MAN    kill-impact-caus-12
```

'Did we ever kill in that way before?'
(No!--so now you owe me for my cleverness.)

```
Qam mana-chu hampi-ma:-nki-man    tayta?                             1460
you no-YN?   medicate-=>1-2-cond  sir
```

'Won't you medicate me, sir?'

Examples 1461a and 1461b are synonymous, showing that -raq 'yet' may occur in either of two positions:

```
a. Qam-kuna mana-raq-chu tantiya-nki?                                1461
   you-pl   no-yet-YN?   understand-2
```

```
b. Qam-kuna mana-chu tantiya-nki-raq?
   you-pl   no-YN?   understand-2-yet
```

'Don't you understand yet?'

16.7. Embedded Questions

This section gives a sketch of embedded questions: finite embedded content questions in section 16.7.1, finite embedded alternative questions in section 16.7.2, and nonfinite embedded questions in section 16.7.3. Embedded questions are discussed in greater detail in Weber [39] pg. 93-97.

16.7.1. Finite Embedded Content Questions

Examples 1462 and 1463 demonstrate content questions as finite complements; these have a question word in the complement which has a finite verb, and are followed by -pis~-si 'indef':

```
Sumaq fiiha-y  \  [may-chaw  ka-sha-n-ta-pis].                       1462
well  observe-2IMP where-LOC be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
```

'Observe well where it is.'

308

```
Chawra-qa chay yayku-q-ta     yupa-pa-n    eskirbaanu                    1463
so-top    that enter-sub-OBJ count-ben-3 scrivener

minisru-n-kuna-wan [ayka      wawa ka-sha-n-ta-pis]
minister-3-pl-COM   how:many baby be-sub-3-OBJ-indef

[ayka      ima-n-kuna    ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
how:many what-3P-plur be-sub-OBJ-indef
```

'So the scrivener and his ministers count for the one who enters
how many babies there are and how many of his things (whatever)
there are.'[276]

Example 1464 has a negative question in the main clause as well as an embedded question:

```
[Pi maqa-ma:-sha-n-ta-pis]    mana-chu rika-shka-nki?            1464
who hit-=>1-sub-3-OBJ-indef no-YN?  see-perf-2
```

'Didn't you see who hit me?'

16.7.2. Finite Embedded Alternative Questions

Embedded alternative questions have two alternatives juxtaposed (i.e.. with no overt conjunction). The alternatives have finite verbs. and each has a case marker. which since the alternatives are parallel. must be the same. The alternatives do not have -*chu* 'YN?' (as with the non-subordinate alternative questions). For example.

```
...tapu-n chay ashi-sha-n  hipash-ta          [chay moosu-wan           1465
   ask-3  that seek-sub-3P young:woman-OBJ  that young:man-COM

rasun-pa parla-sha  ka-sha-n-ta]  [mana parla-sha   ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
true-adv agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ  not  agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
```

'...they ask that sought-after young woman if she has really
agreed with that young man or if she has not agreed.'

One of the alternative may be left implicit. as in examples 1466 and 1467:

```
Rimeeru tihira-ta   rika-nchi [sumaq fiinu ka-sha-n-ta].               1466
first   scissor-OBJ see-12      very  sharp be-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'First we see whether (or not) the scissors are very sharp.'

```
Rika-nchi [millwa ata  ka-sha-n-ta].                                  1467
see-12     wool   long be-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'We see whether the wool is long (or not).'

16.7.3. Nonfinite Embedded Questions

The verb *rika-* 'see' may occur with an embedded question which is not made finite by some subordinator. For example. in 1468 the verb in embedded question (*kaykan* 'it is') is not finite:

```
[Ima-shi  ka-yka:-n] chay-chaw rika-ykU-mu-nki.                       1468
 what-IND be-impfv-3 there-LOC see-dir-afar-2
```

'Go see what's there! (and come back)'

---

[276]These "babies" are small loaves of bread made in the form of babies.

309

16.8. Third Person Questions

Third person questions ask the hearer about what someone else has said.[277] A question word occurs in a quote expressing what the other person is alleged to have said. However. the question marker follows *ni-* 'to say' that dominates the quote; e.g.:

```
"Pi-mi   taqay" ni-n-taq noqa-paq?                              1469
who-dir that    say-3-?? me-PUR
```

```
'Who does he say that I am?'
(lit. 'About me, he says "that(one) is who?"')
```

Note that such questions are not simply quoted questions, as in 1470:

```
"Pi-taq taqay" ni-n   noqa-paq.                                 1470
who-?? that    say-3 me-PUR
```

```
'Who is that" he says about me.'
```

---

[277]Carolyn Orr has written about this sort of question in 'WH-Questions in Ecuadorian Oriente Quichua' (manuscript).

310

17. NEGATION

This chapter purports to be a comprehensive survey of the major facts concerning negation for HgQ.[278] Negative suffixes not discussed in this chapter are *-ynaq* and *-:ni* (e.g. *rika-:ni-naw* 'as one who has not seen'): see sections 4.2.1.3 and 13.2.3. Negative questions are treated in section 16.6. Queries which indicate doubt (what I have called "dubitives") are discussed in 16.1; they could equally well have been discussed in this chapter.

17.1. Basic Negation in Main Clauses

One way to negate an element is to precede it by *mana* 'not' and suffix *-chu* 'NEG'[279] to it; e.g.:

```
Mana rura-shka-:-chu.                                          1471
not  do-perf-1-NEG

'I did not do it.'
```

In virtually all cases *mana* 'not' occurs, but it may be omitted; e.g.:

```
Maya-shka-:-chu.                                              1472
sense-perf-1-NEG

'I didn't hear it.'
```

Instead of *mana* 'not', some negatives are formed with *nunka* 'never' (from Sp. *nunca* 'never'): e.g.:

```
Achu-koq      qopi-koq    nunka hata+ri-q-chu  ka-sha.         1473
armadillo-get (rodent)-get never get:up-sub-NEG be-3PERF

'He was never one to get up and go after armadillos and
qopi's.'
```

And some use *ni* 'nor' (from Sp. *ni* 'nor'): e.g.:

```
Y    suncha ni  huknaylla-pis wañu-yku-n-chu.                  1474
and wasp   nor just:one-even  die-impact-3-NEG

'And not even one of the wasps died.'
```

ni may also be used in forming negative indefinite expressions: see below 17.8.

-chu often occurs on the negated element, i.e., the focal constituent, the one which the speaker assumes is primarily responsible for the falsity of that sentence.[280] For example, in 1475 the negated element *Hwan-paq* (John-PUR) 'for John', is followed by *chu* 'NEG':

---

[278]The only other comprehensive treatment of negation for a Quechua language is Weber and Weber's [42] study for San Martin Quechua.

[279]As mentioned in footnote, page 303, *-chu* is glosses 'YN?' in some cases and 'NEG' in others. This is not intended to mean that these are two different morphemes.

[280]With causatives, the negative element is always the causative: i.e., the negation applies logically to the causation:

```
Mana qeshya-chi-ku-n-chu.
not  be:sick-caus-refl-3-NEG

'It doesn't make one sick.'
*'It makes one not sick.'
```

311

```
mana rura-ra-n Hwan-paq-chu; rura-ra-n Pablo-paq-mi.         1475
not  do-past-3 John-PUR-NEG  do-past-3 Paul-PUR-DIR

'He didn't do it for John; he did it for Paul.'
```

Another way to focally negate a particular element is to follow it with *-qa* 'TOP' and put *-chu* on the main verb. This is discussed in section 20.2.3.3, 380 and amply illustrated there (examples 1844-1850). ^page

17.1.1. Negation with Compound Tenses

In compound tenses *-chu* 'NEG' attaches to the subordinate (non-auxiliary) verb; see example 1476 with the perfect tense and 1477 with a narrative past:

```
"Ya  qara-sha-chu  ka-nki taqay runa-ta?" ni-sha.          1476
 now feed-prtc-YN? be-2   that  man-OBJ   say-3PERF

Y   chawra "Mana, mana-m qara-sha-chu  ka-:." ni-sha.
and then         not   not    feed-prtc-NEG be-1   say-3PERF

'"So have you fed that man?" he said.
Then "No, I haven't fed that man" she said.'

Kondor kada aywa-y-nin yaku  puyñu-n-ta mana kacha-yku-q.    1477
condor each go-inf-3P   water jug-3P-OBJ not  leave-impact-narpst

'Every time he went, the condor did not leave his water jug behind.'
```

For examples with other compound tenses, see the respective sections of chapter 8.

17.1.2. Negation with *ka-* 'be'

Recall (from section 3.1.1.2, page 26) that *ka-* 'be' may be used in various ways, among them a use predicational use and an existential use. Examples 1478-1480 show that *-chu* 'NEG' follows *ka-* 'be' when it is used existentially, i.e., to assert the existence of the subject, or in the case of negatives, its nonexistence:

```
Mana papa  ka-ra-n-chu.                                     1478
not  potato be-past-3-NEG

'There were no potatoes.'

Mana-shi ima-si     ka-ra-n-chu.                            1479
not-IND  what-indef be-past-3-NEG

'There wasn't anything.'

Mana ka-chi-:-chu.                                          1480
not  be-caus-1-NEG

'I don't have any more left.'
```

Normally, *-chu* 'NEG' does not occur following *ka-* 'be' when it is use predicationally, i.e., when it has a substantive as complement which is predicated of the subject. For example, in 1481 *hatun* 'big' (a substantive) is the complement of *ka-* 'be': *hatun* 'big' is predicated of the subject:

```
a. *Mana hatun ka-ra-n-chu.                                              1481
       not   big    be-past-3-NEG

b. Mana hatun-chu ka-ra-n.
   not   big-NEG    be-past-3

b. 'He wasn't big.'
```

However. *-chu* 'NEG' does occur on *ka-* 'be' used predicationally in negative commands. e.g.. in example 1482 the substantive *upa* 'fool. deaf is predicated of the subject:[281]

```
Ama upa ka-y-chu     qam! Aywa-ku-shun  noqa-wan...               1482
not fool be-2IMP-NEG you  go-refl-12IMP me-COM

'Don't be a fool! Come along with me...'
```

It also occurs on *ka-* 'be' in the future tense.[282] Consider 1483; in the past tense (1483a) it is preferable to have *-chu* 'NEG' on the the predicate substantive (*kaykashannaw*) whereas in the future tense (1483b) it is preferred on *ka-* 'be':

```
a. Mana kanan ka-yka-sha-n-naw-chu    ka-ra-n.                    1483
   not   now    be-impfv-sub-3P-SIM-NEG be-past-3

b. Mana-mi ka-nki-paq-chu  kanan ka-yka-sha-yki-naw-qa.
   not-DIR be-2FUT-fut-NEG today be-impfv-sub-2P-SIM-TOP

a. 'It was not like it is today.'
b. 'You will not be like you are now.'
```

Why should *-chu* 'NEG' occur on the substantive when *ka-* 'be' is used predicationally rather than. as in existentials. on *ka-* 'be'? Perhaps because *ka-* is often absent in predicate substantives. but since *-chu* 'NEG' is attached to the substantive. it remains. For example. in example 1484. *ka-* 'be' is not present in the second sentence. but *-chu* 'NEG' remains on *dibuhun* 'its picture':

```
...ka-yka-n    boniitu dibuhu-yoq.  Pero mana dibuhu-n-chu.            1484
   be impfv-3 pretty  picture-have but  not  picture-3P-NEG

'...it has a pretty picture.  But it is not a picture.'
(followed by an explanation that it is a photograph)
```

17.1.3. Negative Commands

Prohibitions are formed by using *ama* as the negative word and putting *-chu* following the imperative suffix:

```
Ama aywa-y-chu!                                                  1485
not go-2IMP-NEG

'Do not go!'
```

---

[281]In the following. whether *-chu* 'NEG' follows the predicate complement seems to depend on the position of *mana* 'not': I have no explanation for this.

```
a. Mayqa-nchi:-pis      hucha-yoq    mana ka-nchi.
   which-12P-indef      guilty-have  not  be-12

b. Mayqa-nchi:-pis mana hucha-yoq-chu    ka-nchi.
   which-12P-indef not  guilty-have-NEG  be-12

a.b. 'None of us is guilty.'
```

[282]Snow [34] (pg. 108. footnote 108) writes for Llamellín (Ancash) Quechua that "The negative suffix *-tsu* ...occurs on the verb *ka-* only as an existential negator. [italics mine. DJW]" This *-tsu* corresponds to HgQ *-chu* 'NEG'. Example 1483b is a counter-example to Snow's claim.

```
*Mana wañu-chun-chu.                                              1486
  Ama wañu-chun-chu.
  not die-3IMP-NEG
```

'May he not die.'

```
Ama qonqa-shun-chu.                                              1487
not forget-12IMP-NEG
```

'Let's not forget it.'

```
Ama imay-pis    yata-nki-chu    kay-ta-qa!                       1488
not when-indef touch-2FUT-NEG  this-OBJ-TOP
```

'Do not ever touch this!'

See also example 1482.

17.1.4. The Distribution of Negative Morphemes

17.1.4.1. The distribution of -chu 'NEG'

-chu 'NEG' follows the case markers and shading suffixes. e.g. in 1489 it follows the case markers -chaw 'LOC' and -naw 'SIM', and in 1490 it follows the shading suffixes -na 'now' and -pis 'indef':

```
Mana kay-chaw-naw-chu wasi ... huk-niraq.                        1489
not  here-LOC-SIM-NEG house   one-SIM
```

'It is not like the houses here... it is different.'

```
...ni  arma-n-na-pis-chu.                                        1490
   nor bathe-3-now-indef-NEG
```

'...they no longer bathe them at all.'

-chu 'NEG' and an evidential suffix (-mi. -shi. chi) do not co-occur on same word. but they (frequently!) co-occur in same sentence on different words; e.g.:

```
Mana-mi kama-ka-n-chu.                                           1491
not-DIR arrange-pass-3-NEG
```

'It is not fitting/just.'

-chu 'NEG' is systematically absent in the expression mana alli (not good) 'bad'. Thus. contrasts such as the following are possible. which differ only in the presence or absence of -chu 'NEG':

```
a. mana    alli-ta      rura-pa:-ma-sha.                         1492
   not     good-OBJ     do-ben-=>1-3PERF

b. mana    alli-ta-chu  rura-pa:-ma-sha.
   not     good-OBJ-NEG do-ben-=>1-3PERF

a. 'He did bad to/by me.' (mana alli 'bad')
b. 'He did not do good to me.' (or '....well by me')
```

17.1.4.2. The position of mana 'not' and ama 'not'

It is overwhelmingly the case that when mana 'not' or ama 'not' and -chu 'NEG' occur in a negative sentence. mana or ama occurs to the left -chu. (Generally, what occurs between the negative word and -chu is the negated element.) Example 1493a is simply ungrammatical if mana 'not' follows rather than precedes -chu 'NEG':

a.　　*Muna-shka-:-<u>chu</u> <u>mana</u> pi-pis　musya-na-n-ta.　　　　　　1493
　　　　want-perf-1-NEG not who-indef know-sub-3-OBJ

b.　<u>Mana</u> muna-shka-:-<u>chu</u>　　　pi-pis　　musya-na-n-ta.
　　not want-perf-1-NEG　　who-indef know-sub-3-OBJ

b.　'I didn't want anyone to know.'

But there are cases in which *mana* 'not' may follow *-chu* 'NEG':

a.　Mana+ka+q-paq-<u>chu</u>　　<u>mana</u>-mi aywa-:.　　　　　　　　　1494
　　insignificant-PUR-NEG not-DIR go-1

b.　<u>Mana</u>-mi aywa-:-<u>chu</u> mana+ka+q-paq-qa　　　pay-man.
　　not-DIR go-1-NEG　insignificant-PUR-TOP he-GOAL

a,b.　'I do not go in vain to him.'

Out of 130 examples from texts, 1495 and 1496 are the only two with *mana* following rather than preceding *-chu* 'NEG'; they both express an emphatic or "exasperated" negation. For example, 1495 was said in exasperation under the pressure of making a recording, after several false starts:

<u>Mana</u> puydi-:-<u>chu</u>!　Rima-:-<u>chu</u>　<u>mana</u>!　　　　　　　　　1495
not be:able-1-NEG　speak-1-NEG not

'I can't do it! I can't speak!!'
(a flustered language helper in a recording session)

In the context preceding example 1496, a child is asked to climb up a high ladder: 1496 indicates that she did not climb it. Having *mana* following *-chu* seems to indicate that the child absolutely refused (although politely) to do so:

Chawra wicha-n-<u>chu</u> <u>mana</u>-shi wamra-qa.　　　　　　　　　1496
so　　climb-3-NEG not-IND　child-TOP

'So the child refused to climb (up the ladder).'

Virtually all negative commands have *ama* 'not' sentence initially. There are a few odd exceptions, among them 1497 and 1498:

Qam-pis <u>ama</u> sunsu ka-y-<u>chu</u>.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　1497
you-also not fool　be-2IMP-NEG

'Don't you be a fool also.'

<u>Ama</u> mas-ta-qa,　pi-ta-pis　　<u>ama</u> reqi-chi-y-<u>chu</u>.　　　　　1498
not more-OBJ-TOP who-OBJ-indef not believe-caus-2IMP-NEG

'No more, do not cause anyone else to believe.'

17.2. Negation in Subordinate Clauses

-chu 'NEG' and *-taq+chu* 'NEG' do not occur in subordinate clauses. Negation is indicated simply by *mana* 'not'; e.g. the underlined clauses in the following examples have negation in adverbial clauses:

[<u>Mana</u> risibu　ka-pti-n] agente <u>mana</u> pantyun　punku-ta　　　　1499
　not　receipt be-adv-3P agent　not　cemetery door-OBJ

kicha-pa-n-<u>chu</u> aya-ta　　　yayku-chi-na-n-paq.
open-ben-3-NEG corpse-OBJ enter-caus-sub-3P-PUR

'If there isn't a receipt (from the justice) the agent
will not open the door of the cemetery for them, so that
they can take the corpse in.'

```
...[warmi mana muna-r-qa]  "mana-mi qam-wan tiya-:-man-chu" ni-n.        1500
   woman not want-adv-TOP not-DIR you-COM live-1-cond-NEG say-3
```

'...if the woman doesn't want (to marry him) she says,
"I would not live with you."'

```
Chay palma ka-na-n  bindisaaru.                                          1501
that palm be-sub-3P blessed
```

```
[Mana bindisaaru ka-r-qa]    mana-shi alli-chu.
not  blessed    be-adv-TOP  not-IND good-NEG
```

'That palm should be blessed.
If it is not blessed, (they say that) it is not good.'

```
...hama-n ... [mana ima awturidaa-pis  ka-y+lla+pa].                     1502
   rest-3       not  what authority-indef be-adv
```

'...they rest ... not being any authority.'

Cases in which a subordinate clause is negated must be distinguished from those in which a clause is negated which happens to have a subordinate clause within it: in the latter. *-chu* does occur, whereas in the negation of subordinates it does not. For example, in 1503 and 1504, the negated clause contains an adverb, in contrast to 1502 above, in which the adverb is negated:

```
mana weqru-y+pa puri-:-chu.                                             1503
not  limp-adv   walk-1-NEG
```

'I don't walk limpingly.'

```
mana rachi-y+pa rachi-sha-chu.                                          1504
not  rip-adv     rip-3PERF-NEG
```

'It didn't part tearing
(but had to be cut with something like scissors)'

Similarly, in examples 1505 and 1506. what is negated is the whole clause, which includes an infinitive:[283]

```
Chakay-pa noqa mana aywa-y-ta  puydi-:-chu.                             1505
night-GEN I     not  go-inf-OBJ be:able-1-NEG
```

'I am not able to go at night.'

```
...mana karga apa-y-ta-pis        puydi-n-chu.                          1506
   not  cargo take-inf-OBJ-indef be:able-3-NEG
```

'...he is not able to take cargo.'

17.3. Negation with Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is described in section 12.3.1. When preceded by *mana* 'not' and followed by *-chu* 'NEG' the negated element could be interpreted as either the possessor or the possessed. For example, 1507 could be used to negate either *Hwan* 'John' or *wasi* 'house':

```
Mana Hwan-pa   wasi-n-chu                                               1507
not  John-GEN house-3P-NEG
```

'not John's house' or 'not John's house'

However, there are ways to focus the negation on either the possessor or on the possessed element. Examples 1508 and 1509 focus the negation on the possessed by putting *mana* 'no' directly before it:

---

[283]As in 1506. *-pis* 'indef occurs on the infinitive: this may be a mechanism for focusing the negation on the infinitive.

```
Pay-pa mana wasi-n    ka-n-chu.                                          1508
he-GEN not  house-3P be-3P-NEG
```

'He does not have a house.'

```
Chawra runa-kuna-pa mana ima-n-pis     ka-ra-n-chu   miku-na-n-paq.     1509
So     man-plur-GEN not  what-3P-indef be-past-3-NEG eat-sub-3P-PUR
```

'So the people didn't have anything to eat.'

The mechanism of putting -qa 'TOP' on the negated element and -chu 'NEG' on the main verb (see section 20.2.3.3) may be used to focus on the possessor. Thus, to focally negate X one would use a structure like 1510b rather than like 1510a:

```
a.           mana-mi [ X-pa Z-POS-(x) ]-ta VERB-chu                     1510

b. X-pa-ta-qa mana-mi [      Z-POS-(x) ]-ta VERB-chu
```

This is illustrated in 1511, where rather than being sentence initial, the focally negated possessor is final:

```
...lihitimu   kasta-: mana pi:-ni:-pis   ka-n-chu noqa-pa-qa.           1511
...legitimate clan-1P not  who-1P-indef be-3-NEG I-GEN-TOP
```

'I don't have any blood relatives.'

This mechanism may also be used to focally negate a modifier of the possessor or of the possessed. In 1513, a modifier of the possessed is negated, i.e., what is negated is *achka* 'many': the non-negated genitive to which this corresponds as in 1512, in which *achka* 'many' modifies *mandu* 'subordinate':

```
[pay-kuna-pa]POSSESSOR [achka mandu-n-kuna]POSSESSED                    1512

Pay-kuna-pa mana ka-n-chu achka-qa mandu-n-kuna.                        1513
he-plur-GEN not  be-3-NEG many-TOP subordinate-3P-plur
```

'They do not have many subordinates.' (some, but not many)

17.4. Negation with -raq 'yet', -na 'now' and -pis 'even'

The combination -raq-chu (-yet-not) indicates 'not yet': e.g.:

```
Pullan-ta-si mana rura-nchi:-raq-chu.                                   1514
half-OBJ-even not  do-12-yet-NEG
```

'We have not yet done even a half.'

```
mana tapu-:-raq-chu.                                                    1515
not  ask-1-yet-NEG
```

'I haven't asked yet.'

1516 shows that -chu 'NEG' does not have to follow -raq immediately to mean 'not yet':

```
Chay-naw ka-pti-n-pis     mana-raq-mi mundu usha-ka-nqa-paq-chu.        1516
that-SIM be-adv-3P-indef  not-yet-DIR world finish-pass-3FUT-fut-NEG
```

'Although it is like that, the world will not yet be finished.'

The combination -na-chu (-now-NEG) indicates 'no longer': e.g.:

```
Kanan mana puydi-n-na-chu. ... Ima-paq-pis    mana sirbi-n-na-chu.      1517
now   not  be:able-3-now-NEG  what-PUR-indef now  serve-3-now-NEG
```

'He is no longer able. ... He no longer serves for anything.'

```
...chaya-mu-na-n-paq       mana ka-sha-na-chu.                          1518
   arrive-afar-sub-3P-PUR  not  be-3PERF-now-NEG
```

'...by the time he arrived they were no longer there.'

317

The combination -pis-chu (-even-NEG) indicates 'not even'; e.g.; note the combination with -na 'now' to mean (roughly) 'no longer even':

```
Wakin... runa-kuna-qa mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu     pasaypa-pis!                      1519
other    man-plur-TOP not-now bathe-3-now-even-NEG really-even

'Other... men no longer even bathe them at all!'
```

17.5. The Neg-Purpose Construction

One way to negate a purpose clause is simply to put *mana* at the front of it.[284]

```
...mana aywa-na-:-paq                                                                1520
   not  go-sub-1P-PUR

'...so that I won't go.'
```

There is another way, one which is surprising in that no overt negative marker is involved. It is formed simply by substantivizing the verb with -na 'irrealis substantive' followed by either -ta 'OBJ' or -pita 'ABL'. For example. 1521a has a simple purpose clause negated by *mana* 'not'; 1521b is an example of the sort of the neg-purpose construction: 1521c shows that *mana* 'not' is not allowed in this construction:

1521

```
a.  Wata-shka-shu-nki mana qeshpi-na-yki-paq.
    tie-perf-=>2-2     not  escape-sub-2P-PUR

b.  Wata-shka-shu-nki      qeshpi-na-yki-ta.
    tie-perf-=>2-2         escape-sub-2P-OBJ

c. *Wata-shka-shu-nki mana qeshpi-na-yki-ta.
    tie-perf-=>2-2     not  escape-sub-2P-OBJ

a,b. 'He tied you so that you would not escape.'
```

One way to think about this sort of negated purpose is that it express a future possibility to be avoided. what in English would be expressed by 'lest...'. This is very consistent with the meaning of -na 'irrealis': i.e., the clause is understood as negative because -na 'irrealis' indicate that the event it refers to has not happened.

Examples follow (the first with -pita 'ABL' as the case marker of the negated clause, the rest with -ta 'OBJ'): the negated clause is underlined:

```
...maki-nchi:-wan wañu-chi-na-nchi:-pita-qa.                                          1522
   hand-12P-COM    kill-caus-sub-12P-ABL-TOP

'...lest we kill him with our own hands.'

...tamya ushma:-na-n-ta.                                                              1523
   rain  sop-sub-3P-OBJ

'...so the rain won't make it sopping wet.'

Pantalun-niki-ta hati-ku-y         qasa:-shu-na-yki-ta.                               1524
pants-2P-OBJ     put:on-refl-2IMP  be:cold-=>2-sub-2P-OBJ

'Put your pants on so you will not be cold.'
(lit. 'so it will not be cold to you')
```

---

[284]Of course. it lacks -chu 'NEG' because it is a subordinate clause. as discussed in section 17.2.

318

```
...uywa-ku-ra-n    ...  chapa-sha-lla     wasi-n-pa            1525
   raise-refl-past-3    confine-prtc-just house-3P-GEN

kuti-ku-na-n-ta.
return-refl-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'...he raised them... imprisoned, so that she would
not return to her house.'

```
Rikcha-y   ...  puñu-ka-sha-ta      tari-shu-na-yki-ta.         1526
watch-2IMP      sleep-pass-prtc-OBJ find-=>2-sub-2P-OBJ
```

'Be alert ...lest he find you having dozed off.'

It is possible to have double negation: e.g.. in 1527 the *mana* 'not' negates the neg-purpose construction:

```
Daaña-ku-q-kuna      mana rispita-na-n-ta     puri-chi-n        1527
damage-refl-sub-plur not  respect-sub-3P-OBJ  travel-caus-3

chay urdin-ta.
that order-OBJ
```

'They carry that order with them lest those who damage (the crops) not respect them.'

17.6. Negatives with *-q-pis*

The combination of the subordinator *-q* and *-pis* 'indef' indicate roughly 'without doing'. (Note. these do not have *-chu* 'NEG' in them.) For example. see the underlined clauses of 1528 and 1529:

```
Chay warmi-kuna mana kuti-n-chu   wasi-n-man  puñu-q-pis.       1528
that woman-plur  not  return-3-NEG house-3P-NEG sleep-sub-indef
```

'Those women do not return to their homes, not even to sleep.'

```
Llapan chari-naku-sha  laguna-man heqa-q-pis                    1529
all    grab-recip-prtc lake-GOAL  fall-sub-indef

lloqshi-sha saanu-lla.
leave-3PERF healthy-just
```

'All of them. grabbing hold of one another, without falling escaped healthy.'

17.7. Negation with *-taq + chu* 'NEG'

The combination of *-taq* '??' and *-chu* 'YN?'[285] indicate a type negation which has greater rhetorical force than other forms of negation and thus might be called "emphatic negation".[286] This type of negation is limited to main clauses: i.e.. it is not used in any subordinate clauses. Examples follow: *-taq + chu* is glossed simply as 'NEG':

---

[285]In dialects which have separate forms for 'YN?' and 'NEG'. this suffix is the 'YN?': e.g. in Marías (Dos de Mayo Quechua) it is *-taq + ku* (-??-Y.<?).

[286]This type of negation probably originated from a rhetorical question by the ascendancy of the implication that the clause is false: e.g. a sentence like 'Am I my brother's keeper?' has come to mean 'I am not my brother's keeper'. which is. of course. strongly implied by the rhetorical question.

319

```
Chawra noqa-taq+chu (mana) ni-ma-sha.    Wawa-:-ta    ni-sha...           1530
so     me-OBJ-NEG    not   say-=>1-3PERF child-1P-OBJ say-3PERF
```

'Well, he didn't say it to me. He said it to my child...'

To tell someone not to go:

```
Aywa-nki-taq+chu (tamya-ta-qa)!                                           1531
go-2-NEG          rain-OBJ-TOP
```

'How could you think of going!' (because of the rain)

If someone yells from afar and you say what you think he said, I can disagree with you by saying:

```
Ni-mu-n-taq+chu chay-naw.                                                 1532
say-afar-3-NEG  that-SIM
```

'He doesn't say that.'

Example 517 (page 130) contains several examples of *ni-mu-n-taq + chu* (say-afar-3-NEG) 'it doesn't sound'.

17.8. Negative Indefinite Expressions

Negative indefinite expressions are formed by:

1. a negative (*mana* 'not'. *ni* 'nor' (from Sp. *ni* 'nor'). *ama* 'not (prohibition)')

2. a substantive containing an interrogative words (*pi* 'who'. *ima* 'what'. etc.). and

3. *-pis~-si* 'indefinite'.

In the simplest case. the substantive is simply an interrogative word. perhaps followed by a case marker: e.g.:

ama pi...-pis or *mana pi...-pis* 'no one': e.g.:

```
Ama pi-ta-pis       willa-pa-y-chu!                                       1533
neg who-OBJ-indef tell-ben-2IMP-NEG
```

'Don't tell anyone!'

mana ima...-pis or *ni ima...-pis* 'nothing'; e.g.:

```
Aqcha suwa  mana ima-ta-pis      malubra-n-chu.                           1534
hair  thief not  what-OBJ-indef damage-3-NEG
```

'The hair thief (an insect with very long legs, which gets tangled in dust) doesn't damage anything.'

mana imay...-pis 'never'.

In some cases the interrogative-indefinite word modifies some other substantive: e.g.: *mana ima manira-pis* (not what manner-indef) 'in no way'. And in some cases the *-pis~-si* is put at the end of the constituent containing the interrogative word:[287] e.g.:

```
Y   tinri wallka-lla  mana ima-naw+pa  waha-ku-y-ta-pis                   1535
and tiger little-just not  what-manner shield-refl-inf-OBJ-indef

puydi-n-chu.
be:able-3-NEG
```

'And the tiger was in no way able to shield himself, not even a little.'

---

[287]This is the case for *taq* '??' in content questions. see example 1435 and for *-pis* 'indef in in embedded content questions. see example 1690.

18. CONJUNCTION

18.1. Conjunction of Substantives

Substantive phrases are conjoined in a number of ways. Probably the most common is simply to juxtapose the conjuncts, see section 18.1.1. Sometimes a suffix (-wan or -ntin) occurs on one of the conjuncts to indicate the conjunction. see section 18.1.2. Another possibility, discussed in section 18.1.5. is to list the substantives followed by (usually) a number reflecting the number of elements in the list.

18.1.1. Juxtaposition of Substantives

The most common way to conjoin substantives is simply to juxtapose them: e.g., consider the underlined portions of the following:

```
...allqay wiskul   miku-na-n-paq.                              1536
   hawk    buzzard eat-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...for the hawks and buzzards to eat.'

```
Pay timpu-pita tapu-chi-n regidur-wan kampu-wan              1537
he  time-ABL    ask-caus-3 rigidor-COM kampu-COM

tesureeru-ta   mayurdoomu-kuna-ta...
treasurer-OBJ majordomo-plur-OBJ
```

'He has the rigidur and the kampu ask the treasurer and the majordomos...'

(In example 1537. -wan 'COM' is not due to conjunction. but to causativization, see section 9.6.3.)

```
...ranti-n awrindi-ta     achka-ta kuka-ta  sigaaru-ta.      1538
   buy-3   fire:water-OBJ much-OBJ coca-OBJ cigarette-OBJ
```

'...they buy a lot of firewater and coca and cigarettes'

```
...ni-r    tiñinti-ta      ahenti-ta willa-n.                1539
   say-adv lieutenant-OBJ agent-OBJ tell-3
```

'...saying he tells the lieutenant and the agent.'

```
...mana ashi-n-chu tayta-n-pita  mama-n-pita...              1540
   not  seek-3-NEG father-3P-ABL mother-3P-ABL
```

'...they don't seek (a wife) from their parent...'

```
...ima-man    may-pa-pis  ....  kacha-ku-na-n-paq.           1541
   what-GOAL where-GEN-indef    send-refl-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...to send after whatever and wherever...'

In example 1542 the possessed substantive of a genitive construction is conjoined:

```
...chay runa-pa uysha-n-man   waaka-n-man aywa-sha.          1542
   that man-GEN sheep-3P-GOAL cow-3P-GOAL go-3PERF
```

'...he went to that man's sheep and cows.'

In example 1543, two substantive phrases--each being a conjunction formed with -wan--are conjoined by juxtaposition:

```
[[rihidur-pa   alwasir-nin-pa-wan] [kampu-pa   alwasir-nin-pa-wan]]          1543
  rigidor-GEN alwasir-3P-GEN-COM   kampu-GEN  alwasir-3P-GEN-COM

ka-n mas   huk-pis   kustumri-n rura-na-n-paq.
be-3 more one-indef custom-3P  do-sub-3P-PUR

'There is yet another custom of the rigidor and his alwasir
and of the kampu and his alwasir for them to do.'
```

Occasionally *y* 'and' or *o* 'or' intervene between the conjuncts (disjuncts) as an explicit coordinator:
e.g.:

```
Ima-naw-pa-pis      qellay-ta o  ima-ta-pis      simri             1544
what-SIM-GEN-indef money-OBJ or what-OBJ-indef always

chura-chi-n.
place-caus-3

'In some way or another they always make him put in money or
whatever.'

Listu-ku-nki huk kullu-ta   y   huk haacha-ta sumaq fiinu-ta.       1545
ready-refl-2 one block-OBJ and one axe-OBJ   very  fine-OBJ

'Prepare a cutting block and a very sharp axe.'

Y   pacha+manka-ta y   haka+pikanti-ta       ripara-sha...          1546
and earth+pot-OBJ and guinea:pig+spicy-OBJ prepare-3PERF

'And she prepared pachamanka and hakapikanti...'
(two very special foods)

...pinkullu-:-wan y   tinya-:-wan tuka-ra-yka-r.                    1547
   flute-1P-COM  and drum-1P-COM play-stat-impfv-adv

'...playing my flute and drum.'

...qeru-pa   muru-n-ta   y   hacha-pa   wawa-n-ta                   1548
   wood-GEN seed-3P-OBJ and shrub-GEN offspring-3P-OBJ

miku-na-n-paq  ashi-yka-sha-n-chaw...
eat-sub-3P-PUR seek-impfv-3P-LOC

'...while he was looking for the seeds of trees and the shoots
of bushes to eat...'
```

18.1.2. Substantives Conjoined with *-wan* 'COM'

Another mechanism for conjoining substantives is to put *-wan* 'COM' on one of the conjuncts. Semantically, it seems to make little or no difference whether conjunction by this mechanism, by juxtaposition, or with *y* between the conjuncts.

One conjunct may bear *-wan*, either preceding or following the other conjunct, or both conjuncts may bear *-wan*. There follow examples in which subjects are conjoined:[288]

```
Chay chura-sha-n qellay-ta shunta-n  ahenti-wan tininti.           1549
that put-sub-3P  money-OBJ gather-3 agent-COM  lieutenant

'The agent and the lieutenant receive the money which is put in.'
```

---

[288]1549 was first written *ahenti-wan tininti* and subsequently edited to *tininti-wan ahenti*. I have no idea why the editor felt it was better the conjuncts reversed, but I suspect that it may have to do with which is more thematic, that one being the better candidate for the *-wan*-less conjunct.

```
...chay-ta   rura-n  rihidur-wan kampu.                                  1550
   that-OBJ  do-3    rigidor-COM kampu
```

'...the rigidor and the *kampu* do that.'

```
Rihidur-wan kampu chay-ta   gasta-ku-n    pullan pura.                   1551
rigidor-COM campo that-OBJ  spend-refl-3  half   among
```

'The *regidor* and the *kampu* split the cost of that.
(i.e., they each pay an equal amount)'

```
Kondor asendaadu-wan saapo markaano ... leeta-naku-n.                    1552
condor hacendado-COM frog   townsman     litigate-recip-3
```

'The hacienda owner condor and the townsman frog litigated
one with another.'

There follow some examples in which objects are conjoined:

```
...awbindi-ta      wayta-TA-wan    chaqchu-pa-n  aya-pa                  1553
   holy:water-OBJ  flower-OBJ-COM  sprinkle-ben-3 corpse-GEN

hana-n-man.
top-3P-GOAL
```

'...they sprinkle holy water and flowers on top of the corpse.'

(In example 1553, the object marker in upper case was not actually spoken, due to a process that suppresses like syllables at the ends of words, as in the case of /ta/ in -*ta* 'OBJ' next to the /ta/ of *wayta* 'flower'.)

```
...yaku  timpu-n-ta-wan  papa   yanu-y-lla-ta       runa-n-ta           1554
   water boil-3P-OBJ-COM potato cook-inf-just-OBJ husband-3P-OBJ

qara-yku-sha.
feed-asp-3PERF
```

'...she just fed her husband water soup and boiled potatoes.'
(after having prepared some lavish foods for her boyfriend)

In examples 1555 and 1556 the conjuncts occur discontinuously:

```
Pay-ta kacha-ra-n   wakin runa-n-kuna-ta-wan...                         1555
he-OBJ send-past-3  other men-3P-plur-OBJ-COM
```

'He sent him, along with the rest of his men...'

```
Pushpu-ta lomismo muru-nchi hara-ta-wan  iwal                          1556
beans-OBJ same    plant-12  corn-OBJ-COM together
```

'In the same way we plant beans along with the corn.'

In example 1557, there are two instances of substantives conjoined by -*wan* 'COM', and these are conjoined by juxtaposition. (The conjoined substantives are the possessor(s) of a genitive construction; the possessed is *kustumri-n* 'their custom'.)

```
[[Rihidur-pa   alwasir-nin-pa-wan] [kampu-pa    alwasir-nin-pa-wan]]   1557
  rigidor-GEN alguacil-3P-GEN-COM  marshal-GEN alguacil-3P-GEN-COM

ka-n mas  huk-pis     kustumri-n rura-na-n-paq.
be-3 more other-even  custom-3   do-sub-3P-PUR
```

'The rigidur and his alguacil as well as the marshal and his
alguacil have another custom to do.'

In 1558 the principle conjunct is not explicit. Note that some implicit object must be understood since the verb *upu-* 'drink' could not occur with *kamcha* 'toasted corn', as shown by the peculiarity of *??kamcha-ta upu-:* 'I drink toasted corn.' But one ordinarily "drinks" breakfast, it most typically being soup.

```
Kamcha-lla-ta-wan          upu-:.                                    1558
toasted:corn-just-OBJ-COM  drink-1
```

'I eat it (breakfast) with just toasted corn.'

In 1559 second -*wan* can be viewed as instrumental and the first as conjoining the substantives:

```
...awi-ku-n ...  yaku-wan   habun-nin-pa-wan                         1559
    rinse-refl-3 water-COM  soap-3P-GEN-COM
```

'...wash...with soap and water'

18.1.3. Substantives Conjoined with -*ntin*

Substantives may be conjoined with -*ntin* 'together' in much the way they are conjoined with -*wan* 'COM'. However, this is reserved for cases where the substantives are in some sense closely associated. Such conjunctions are discussed in section 4.2.1.13. An example follows:

```
...tabla-ntin       yeqa-kU-mu-n      muku-n pampa-man.              1560
   plank-together   fall-refl-afar-3  lamb-3 ground-GOAL
```

'...the lamb falls to the ground together with the plank.'

18.1.4. The *huk...huk* or *waki-...waki-* Mechanism

In English, conjoined noun phrases may be contrasted by using 'one...the other' e.g. *One had beef and the other had ham.* or by using 'some...the others' e.g. *Some had beef and the others had ham.* Such cases in Quechua would be formed by juxtaposing the two conjuncts; each conjunct would begin with *huk*[289] with *waki-POS* 'other-POS'. *huk* would be used if the elements being contrasted were singular; *wakin* would be used if they are plural. (Because the second conjunct contrasts with the first, generally it ends with -*qa* 'TOP': see section 20.2.3.2.)

```
...arma-n  wakin yaku-lla-wan    wakin habun-nin-pa-wan...           1561
   bathe-3 some  water-just-COM  other soap-3P-GEN-COM
```

'...some bathe them just with water and others along with soap...'

The conjuncts of 1562 are two groups which go to two different places. (Note that each conjunct is itself a conjunction formed with -*wan* 'COM' and the verb of the second is omitted.)

```
Huk-nin-man aywa-n rihidur mishru-n-kuna-wan   waylas-nin-wan.       1562
one-3P-COM  go-3   rigidor master-3P-plur-COM waylas-3P-COM

huk-nin-man kampu mishru-n-wan   waylas-nin-wan.
one-3P-GOAL kampu master-3P-COM waylas-3P-COM
```

'The rigidor goes to one (place) with her ministers and dancers, and the *kampu* to another with her ministers and dancers.'

18.1.5. List-and-Count Conjunction

It is possible to conjoin several elements by repeated juxtaposition, i.e., simply listing the elements as in examples 1563 and 1564:

---

[289]possibly followed by a possessive suffix

```
Ka-n tiñinti    ahenti fis.                                          1563
be-3 lieutenant agent  judge
```

'There is a lieutenant, a marshal, and a judge.'

```
Chaya-n  eskirbaanu-pa wasi-n-man,   kapilla-pa  wasi-n-man,         1564
arrive-3 scrivener-GEN house-3P-GOAL kapilla-GEN house-3P-GOAL

rihidur-pa  wasi-n-man, ...
rigidor-GEN house-3P-GOAL
```

'They arrive to the scrivener's house, to the *kapilla's* house,
to the rigidor's house,...'

It is common to follow such lists with a number indicating how many elements there were in the list:
e.g.:

```
...muku aywa-ku-n mancha-ri-sha     mishi ishka-n.                   1565
   lamb go-refl-3 afraid-sud-3PERF cat   two-3P
```

'...the lamb, very frightened, and the cat leave.'

```
Wasi-:-pita qarqU-ma-sha    tiyo-:   mishi muku-n   ishka-n.         1566
house-1P-ABL expel-=>1-3PERF uncle-1P cat   lamb-3P two-3P
```

'Uncle cat and his lamb drove me out of my house.'

```
Allqo y  buurru ishka-n-shi "aw  aw" ni-paaku-n.                     1567
dog   and donkey two-3P-IND  yes yes say-plural-3
```

'The dog and the donkey both agree.'

```
Rihidur-pa  kampu-pa  ishka-n-pa ka-n baara-n-kuna...               1568
rigidor-GEN kampu-GEN two-3P-GEN be-3 staff-3P-plur
```

'The rihidor and the *kampu* both have their staff of office...'

```
...pusha-ra-n  Pedru-ta  Jacobo-ta Juan-ta  kimsa-n-ta.             1569
   lead-past-3 Peter-OBJ James-OBJ John-OBJ three-3P-OBJ
```

'...he leads off Peter, James and John.'

In some cases the "count" following such a list is not a number, but a generality like *ima-pis* (what-indef) 'whatever' or, as in 1570, *llapan* 'all':

```
Ka-sha   kuka asukar awrinti   sigaarro  llapan.                    1570
be-3PERF coca sugar  fire:water cigarette all
```

'There was coca, sugar, firewater, cigarettes, everything.'

And in some cases like 1571, *llapan* 'all' may precede the list:

```
Chay-pita ka-q-ta-qa      llapan-ta manda-n  eskirbaanu             1571
that-ABL  be-sub-OBJ-TOP all-OBJ   order-3P scrivener

reqidur-ta  kampu-ta  sakristan-ta  fiskal-ta.
rigidor-OBJ kampu-OBJ sacristan-OBJ fiskal-OBJ
```

'Except for that one the scrivener orders (is the boss of)
the rigidor, the *kampu*, the scrivener, and the *fiscal*.'

18.2. Conjunction of Main Verbs

Verbs are conjoined by simple juxtaposition: e.g.:

325

```
Chawra-qa  llapan  kasta-n-kuna-wan  alli  parla-n upya-n          1572
so-TOP     all     clan-3P-plur-COM  good  speak-3 drink-3

chagcha-n.
chew:coca-3
```

'Then with all her relatives they converse nicely, drink, and
chew coca.'

```
Kiki-:-raq-mi    warmi-ta   watqa-yku-shaq, rika-yku-shaq.         1573
self-1P-yet-DIR  woman-OBJ  spy-impact-1FUT see-impact-1FUT
```

'I myself will spy on the woman, I will see.'

As with substantives, *y* 'and' may intervene: e.g.:

```
Ni-yka-pti-lla-n-na          oora chaya-mu-n    y   paasa-n-na.    1574
say-impfv-adv-just-3P-now    time arrive-afar-3 and pass-3-now
```

'As they are so doing, time comes and goes.'

Note the "↑" in the section 1575. At this point there is no pause whatsoever. and the pitch is sustained high.[290] This supports the idea that this is a single sentence with a conjoined verb rather than two sentences.

```
Señor Yus::-ta,  qaya-ku-: ↑ maña-ku-:  tukuy^x:                  1575
Lord  God-OBJ    call-refl-1 ask-refl-1 all

shonqo-:-pa  chay-pita.
heart-1P-GEN that-ABL
```

'...I call and ask Lord God with all my heart because of that.'

18.3. Conjunction of Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses are conjoined by juxtaposition.

18.3.1. Embedded Questions

Embedded questions are sketched in section 16.7.2, and discussed in greater detail in Weber [39]. section 4.2.4.1. They are conjoined by simple juxtaposition: In the following examples. the conjuncts are bracketed:

```
...eskirbaanu-n-ta   willa-n [uyshiiru-kuna  rispita-sha-n-ta]    1576
   scrivener-3P-OBJ  tell-3    shepherd-plur respect-sub-3P-OBJ

[mana rispita-sha-n-ta].
 not  respect-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'...he tells his scrivener whether the shepherds have obeyed
him or not.'

```
...yupa-pa-n   eskirbaanu minisru-n-kuna-wan   [ayka      wawa    1577
   count-ben-3 scrivener  minister-3P-plur-COM how:many chi?d

ka-sha-n-ta-pis]  [ayka          ima-n-kuna   ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef how:many what-3P-plur be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
```

'...the scrivener and his ministers count how many babies (a piece
of bread) there were and whatever else there was.'

---

[290]1575 is from an extemporaneous. tape-recorded speech. The raised "x:" indicates that the /y/ that it follows ends in a harsh. sustained velar friction.

```
...parla-n [imay hunaq chaski-na-n-paq-pis]    [imay oora              1578
   speak-3  when day  receive-sub-3P-PUR-indef when time
```

```
chaski-na-n-paq-pis].
receive-sub-3P-PUR-indef
```

'...they discuss what day and what time he should receive it.'

```
chay runa musya-n-na [ima-naw+pa  warmi-pa  tayta-n-man    chaya-na     1579
that man  know-3-now  what-manner woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL arrive-sub
```

```
ka-sha-n-ta-pis] [ima-naw-pa   parla-na  ka-sha-n-ta-pis].
be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef what-manner speak-sub be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef
```

'That man knows one ought to go into the woman's father's (house)
and how one ought to speak to him (in proposing a marriage).'

18.3.2. Infinitive Complements

Infinitive complement are conjoined simply by juxtaposing them: e.g.:

```
...buurru-shi hachin-ya-y-ta      qalla-yku-n,   allqu-shi             1580
   donkey-IND bray-bec-inf-OBJ begin-impact-3 dog-IND
```

```
kañi-y-ta     awlla-y-ta,  mishi waqa-y-ta,  gaallu kanta-y-ta.
bark-inf-OBJ how1-inf-OBJ cat   cry-inf-OBJ rooster sing-inf-OBJ
```

'...the donkey began to bray, the dog to bark and howl, the cat to
screech, and the rooster to crow.'

18.3.3. Conjunction of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition. For example. 1581 and 1582 illustrate the conjunction of (same-subject) adverbial clauses:

```
...dereechu-n-ta qo-n   kuka-ta  awrindi-ta                            1581
   right-3P-OBJ  give-3 coca-OBJ firewater-OBJ
```

```
chay-ta upu-r     chaqcha-r      uchku-na-n-paq].
that-OBJ drink-adv chew:coca-adv dig-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...they offer them coca and firewater, so that they dig (the
grave) chewing and drinking it.'

Note that in 1581 y 'and' intervenes. but this is by no means necessary:

```
...[wasi-n-chaw   chaychika qellay-ta qotu-ra-yka-q-ta                 1582
   house-3P-LOC lots        money-OBJ pile-stat-impfv-sub-OBJ
```

```
rika-r] y  [ishkay muula-ta rika-r].
see-adv and two    mule-OBJ see-adv
```

'...seeing the money piled up in his house and seeing his two
mules.'

Common purpose clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

```
...kacha-n [warmi-pa  kasta-n-kuna-ta shunta-mu-na-n-paq]              1583
   send-3   woman-GEN clan-3P-plur-OBJ gather-afar-sub-3P-PUR
```

```
[llapan chay-chaw parla-na-n-paq].
 all    that-LOC  speak-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...they send him to gather all the woman's relatives
so that they can discuss it there.'

327

```
Awrindi-ta      mas   achka-ta ranti-n kuka-ta  sigaaru-ta           1584
firewater-OBJ more much-OBJ buy-3   coca-OBJ cigarette-OBJ

awrindi-ta     upu-r    chaqcha-na-n-paq    muku-na-n-paq.
firewater-OBJ drink-adv chew:coca-sub-3P-PUR smoke-sub-3P-PUR

'They buy a lot of firewater, coca and cigarettes
to smoke and chew coca drinking the firewater.
```

I am not sure what the constituent relationships of 1584 really are; two good alternatives are in 1585. This is probably a case where the issue of "what goes with what" is trivial from a semantic point of view (one chews coca, smokes cigarettes, and drinks firewater) but difficult or perhaps impossible from a strictly formal syntactic point of view.

```
a. [...ranti-n kuka-ta sigaaru-ta]                               1585
   [[[awrindi-ta upu-r] chaqcha-na-n-paq] muku-na-n-paq]

b. ...ranti-n [[kuka-ta sigaaru-ta awrindi-ta           ]
               [[upu-r chaqcha-na-n-paq] muku-na-n-paq]]

...warmi-ta piña-ku-n      tayta-n    mama-n   [runa-n-ta          1586
   woman-OBJ upbraid-refl-3 father-3P mother-3P husband-3P-OBJ

suyru-n-ta            suyra-n-ta            alli rispita-na-n-paq]
fatherinlaw-3P-OBJ motherinlaw-3P-OBJ good respect-sub-3P-PUR

[runa-pa     mandaru-n-chaw   ka-na-n-paq].
 husband-GEN authority-3P-LOC be-sub-3P-PUR

'...her parents upbraid/charge her, so she will respect
her husband, her father-in-law and her mother-in-law, and
so that she will submit to her husband's authority.'
```

In example 1587 y 'and' intervenes:

```
...warmi-n [qellay-ta apa-chi-na-n-paq]   y [horqu-na-n-paq].      1587
   wife-3P money-OBJ take-caus-sub-3P-PUR and remove-sub-3P-PUR

'...so his wife would send money and remove him (from jail).'
```

Purpose motion clauses are conjoined by simple juxtaposition; e.g.:

```
Achu-ku+q       qopi-ku+q     aywa-sha wamra-yki-qa.               1588
armadillo-to:get qopi-to:get go-3PERF child-2P-TOP

'Your child went after achu and after qopi.'
(An achu is an armadillo and a qopi is a small rodent.)
```

18.4. Sentential Conjunction

LINKS are words which occur (generally) as the first word of a non-initial sentence in a narrative. Links function as boundary markers between sentences, and indicate--to a very limited degree--the relation of the second sentence to the first.

The most meaningless of these is y (from Sp. y 'and'; not infrequently y precedes another link (e.g., y chaypita...).[291] To some extent the Spanish conjunction y 'and' is being used as a sentential conjunctions; e.g.:

---

[291] Y is used by some bilinguals as a conjunction for noun phrases, clauses.... but this use is recognized by native speakers as being a recent innovation which is not Quechua. The same can be said for o. borrowed from Spanish o 'or' and si borrowed from Spanish si 'if'. These are particularly entering the speech of bilingual young people.

```
[Qam binsi-ma-r    noqa-ta miku-ma-nki] y    [noqa binsi-shpa-:                    1589
 you beat-=>1-adv I-OBJ    eat-=>1-2   and  I    beat-adv-1
```

```
qam-ta-pis      usha-shayki].
you-OBJ-indef finish-1=>2FUT
```

'If you beat me, you will eat me, and if I win, I will finish you
off.'

The link which is most meaningful, i.e.. the one which is least bleached of semantic content. is
manchaq 'if not then'. *manchaq-qa* (otherwise-TOP) (pronounced [manchá:ya]) is derived from
mana chay-qa 'not that'.[292] Examples follow:

```
Sumaq watakushun;  manachaq  qespikunqa.                                             1590
well   let's:tie:it otherwise it:will:escape
```

'Let's will tie it tight; otherwise it would escape.'

```
Tuta-lla      mishi-ta rimeeru wañu-chi-shun;  manchaq-qa                             1591
morning-just cat-OBJ  first   die-caus-12FUT otherwise-TOP
```

```
aycha-nchii-ta usha-paa-maa-shun.
meat-12P-OBJ    finish-ben-=>1-12FUT
```

'In the morning. first we will kill the cat: otherwise he will
finish up all our meat (to our detriment).'

The most common links are:

chawra(s) derived from *chay oora(s)* (that time) 'at that time'.

chaypita actually *chay-pita* (there-ABL) 'from/after that'. and

nirkur/nikur/niykur

from *ni-* 'say' and *-r* 'adverbial clause, same subject', with some intervening suffix
(sometimes *-rku*. sometimes *-rqU*. and sometimes *-ykU*).

All three are glossed simply as 'then'. Of the three. *chawra* is the most neutral. *Nirkur* 'thereupon (?)'
and *chaypita* 'after that(?)' differ roughly in the time lapse indicated between the two events, *nirkur*
indicating a short lapse and *chaypita* indicating a potentially long lapse. (A consequence of this is
that *chaypita* frequently initiates new paragraphs whereas *nirkur* never does.)

manchuraq (from *mana-chu-raq* (not-dubitive)) may be used as a link meaning 'perhaps'; e.g.:

```
Manchuraq pay-kuna-si  maña-ku-nqa   señor-ninchi:-ta.          .                     1592
Perhaps   he-plur-also ask-refl-3FUT lord-12P-OBJ
```

```
Manchuraq yarpa-chaku-nqa bendiito señor Jesucristo.
Periups   think-iter-3FUT blessed  lord  Jesus:Christ
```

'Perhaps they too will call on our Lord.
Perhaps he will believe the blessed Jesus Christ.'

18.5. Parenthetic Insertions

A sentence may occur as a PARENTHETIC INSERTION within another sentence. Examples
1593 and 1594 are examples from written discourse:

---

[292]In Huamalies (Huánuco) the form is *manasayqa*. which is good evidence for the etymology suggested in the text. In
HgQ. *-qa* 'TOP' need not necessarily follow (although it usually does). but whether it does or not, the form is never now
manachay. but always *manachaq*.

329

```
...ashi-nchi qewa  ulta-na-n-ta       (Chay-pa  huti-n  "ñillputin".)        1593
   seek-12   grass swallow-sub-3P-OBJ that-GEN name-3P throat

kunka-n-pa ura-n-pa           qasha-y+pa kuydaadu-lla.
neck-3P-GEN down:side-3P-GEN  slash-adv  careful-just
```

'...we seek the grass swallower (That thing's name is
"ñillputi".) under its neck, slashing carefully.'

```
Tayta-:    chaya-mu-ra-n           Qera-man  tiya-yka-sha-:              1594
father-1P  arrive-afar-past-3  Qera-GOAL live-impfv-sub-1P

wasi-man   (Chay ka-ra-n     hulyo killa.) wara-nnin     Pillku-ta
house-GOAL that be-past-3 July   month   next:day-sup Pillku-OBJ

aywa-na-n-paq.
go-sub-3P-PUR
```

'My father arrived to Qera, to the house where I was living
(That was in the month of July.) in order to go to Pillku the
next day.'

Examples 1595 and 1596 are from a folk tale which was given orally. The parenthetic insertions have
lower pitch than that of surrounding text.

```
Nirkur-qa (Ka-sha     amiqu-n-pa     kaarru-n.) chay kaarru-n-wan       1595
they-TOP   be-3PERF friend-3P-GEN car-3P      that car-COM

apa-ku-sha.
take-refl-3PERF
```

'Then (A friend of his had a car.) he took it with that his car.'

```
Y    chawra wika-pa-ri+yku-na-n-paq  koopa upu-q      yayku-sha-n-yaq    1596
and then    throw-ben-asp-sub-3P-PUR shot  drink-sub enter-sub-3P-LIM

(Ka-sha     huk awkin,   y  biyooru,  y   wakcha. Y   animal-nin
 be-3PERF a   old:man and widower   and orphan  and animal-3P

ka-sha     bastanti, waaka uysha.) chay-ta ni-sha    "ooye! ooye!"...
be-3PERF many         cow   sheep   that-OBJ say-3PERF hey    hey
```

'And while he had gone in to drink a shot (of liquor) in order to
throw him over, (There was an old man, a widower, an orphan. And he
had lots of animals, cows and sheep.) he said to him "hey! hey!"...'

330

19. THE SUFFIXES -LLA, -PIS ~ -SI, -NA and -RAQ

This chapter deals with the suffixes *-lla* 'just' (section 19.1), *-pis~-si* 'indef' (section 19.2), *-na* 'now' (section 19.3), and *-raq* 'yet' (section 19.4).[293] *-na* and *-raq* are temporally oriented while *-lla* and *-pis* have much more to do with the speaker's attitude toward what he is communicating. Section 19.5 contrasts *-na* 'now' and *-raq* 'still'. These suffixes have very wide distribution. occurring on substantives. verbs, adverbs. the negative words (*mana* and *ama* 'not'), and perhaps some other minor classes.[294] They are post-transition suffixes. i.e. when occurring on a word that has a transition, they follow it.

I refer to these suffixes as "shading" suffixes because they add fine shades of meaning. But whereas many of the pre-transition suffixes add fine shades of meaning to the verb to which they are suffixed, these post-transition suffixes add shades of meanings which generally apply to the entire clause of which they are a part. They often figure in an important way in the formation of discourse (e.g. as by serving as important cues for time reference). For this reason, many of the examples given below are more than a single sentence).

19.1. *-lla* 'just'

This section deals with *-lla*. which will be glossed 'just'. Section 19.1.1.1 deals with the order of *-lla* relative to other morphemes, and section 19.1.2 discusses its uses.

19.1.1. The Order of *-lla*

This section deals with the order of *-lla* 'just' relative to other morphemes in the word. First to be considered are the cases where *-lla* occur with simple (i.e., not derived) substantives, particularly when these have a possessive suffix. Then we consider the order of *-lla* with substantives and adverbs which are derived from verbs.

19.1.1.1. With simple (possessed) substantives

The position of *-lla* 'just' with respect to other morphemes in a word is somewhat free. This is especially true of substantives: see section 7.2. When *-lla* 'just' occurs with a possessive person marker, it generally precedes it. For example, *?kiki-:-lla* (self-1P-just) 'just myself', in which *-lla* follows the possessive suffix, sounds strange (although perhaps not entirely wrong). The correct way is *kiki-lla-:* (self-just-1P) 'just myself'. Likewise. *Kiki-lla-yki* (self-just-2P) 'just yourself' is preferable to *?kiki-ki-lla* (self-2P-just).

In some cases, e.g.. quite generally when *-kuna* 'plural' occurs in the word, *-lla* 'just' follows the possessive, the pluralizer, and the case marker. For example, in 1597a, it follows the possessive and

\

---

[293] The glosses are intended as nothing more than suggestive.

[294] The frequency with which these suffixes occur on different categories is somewhat skewed: *-lla* rarely follows a finite verb. *-pis* occasionally does, and *-na* and *-raq* frequently do.

331

the pluralizer, whereas in 1597b it precedes the possessive:[295]

1597

```
a. Kiki-n-kuna-lla  ⎫
   self-3P-plur-just ⎪
                      ⎬  rika-chi-ku-sha.
b. Kiki-lla-n        ⎪  see-caus-refl-3PERF
   self-just-3P     ⎭
```

'They saw themselves.'

In 1598. -lla 'just' follows the case marker as well:

```
qam-kuna-pita-lla
you-plur-ABL-just
```
1598

'just from you (plural)'

Example 1599 shows that -lla 'just' may not precede the case marker -yaq 'LIM':

```
a. chay-yaq-lla
   that-LIM-just
```
1599

```
b. *chay-lla-yaq
   that-just-LIM
```

a. 'just to there'

The possible positions of -lla 'just' with simple substantives are summarized in table 19-1

```
+------+-----------+--------+------+
| -lla | possessive | plural | case |
+------+-----------+--------+------+
```

```
+-----------+--------+------+------+
| possessive | plural | case | -lla |
+-----------+--------+------+------+
```

Table 19-1: THE POSITION OF -lla 'JUST' WITH SIMPLE SUBSTANTIVES

I believe that the order of -lla before a possessive suffix is the result of a reordering process, which I call the -LLA-POS SWITCH. Some reasons for believing this follow:

1. Some other dialects do not have this reordering; they place -lla somewhere following the possessive.

2. Even in HgQ there are cases where -lla follows the possessive, as discussed above.

3. There is evidence of reordering from a consideration of -lla 'just' co-occurring with a possessive suffix on substantives which end in a consonant. Consider example 1600:

```
a. kikish-ni-ki                              1600
b. *kikish   -yki
c. kikish-ni-lla-yki
d. kikish   -lla-yki
e. *kikish-lla-ni-ki
```

a,c,d. 'just your armpit'

Recall that to be possessed, a substantive which ends in a consonant (such as kikish) requires -ni 'Ø' before the possessive to avoid an illegal consonant cluster; compare 19.1a and b. But when -lla 'just' occurs, -ni 'Ø' is optional: compare 19.1c and d. Note, 1600e shows that -lla 'just' may not precede -ni 'Ø'. The simplest explanation for 19.1c is that -ni 'Ø' results from kikish-2P-lla because 2P directly follows a consonant, and that subsequently -lla-POS Switch

---

[295]In Huaraz Quechua it is possible to say noqa-lla-kuna (I-just-plur) 'just us(excl)'. (An example is found in Pantoja [25], text 97, line 76.) In HgQ, this is unacceptable: -lla 'just' must follow -kuna 'plur': noqa-kuna-lla (I-plur-just) 'just us(excl)'.

puts -*lla* ahead of 2P.[296]

Section 19.1.1.2 shows that -lla-POS Switch applies with subordinating transitions. Example 1601 shows that it may also apply to the final /n/ of -*nnin* 'superlative', even though in section 4.2.1.12 this /n/ is claimed not to be a possessive suffix:

```
Mas  alli-nni-lla-n-ta        qo-ma-y.                           1601
more good-super-just-3P-OBJ   give-=>1-OBJ
```

```
'Give me just the best ones.'
(i.e., to the exclusion of all but the best)
```

19.1.1.2. With subordinating transitions

As just seen, with simple substantives -*lla* 'just' precedes a possessive suffix. The same is true when the possessive is part of a substantivizing or adverbializing transition; i.e., -lla-POS Switch applies even if the possessive suffix is part of a transition. (We might say that -*lla* "invades" the transition.)[297]   Example 1602 shows this for a substantive formed with -*sha* and 1603 for an adverbial clause formed with -*pti*:

```
kacha-ykU-ma-sha-lla-n-chaw                                      1602
leave-impact-=>1-sub-just-3P-LOC
```

```
'right where they left me'
```

```
a.  rika-ma-pti-lla-yki                                          1603
    see-=>1-adv-just-2P
```

```
b.  ?rika-ma-pti-ki-lla
    see-=>1-adv-2P-just
```

```
'just when you see me'
```

Example 1604 shows that a certain amount of variation is possible when the case marker -*naw* 'SIM' occurs; in 1604a -*lla* 'just' follows the case marker whereas in 1604b it precedes the possessive suffix and case marker:

---

[296] It must be assumed that 2P is spelled -*yki subsequent* to -lla-POS Switch, since otherwise *ki* would be the correct spelling after /i/.

[297] It has been claimed that suffixes like -*chun* '3IMP' and -*shayki* '1=>2FUT' are bi-morphemic, with morpheme divisions as follows:

```
-shu-n '12FUT',
-chu-n '3IMP',
-sha-yki '1=>2FUT',
-n-ki '2'
```

(For example, see Sola [35].) However, -lla-POS-Switch does not apply (as would be expected)

```
i.   /-chun-lla/ (-3IMP-just) does not become */-chu-lla-n/
```

```
ii.  /-shun-lla/ (-12FUT-just) does not become */-shu-lla-n/
```

```
iii. /-shayki-lla/ (-1=>2FUT-just) does not become */-sha-lla-yki/
```

Thus, these -*chun*, -*shun* and -*shayki* are really single morphemes in HgQ now. (Example i. contrasts with /-sha-yki-lla/ (-sub-2P-just), which does become /-sha-lla-yki/. And it is possible to say *ayku-lla:-shun* (go-pol-12FUT) 'let's go', but this form contains the pre-transition -*lla:* 'polite' rather than -*lla* 'just'.)

333

```
a. yarpa-sha-n-naw-lla-mi                                    1604
   think-sub-3P-SIM-just-DIR

b. yarpa-sha-lla-n-naw-mi
   think-sub-just-3P-SIM-DIR

'just as he thinks'
(a. is fine: b. is acceptable but less so than a.)
```

-lla-POS Switch has been extended beyond just the possessive suffixes to also apply with -r 'adv (same subject)': i.e.. -lla 'just' precedes -r 'adv (same subject)'. Examples follow:

```
Kampana-ta tuka-lla-r-shi      qoya:-ku-q.                   1605
bell-OBJ   ring-just-adv-IND  pass:time-refl-NRP

'He would spend his time ringing the bell.'

a. aywa-yka:-lla-r                                           1606
   go-impfv-just-adv

b. *aywa-yka-r-lla
   go-impfv-adv-just

a. 'as they were going along'
```

-lla follows all the other subordinators (-q 'sub', -y 'inf'. etc.[298]).

Table 19-2 summarizes the possible positions of -lla 'just' with a subordinator:

```
+--------+------------+------+---------+
| object | subordinator | -lla | subject |
+--------+------------+------+---------+

+--------+------+------+
| object | -lla |  -r  |
+--------+------+------+
```

<div align="center">Table 19-2: THE POSITION OF -lla 'JUST' WITH A SUBORDINATOR</div>

19.1.2. The Uses of -lla 'just'

The uses of -lla 'just' are discussed under the following headings:

- to mean 'exclusive of' (section 19.1.2.1).
- to mean 'precisely' (section 19.1.2.2).
- with time expressions (section 19.1.2.3).
- to indicate a small amount (section 19.1.2.4).
- to indicate meagerness (section 19.1.2.5).
- in adverbial clauses (section 19.1.2.6).
- to indicate politeness (section 19.1.2.7).
- in frozen forms (section 19.1.2.8).

19.1.2.1. -lla 'just' to mean 'exclusive of'

-lla 'just' may occur on a substantive to indicate that nothing more than its referent is involved (in the action/event). That is. if φ refers to Φ. then φ-lla indicates 'only Φ' or 'Φ to the exclusion of others'. For example. 1607 indicates that the grain is gathered up. but not the chaff:

---

[298]-lla 'just' also follows -q 'human' e.g. ishka-q-lla (two-human-just). not *ishka-lla-q (two-just-human). to say 'just two (persons)'.

```
Y    shunta-nchi graanu-lla-n-ta-na.                          1607
and gather-12    grain-just-3P-OBJ-now
```

'And then we gather up only the grain.'

```
Buynu.    uma-lla-n-ta        kuchu-ku-ri-shun.              1608
all:right head-just-3P-OBJ cut-refl-pnct-12IMP
```

'All right, let's cut off just its head.'
(i.e., not any other parts)

In 1609, -lla indicates that the sponsor pays up to the limit of his ability to pay, but no more:

```
...ayka-ta-pis          gastu-n          aypa:-na-n-paq     1609
  how:much-OBJ-indef expenditure-3P  be:enough-sub-3P-PUR

ka-sha-lla-n-pita, paaga-y-ta  aypa:-na-lla-n-paq.
be-sub-just-3P-ABL pay-inf-OBJ be:enough-sub-just-3P-PUR
```

'...just according to how much there is for him to spend,
to be just enough to pay.'

```
Chawra alma-lla-na-shi        keeda-ku-n.                    1610
so     spirit-just-now-IND remain-refl-3
```

'So then just his spirit remained.' (i.e., he was freed
from being a kondenaadu)

```
Ñawpa-: kullu-lla-ta    mutu-nki.                            1611
side-1P stump-just-OBJ chop-2
```

'Just chop the stump which is beside me (and don't chop me).'

```
...raatu-lla    sha-mu-shka-:    nina-koq-lla.               1612
...moment-just come-afar-perf-1 fire-to:get-just
```

'I came must for a moment, just to get fire.'

```
Chay yayku-q-kuna-lla-wan    parla-n rimeeru.                1613
that enter-sub-plur-just-COM speak-3 first
```

'First they speak just with those who enter.'
(Then later they speak with the others.)

```
...arma-n  wakin yaku-lla-wan   wakin habun-nin-pa-wan...    1614
   bathe-3 some  water-just-COM some  soap-3P-GEN-COM
```

'...some bathe them just with water, others along with
soap...'

In the following examples, -lla 'just' occurs with kiki 'self' to indicate 'by one's self':

```
...arma-n  kiki-lla-n    arma-ku-y-ta        yacha-ku-na-n-yaq.  1615
   bathe-3 self-just-3P bathe-refl-inf-OBJ know-refl-sub-3P-LIM
```

'...they bathe him until he is old enough to bathe himself.'

```
Kiki-lla-yki-kuna ka-ku-pti-ki-qa...                         1616
self-just-2P-plur be-refl-adv-2P-TOP
```

'If you are just yourselves...' (i.e., if you do not multiply)

In the following, -lla 'just' is used with a locative expression to mean 'just at that place', 'at that place and nowhere else':

```
Chay murtahi ka-n ranti-paq Pillku-lla-chaw.                 1617
that shroud  be-3 buy-PUR  Pillku-just-LOC
```

'There are those shrouds for sale just in Pillku.'
(i.e., they are not stocked in the country stores)

335

```
Qam-kuna-lla   ka-ku-y        huk wasi-lla-chaw.                      1618
you-plur-just  be-refl-2IMP   one house-just-LOC
```

'You must be just in one house.' (i.e. it is all right
that only if you remain in a single household.)

When *-lla* 'just' follows *hana* 'top. above'. the combination means 'just on the surface' or 'on the surface and no deeper': e.g.:

```
Chay-ta  hana-lla-n-pa     kuchu-nchi...                             1619
that-OBJ top-just-3P-GEN   cut-12
```

'We cut that on the surface...'

```
...qasha-y-ta      qalla-yku-nchi  hana  qara-lla-n-ta...           1620
   slash-inf-OBJ   begin-impact-12 above skin-just-3P-OBJ
```

'...we begin to slash it just on its surface...'

19.1.2.2. -*lla* 'just' to mean 'precisely'

In some cases *-lla* 'just' indicates precision or exactness. For example, in 1621 *-lla* contributes the notion that the stones are to be laid precisely:

```
Hiilu-lla-n+pa      perqa-nchi rumi-ta.                             1621
string-just-along   stack-12   stone-OBJ
```

'We lay the stones exactly along the string.'

Other examples follow:

```
Y    chay-man  punta-lla-n-man     kwadra-chi-sha...               1622
and  that-GOAL ridge-just-3P-GOAL  park-caus-3PERF
```

'And he had it parked precisely at the ridge (edge)...'
(so that when someone touched it, it went over the edge)

```
Mishru   tuka-pti-lla-n   ashta-n.                                 1623
musician play-adv-just-3P  lead-3
```

'Right when the musicians play, she leads them.'
(i.e., a woman leads some man into the circle)

```
...wasi-n   sirka-n-man        chaya-r      chay-lla-chaw kiira-ku-n...   1624
   house-3P vicinity-3P-GOAL   arrive-adv   that-just-LOC remain-refl-3
```

'...arriving in the vicinity of their house, they remain right there...'
(i.e.. they do not go any nearer)

```
...beela-wan  achki-pa-n          kara   kanta-y-lla-n.           1625
   candle-COM illuminate-ben-3    every  sing-inf-just-3P
```

'...he lights candles at every singing'

As used to indicate precision or exactness. *-lla* 'just' co-occurs frequently with the case marker *-naw* 'SIM' to mean 'just like that, precisely in that manner'; examples follow:

```
Chay-naw-lla-na   usha-ri-nchi.                                   1626
that-SIM-just-now finish-pnct-12
```

'We finish it up just like that.'

```
Chay-naw-lla  kanta-pa-n asta  pampa-na-n-yaq.                    1627
that-SIM-just sing-ben-3 until bury-sub-3P-LIM
```

'He$_i$ sings for him$_j$ just like that until they bury him$_j$.'

336

19.1.2.3. -lla 'just' with time expressions

Following expressions which indicate time, -lla 'just' seems to indicate precisely that time (so an instance of the use discussed in section 19.1.2.2). For example, in 1630 it indicates precisely at the moment when the first ray of sun is seen:

```
Y   llalli-yku-n  awtoridaa-man  ñawin  inti-lla.                          1628
and beat-impact-3 authority-GOAL eye-3P sun-just

'And he beats him to the authority right at the first ray of sun.'
```

See also example 1735, page 351.

In other cases in which -lla 'just' occurs with time expressions, it is not so clear that it means 'precisely at that time'; for example, in 1629, mas hunaqlla 'later in the day' does not indicate a precise time:

```
Noqa-ta tuta-lla        wañu-chi-ma-n.  Qam-ta   mas  hunaq-lla          1629
I-OBJ   morning-just    die-caus-=>1-3  you-OBJ  more day-just

pishta-shu-nki.
slaughter-=>2-2

'They kill me in the morning.  They will kill a little later
in the day.'
```

Other examples of time expressions with -lla 'just' follow: I leave it to the reader to judge to what extent these are instances of other categories of use of -lla.

```
Upu-yka-sha-lla-n-chaw       pashta-sha  pacha-n.                         1630
drink-impfv-sub-just-3P-LOC  burst-3PERF stomach-3

'Right as he was drinking, his stomach burst.'

Kay  karnabal fista  ashi-n   simri  killa usha-q-lla-ta  ...      ..  _  1631
this carnival fiesta search-3 always month finish-sub-just-OBJ

llullu  killa-lla-ta.  Simri  ashi-n   domingu-lla-ta.
immature month-just-OBJ always search-3 Sunday-just-OBJ.

'(To have) this Carnival fiesta, they seek a waning moon,
a new moon.  They search just for a Sunday.'

Tuta-nnin-qa        tuta-lla     aywa-ku-n...                             1632
morning-super-TOP   early-just   go-refl-3

'On the following morning, he left very early...
```

-lla 'just' frequently occurs is chaka-y (be:dark-inf) 'darkness, night': some examples follow:

mas chaka-y-lla-man (more be:dark-inf-just-GOAL) 'later that night',

chaka-y-lla-na (be:dark-inf-just-now) 'when it was now dark',

chaka chaka-lla (be:dark be:dark-just) 'in the twilight',

chaka-y-lla-pa (be:dark-inf-just-GEN) 'by night',

ni-sha-n chaka-y-lla-chaw (say-sub-3P be:dark-inf-just-LOC) 'on said night'.

19.1.2.4. -lla 'just' to indicate a small amount

-lla frequently occurs with words which express smallness; this may be "small" in various senses:

small in size. e.g.:

```
...ka-yka-n ... huk    rus    pero mas  taksha-lla.                1633
   be-impfv-3   other cross but  more small-just
```

'...there is ... another cross, but smaller.'

```
Ichik ramita-lla-ta   upu-nchi koñaka-wan ichik-lla-ta            1634
tiny  sprig-just-OBJ  drink-12 cognac-COM tiny-just-OBJ
```

'We drink (a tea made with) just a tiny sprig of it and cognac.'

small in intensity, e.g.:

```
Taksha-lla achki rata-yka:-mu-n       karu-chaw.                  1635
small-just light shine-impfv-afar-3 far-LOC
```

'A little light is shining off in the distance.'

small in quantity or number, e.g.

```
y    okalito      ichik pullan ramita-lla-n...                .   1636
and  eucalyptus small half    sprig-just-3P
```

'and a bit of eucalyptus, just half a sprig of it...'

```
wallka wallka-lla                                                 1637
few    few-just
```

'very few'

```
Chay tuka-q-kuna-pis       ka-n waki-lla-n.                       1638
that play-sub-plur-indef be-3 some-just-3P
```

'Those who play (music) are just a few.'

In this use, -lla 'just' often occurs with a numeral to indicate a small number: e.g.:

```
...huk uma-lla-n-ta-shi        chunka ishkay-ta yupa-pa-yku-n.    1639
   one head-just-3P-OBJ-IND ten    two-OBJ    count-ben-impact-3
```

'...he counts a single head twelve times.'

```
...hati-pa-n        murtaahi-ta huk kulur-ta-lla-ta...            1640
   put:on-ben-3  shroud-OBJ   one color-OBJ-just-OBJ
```

'...they dress it in a shroud which has but a single color...'

```
...ishka-q-lla       apa-n   kirma-wan.                           1641
   two-human-just take-3 stretcher-COM
```

'...just two persons take it on a stretcher.'

```
Ishkay-kaq-qa pooku  yacha-q-lla-pis      ka-ku-n.                1642
two-def-TOP    little know-sub-just-indef be-refl-3
```

'The other two can be ones who know less well.'

small in cost. e.g.:

```
...mas  baraatu-lla kubra-n                                       1643
   more cheap-just   charge-3
```

'...they charge less.'

small in length of time. e.g.:

```
Raatu-lla    shamu-shka-:.                                        1644
moment-just come-perf-1
```

'I came for just a moment.'

small in usefulness or effect, e.g.:

338

```
...yanqa-lla-shi      mutu-q   tuku-n.                              1645
   in:vain-just-IND chop-sub pretend
```

'...he pretends to chop him, without effect.
(i.e., without really doing so)'

small in distance, e.g.:

```
...tuma-n        hinan      marka sirka-lla-n-pa.                   1646
   go:about-3 just:that town  near-just-3P-GEN
```

'...he circulates in the immediate vicinity of the town.'

```
han^e qa-lla-yki-chaw                                              1647
above-just-2P-LOC
```

'just a little way above you (i.e., up the side of the
mountain)'

Interestingly, -lla may also occurs with hatun-nin 'biggest'; the combination means 'somewhat smaller than the biggest'. (See example 1219c.) This is suggests with scalar expressions (big-little, hot-cold, etc.) -lla shifts the meaning toward the small end of the scale.

19.1.2.5. -lla 'just' to indicate meagerness

-lla 'just' may indicate the meagerness, humbleness, inadequacy, or simplicity. This use is very similar to that just discussed in section 19.1.2.4: the difference is that the cases discussed here more strongly suggest an evaluative viewpoint, i.e., small, meager, humble, etc. relative to some standard, whereas the cases in section 19.1.2.4 indicate simply small in quantity, degree, etc. For example, 1648 does not mean that a small amount of kamcha 'toasted corn' is eaten, but that it is humble food relative to bread:

```
...upu-:,  pobre-qa,  kamcha-lla-n-ta-wan.                         1648
   drink-1 poor-TOP   toasted:corn-just-3P-OBJ-COM
```

'...we drink it, being poor, just with toasted corn.'
(since we can not afford bread)

Other examples follow:

```
...qella ka-y-pita ...  chay-lla-ta   miku-n.                      1649
   lazy  be-inf-ABL     that-just-OBJ eat-3
```

'...from being lazy ... they eat just that.'

```
Chawra-qa kuchu-lla-man-shi    puñu-chi-n    wamra-ta.             1650
then-TOP  corner-just-GOAL-IND sleep-caus-3 child-OBJ
```

'Then, they make the child sleep just in the corner.'

```
Kahun-niynaq-lla     pampa-ku-pti-n...                             1651
coffin-without-just bury-refl-adv-3P
```

'If they bury him without a coffin...'

```
...yaku+timpun-ta-wan        papa+yanuy-lla-ta                     1652
   water:boil:soup-OBJ-COM potato:cook:soup-just-OBJ

runa-n-ta  qara-yku-sha.
husband-3P feed-impact-3PERF
```

'...she fed her husband just water boil soup and potato cook
soup.' (These are regarded as very humble dishes.)

339

```
Chay-lla-mi    chakra-chaw-qa.    Mihur  pastiilla...                    1653
that-just-DIR  rural:area-LOC-TOP better pills
```

'(We cure with) simply that (referring to herbs) in the
rural areas. Pills are better...'

In example 1654. the *-lla* 'just' on *chakipa* 'on foot' indicates the meagerness of this mode of travel relative to the distance the speaker (a child) had to go:

```
Noqa chaki-lla-pa  aywa-ku-shka-:  Pillku-kama.                         1654
I    foot-just-GEN go-refl-perf-1 Pillku-LIM
```

'I went just on foot all the way to Pillku.'

```
Mana+kaq      papel-lla-n-wan-mi    gaana-ma-sha...                     1655
insignificant paper-just-3P-COM-DIR win-=>1-3PERF
```

'He beat me just with his worthless document...'

Recall that a participle meaning 'without having' can be formed with *-:ni*: see section 13.2.3. *-lla* 'just' frequently occurs with such participles. perhaps to emphasize the simplicity or inadequacy of not doing the action expressed in the participle. Examples follow:

```
Y    chay-qa   hara-wan  iwal-lla-na       poqo-n                       1656
and  that-TOP  corn-COM  together-just-now mature-3

urya-:ni-lla-na               kaasi.
cultivate-without-just-now almost
```

'And that matures together with the corn, almost without cultivation.'

```
Rika-:ni-lla        eskribi-shka-:.                                     1657
see-without-just    write-perf-1
```

'I wrote it without looking.'

19.1.2.6. *-lla* 'just' in adverbial clauses

-lla 'just' frequently co-occurs with the adverbializer *-pa*. either directly following a substantive as in *chaki-lla-pa* (foot-just-adv) 'on foot'. or in the combination *-y-(lla)-pa* 'adv' e.g. *qasha-y-lla-pa* (slash-inf-just-adv) 'slashing(ly)': these latter types are discussed in detail in section 14.4. As stated there. the presence or absence of *-lla* 'just' seems to make little or no appreciable difference in the meaning of *-y(lla)pa*.

-lla 'just' also occurs in adverbial clauses formed with the other adverbializers (*-r*. *-pti*. and *-shpa*). It co-occurs far more frequently with *-r* 'adv (same subject)' than with the others. I do not know exactly what *-lla* 'just' adds semantically to these adverbial clauses. All the co-occurrences of *-r* and *-lla* that I have seen can be interpreted as temporal adverbial clauses. Examples follow:

```
Atoq wasi-ta    watqa-yku-lla-r-shi    kuti-ku-n.                       1658
fox  house-OBJ  spy-impact-just-adv-IND return-refl-3
```

'The fox, having spied on his house, returns.'

```
Tardi-ya-n aywa-yka:-lla-r-shi.                                        1659
late-bec-3 go-impfv-just-adv-IND
```

'As they are going along. it becomes late.'

```
Papa-ta      miku-yka:-lla-r    mas  hatun-ya-n.                        1660
potato-OBJ eat-impfv-just-adv more big-bec-3
```

'Eating potato it grows (becomes bigger).'

340

```
Chawra  "waychaw waychaw"  ni-lla-r-na-shi       puri-ku-yka-n.                    1661
so                         say-just-adv-now-IND  walk-refl-impfv-3

'So he walks around saying "waychaw waychaw".'
```

19.1.2.7. *-lla* 'just' to indicate politeness

Recall that the pre-transition suffix -*lla:* indicates politeness; see section 9.8.5. It seems that -*lla* 'just' is sometimes used this way, with the difference that it is used on substantives or adverbs rather than within verbs.[299] In these cases, -*lla* 'just' often bears length; this suggests that this suffix is not -*lla* 'just' but -*lla:* 'polite', but this is problematic in that -*lla:* 'polite' is a pre-transition suffix whereas here -*lla:* occurs post-transitionally. Obviously. -*lla:* 'just' and -*lla:* 'polite' are very closely related: I will not attempt to decide whether they should be considered one suffix or two.[300] Examples follow:

with questions, e.g.:

```
Pi-lla-mi      ka-nki?                                                             1662
who-just-DIR be-2

'Who are you?'

Mayqa-lla-n-mi     ka-nki?                                                         1663
which-just-3P-DIR be-2

'Which one of them are you?'
(This would be used e.g. if you had known a group of brothers,
and you meet one grown up and ask which brother he is.)
```

with negations. e.g.:

```
Noqa-lla:-qa mana na-:-chu, maya-shka-:-chu.                                       1664
I-just-TOP    not do-1-NEG  perceive-perf-1-NEG

'I didn't uh... I didn't hear it.'

Ma:na noqa-lla:: wicha-:-chu.                                                      1665
not   I-just     climb-1-NEG

'I won't climb it.'
(a child's emphatic but polite refusal to climb a high ladder)
```

in formulaic expressions, e.g.:

```
Kay-raq-mi     mishki-lla-qa!                                                      1666
this-yet-DIR sweet-just-TOP

'This is really tasty!'

Noqa-lla:                                                                          1667
I-just

'Just me' (in response to 1662)
```

-*lla* occurs in the common forms of polite inquiry into another's health (used in the greetings); e.g.:

---

[299] I do not know to what extent the meaning of politeness is due to -*lla* 'just'. or whether it would be better to say that -*lla* 'just' tends to occur on expressions of politeness.

[300] This may be a question forced on us by our linguistic presuppositions. one which has little significance for the structure of the language.

341

```
a. Alli-lla-chu   ka-yka-nki?                                    1668
   good-just-YN?  be-impfv-2

b. Ima-naw-lla-taq  ka-yka-nki?
   what-SIM-just-??  be-impfv-2

c. Hawka-lla-chu?
   happy-just-YN?

a,b,c. 'How are you?'
```

19.1.2.8. -*lla* 'just' in frozen forms

The following are frozen forms which contain -*lla* 'just':

aypalla   'a great many'; e.g.:

```
Aypalla-ta  qellay-ta  tari-yku-shka-:.                          1669
much-OBJ    money-OBJ  find-impact-perf-1

'I found a lot of money.'
```

hapalla   'alone' is from *hapa*. which means 'alone'. but is usually used in the sense of being unmarried.

huknaylla 'just one'. e.g.:

```
Tiñinti    ka-n  huknaylla  alwasir-nin.                         1670
lieutenant be-3  only:one   alguacil-3P

'The lieutenant has three alguacil. (subordinates in the
fiesta administration)'
```

huklla   'right away'. e.g.:

```
...usha-rku-pti-n   huklla       rukay-ta       hurqU-mu-n.      1671
   finish-up-adv-3  right:away  replacement-OBJ  remove-afar-3

'...right when they_i are finished, they_j bring out a
replacement.'
```

hinalla   'just that'. e.g.:

```
Y    hinalla-ta   apa-ku-n.                                      1672
and  just:that-OBJ take-refl-3

'And he takes it just as it is (without even looking into it).'

...chay keeda-ku-sha    hinallan-chaw.                           1673
   that stay-refl-3PERF just:that-LOC

'...that one stayed right there.'
```

hinaylla 'just that way'. e.g.:

```
Pasa-ypa hinaylla-shi       aywa-ku-n pullan munti-yaq.         1674
pass-adv just:that:way-IND  go-refl-3 half   forest-LIM

'They really go on just that way until they are to the
middle of the forest.'
```

19.2. -*pis* ~ -*si* 'even, also, indefinite'

In HgQ. -*pis* and -*si* are free (unconditioned) variants; wherever one may occur the other may equally well occur. In HgQ, -*pis* is overwhelmingly more frequent than -*si*. Neither co-occur (in the same word) with -*qa* 'TOP'.

The uses of -*pis*~-*si* are discussed under the following headings:

342

- with indefinite expressions (section 19.2.1).
- with embedded questions (section 19.2.2).
- with adversative adverbial clauses (section 19.2.3).
- meaning 'even, to the extent that' (section 19.2.4).
- terminating quantified expressions (section 19.2.5).
- with conjoined phrases (section 19.2.6).
- meaning 'also, in addition to' (section 19.2.7).
- simply as a marker of indefiniteness (section 19.2.8).

19.2.1. *-pis ~ -si* with Indefinite Expressions.

-pis~-si 'indef' follows the interrogative/indefinite pronouns (*pi* 'who', *ima* 'what', *may* 'where' etc.; see section 4.1.6 to form indefinite expressions: e.g., from *pi* 'who' is formed *pi-ta-pis* (who-OBJ-indef) 'to whomever'. Other examples follow:

```
Ayka-ta-pis          simri  paaga-n kustumri-n-ta kumli-na-n-paq.              1675
how:many-OBJ-indef always pay-3   custom-3P-OBJ fulfill-sub-3P-PUR

'No matter how much it is, they always pay it in order to fulfill
their custom.'


...ima-man    may-pa-pis       muna-sha-n  oora kacha-ku-na-n-paq.             1676
   what-GOAL where-GEN-indef want-sub-3P time send-refl-sub-3P-PUR

'...in order to send them wherever, after whatever, when they want.'


Pi: warmi-wan-pis   kasara-y-ta   muna-n.                                      1677
who woman-COM-indef marry-inf-OBJ want-3

'He wants to marry any woman.'
```

(Note at what a distance *-pis* follows the interrogative word in example 1678: this is a single constituent.)

```
Pi: runa-pa wamra-n   hipash-paq-pis  hutin-pa willa-n.                        1678
who man-GEN child-3P woman-PUR-indef name-GEN tell-3

'He tells the name of whoever's daughter it is.'


...simri  kumli-chi-n     ima  aru-y-chaw-pis.                                 1679
   always fulfill-caus-3 what work-inf-LOC-indef

'...they always make him fulfill (his obligation to work
for the community) in whatever work.'


...kiida-n   duyñu asta   imay-yaq-pis.                                        1680
   remain-3 owner until when-LIM-indef

'...they remained the owners from then on'
(lit. 'until whenever')


...apa-mu-sha       imayka-ta-si.                                             1681
   take-afar-3PERF things-OBJ-indef

'...he brought all sorts of things.'


May-ta    aywa-r-pis yus-ninchi ayura-yka:-ma-nchi.                            1682
where-OBJ go-adv-OBJ God-12P    help-impfv-=>1-12

'Wherever we go, God is helping us.'
```

A subset of the indefinite expressions formed with WH...-*pis~-si* are those which are negative (see section 17.8). Examples follow:

```
Mana ima-pis     ka-pti-n  mas  baraatu-ta kubra-n.                          1683
not  what-indef be-adv-3P more cheap-OBJ  charge-3
```

'If he had nothing, he charges less.'

```
...pusha-ku-n  mana pi-ta-pis       willa-pa-y+lla+pa.                       1684
   lead-refl-3 not  who-OBJ-indef tell-ben-adv
```

'...he leads her off telling no one.'

```
...mana ima-pis     pishi-q.                                                 1685
   not  what-indef be:lacking-sub
```

'...without fail' (lit. '...nothing be lacking')

```
Y    suncha ni  huknaylla-pis  wañu-yku-n-chu.                               1686
and wasp    nor just:one-indef die-impact-3-NEG
```

'And not one of the wasps died.'

```
Ama ima-pis     ni-y-chu.                                                    1687
not what-indef say-2IMP-NEG
```

'Don't say anything.'

19.2.2. *-pis ~ -si* with Embedded Questions

-pis~-si 'indef' is used with an interrogative/indefinite pronoun (*pi* 'who'. *ima* 'what'. *may* 'where' etc. (discussed in section 4.1.6) to form embedded questions (see 16.7.1): e.g. (where the embedded question is bracketed):

```
[Ima-pis     pishi-yka-sha-n-ta]        willa-n.                            1688
 what-indef be:lacking-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ tell-3
```

'They tell whatever is lacking.'

In such cases. *-pis~-si* 'indef' generally occurs with the widest possible scope: that is. it is usually placed to the right of the largest constituent which contains the interrogative pronoun. For example. in 1689a. *-pis* occurs on *ima* (with the case marker intervening) but in 1689b it follows the whole clause containing *ima*:

```
a. [Ima-ta-pis      muna-sha-yki-ta]     maña-ma-y.                          1689
    what-OBJ-indef want-sub-2P-OBJ       ask-=>1-2IMP

b. [Ima-ta          muna-sha-yki-ta]-pis maña-ma-y.
    what-OBJ         want-sub-2P-OBJ -indef ask-=>1-2IMP
```

'Ask me for whatever it is that you want.'

Further examples:

```
Noqa musya-: [imanir kanta-sha-:-ta]-pis.                                   1690
I    know-1   why    sing-sub-1P-OBJ-indef
```

'I know why I sing.'

```
Chawra-qa parla-n chay awni-q      runa-wan [mayqa-n-kaq                     1691
so-TOP    speak-3 that agree-sub man-COM   which-3P-def

mayurdoomu-ta yayku-na-n-paq]-pis.
majordomo-OBJ enter-sub-3P-PUR-indef
```

'So they speak with the man who has agreed about which
one of them should enter as majordomo.'

344

```
...yupa-pa-n  eskirbaanu  minisru-n-kuna-wan    [ayka       wawa          1692
   count-ben  scrivener   minister-3P-plur-COM   how:many child

ka-sha-n-ta]-pis    [ayka      ima-n-kuna      ka-sha-n-ta]-pis.
be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef  how:many thing-3P-plur be-sub-OBJ-indef
```

'...the scrivener and his ministers count how many children there
are and how many (other) things there are.'

```
...[ima-naw+pa wañu-sha-n-ta]-pis     sumaq musya-na-n-paq.         1693
   what-adv    die-sub-3P-OBJ-indef   well  know-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...in order to know precisely how he died.'

The embedded question may be of the non-subordinate type described in section 16.7.3 (and also in
Weber [39], section 4.2.4.3.); e.g.:

```
Parla-sha-yki runa-ta mana  reqsi-:-chu [pi-shi  chay ka-ku-n]-pis.      1694
speak-sub-2P  man-OBJ not   know-1-NEG   who-IND that be-refl-3-indef
```

'I don't know who that man is to whom you were speaking.'

19.2.3. *-pis ~ -si* with Adversative Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses which express concession ('even though', 'although') or adversity ('in spite
of') generally end with *-pis* or *-si*. Examples follow:

```
Chawra-qa mana muna-n-chu [runa ashi-na-n-paq     parla-pa-pti-n]-pis.    1695
So-TOP    not  want-3-NEG  man  seek-sub-3P-PUR speak-ben-3-indef
```

'So they refuse, even though the man implores them to seek
(a wife for him).'

```
...miku-shka-: taarri  tuta      [mana alli rima-sha  ka-r]-pis.          1696
   eat-perf-1 evening morning   not  good speak-prtc-be-adv-indef
```

'...I ate morning and night, in spite of the fact that they spoke
bad (of me).'

```
[Chay-naw yayku-pti-n]-pis    wakin runa-qa fiyu mana                     1697
 that-SIM enter-adv-3P-indef some  man-TOP bad  not

alli-paq-qa  parla-pa-n-chu.
good-PUR-TOP speak-ben-3-NEG
```

'Even though they enter like that (in the proper way) some
men speak to them badly.'

```
...[kiki-n  tiñinti]-pis     chiki-ku-yka-r-pis                          1698
   self-3P lieutenant-indef hate-refl-impfv-adv-indef

rigi-ku-nqa       kapas.
believe-refl-3FUT perhaps.
```

'...perhaps even the lieutenant himself, although he hates,
will believe.'

An adversative meaning is now limited to adverbial clauses; e.g. in example 1699 a substantive
bearing *-pis* has this meaning:

```
Unchu-pa:ri-shun   pampa-lla-chaw-pis.                                   1699
squat-moment-12IMP ground-just-LOC-indef
```

'Let's squat down (to rest) momentarily, although it be just on
the ground (since there isn't anything to sit on).'

345

19.2.4. *-pis~-si* 'even, to the extent that'

In some cases *-pis~-si* 'indef' marks the exceptional degree to which some action was carried out, or the exceptional number/kind of objects to which come action was directed. (This is somewhat like what, in English, we mean by 'even' or 'to the extent that'.) Examples follow:

```
Imanir-taq ... kanta-nki ... kunka-yki-pis qasma-na-n-yaq?          1700
why-??          sing-2          neck-2P-indef be:raw-sub-3P-PUR
```

'Why do you sing to the extent that your throat is raw?'

```
...ima-paq-na-taq  kawa-chi-shun-pis?   ...waqya-y-ta-pis           1701
   what-PUR-now-?? live-caus-12FUT-indef   bark-inf-OBJ-indef

mana puydi-n-na-chu.
not  be:able-3-now-NEG
```

'...for what purpose do we even let it live? ...he can no longer even bark.'

(Perhaps the first *-pis* in 1701 implies 'to the extent that we are so benevolent as to let it live'.)

```
Chay-chaw aycha-ta-pis    miku-yka-n-chari.                         1702
there-LOC meat-OBJ-indef  eat-impfv-3-surely
```

'They even eat meat there.'

```
Chay muku-n tinri-ta-pis     wañu-chi-sha!                          1703
that lamb-3P tiger-OBJ-indef die-caus-3PERF
```

'That lamb of his has even killed tigers!'

```
Chay warmi-kuna mana kuti-n-chu  [wasi-n-man    puñu-q]-pis.        1704
that woman-plur not  return-3-NEG house-3P-GOAL sleep-sub-indef
```

'Those women don't return to their homes, not even to sleep.'

In 1705. *chay-pis* introduces an adverbial clause. bringing to it a meaning (roughly) 'even at that':

```
Kapas    wata-chaw huk kuti arma-ku-n    inteeru kwerpu-n-ta-qa     1705
perhaps year-LOC  one time bathe-refl-3 entire  body-3P-OBJ-TOP

chay-pis   yaku-ta    aka-rI-ykU-chi-r.
that-indef water-OBJ  heat-asp-cause-adv
```

'Perhaps they bathe their entire body once a year, and at that they heat the water.'

```
Wakin inuutil niraq    runa-kuna-qa mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu       1706
other useless similar man-plur-TOP not-now bathe-3-now-indef-NEG

pasaypa-pis.      Kiki-n-kuna-pis       chay-kuna-qa mana
completely-indef  self-3P-plur-indef    that-plur-TOP not

arma-ku-n-chu      pasaypa-pis.
bathe-refl-3-NEG   completely-indef
```

'Some worthless-like people no longer bathe them at all. Those don't even bathe themselves!'

19.2.5. *-pis~-si* Terminating Quantified Expressions

-pis~-si may be used as the right boundary marker of quantified expressions; e.g.:

```
[Kara uunu-n-pa  tuku-q-nin-kuna]-pis   shuyni ka-na-n.            1707
 each one-3P-GEN play-sub-3P-plur-indef apart  be-sub-3P
```

'The musicians of each of them should be apart.'

346

```
Alli buluntaa-pa parla-n [ishka-n-pa kasta-n-kuna]-pis.                    1708
good will-GEN    speak-3 two-3P-GEN clan-3P-plur-indef
```

'The clans of both of them converse with good will.'

```
Pero [ishka-n]-pis ka-yka-n    mushoq llachapa-n hati-sha...               1709
but   two-3P-indef be-impfv-3 new     clothes-3P put-on-prtc
```

'But both of them have put on their new clothes...'

```
[llapan mundu-chaw ka-q-kuna]-pis                                         1710
 all    world-LOC  be-sub-plur-indef
```

'all those in the world'

```
[Pullan-ta]-si  mana rura-nchi:-raq-chu.                                  1711
 half-OBJ-indef not  do-12-yet-NEG
```

'We haven't yet done half.'

```
Ishkay-kaq-qa [pooku  yacha-q-lla]-pis        ka-ku-n.                    1712
two-def-TOP    little know:how-sub-just-indef be-refl-3
```

'There are two who know less well how to do it.'

19.2.6. *-pis~-si* with Conjoined Phrases

~ *-si* as right boundary marker")

-pis~-si 'indef' sometimes occurs on the second of conjoined phrases. These may be simple substantives: e.g.:

```
Upukruy  runa-pa yawar-nin-ta shuqu-n chuspi-naw.                         1713
(insect) man-GEN blood-3P-OBJ suck-3 mosquito-SIM

Waaka-pa-ta kawallu-pa-ta-pis    chay-naw shuqu-n.
cow-GEN-OBJ horse-GEN-OBJ-indef  that-SIM suck-3
```

'The *upukruy* sucks man's blood like a mosquito/fly.
It also sucks that of the cow and horse.'

It sometimes occurs on both conjoined elements: e.g.:

```
Ollqu-pis warmi-pis   hunta chay kabildu-chaw-qa.                         1714
men-indef women-indef full  that chapel-LOC-TOP
```

'The chapel is full of men and women.'

-pis or *-si* may occur following the second of conjoined subordinate clauses, particularly with alternatives as in the following examples:

```
[Tari-pti-n] [mana tari-pti-n]-pis   pay-pa kwenta-n-chaw  chay-qa.       1715
 find-adv-3P  not  find-adv-3P-indef he-GEN account-3P-LOC that-TOP
```

'Whether he finds them or not, that is his responsibility.'

```
...[saanu    alli ka-yka-sha-n-ta]    [uywa    miku-sha                   1716
    healthy good be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ  animal eat-prtc

ka-yka-sha-n-ta]-pis       rika-na-n-paq.
be-impfv-sub-3P-OBJ-indef  see-sub-3P-PUR
```

'...to see whether they (the crops) are all right or whether
they are being eaten by the animals.'

347

```
Nirkur chay-chaw tapu-n chay asi-sha-n   hipash-ta [chay moosu-wan      1717
then · that-LOC ask-3 that seek-sub-3P woman-OBJ that man-COM

rasunpa parla-sha  ka-sha-n-ta]  [mana parla-sha  ka-sha-n-ta]-pis.
really  agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ  not  agree-prtc be-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'Then, there they ask that sought after young woman if she
has really agreed (to marry) with that young man, or whether
she hasn't.'

19.2.7. *-pis ~ -si* Meaning 'also, in addition to'

-pis or *-si* occurs on the second of parallel elements, adding the idea that the second was also involved or affected in addition to the preceding element(s). For example, in 1718, the speaker asks how his brother gets rich, and then says that he too will become rich:

```
Ima-naw+pa-taq riiku-ya-n pay?  Noqa-si riiku-ya:-shaq.          ··       1718
what-adv-??    rich-bec-3 he    I-indef rich-bec-1FUT
```

'How does he become rich? I too will become rich.'

In example 1719, first, the chapel is said to have two doors, and then, that it also has windows (in addition to the two doors):

```
Chay kapilla ishkay punku-yoq.  Bentaana-n-pis  ishkay ka-yka-n.      1719
that chapel  two    door-have   window-3P-indef two    be-impfv-3
```

'That chapel has two doors. There are two windows too.'

The text preceding example 1720 below reads:

> ...they put on the shroud... There are shrouds for sale in Huánuco. If they don't buy it they sew it themselves from home-spun. Having cut it they put it on. They they tie a cord about his waist.

In 1720, the *-pis* of the first sentence harkens back to the statement that there are shrouds for sale, saying that there are also cords for sale. The *-pis* of the second sentence harkens back to the statement that they can sew the shroud themselves, saying that they can also make a cord from palm fiber.[301]

```
Chay kurdun-pis ka-n ranti+paq.  Mana ranti-r kiki-n-kuna        1720
that cord-indef be-3 for:sale    not  buy-adv self-3P-plur

chay-ta-pis     rura-n palma-pita.
that-OBJ-indef make-3 palm-ABL
```

'There are those cords for sale. If they don't buy it, they make
it themselves from palm (fiber).'

Other examples follow:

```
Wakin lloqshi-sha    saanu-lla.                           1721
some  get:out-3PERF healthy-just

Noqa-pis lloqshi-shka-: saanu-lla.
I-indef  get:out-perf-1 healthy-just
```

'Some got out all right (from a truck that went off a bridge).
I too got out all right.'

---

[301]Note how much cohesion *-pis* adds to this text.

348

```
Chawra chay-chaw warmi-ta  piñaku-n...                                    1722
then   there-LOC woman-OBJ upbraid-3

Ollqu-kaq-ta-pis   chay-naw piñaku-n...
male-def-OBJ-indef that-SIM upbraid-3

'They they upbraid the woman...
They upbraid the man too like that...'

Qam aywa-ku-pti-ki noqa-pis aywa-ku-:.                                    1723
you go-refl-adv-2P I-indef go-refl-1

'If you go, I will go too.'
```

Both instances of *-pis* in 1724 occur on an adverbial clauses: thus one might expect that--as discussed in 19.2.3--they have an adversative meaning. However, they do not. In the text from which it is drawn, the cantor's singing is mentioned repeatedly. The immediately preceding sentences say:

> As they take him (the deceased) the cantor goes along singing, until they arrive at the chapel inside the cemetery. At that chapel he again sings for a long while. Then they take him to the hole to bury him.

Note that *-pis* occurs in both sentences of 1724 on the adverbial clause, indicating that also on the occasion of the events indicated in theses adverbial clauses, the cantor sings:

```
Chay-man  apa-pti-n-pis    kantur-qa aywa-n kanta-ra-yka-r.              1724
that-GOAL take-adv-3P-indef cantor-TOP go-3P  sing-state-impfv-adv

Uchku kantu-n-man  chura-yku-r-pis       yapay kanta-pa-n.
hole  edge-3P-GOAL place-impact-adv-indef again sing-ben-3

'Also as they take him, the cantor goes along singing.  Also
when they have put him beside the hole, the cantor again sings.'
```

19.2.8. *-pis ~ -si* Simply as a Marker of Indefiniteness

-pis~-si may be used simply as a marker of indefiniteness: e.g. in example 1725, *allitapis* does not refer to any particular thing, but whatever good food might have been purchased in Huanuco:

```
Wanuku-pita apa-sha-nchi oora miku-nchi alli-ta-pis.                      1725
Huanuco-ABL take-sub-12P time eat-12   good-OBJ-indef

'When we take it from Huanuco, we eat good (foods).'
```

In example 1726, the people and the night referred to are indefinite:

```
Kumun       runa-kuna-pis musya-n-na imay noochi                         1726
community man-plur-indef know-3-now when night

ka-na-n-ta-pis.
be-sub-3P-OBJ-indef

'The community people know what night that should be.'
```

(In example 1727, *yanqalla* is a predicate complement and *arushaapis* is the subject.)

```
Yanqa-lla    aru-sha-:-pis.                                               1727
in:vain-just work-sub-1P-indef

'Whatever I worked was in vain.'
```

349

19.3. -na 'now'

-na is glossed simply as 'now'. In different contexts. -na is used to express what--in English--would be expressed with 'already'. 'at/by this time'. 'by now'. 'from this time on'. 'this time in contrast to before'. 'again'. 'another time'... A good analogy for -na 'now' is that of a temporal pointer (which is why 'at this point' is a good gloss for -na in many contexts).

The uses of -na 'now' will be discussed under the following headings:

- meaning simply 'now' and 'soon' (section 19.3.1).
- with time expressions (section 19.3.2).
- meaning 'right at that time' (section 19.3.3).
- meaning 'now--in contrast to before' (section 19.3.4).
- meaning 'already, previously' (section 19.3.5).
- in procedural text (section 19.3.6).
- as an episode boundary (section 19.3.7).
- with background material (section 19.3.8. and
- a residue case (section 19.3.9).

19.3.1. -na Meaning Simply 'now' and 'soon'

In many cases -na simply means 'now. at the present time': e.g.:

```
Aywa-ku-y-na.                                                1728
go-refl-2IMP-now
```

'Go right now.'

```
Aywa-ku-:-na-mi.                                             1729
go-refl-1-now-DIR
```

'I am going now.'

```
Tari+pa-yka-n-na.                                            1730
catch:up:to-impfv-3-now
```

'She is catching up to him (in height)'

-na 'now' is used in reporting the time: e.g.. lasdoosi-na (noon-now) 'It is now 12:00 noon.'

When used with the future tense. -na may mean 'soon. right away': e.g.:

```
Miku-shun-paq-na.                                           1731
eat-12FUR-fut-now
```

'We are going to eat right away.'

```
Y    uchu   aqa-sha     listu-na-shi   ka-yka-n.            1732
and pepper grind-prtc ready-now-IND be-impfv-3
```

'And the ground pepper is ready now.'

```
Kanan-qa apa-shaq-na    nobillu-ta.                         1733
now-TOP   take-1FUT-now ox-OBJ
```

'I will take your ox now (right away).'

```
Mayna     usha-yka-sha-nchi:-na    ka-ra-n.                 1734
already finish-impfv-perf-12-now be-past-3
```

'We would already be finishing by now.'

350

19.3.2. -na with Time Expressions

-na 'now' is used on time expressions to establish a time frame in a discourse. or to reset the time frame. For example. a text about the fiestas in March begins with example 1735, which establishes the beginning time of the narrative:

```
Karnabal fista usha-sha-n-pita   birnis-lla-n-na                          1735
carnival fiesta finish-sub-3P-ABL Friday-just-3P-now

qalla-yku-n   rusyun.
begin-impact procession

'Right on the first Friday after the end of Carnival,
the procession begins.'
```

Examples 1736-1738 illustrate the time expression with -na resetting the time frame of a narrative:

```
Chawra-qa chakay-pa seena-y        usha-y-na-qa...                       1736
they-TOP  night-GEN eat:super-inf finish-inf-now-TOP

'Then at night, after supper is finished...'

Tuta chaka-lla-na-shi       awkin-qa    aywa-ku-n.                       1737
early be:dark-just-now-IND old:man-TOP go-refl-3

'Early, when it was still dark, the old man left.'

Chay-naw aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw tardi-ya-sha-na.  Chaka-sha-na.            1738
that-SIM go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC late-bec-prtc-now be:dark-prtc-now

'As they are going along like that, it becomes late now.
It is now dark.'
```

The use of -na to reset a time frame of a narrative is particularly natural after chaypita 'then'. which of then initiates a new paragraph (often having a new spatial and temporal setting):-this is the case in 1739 and 1740:

```
Chay-naw-lla  achka wata qoya-sha.      Chay-pita oosu-pa               1739
that-SIM-just many  year pass:time-3PERF that-ABL  bear-GEN

wamra-n  hatun-na-shi ka-sha.
child-3P big-now-IND be-3PERF

'In that way many years passed.  After that the bear's child
was now big.'

...aywa-ku-n.  Chay-pita chunya-q-pa-na-shi       aywa-rka-yka-n...     1740
   go-refl-3   that-ABL  be:silent-sub-GEN-now-IND go-plur-impfv-3

'...they go.  After that, they are now going through
a deserted place...'
(Note: this further points to chaypita as a loose link,
see section 18.4.)
```

Aside from a particular use in narratives to establish or to reset the time of a narrative, -na 'NOW' often simply occurs on expressions of time, e.g.:

pacha wara-y-na (firmament dawn-inf-now) 'at dawn'

mas pacha wara-y-man-na-qa (more firmament dawn-inf-GOAL-now-TOP) 'along toward dawn'

lasdoosi-na (noon-now) '12:00 noon'

pullan paqas-na-qa (half night-now-TOP) 'now at midnight'

naqa-na (long ago-now) 'a long time ago'

An expression giving a length of time (e.g. a number of some unit of time) with -na means that that length of time has passed:

351

```
Kanan kasaadu tiya-: Llakun-chaw kimsa wata-na.                           1741
now   married live-1 Llakun-LOC  three year-now
```

'I have lived three years now in Llacon, married.'

19.3.3. *-na* Meaning 'right at that time'

In some cases *-na* 'NOW' indicates the precise moment that something happened (thus indicating roughly 'right at that time'): e.g.:

```
...kaasi  oosu-ta .bensi-yka-pti-n-na-shi        gaallu  kanta-rku-ra-n.    1742
   almost bear-OBJ conquer-impfv-adv-3P-now-IND  rooster crow-asp-past-3
```

'...right when he was about to beat the bear, a rooster crowed.'

```
Ni-y-chaw-na     "..." ni-shka-:                                          1743
say-inf-LOC-now        say-perf-1
```

'right upon encountering myself in that circumstance I said "..."'

In the bit of text given in example 1744. the *-na* on *awkin* indicates that 'at this (point)' the old man (who has been extremely loath to believe that his wife is having an affair) finally gets angry at seeing his wife and her lover together:[302]

```
a. ...ishka-n qaqa-sha.                                                   1744
      two-3P  be:parallel-prtc

b. Awkin-na-shi       ollqo-yka-n        ruri-lla-pa-qa.
   old:man-now-IND be:angry-impact-3 inside-just-GEN-TOP

c. Chay-raq-shi awkin     ollqo-yka-n.
   that-yet-IND old:man be:angry-impfv-3
```

a. '...the two of them are together.'
b. '*At that*, the old man becomes angry, but just inside.'
c. 'Yet at that did the old man become angry.'

In 1745. after the frog and the condor agree to meet in the provincial capital (far off) the condor is pleased. assuming that he can beat the frog:

```
Chawra-qa kondor kushi-sha-na      "Noqa aywa-:..."                       1745
so-TOP    condor be:happy-prtc-now I    go-1
```

'Then the condor was happy at this, thinking "I go ..."'

19.3.4. *-na* Meaning 'now--in contrast to before'

-na 'NOW' may indicate one time in contrast to another. afore-mentioned time. For example. consider 1746. The text from which it is taken describes the roles of various village administrators. Just preceding 1746, it tells what happens if a shepherd is disrespectful to (or disobeys) the one who is responsible for the well-being of the crops. (The child is denounced and his parents are brought in to pay a fine.) The occurrences of *-na* indicated that this time. in contrast to the prior time, the child respects him. and does not talk back:

---

[302]That *-na* occurs on *awkin* 'man' in example 1744 rather than on the verb. suggests that the semantic scope of *-na* is the whole clause. rather than just the verb or verb phrase. and that thus *-na* is free to migrate to the sentence initial element.

```
Yapay tuma-pti-n           rispita-n-na.                          1746
again go:about-adv-3P respect-3-now

Mana-na ima-ta-pis          rima-pa-n-na-chu.
not-now what-OBJ-indef speak-ben-3-now-NEG
```

'The next time he (the official) comes around, he obeys him.
He no longer talks back.'

Sometimes the contrast is with respect to a former condition that no longer holds. This is the case with negatives:

```
...chaya-mu-na-n-paq        mana-na ka-sha-na-chu.                1747
   arrive-afar-sub-3P-PUR not-now be-3PERF-now-NEG
```

'...by the time he_i arrived, he_j was no longer there.'

The story of the four musicians begins with 1748:

```
Huk buurru-shi ka-ra-n    awkis mana karga-ta  apa-y-ta      puydi-q-na.    1748
one donkey-IND be-past-3 old    not  cargo-OBJ take-inf-OBJ be:able-sub-now
```

'There was an old donkey, who was no longer able to carry cargo.'

Sometimes the contrast is 'from this time on' (in contrast to before): e.g.:

```
Chawra kuura-na-shi    uywa-ku-sha        oosu-mallwa-ta.               1749
So     priest-now-IND raise-refl-3PERF bear-young-OBJ
```

'From this time on the priest raised the young bear.'

A text on bathing (see example 1852) describes the frequency of bathing children until they are two years old, then contrasts how much they bathe them after this: note how *-na* occurs in the sense of 'thereafter. now' in contrast to the former case':

```
From that time on, they no longer bathe   (arma-n-na-chu bathe-3-now-NEG) them   1750
continually. Each week or so thereafter  (kara semaana ima-lla-na    each week
what-just-now)) they bathe them ... Some worthless-like people no longer bathe
them at all  (mana-na arma-n-na-pis-chu not-now  bathe-3-now-indef-NEG).

Chawra alma-lla-na-sha        keeda-ku-n.                              1751
so     spirit-just-now-prtc remain-refl-3
```

'From this time on he remained a spirit.'
(Previously he was a condemned spirit, a "condenado".)

19.3.5. *-na* Meaning 'already, previously'

-na 'now' is frequent with participles and perfects. This is perhaps because these indicate a previous event resulting in a state: the effect of *-na* with these is to indicate that the state now exists. that the event which brought about that state had occurred earlier. Examples follow:

```
Aywa-ku-sha-na    ka-sha.                                              1752
go-refl-prtc-now be-3PERF
```

'He had already gone.'

```
Aywa-shka-:kuna-na.                                                    1753
go-perf-11-now
```

'We(excl) have already gone.'

```
...payla-chaw-na-shi wamra-qa  pishta-sha-na.                          1754
   pot-LOC-now-IND    child-TOP slaughter-prtc-now
```

'...the child is already in the pot, slaughtered.'

-na often occurs with participles borrowed from Spanish:[303]

```
                                                                        1755
...wamra-: "bawtisa-:ru-na  ka-:" ni-r   yuri-mu-shqa.
  child-1P baptize-prtc-now be-1  say-adv appear-afar-3PERF

'...my son appeared saying "I've been baptized"'

Pero saapo sekreeto  sumaq michi+pa-sha-na...                           1756
But  frog  secretely well  observe-3PERF-now

'But the frog had previously observed (his habits) carefully...'
```

The adverbial clause of example 1757 refers to a discussion with whoever has agreed to become the new *eskirbaanu* 'scrivener' about who should be the majordomo:

```
Chay parla-lla-r-na      fiihu    parla-n...                            1757
that speak-just-adv-now definite speak-3

'Having now agreed to that, they agree definitely...'
```

Example 1758 is from a text on engagement practice. It is a clear case where *-na* means 'already/previously'; it describes one possible reaction a woman may have when a man proposes marriage:

```
Waki-n-pa-qa      ka-n-na parla-sha-n runa pay-ta                      1758
other-3P-GEN-TOP be-3-now speak-sub-3P man her-OBJ

ashi-na-n-paq.  Chawra-qa chay hipash mana-na muna-n-na-chu...
seek-sub-3P-PUR then-TOP  that woman  not-now want-3-now-NEG

'Others already have a man with whom they have agreed, for him
to seek her.  So that young woman doesn't want him to seek
her...'
```

19.3.6. *-na* in Procedural Text

-na 'now' occurs with high frequency in some (not all) procedural texts. For example, a brief description (only about 165 words) of the construction of a house contains the following (which are not contiguous):

---

[303]This is good evidence that the high frequency of co-occurrence of *-na* and the participles is due to semantic factors (we might say "due to a harmony of meaning") rather than resulting from some morpho-syntactic requirements.

a. ...sumaq kama-ka-rkU-chi-r-<u>na</u> ...hana-n-pa ... tapya-nchi.   1759

b. ...chay-wan-<u>na</u> tapya-nchi.

c. ...tapya-rku-r-<u>na</u>-qa chura-nchi tiranti-ta. Altus-ta

    awa-na-n-paq-<u>na</u> tiranti.

d. ...altus punku-paq-<u>na</u> lumismo chura-nchi numral-kuna-ta.

e. ...largo qeru wasi-ta qata-na-paq-<u>na</u> pinku...

f. ...awa-nchi chaqlla-wan teeha-wan qata-na-paq-<u>na</u>.

g. Nerkur chay teeha-wan-<u>na</u> qata-nchi...

h. Nirkur ruri-n-ta-<u>na</u> reboka-nchi.

i. Chay numral chura-sha-nchi:-<u>na</u> oqti-rku-r...

a. ...having prepared it well...on top of it...we pack earth.
b. ...we pack earth with that.
c. ...having packed the earth we place beams. The beams are for
    lay the second floor.
d. ...in the same way we put in lintels for the second floor
    doors.
e. ...the ridgepole is a long pole for roofing the house...
f. ...we lay the roofing sticks in order to roof with tiles.
g. Then we roof with those tiles...
h. Then we surface the interior.
i. Where we have previously placed the lintels. we dig out...

What can explain this very high frequency of *-na* in procedural text? In them, *-na* seems to be used in the at the following points:

- at the completion of an activity. see a. and i. (where it could be glossed 'already/previously').
- at the acquisition of some material or tool (i.e., having something at/in hand to use). see b. and g..
- at the next thing to be done. see c. d. e. f. and h. (where a gloss 'now' is entirely appropriate).

A brief description (only about 135 words) of the agricultural cycle contains the following (which are not contiguous):

a. Chakma-rku-r-<u>na</u> nerkur hulyu agostu-<u>na</u> urya-nchi.   1760

b. ...wata-nnin muru-na-paq-<u>na</u>.

c. Nerkur chura-nchi wata-nnin-paq-<u>na</u>.

d. Y chay-qa hara-wan iwal-lla-<u>na</u> poqo-n urya-:ni-lla-<u>na</u>

    kaasi. Hara-ta urya-lla-<u>na</u> urya-nchi pushpu-ta-qa.

e. Eera-chaw-<u>na</u> eera-nchi kawallu-wan.

f. Y shunta-nchi graanu-lla-n-ta-<u>na</u>.

a. Having broken the ground, then in July or August we plow.
b. ...in order to seed the next year.
c. Then we store them for the next year.
d. And (the beans) mature along with the corn almost without
    cultivation. In the corn cultivation we cultivate the beans.
e. On the threshing floor we thresh it with horses.
f. And we gather up just the kernels.

The following example. while not procedural text. further illustrates *-na* 'now' to mark a series

355

of events. The story from which it comes contains very few occurrences of *-na*.[304] At the climax of the text—the point at which the thief is scratched by the cat, bit by the dog, kicked by the donkey, and further frightened by the rooster—*na* occurs on each reference to the animals except the first (which bears *-qa*):

```
a. ... mishi-qa ... raska-r     usha-yku-n ...                    1761
        cat-TOP      scratch-adv finish-impact-3

b. ... allqu-na-shi ... amu-ku-rku-n.
        dog-now-IND      bite-refl-asp-3

c. ... buurru-na-shi ... hayta-yku-n ...
        donkey-now-IND   kick-impact-3

d. Gaallu-na-shi ... ni-yka:-mu-n ...
   rooster-now-IND  say-impfv-afar-3

a. '... the cat ... scratches him severely ...'
b. '... then the dog ... bites him.'
c. '... then the dog ... kicks him ...'
d. 'Then the rooster ... is saying ...'
```

(In the gloss, then is intended to reflect *-na*'s meaning 'and then the next thing that happened...'.)

19.3.7. *-na* as an Episode Boundary

-na 'now' may marker events in a sequence of events which are the most important. For example, in description of burial practice has extremely few *-na*'s in sections describing the legal aspects (registering the death, how the deceased's goods are distributed to his heirs, etc.), and in sections describing the preparation of the body, and preparations for the wake. There are, however, three occurrences of *-na* near the end of the text, the first in the sentence indicating that the body is taken from the house to be buried (see 1762a), the second in the sentence indicating that it is taken to the cemetery (see 1762b), and the third in the sentence indicating that it is taken to the grave (see 1762c). *-na* is marking the principle events in advancing the body from the site of the wake to the grave:

---

[304]There are three three large quotes which are rich in *-na*'s, each dealing with the present fate of one of the animals. There are also the following, which are instances of resetting narrative time:

```
Mas  mas  aywa-yka-sha-n-chaw-na-shi  tari-n...
more more  go-impfv-sub-3P-LOC-now-IND find-3
```

'As they are now going on (and on), they find...'

```
Munti-man-na-shi    chaya-n. Allqu y   mishi
forest-GOAL-now-ind arrive-3 dog   and cat

yarqa-y-pita-na-shi.
be:hungry-inf-ABL-now-IND
```

'They arrive at the forest. The dog and the cat are now hungry.'

See "Burro, Allqo, Mishi y Gallo" in Cayco [4].

```
a. ...aya-ta        wasi-n-pita   hurqu-n-na    pampa-q  apa-na-n-paq.          1762
      corpse-OBJ house-3P-ABL remove-3-now bury-sub take-sub-3P-PUR

b. ...apa-n   pantiyun-man-na.
      take-3 cemetery-GOAL-now

c. Chay-pita apa-n   uchku-man-na   pampa-na-n-paq.
   that-ABL  take-3  hole-GOAL-now  bury-sub-3P-PUR
```

a. '...they remove the body from the house in order to take it to
      bury it'
b. '...they take it to the cemetery.'
c. 'After that (the singing at the cemetery chapel) they take it
      to the grave in order to bury it.'

In the race of the fox and frog, there are three parallel episodes in which the fox calls to the frog. and the frog answers from farther up the hill. In each case, clause reporting the frog's position has *-na* on the locative phrase: see 1763a.b.d. 1763c reports the fox's calling from the foot of the peak. and 1763d. the frog's answering.[305]

```
a. ..."toq" ni-mu-n      mas   hanash-chaw-na-shi.                              1763
      toq  say-afar-3 more high-LOC-now-IND

b. Yapay "toq" ni-n    hanash-chaw-na-shi.
   again  toq   say-3 high-LOC-now-IND

c. Chay-pita punta chaki-n-chaw-na-shi yapay qaya-ku-n...
   that-ABL  peak  foot-3P-LOC-now-IND again yell-refl-3

d. Chawra-qa punta-chaw-na-shi kontesta-mu-n...
   so-TOP     peak-LOC-now-IND  answer-afar-3
```

a. '...he answers "toq" from farther up the hill.'
b. 'Again he says "toq" farther up now.'
c. 'After that, when he is at the base of the peak, again he yells.'
d. 'Then being now at the peak he answers...'

19.3.8. *-na* and Background Material

Lodged in a description of engagement practice between (i) the description of a young man gathering his relatives and getting their approval of his intention to seek the hand of a particular young woman and (ii) the description of the relatives sending a delegation to represent the suitor to the father of the woman. there is a description of a *balumintu*. a sort of liaison person. It begins with 'There are some older respected men...': within this interruption is the following case of *-na*:

```
Chay runa musya-n-na ima-naw+pa warmi-pa   tayta-n-man                         1764
that man  know-3-now what-MAN    woman-GEN father-3P-GOAL

chaya-na     ka-sha-n-ta...
arrive-sub be-sub-3P-OBJ
```

'That man knows how one should approach the woman's father...'

---

[305]The fox's arriving behind the frog is reported with:

```
Qepa-n-ta-raq-shi   chaya-n    atoq.
back-3P-OBJ-yet-IND arrive-3P fox
```

'The fox arrives behind him (yet some time after him).'

I suspect that this use of *-raq* is intended to contrast sharply with the repeated occurrences of *-na* in the preceding sentences.

1764 is a surprising example in that it is not a portion of the text with strong temporal orientation.[306] The text returns to the sequence of events in the engagement procedure with 1765, beginning with the entry of the delegation to the woman's parents:

```
Chay-pita yayku-n balumintu-kuna-lla-na          warmi-pa                1765
that-ABL  enter-3 representative-plur-just-now woman-GEN

tayta-n-man    mama-n-man.
father-3P-GOAL mother-3P-GOAL

'After that just the representatives go in to the woman's parents.'
```

This use of -na seems very natural: returning to the sequence of events of the engagement procedure.

In the following examples, -na is used to mark off background material. 1766a is background (which interrupts the sequence of activities); 1766b is the return to that sequence:

```
a. Chay unay-qa eskirbaanu ashi-n-na alkaldeesa-ta rihidoora-ta          --      1766
   that ago-TOP scrivener  seek-3-now mayoress-OBJ  rigidora-OBJ

   ruka-na-n-paq       wata-n chay ka-q-na    rura-na-n-paq. ...
   change-sub-3P-PUR year-3 that be-sub-now do-sub-3-PUR

b. Mas  tardin-na-qa    yapay kumun      yoora-ta saqta-chi-n.
   more evening-now-TOP again community tree-OBJ topple-cause-3

a. 'The past scrivener seeks (prior to this point in time) a mayoress
   and a rigidora to do it, in order to replace them, in order that
   they do it the next year.'
b. 'Later in the evening, the community again topples a tree.'
```

In a description of a fiesta, those people who assume special roles and responsibilities are the principle participants. In 1767a, which bears -na, we learn that the women who have roles (the named ones) are brought together. There then follows a long passage describing the women, who they answer to, how they are dressed, what their privileges are, etc. Then in 1767b, which contains the next -na, we return to the narration of the events in the fiesta. Clearly -na in 1767b helps re-establish the time frame which was left suspended after 1767a:[307]

```
a. ...kuti-r      shunta-n mas  huk numraaru-kuna-ta-na.               1767
      return-adv gather-3 more one named:ones-plur-OBJ-now

      (AT THIS POINT THERE ARE 110 WORD EXPLANATION
       ABOUT WHO THE NAMED PERSONAGES ARE)

b. Chay-naw llapan shunta-ka-rku-r     iwal-lla-na
   that-SIM all    gather-pass-asp-adv together-just-now

   puri-n asta fista usha-na-n-kama.
   walk-3 until fiesta finish-sub-3P-LIM

a. '...returning they gather together the named ones
   (i.e., women who have titles in the fiesta).'
b. 'Having all congregated like that, they go about together
   (from then on) until the end of the fiesta.'
```

---

[306]Perhaps -na is simply used as a marker that this is an event, to make it contrast with the explanatory material which surrounds it?

[307]In 1767b, -na may also contrast their continually being together from that point on with their prior separateness.

19.3.9. A Residue Case

I have no idea why -*na* is used in 1768:

```
Llapan kasta-n-kuna-wan parla-ku-yku-r        wamra-n-kuna-lla-na            1768
all    clan-3P-plur-COM speak-refl-impact-adv child-3P-plur-just-now

albasya-ta     chura-ku-n.  Imayka-n-ta-pis          albasya-pa
executor-OBJ place-refl-3 belongings-3P-OBJ-indef executor-GEN

Ñawpa-n-man    hurqa-mu-n.   Chay-ta fis-na     raki-pa-n
front-3P-now remove-afar-3 that-OBJ judge-now divide-ben-3

llapa-n-ta iwal       kama.     Fis-na    kiki-n-naw  mayqa-n
all-3P-OBJ together respective judge-now self-3P-SIM which-3P

misa-n-ta     rura-chi-na-n-paq-pis       numra-n.
mass-3P-OBJ do-cause-sub-3P-PUR-indef name-3

'Having spoken with all the relatives, just his (the deceased's)
children now put in an executor.  They remove all his (the
deceased's) belongings (and place them) in front of the executor.
The judge now distributes these things to all respectively.
The judge now names which of them are to have a mass said
as himself(??).'
```

19.4. -*raq* 'yet, still'

The basic meaning of -*raq* is roughly 'persisting until'. For example. 1769 could be roughly paraphrased as 'our obligation to work on the road is persisting until this moment':

```
Aru-na-nchi:-raq ka-yka-n    karretera-ta-pis.             1769
work-sub-12P-yet be-impfv-3 road-OBJ-indef

'We still have to work the road.'
```

-*raq* has an allomorph -*ran*. but the latter is very rare in HgQ.[308] When -*ran* occurs. it more than likely follows a third person suffix -*n*: e.g.

```
puñu-yka-n-raq ~ puñu-yka-n-ran                             1770
sleep-impfv-3-yet

'He is still sleeping.'
```

(Other examples are seen in 1775. 1776. and in 1788[309])

The various uses of -*raq* 'yet' are discussed under the following headings:
- with time expressions (section 19.4.1).
- with negatives (section 19.4.2).
- with adverbial clauses (section 19.4.3).
- to indicate an extreme (section 19.4.4).
- with future verbs (section 19.4.5), and
- in frozen expressions (section 19.4.6).

(See also section 16.1 about -*chu + raq* 'dubitive'.)

---

[308] In some other dialects it is quite common.

[309] In 1788. -*ran* follows -*shun* '12FUT': it may be that. for some speakers. -*ran* is used (as opposed to -*raq*) following any morpheme that ends in /n/.

19.4.1. With Time Expressions

When -raq occurs on a time phrase, it indicates that the action/event referred to by that clause happened after the time denoted by the time phrase; e.g. in 1771 two months pass before "I" step on my ankle:

```
Ishkay killa-raq haru-shka-:.                                            1771
two     month-yet step-perf-1

'It was two months before I stepped on it
(a disjointed ankle).'

Allcha-ka-sha killa-ta-raq.                                              1772
fix-pass-3PERF month-OBJ-yet

'He got well "yet" after a month.'
(i.e., He continued to be ill for a month, and then he got well.)

Pacha      wara-sh-raq   lloqshi-shka-: Llakun-pita.                     1773
firmament dawn-prtc-yet leave-perf-1   Llacon-ABL

'I left Llacon "yet" when it had fully dawned.'
(i.e.. I did not leave until it was fully light.)

Y   hunaq-raq chaya-mu-shka-:    llapa-:.                                1774
and day-yet   arrive-afar-perf-1 all-1P

'And we all arrived "yet" by day.'  (We should have arrived
much earlier, but we did not arrive until it was day.)
```

The temporal expression may be an adverbial clause; e.g.:

```
Kay-man      sha-mu-r-ran       tari-nchi:-qa arrus o  hwidyus.          1775
here-GOAL come-afar-adv-yet find-12-TOP    rice   or pasta

'Not until we come here do we find rice or pasta.'
```

Or it may be a relative clause modifying a time word; e.g.:

```
Wanuku-pita apa-sha-nchi oora-ran miku-nchi alli-ta-pis.                1776
Huanuco-ABL take-sub-12P time-yet eat-12    good-OBJ-indef

'Not until we take it from Huanuco do we eat good (food).'
```

If x is an expression for a length or time, then x-pita-raq (x-ABL-yet) indicates the time elapsed between two events: e.g.:

```
Adan-ta  rura-sha-n-pita looku tamya tamya-ra-n                          1777
Adam-OBJ make-sub-3P-ABL loco  rain  rain-past-3

waranqa  soqta pachak  wata-pita-raq.
thousand six   hundred year-ABL-yet

'The torrential crazy rain came 1600 years after he made Adam.'
```

19.4.2. Negative and -raq

-raq occurs in negative expressions to indicate 'not yet'. (These were discussed briefly in section 17.4.) For example,

```
Kay-chaw mana katshka-:-raq-chu noqa.                                    1778
here-LOC not  be-perf-1-yet-NEG I

'I was not here yet (at that time).'

Pullan-ta-shi mana rura-nchi:-raq-chu.                                   1779
half-OBJ-IND not  do-12-yet-NEG

'We haven't yet done half.'
```

360

```
Ama(-raq) aywa-y-raq-chu.  Ka-ku-yka:-shun-raq.                          1780
not(-yet) go-2IMP-yet-NEG  be-refl-impfv-12FUT-yet
```

```
'Don't go yet.  Let's be yet (awhile here together).'
```

It is often immaterial whether -raq 'yet' occurs on mana 'not' or on the verb, or on both: e.g. compare 1781a, where -raq follows mana 'not' and 1781b where it follows the verb:

```
a.  Qam-kuna mana-raq-chu musya-nki?                                      1781
    you-plur not-yet-NEG  know-2
```

```
b.  Qam-kuna mana      -chu musya-nki-raq?
    you-plur not           neg know-2-yet
```

```
a,b. 'Don't you know yet?'
```

19.4.3. With Adverbial Clauses

When -raq occurs on a temporal adverbial clause, it means that the action/event described by that clause must occur before the action described by the superordinate clause.

```
Chaki-rku-pti-n-raq apa-mu-nki.                                          1782
dry-asp-adv-3P-yet  take-afar-2
```

```
'Bring it when it dries (and not any sooner).'
```

```
...dansa-n arpista bigulista tuka-pa-pti-n-raq.                          1783
   dance-3 harpist violinist play-ben-adv-3P-yet
```

```
Mana tuka-pti-n-qa   mana dansa-n-chu.
not  play-adv-3P-TOP not  dance-3-NEG
```

```
'...they dance when (and not until) the harpist and violinist play
for them (and not before).  If they do not play, they do not dance.'
```

```
...wakin-qa    kasara-n achka wamra-n-kuna  ka-pti-n-raq.                1784
   others-TOP marry-3  many  child-3P-plur be-adv-3P-yet
```

```
'...others get married after there are several children.'
```

```
Chay usha-ka-pti-n-raq          kara+uunu-n wasi-n-man     kama aywa-ku-n.   1785
that finish-pass-adv-3P-yet     each+one-3P house-3P-GOAL  resp go-refl-3
```

```
'When that is finished (and not before) each one returns home.'
```

The combination of mana 'not' and -raq 'yet' can be used to mean 'before':[310]

```
Mana-raq sha-mu-r          arma-ku-y.                                    1786
not-yet  come-afar-adv     bathe-refl-2IMP
```

```
'Bathe before you come.'
(lit. 'Not yet coming, bathe.')
```

1787a is an unusual example because the main clause bears -raq (relative to the adverbial clause). This is because the action it describes happens before the action described by the adverbial clause. This is clarified in 1787b.

---

[310]If π refers to an event Π and φ refers to an event Φ, then mana-raq π. φ. (not-yet Π Φ) may mean 'Φ before Π', i.e. Φ happens in the time period when Π has not yet happened. Thus, 1786 might be paraphrased 'Bathe in the time period when you have not yet come', i.e., '...before you come.'

a. Ese nuwal-wan tiñi-rku-r atapa-nchi:-_raq_.   1787
   that walnut-COM dye-asp-adv form:skein-12-yet

b. Nuwal tiñi-na-paq-qa atapa-ta rura-nchi.
   walnut dye-sub-pur-TOP skein-OBJ make-12

a. 'Dying it with that walnut, we first form a skein.'
b. 'In order to dye it we make a skein.'

Hina   ka-shun-_ran_ ishkay kimsa killa-kama.   1788
like:that be-12IMP-yet two   three month-LIM

'Let's be like that for two or three months
(and then we can go back to doing .it).'

19.4.4. -*raq* to Indicate an Extreme

-*raq* 'yet' may indicate that the action/event of the clause was an extreme measure, i.e., not carried out to an ordinary degree or applied to the ordinary objects. Examples follow:

Hatun awturidaa-chaw-_raq_-mi musya-ka:-shun kapital-chaw-_raq_-mi.   1789
big   authority-LOC-yet-DIR know-pass-12FUT capital-LOC-yet-DIR

'We will find out in the higher authority, in the capital.'
(and we won't find out any sooner)

Llulla-ku-nki-chari. Kiki-:-_raq_-mi warmi-:-ta watqa-yku-shaq.   1790
lie-refl-2-surely   self-:-yet-DIR wife-1P-OBJ spy-impact-1FUT

'You must be lying! I myself now will spy on my wife.'
(*kikiraqmi* implies that nothing short of the speaker's   .
spying on his wife will determine the truth.)

Mehur-nin-ta-_raq_-shi wañu-rI+ykU-chi-n uysha-n-ta.   1791
good-super-OBJ-yet-IND die-asp-caus-3   sheep-3P-OBJ

'He killed the best of her sheep.' (i.e., nothing less than the best)

Qachwa-n-_raq_-shi kushi-ku-y-lla-wan...   1792
dance-3-yet-IND be:happy-impfv-inf-just-COM

'They even danced in their happiness...'

Sasa-ta-_raq_-shi   hichqa-yku-n   awkin-qa.   1793
difficult-OBJ-yet-IND strike-impact-3 old:man-TOP

'With difficulty the old man strikes the match.'
(*sasataraqshi* implies that it was only with considerable
difficulty that the old man was able to manage striking a match.)

...wayu-chi-na-yki-paq   ñaka-r-_raq_-mi   aru-nki...   1794
  produce-caus-sub-2P-PUR suffer-adv-yet-DIR work-2

'...in order to cause it to produce you will have to work to the
point of suffering...' (i.e., you won't be able to make it
produce without working to the point of suffering)

Taripa-q-naw ka-pti-n mas-_raq_-shi koorri-y-ta qalla-yku-n.   1795
catch-sub-SIM be-adv-3P more-yet-IND run-inf-OBJ begin-impact-3

'When he was about to catch up, he began to run even more.'

19.4.5. With Future Verbs

-*raq* in a clause with a first person future verb indicates the speakers's intention/wish to do what is indicated by the clause. This is usually accompanied by a strong sense that the hearer expects the contrary. Examples follow:

```
Rura-shaq-raq.                                                      1796
do-1FUT-yet
```

'I will yet do it' or 'I still intend to do it.'
(despite your thinking that I won't)

```
Ichan-qa      yapya-:-ta-raq     usha-ku-ri-shaq.                   1797
perhaps-TOP field-1P-OBJ-yet finish-refl-asp-1FUT
```

'Perhaps I will finish (plowing) my field
(before you take one of my oxen).'

```
Ma:         pay-ta-raq tapu-y.                                      1798
challenge he-OBJ-yet ask-2IMP
```

'Ask him first.'
(before you ask me/do it...)

19.4.6. Frozen Expressions with -raq

In the following cases -raq is frozen with chay 'that' into an expression, the meaning of which is not straightforwardly derived from the parts:

chay-lla-raq (that-just-yet) is a temporal adverb which means 'just a moment ago' or 'very very recently'.

chay-raq-shi (that-yet-IND) is a link which means (roughly) 'right then' 'still'.

chaychawraq is used to mean 'not until that point in time': e.g.:

```
Chay-chaw-raq musya-shka-:...                                      1799
that-LOC-yet know-perf-1
```

'It wasn't until that/there, that I knew...'

Other cases in which -raq seems to be frozen are:

hinallaraq 'just like that': e.g.:

```
Yaku  hina-lla-raq        ñiti-ra-yka-ra-n    allpa-ta.             1800
water like:that-just-yet press-stat-impfv-3 ground-OBJ
```

'The water still covered the ground like that.'

qepa-n-ta-raq (back-3P-OBJ-yet) is an adverb meaning (roughly) 'yet some time after'.

19.5. Contrast between -na and -raq

This section contrasts -na 'now' and -raq 'yet'. These have much in common: they have roughly the same formal distribution within the morpho-syntax and the meaning of both is basically temporal. Their meaning is, of course, different as can be seen clearly in examples like 1801:

```
a. Kanan ama-raq aywa-y-chu.                                        1801
   now    not-yet go-2IMP-NEG

b. Kanan ama-na aywa-y-chu.
   now    not-now go-2IMP-NEG

a. 'Don't go yet.' (i.e., go later)
b. 'Don't go now.' (i.e., give up the trip)
```

363

-na and -raq do not ordinarily co-occur in the same clause:[311]

1802

*Ama-<u>na</u> aywa-y-<u>raq</u>-chu. (not-now go-2IMP-yet-NEG)

*Ama-<u>raq</u> aywa-y-<u>na</u>-chu. (not-yet go-2IMP-now-NEG)

-na 'now' and -raq 'yet' differ in that -na 'now' strongly implies a contrast to a former (past) state whereas -raq 'yet' implies a contrast to a subsequent (future) state. For example, consider the development of living things from a state of 'immaturity' to a state of 'old'. In HgQ. *mallwa* 'immature, young' represents an initial period in this development, and *awkis* 'old', the final stages. The interaction of these with -na and -raq shows the asymmetry in what -na and -raq imply. In 1803a, -na implies that the subject has finally become immature from some former state; but since there is no state prior to immaturity, 1803a is anomalous. 1803b is acceptable because something can continue to persist in the state of being immature:

a. *Mallwa-<u>na</u>-mi   ka-yka-n.   1803
   immature-now-DIR be-impfv-3

b. Mallwa-<u>raq</u>-mi   ka-yka-n.
   immature-yet-DIR be-impfv-3

a. *'It is finally immature.'
b. 'It is still immature.'

1804a is acceptable because one can finally become old from the prior condition of being immature. In 1804b, -raq implies that the subject persists in being old in anticipation of some subsequent state; but since there is no subsequent state to being old, 1804b is anomalous:

a. Awkis-<u>na</u>-mi ka-yka-n.   1804
   old-now-DIR be-impfv-3

b. *Awkis-<u>raq</u>-mi ka-yka-n.
   old-yet-DIR   be-impfv-3

a. 'It is now old.'

Consider the question in 1805. and the response to it in 1806. In 1805b, -raq is acceptable because the existence of potatoes is a state in which they may pesist. In 1805a, -na is not acceptable because it implies that potatoes once persisted in not being; but they have to "be" in order to be in a state in which they can continue. i.e., non-existence is not a state in which they can be said to persist.

a. *Papa-ta   ka-yka:-chi-nki-<u>na</u>-chu?   1805
   potatoes-OBJ be-impfv-caus-2-now-YN?

b. Papa-ta   ka-yka:-chi-nki-<u>raq</u>-chu?
   potatoes-OBJ be-impfv-caus-2-yet-YN?

b. 'Do you still have potatoes?'

In 1806a -na is acceptable; the implication of a former state of existence is natural. In 1806b, -raq is not not acceptable because potatoes cannot be said to continue in the state of nonexistence.

---

[311]There are cases like the following. in which -na and -raq co-occur in the same sentence but not in the same clause:

Awkin-<u>na</u>. peru mana-<u>raq</u> allaapa awkin-chu.
old-now   but   not-yet   too   old-NEG

'He is old now, but not yet real old.'

It would not surprise me to see cases in which -na and -raq co-occur in the same clause.

364

a. Mana ka-chi-:-<u>na</u>-chu.
    not be-caus-1-now-NEG

1806

b. *Mana ka-chi-:-<u>raq</u>-chu.
    not be-caus-1-yet-NEG

b. 'I don't have any now (I had some but...)'

365

20. THE SUFFIX -*qa* 'TOP'

This chapter deals with the suffix -*qa*. This suffix is generally referred to as the "topic" marker. and will be will be glossed -*qa* 'TOP'. I will not seek a definitive solution to the very complex problem of specifying the use and distribution of -*qa*, but rather will seek to advance the study of -*qa* by exemplifying the range of cases in which -*qa* is used and will make some (admittedly very speculative) claims about what these uses have in common--presumably the reason for which -*qa* occurs. The primary goal is to make explicit various facts about -*qa*: this discussion is broken into two parts: syntactic facts (section 20.1 and pragmatic/semantic facts (section 20.2.3).

20.1. Syntactic Facts about -*qa*

In this section we will discuss various syntactic aspects of -*qa*. First we will discuss the syntactic categories with which -*qa* occurs. Second. we discuss the restriction of -*qa* to main clause constituents. Third. we see cases where more than one -*qa* per sentence occurs. Finally. we see how -*qa* and the evidential suffixes tend to bracket the initial constituents of a sentence.

20.1.1. Syntactic Categories with which -*qa* Occurs

There is little or no restriction on the occurrence of -*qa* in terms of the syntactic category to which it is suffixed: it occurs with elements of all the major syntactic categories.

Most frequent are occurrences on **substantives**: noun phrases. nouns, pronouns. nominalized clauses. adjectives..... Many examples of these appear below throughout the chapter; for example, in 1810 -*qa* occurs on an adjective. A case not otherwise illustrated below is the-following, in which -*qa* occurs on an infinitive complement:

```
Noqapis munaa   rigiku-y-ta-ga.                              1807
I:too    I:want believe-INF-OBJ-TOP

'I also want to believe.'
```

Very rarely -*qa* occurs on the main verb of a sentence. i.e., on a finite verb. The conditions under which this occurs are probably quite special. These cases are discussed below in section 20.2.3.8. It is suggested there that the occurrence of -*qa* on the main verb of a sentence is restricted to second references to the action suggested by that verb.

-*qa* occurs on **adverbs**. frequently on adverbial clauses (see 20.2.3.7) and occasionally on lexical adverbs. Example with lexical adverbs are seen in 1852h and in the following:

```
Washalaaman   kaylaaman    chutanchi  chankankunapita           1808
to:that:side  to:this:side we:pull:it by:its:feet

mana allaapa-ga.
not  much-TOP

'We stretch it between the two sides, pulling it by the feet,
but not pulling too hard.'
```

-*qa* occurs on "**links**", the sentential conjunctions such as *chawra* 'then'. *chaypita* 'thereafter', *nirkur* 'thereupon'.... These are discussed in 20.2.3.5.

-*qa* does not occur on the negative words (*mana, ama*). nor on the conjunctions *y* 'and' and *o* 'or' which are borrowed from Spanish. Nor does it occur on interjections or on ideophones.

In conclusion, then, -*qa* occurs with elements of all the major syntactic categories (substantives, verbs, and adverbs). It does not occur with the negative words, interjections, and ideophones.

20.1.2. Restriction to Constituents of the Main Clause

-*qa* occurs only on constituents of the main clause: it does not occur within a subordinate clause, within a NP, etc.[312] For example, consider the following:

```
a. Hatun  wasi-ta     muna-:.                                        1809
   big     house-OBJ  want-1

b. Hatun  wasi-ta-ga      muna-:.
   big     house-OBJ-TOP  want

c.*Hatun-ga  wasi-ta     munaa.
   big-TOP    house-OBJ  want-1

a,b. 'I want a big house.'
```

As seen in 1809b, -*qa* can be added to the entire object. It cannot be added to the adjective *hatun* 'big' in 1809c because *hatun* is not a main clause constituent.

However, there are mechanisms for making constituents which would otherwise not be constituents of the main clause into constituents of the main clause. For example, the adjective of 1808a might be moved outside of the NP in which it occurs--in which case it receives a copy of the case marker of the NP, in this case, -*ta* 'OBJ'--and then it can receive a -*qa*:

```
Wasi-ta    munaa    hatun-ta-ga.                                     1810
house-OBJ  I:want   big-OBJ-TOP

'I want a big house.'
```

Example 1811, from a folk tale, is like 1810: *huknayllataqa* 'just one' is a displaced modifier of *kawallu* 'horse':[313]

```
Mana munasha-chu     kawallu-ta muntaku-y-ta huknaylla-ta-ga.        1811
not  he:wanted-NEG  horse-OBJ mount-INF-OBJ only:one-OBJ-TOP

'He didn't want to mount JUST ONE horse.'
```

20.1.3. More than One -*qa* per Sentence

More than one -*qa* may occur per sentence. For example, consider 1812b, in which there are three occurrences of -*qa*:[314]

---

[312] This is fairly true across all Quechua languages. Inga (of Colombia) and San Martin Quechua are exceptional: they allow -*qa* to occur within subordinate clauses.

[313] The text after example 1811 continues, 'So he made two horses stand side by side... got on... One horse went up the hill and the other went down the hill, breaking his legs.'

[314] I have given 1812a as context for 1812b because I think that the multiple occurrences of -*qa* in 1812b are due to the rather special context in which it occurs and the special role that it plays in that context. It climaxes the search for a man who is willing to assume the heavy responsibility of sponsoring the next year's fiesta. This involves plying potential candidates with considerable cane liquor to get their commitment.

```
a. Karguta  yaykunanpaq awneqnaw              kaptin-qa    masta        1812
   position to:enter     as:though:to:agree if:he:be-TOP more

   awrindita kunbiran  yaparir yaparir awninankama.
   fire:water he:served adding  adding  until:he:agrees

b. Runa-qa achkata awrindita  upur-qa
   man-TOP much     fire:water having:drunk-TOP

   awnin     machar-na-qa.
   he:agrees being:drunk-NOW-TOP
```

```
a. 'If the man is as though to agree to enter the position,
    they serve him firewater again. and again.'
b. 'The man, having drunk much firewater, agrees, now
    (being) drunk.'
```

Other cases in which there are multiple occurrences of -*qa* will be seen below.

20.1.4. Blocking and the Interaction with the Evidential Suffixes

-*qa* interacts (somehow!!) with the evidential suffixes -*mi* 'direct/first hand information', -*shi* 'indirect/second hand information', -*chi* 'conjectural'. For example, only rarely does one see an evidential suffix and -*qa* co-occur on the same word. One of these rare exceptions is the following[315] (from Levengood [19]:19):

```
Rason  faltan-mi-qa.                                          1813
really he:lacks-DIR-TOP
```

```
'He really has need of one (a wife).'
```

Another evidence of the interaction of -*qa* and the evidential suffixes is that -*qa* occurs much less frequently and with more specific functions in discourse types in which there are no evidential suffixes. (More about that later.)

Peter Landerman (personal communication) has observed a strong tendency--that seems to obtain in a surprisingly wide range of dialects--toward the following possible patterns (where P, Q, R, S,... are constituents of the main clause and -*mi* 'DIR' is taken to represent an evidential suffix);

```
P-mi Q R S ....                                              1814
or
P-qa Q-mi R S ....
or
P-qa Q-qa R-mi S....
or
......
```

That is. -*qa* occurs on all the constituents of the main clause before the constituent on which the evidential suffix occurs; we might say that -*qa* "bumps" the evidential suffix over to the next constituent.[316] Examples follow:

---

[315]Another such example is 1824. Note that the order of occurrence of -*qa* and the evidential suffix differ in these two examples.

[316]-*qa* also does not co-occur with -*pis* ~ -*si* 'even. also': some of the "blocking" and "bumping" effect described for -*qa* may also be exhibited by these suffixes.

```
[Chawra] [oosumallwa]-ga  [runata]-ga                                    1815
 then    young:bear-TOP    men-TOP

[pampa inlisya punku-man]-shi  hitaraykamun   hanaq
 ground church  door-GOAL-IND  he:throws:them high

toorripita wañuqpaq....
tower:from that:they:die

'Then the young bear throws the men to the ground at the
 door of the church from the high tower with the result
 that they die...'

Chayshi [warmin]-ga   [chayamur]-ga  ["Ima..imata                        1816
 then   his:wife-TOP   arriving-TOP    what what

apamushkanki? Imata apamushkanki?" niq]-shi
you:brought   What  you:brought     she:said-IND

[runanta]-ga.
to:her:husband-TOP

'Then his wife, upon arriving. would ask her husband,
 "What did you bring (me)?  What did you bring (me)?"'
```

The patterns of 1814 are more general than one might, at first, be led to believe. Three apparent exceptions can be accounted for.

First, there are discourse types in which no evidential suffixes occur; in these, -qa often occurs on the initial constituents before the one on which an evidential suffix would occur if the sentence occurred in a discourse type which required evidential suffixes. For example, if the following sentence had occurred in a discourse type which required an evidential suffix, that suffix would occur very naturally following parabin:

```
[Chawra]-ga [llapan minisrukuna runakuna chaychaw kaq]-ga                1817
 then-TOP    all    ministers    men      there   who:are-TOP

parabin  nipaakun.
for:good they:say:to:him

'Then all the ministers and men who are there shake his
 hand (lit., say "good").'
```

Similarly, in the following example the evidential suffix would occur naturally on quyaakun:

```
[Wakin runakuna]-ga [warmi-ta  ashishan kaqchaw]-ga                      1818
 other men-TOP       woman-OBJ  search   being:at-TOP

quyaakun   upyarkaykar...
they:remain drinking

'Other men remain at the place where they are proposing
 to the woman drinking...'
```

In the following example (from Pantoja [25], pg. 14, section 2:70) the evidential suffix would occur on hinallanllachoona:[317]

---

[317] This would result in hinanllachoo ending in -nam = /-na-mi/ 'NOW-DIR', which is a very frequent combination in Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua text which is structured on temporal progression.

369

```
[Wamrakuna awkiskuna   manana  ayqiyta pwedeq      kaq]-qa           1819
 children  old:people  not:now run:INF who:are:able: who:are-TOP
```

```
hinallanllachoona qonqurikuykuyaanaq...
right:there:now   they:were:crawling
```

```
'The children and old people who were no longer able to
run were crawling right there...'
```

Second. even in discourse types which generally require an evidential suffix. there may be absences of the evidential suffix for entirely unrelated reasons.[318] One discourse type which uses evidential suffixes in Huallaga Quechua is the folk tale. However, many sentences lack the appropriate evidential suffix (-shi 'IND'). This is due in part to the fact that these are told in the perfect tense (except when they switch to the historical present), the third person form of which is -sha. Seldom is -sha-shi '3PERF-IND' attested despite the fact that evidential suffixes occur on verbs in other tenses. The -shi is presumably lost following -sha because of apocope.[319]

Third, cases in which some post-verbal constituent bears -qa should not be taken as evidence against the "bumping hypothesis". Post-verbal subject and object NP's almost always bear -qa, (a fact reported in Coombs et al. [10] (pg. 147) for San Martin Quechua, but true also of Huallaga Quechua and probably a wide range of other dialects). For Inga (a Quechua language spoken in Colombia) Levinsohn [20] (pg. 30) suggests that ca, which is cognate with HgQ -qa 'TOP'. occurs on post-verbal (rhematic) elements because the evidential suffixes do not occur on any post-verbal element (a fact which also holds true for Huallaga Quechua with a few straightforward exceptions).

The pattern of 1814 has a good deal of utility in blocking a sentence into its main constituents; indeed. in some cases one wonders if this isn't the primary reason for the occurrence of -qa. In examples like 1817-1819 as well as the following. the parts of the sentence might not be clear to the hearer if he had not been given the explicit signals that he had reached the end of a constituent of the main clause. This is probably also true for cases like 1821 in which the pattern is not complete: 1821 lacks -qa on the third constituent of the main clause. (It is of no particular concern that the link chawra is without -qa in many of these cases.)

---

[318]For example. in the following example -shi occurs on buurru 'donkey'. allqu 'dog', and gaallu 'rooster'. and yet fails to occur on mishi 'cat' even though it is completely parallel to the others. The reason is simply that this dialect of Quechua (as most dialects) frequently apocopates like syllables at the ends of words:

```
Mana duyñun mayakaptin puñukaykaarin-shi
not  owner  hearing    they:put:themselves:to:sleep
```

```
chay wasi-chaw  buurru-shi hawa     punku pampa-man,
that house-LOC  donkey-IND outside door  ground-GOAL
```

```
allqu-shi punku yaykurina-chaw, mishi-Ø tullpa
dog-IND   door  entrance-LOC    cat     stove
```

```
punku-chaw, y  gaallu-shi   wasi hana pinku-chaw.
door-LOC    and rooster-IND house top  ridgepole-LOC
```

```
'Because the owners were not heard, they put themselves to
sleep in that house. the donkey on the ground outside the door,
the dog in the doorway, the cat at the door of the stove, and
the rooster on top of the ridgepole of the house.'
```

[319]I hypothesize for Junín Quechua. where folk tales are told in the simple past. that the "bumping pattern" would be more regular.

```
Chawra [runa]-ga [busburupa huk umanta    hurquykuy]-shi                1820
so       man-TOP   match's    one its:head taking:out-IND

toopaykachin  chay achikyaraykaqman.
he:touches:it that what:is:shining
```

'Then the man, having taken out a match, touches it to where
that was shining.'

```
Chawra [huk diya]-ga [awkis oosu ashipakoq                              1821
then     one day-TOP  old   bear to:search

aywakushankama]   [wamran]-ga [laahata horqoriykur]-shi
while:he:was:gone  his:son-TOP stone    removing-IND

pushakun  mamanta     maman         tiyashan markapa.
he:leads  his:mother  his:mother    lived     town
```

'Then one day while the old bear had gone to scavenge, his son,
having removed the stone, leads his mother to the town in which
she had lived.'

The utility of -qa in conjunction with the evidential suffixes to block a sentence into constituents is not merely a "processing convenience". In some cases the occurrence of -qa has semantic consequences. For example, in 1822 below the occurrence of -qa in cooperation with the position of mana 'not' limits the scope of negation to llapan 'all'; without -qa this sentence would--I suspect--be ambiguous between the meaning given below ('Not all women know how (to sing) that.') and 'All women do not know how (to sing) that.' The disambiguation results because -qa indicates that the first constituent is all that precedes it, which since it includes mana, limits the scope of negation to within that constituent.

```
Chay rusta apaptin birsupan.  [Mana llapan warmi]-ga                    1822
that cross taking  they:sing   not   all   women-TOP

yachan-chu    chay-ta.
they:know-NEG that-OBJ
```

'As they take the cross, they sing. Not all women know how
(to sing) that.'

In example 1823, the -qa following kutiptin blocks the preceding material as the first major constituent. This is consistent with the same subject switch reference marking on the verb of the embedded clause, whose verb is hitariykur: it cannot be directly superordinate to the main clause because the respective subjects are not coreferential. But the clause whose verb is kutiptin, with different subject marking, may be directly subordinate to the main clause, as the respective subjects are different. Thus, taking the -qa following kutiykur as the right boundary of the first major constituent leads to exactly the structure dictated by the switch reference facts.[320]

```
Y    [[chay mayurnin      hitariyku-r]      kuti-pti-n]-ga              1823
and    that older:brother throwing-adv(ss)  return-adv(ds)-3P-TOP

[chay sonso]-ga baaya      wasinchawna       uyshanwan
that stooge-TOP  (exclamation) in:his:house:now with:his:sheep

waakanwan      puriykasha.
with:his:cows  he:walked:about
```

'And after that, his older brother returned (from) having thrown
him over, that stooge (exclamation) was going about his house
with his sheep and his cows.'

---

[320]A similar but more elaborate argument can be constructed for 1857.

Example 1855b is another case where the function of -qa has direct semantic significance as a result of constraining the constituent relations: its temporal clause tumaykashanchaw 'as he is going about' is not a constituent of the main clause, because if it were, it would mean that the rigidur whips the animal's owners as he is going about. Rather it is a constituent of the conditional adverbial clause: '[If--as he is going around--he finds animals eating the crops]...'

In conclusion, it has been shown that there is a tendency for some number of occurrences of -qa and one occurrence of an evidential suffix to block a sentence into its main clause constituents. This may be a processing convenience which in some cases has semantic implications because of the restrictions placed on the grouping of the words into syntactic constituents. Let me hasten to add that this is only a tendency: many sentences have no -qa's, even some which seem ideal candidates for blocking. I believe that dialects, speakers, and discourse types vary considerably in the extent to which the patterns of 1814 have become norms. Where there is a strong set of norms, this undoubtedly deprives -qa of some of its pragmatic force. It is to these pragmatic uses of -qa that we will now turn our attention.

20.2. Pragmatic Facts about -qa

This section treats various pragmatic facts about -qa. As with many such "facts", they are often no more than tendencies, seldom capturable by formal rules. Nevertheless, any adequate treatment of -qa should account for them.

20.2.1. General Comments

-qa has sometimes been associated with "focus"[321] and more often with "topic."[322] I have chosen to stick with common practice, i.e. to use "topic"; however, I wish to emphasize that it is intended as an arbitrary label.[323] Two ways that "topic" has been used are (i) to establish a (new) topic, and (ii) to continue a topic. -qa is never used to establish a new topic. It is used on elements which are highly topical (or "thematic") but, the most topical elements are referred to by zero anaphora. Some uses of -qa actually increase the salience of the constituent to which attached, i.e. brings it into focus: e.g. see 1811. This seems inconsistent with the idea that -qa marks topics. The discussion below will not center on the appropriateness of one label or another. Rather our purpose will be to document that -qa is a fundamental part of the system by which a speaker guides the attention of his hearer, and to explore how in which it does so.

-qa tends to occur on constituents which have been previously mentioned, alluded to, or part of "general knowledge". As with definite articles in English, reference in Quechua to some object "brings along" its parts and associates. For example, after referring to a bicycle, we can speak of 'the

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[321]See, for example, Phelps [29] and Wolck [43].

[322]Unfortunately, there has been a tendency to use these terms without fully explicit definitions. Others subsequently take the label for whatever it means to them. To some extent 'topic' is still poorly defined. Chafe [7] (pg. 55) suggests that it means something somewhat different from language to language.

[323]Better labels might have been 'relevance' or 'theme'.

handlebars'. Similarly, in the following example the anti-hero's mother has not been previously mentioned; Nevertheless, *maman* 'his mother' may receive *-qa* because reference to the anti-hero has "brought along" his associates.

```
Chawra-ga "Kanan-ga-chi     kanan-lla
then-TOP   now-TOP-probably  just:now

maman-ga         rimamanqa,          awkin..."
his:mother-TOP   she:will:criticize:me  old:man
```

'Then, "Now, just now, his mother will criticize me, old man..."'

In examples 1825 and 1826, *runakuna* 'men, people' receives *-qa* even though there is no previous mention of the people; this is because *runakuna* does not refer to a particular group of people, but rather to people in general, and (generic) "people" does not need previous mention to be part of the context:

```
Chawra 'Chay hukwan.      Chay warmikita yanqami
then    that with:another that your:wife  in:vain

sirbinki;  nisha      nisha      huk
you:serve  they:said  they:said  other

runakuna-ga  rikaqninkuna-ga.
men-TOP      those:who:had:seen:them-TOP
```

'Then "That (your wife is) with another (man). In vain do you serve your wife." said various people who had seen them.'

```
'...Wankaman      pituy  karaa'  ninshi      runakuna-ga
at:a:distance     tie:it (expletive) they:say  men-TOP
```

'"...Tie it with plenty of rope (expletive)" people tell him.'

One might think that an evidential suffix occurs on the new information in a sentence, whereas *-qa* occurs on the old. But while it is true that *-qa* tends to occur on old information (with "old information" suitably defined to include things alluded to, generics, etc.), it is not true that the evidentials are restricted to new information. For example, in the following piece of text, the evidential *-shi* 'IND' occurs on *uchu aqasha* 'ground pepper' in the second sentence, despite the fact that it is the subject of the immediately preceding sentence:

```
a. Y    uchu       aqasha   listuna-shi   kaykan.
   and  hot:pepper ground   ready:now-IND it:is

b. wanchaq-ga  uchu       aqasha-wan-shi  atoqpa qaran
   (bird)-TOP  hot:pepper ground-COM-IND  fox's  skin

   kuchushanman  laqtapaykun.
   to:where:cut  he:smears:it
```

a. 'And the ground hot pepper was now ready.'
b. 'The *wanchaq* smeared the hot pepper into where they had cut the fox's skin.'

While there is a tendency for *-qa* to occur on old information, it would be too strong to say that *-qa* is restricted to old information.[324]

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[324]This was demonstrated by Levinsohn [20] for Inga of Colombia.

20.2.2. Variation in the Use of -*qa*

There are three sorts of variation in the use of -*qa* which--on the one hand--complicate making significant generalization about this suffix, and--on the other hand--themselves demand explanation.

First, there is variation in the use of -*qa* from dialect to dialect. This is, of course, not surprising. What *is* surprising is the extent to which -*qa* seems to be used in the same way across dialects. dialects which differ at least as much as Spanish and French. For example, the list of uses described in Coombs [10] for San Martin Quechua (a Quechua A dialect) and that described below for Huallaga Quechua (a Quechua B dialect) is remarkably similar. And much of what Levinsohn [20] describes for Inga (a Quechua A dialect) also holds for Huallaga Quechua. Of course. the actual similarities of the uses of -*qa* across dialects cannot be completely assessed at the present because there are not yet adequate descriptions of the uses of -*qa* for many dialects, but the impression one gets from the literature and from scanning texts from various dialects is that there are remarkable similarities. Such similarities across dialects leads one to believe that the function(s) of -*qa* are very coherent, possibly that there is but a single basic function (or "meaning") at the heart of the various uses of -*qa*. If this were not the case. i.e., if -*qa* were merely assigned as the marker of a rather arbitrary set of functions. then one would expect there to be much more variation between the dialects.

Second. there is variation in the use of -*qa* from speaker to speaker within a single dialect. In some cases this might be attributable to different styles: for example, a style which has a high frequency of post-verbal subjects and objects will have a high frequency of -*qa*'s because postverbal subjects and objects almost always bear -*qa*. There is reason to suspect that:

- a high frequency of -*qa* can be associated with "more animated" speech, i.e., speech which strives more vigorously to keep the hearers attention, and ¨
- the frequency of -*qa* may be higher in the speech of women than in that of men, (a suggestion for which I have only a little data at present).

Evidence (admittedly anecdotal) for the former claim is a situation reported to me by David Coombs (personal communication): it seems that one of the dialects of Cajamarca has both a higher frequency of -*qa*'s and greater overall pitch variation in typical speech; this is pronounced enough that the speakers of this dialect are often characterized as "singing" their Quechua. But, of course, greater pitch variation is characteristic of more animated speech. So the correlation of frequency of -*qa* with the degree of animation is indirectly supported by their mutual correlation with greater pitch variation. If the frequency of -*qa* does correlate with degree of animatedness. then the second claim may be in part due to the greater degree of animatedness with which Quechua women speak as compared with men.[325]

Some speaker-to-speaker variation is due to differing degree of competence in the use of -*qa*. This becomes more plausible if we consider what sort of competence is involved in using -*qa*. My feeling is that it involves "discourse competence" (or maybe, "pragmatic competence") and I assume that it is acquired at a much later stage than say, syntactic competence. It could be that some speakers never, in fact, become fully "discourse competent". The following experience led me rather strongly to the idea that there are speakers who possess full syntactic competence and yet have less than full discourse competence. In one dialect I checked a particular (computer-adapted) text with both a

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[325]That is my impression. at least.

young and an old man, both of which were bilingual and for whom Quechua was their native language. The young man had recently returned from Lima where he had been studying--in Spanish--for many years. In correcting the texts, this young man made more corrections of a discourse nature than did the old man. His corrections were almost always toward the basic patterns prescribed by the "bumping hypothesis" (1814). My guess is that this young man was discourse competent to the extent of knowing the basic patterns but lacked the competence to know how that pattern should/could be violated, much as the child who says "goed" rather than "went" because he knows the regularities of the English past tense but doesn't know the exceptions.

Third, there is variation in the use of -qa from discourse type to discourse type within the speech of a single speaker. For example, both Phelps [29] for Ayacucho and the present author for Huallaga Quechua, have noticed that there are far fewer -qa's per sentence in descriptive material than in folk tales. It is surprising that the variation from one type of discourse to another should be so similar for two dialects differing as much as Ayacucho and Huallaga Quechua. This further reinforces the conviction that -qa is not arbitrarily associated with some set of uses, but rather that there is some basic, coherent function for which it is the marker.

What might account for the different frequencies of -qa in different discourse types? In Huallaga Quechua, folk tales have an extremely high frequency of -qa. By contrast, personal narratives have a very low frequency of -qa. This is somewhat surprising since both discourse types share many characteristics: in both, the order in which events are told is the order of occurrence: in both, various participants may be involved, with the action shifting from participant to participant. However, there is an essential difference between folk tales and personal narratives to which the differences in the use of -qa might be attributed. namely that personal narratives have a "built-in" perspective whereas folk tales do not. Folk tales have more the character of theatre, where the spotlight must be focused on the various participants to bring the attention of the viewer first to one, then to another.

An interesting fact about the variations in the frequency and use of -qa from one discourse type to another has emerged from the study of two texts, one which explains the various roles of the administrators of the fiestas, the other a description of engagement practices. Both of these are basically expository texts, but in both there are portions embedded of other discourse types (such as procedural text within the expository text[326]). In the embedded regions -qa has roughly the frequency and range of uses that it has in the corresponding non-embedded text of this type. For example, non-embedded procedural text has virtually no occurrences of -qa; this is also true of procedural text which is embedded in some other type of text. So clearly, the use of -qa is determined by fairly local considerations and not as a feature of the discourse as a whole.

A finally observation: -qa occurs in all discourse types in which evidential suffixes occur, i.e., if evidential suffixes occur, then -qa's also occurs. (Some texts, e.g. procedural texts, have -qa but no evidentials.)

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[326]See Longacre [23] for a definition of these terms.

20.2.3. The Uses of -*qa*

This section treats various uses of -*qa*. The taxonomy used to present these uses is primarily an expository convenience. No one should be led by it to thinking that -*qa* is simply arbitrarily associated with this set of distinct functions, or to the conclusion that the examples presented are strictly of one type and not of another. Like perhaps all functional taxonomies, there is considerable overlap from one use to another, and a given example might reasonable fit in more than one category. This is not unreasonable if, as seems likely, there is a single, basic function associated with -*qa* and the differences which there appear to be (i.e. from a non-native perspective) are merely different contextualizations of that basic function.

What exactly this basic function might be is unclear at present. I propose the following, which I believe is a a step in the right direction toward an adequate characterization. (I readily admit that this proposal does not resolve all the issues raised here.)

> -*qa* occurs on the constituent(s) of a sentence which the speaker wishes to indicate as
> that (those) which is (are) most responsible for that sentence being relevant to its context
> (where by 'context' we mean the set of propositions which the speaker assumes the hearer
> to know at the point at which he says the sentence).

The advantage of such a definition--some would see it as a disadvantage--is that it is rather vague; a constituent can be responsible for the sentence in which it occurs being relevant to its context for various reasons, such as pursuing the same topic, contrasting with something in the context, presenting alternatives in the same role, bearing out some temporal or logical relationship, etc.. Some of these relations of relevance may become conventionally associated with -*qa*, but which relations and to what extent this has happened for even one dialect is an open question. It may be that in some highly specific contexts a speaker can use -*qa* because he perceives a highly specialized, unconventional, or novel relationship of relevance, one which he assumes would be correctly interpreted by his hearer in that context.

The rest of this section will be organized under the following headings:
- relevance to context (see section 20.2.3.1).
- contrast (see section 20.2.3.2),
- -*qa* with negative assertions and yes/no questions (see section 20.2.3.3),
- alternatives (see section 20.2.3.4),
- -*qa* with sentential connectives (see section 20.2.3.5),
- resuming a topic (see section 20.2.3.6).
- -*qa* on adverbial clauses. (see section 20.2.3.7), and
- -*qa* on main verbs (see section 20.2.3.8).

20.2.3.1. -*qa* indicating relevance to context

The examples of this section are ones for which an element is marked with -*qa* simply because it makes its sentence relevant to the context. The first three examples involve reported dialogue (embedded in folk tales). In each case the first speaker initiates a topic which in the second speaker's reply is tagged with -*qa*. The second speaker indicates by the use of -*qa* the constituent he regards as making his response most appropriate in the context of the first speaker's lead. This exchange can naturally result in the establishment of this constituent (or better said, its referent) as the "topic of conversation".

a. Chawra ninshi wanchaq, "Noqa peechoota pukayaachishkaa   1828
   then   he:says wanchaq   I   my:breast I:made:it red

   uchuwan."
   with:pepper

b. Chawra atoqshi nin,   "Imanawpataq qam uchuwan-ga
   then   fox   he:says   how   you with:pepper-TOP

   pukayaachishkanki?"
   you:made:your:breast:red

a. 'Then the *wanchaq* (type of bird) says, "I made my
   breast red with hot pepper".'
b. 'Then the fox says, "How did you make your breast red with
   pepper?"'

a. Allqushi chawra nin,   "Aywakur maychawtaq mikuyta   1829
   dog   then   he:says   if:I:go where?   food

   tarishaq   noqa?"
   I:will:find   I

b. Buurru nin,   "Ama   mikuypita-ga   llakikuychu..."
   donkey he:says, Don't because:of:food-TOP don't:be:discouraged

a. 'The dog then says, "If I go, where will I find food?"'
b. 'The donkey says, "Don't be discouraged because of food..."'

a. "...Tiyu, mikuykita chunkashun."   Mishi ninshi chawra,   1830
   ...Uncle your:lamb lets:do:it:in   cat   says   then,

b. Nana mukoota-ga. Mukoo-ga   utikar   muntasha
   not my:lamb-TOP my:lamb-TOP when:I:tire mounted

   purikunaapaqmi.
   for:me:to:travel

a. "..Uncle, let's do in your lamb." So the cat replies,
b. "Not my lamb. My lamb is for me to go mounted when I tire."'

The following examples are from a text recorded from a woman who regularly brought medicinal
herbs to the city of Huanuco to sell. The text was in answer to the question 'What do you cure with in
the "chakra" (rural areas)?' At four points in her reply we find *chakra-chaw-qa*
(rural:area-LOC-TOP); this is because the *chakra* is what makes her reply relevant to the context
established by the question that she was asked. (One could also--less plausibly though--explain these
as relevant because she is contrasting what is taken as remedy in the *chakra* with what is taken in the
city, where the text was recorded: see 20.2.3.2.)

a. Chayllami chakra-chaw-ga rimidyu kurupaq...   1831
   just:that chakra-LOC-TOP remedy for:worms...

b. Chayllami chakra-chaw-ga. Mihur pastiilla y   mihur ...toonika.
   just:that chakra:LOC:TOP better pills   and better tonic

c. Chaytami   upunchi chakra-chaw-ga.
   just:that we:drink chakra-LOC-TOP

d. Chaykunallawanmi noqakuna chakra-chaw-ga hampikoo.
   just:with:that   we   chakra:lOC:TOP we:cure

   Manam pastiillata ni rantiichu...
   not   pills   nor we:do:not:buy

a. 'That is the only remedy we have in the *chakra* for worms...'
b. 'We have just that in the *chakra*. Pills and tonics
   are better.'
c. 'In the *chakra* we just take that.'
d. 'We cure ourselves with just those (herbs) in the *chakra*.
   We don't buy pills...'

The following is a final example where *-qa* occurs for no apparent reason other than to flag an element as that which makes the sentence relevant to its context:

```
a. Mayuyaqshi    chayaykun.                                      1832
   to:the:river  he:arrived

b. Y    mayu-qa    chayashashi aywakuykaanaq.
   and  river-TOP  full        it:was:going

a. '(The fox) arrived at the river.'
b. 'And the river was swollen.'
```

20.2.3.2. *-qa* indicating contrast

A constituent may make a sentence relevant to its context because its referent contrasts with some other element in its context, either something explicitly referred to in the discourse or not explicit but which the speaker can safely assume is in the context[327]. For example, in the following the price of hiring an orchestra (to provide music for a fiesta) is contrasted with the price of hiring someone to play music with his record player:

```
a. Pikapayoqkuna            mas  baraatulla kubran.             1833
   record:player:owners more cheap      they:charge

b. Orkistakuna-qa mas  chaninta
   bands-TOP      more expense

a. 'Record player owners charge less (to provide the
   music for the fiesta).'
b. 'Orchestras (charge) more.'
```

In the following example, the speaker contrasts the ultimate outcome for the frog (in 1834a) and the condor (in 1834b):

```
a. ...allichaw keedaykun    saapo.                              1834
      in:good  he:remained frog

b. Y    kondor-qa    perdiykun leetuta.
   and  condor-TOP  he:lost   the:litigation.

a. '...it turned out well for the frog.'
b. 'THE CONDOR (by contrast) lost the litigation.'
```

In the following example, the amount of money that the treasurer must spend is contrasted with the amount that the majordomo must spend:

```
Tesureeru karguta  paasananpaq qellayta mas  achkata          1835
treasurer position to:fulfill  money    more lots

gastan     mayordoomu gastashanpita-qa.
he:spends majordomo  from:his:spending-TOP

'In order for the treasurer to fulfill his position, he spends
much more than the majordomo spends.'
```

Example 1835 indicates that with which the *-qa*-bearing constituent contrasts, in this case, how much the treasurer spends. In the following example the element with which something is contrasted is not explicitly stated in the (preceding) context, but is nonetheless in the context. In 1836 the frog is speaking to the authority in the capital, who has just told him that his document is good (and that thus the frog has won the case). In saying 1836 to the authority, the frog contrasts the treatment he

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[327] I intend this in the technical sense of "context" defined on page 376, namely as the set of propositions which the speaker assumes the hearer to know at the point of speaking.

has received in the capital with that which he received in the province; "in the capital" is in the context because the frog has just received a favorable disposition from the authority (his hearer) in the capital:

```
Manakaq     papelllanwanmi gaanamasha asendaado                          1836
worthless with:his:paper he:beat:me hacienda:owner

probinsyachaw-qa.
in the:province-TOP

'With nothing but his worthless document the hacienda owner
beat me in the province.'
```

In the following example, the occurrence of -qa in the first sentence is because "the table" is the topic discussed in the immediately preceding discourse and thus reference to it makes the sentence relevant to the context. In the second sentence -qa occurs on the subordinate clause ('to feed those who are seated on the ground') because this contrasts with the purpose of the servant who is "at" the table (whose role it is to feed those seated at the table).

```
a. Chay meesachaw-qa huk sirbinti.                                      1837
   that at:table-TOP one   servant

b. Mas  huk sirbinti ka-n pampa-chaw hamaraqta       qaranan-paq-qa.
   more one servant  be-3 ground-LOC sit-stat-sub-OBJ serve-sub3P-PUR-TOP

a. '(There is) one servant at that table.'
b. 'There is another servant to feed those who are seated on the ground.'
```

In some cases in which it seems that two elements are contrasted -qa is attached to the first rather than the second. For example, in example 1838, past and present size is being compared:

```
Takshalla   kasha-qa;   kanan hatun-na.                                 1838
just:small it:was-TOP   now   big-NOW

'It was small; now it is big.'
```

One is tempted to say that cases like 1838 are instances of "anticipatory" contrast. Such a claim differs from that made above, namely that -qa indicates contrast as one way to indicate relevance to context, because the element with which there is contrast (hatun 'big' 1838) is not in the context when -qa is spoken. Many cases like 1838 (perhaps not all) can be explained as marking relevance to the context preceding the sentence in which in occurs.

In example 1839, after stating the amazing infrequency with which people bathe at 13,000 feet above sea level, the author contrasts the frequency with which they wash their heads:

```
a. Kapas watachaw  huk kuti armakun   inteeru kwerpun-ta-qa...          1839
   maybe in:a:year one time they:bathe entire their:body-OBJ-TOP

b. Uman-ta       kaaran-ta    awikun    semaanachaw
   his:head-OBJ his:face-OBJ he:rinses in:a:week

   ishkay kuti  kimsa kuti...
   two    times three times

a. 'Maybe they bathe their entire bodies once a year...'
b. 'They rinse heir heads and faces two or three times
    each week...'
```

In example 1840, what is eaten in the *chakra* 'rural areas' (where--it is claimed by the speaker--the people are poor and the diet unvaried) is contrasted with what is eaten when they get to the city. (Note that rice and macaroni are esteemed foods whereas potatoes and corn are not.) This example also contains two cases of -qa on a constituent expressing a reason (*pobre-qa* in 1840a and *waqchakuna-qa* in 1840b); I have no explanation for these except to say that the poverty of the people

is a thematic thread running through the text of which 1840 is but a part.

1840

```
a. Chakrachaw-ga      chay huk mikushallanchiita-mi  mikunchi pobre-ga.
   in:rural:area-TOP that one that:which:we:eat-DIR we:eat    poor-TOP

b. Chayllata waqchakuna-ga mikunchi.
   just:that orphans-TOP   we:eat

c. Kayman   shamurran            tarinchii-ga arrus  o fidyus
   to:here only:when:we:come we:find-TOP   rice or macaroni
```

```
a. 'In the rural areas we eat just that one food, because we are poor.'
b. 'We just eat that (being) orphans.' (hyperbole)
c. 'Only when we come here (to the city)  do we find rice or macaroni.'
```

Example 1841 is of a slightly different sort. Here a group is established and then various subsets of that group are contrasted. For example a group of three is established in 1841a; one member is singled out in 1841b; in 1841c the other two members are contrasted with the first. Similarly, a group of five members is established in 1841d; one member is singled out in 1841e and then another in 1841f; finally in 1841g the other three are considered. (The syntax of *ichan-qa* 'perhaps' in 1841g is somewhat of a mystery: I do not know why it occurs in 1841g, nor what effect it brings to that sentence.)

```
a. Dansayta yachaq          warmikunallata ashin     kimsata.            1841
   to:dance who:know:how just:women        he:seeks three

b. Huk warmi  mas  yachaq              kanan.
   one woman  more one:who:knows:how there:should:be

c. Ishkay kaq-ga      pooku yachaqllapis        kakun.
   two    who:be-TOP little ones:who:know:how there:may:be

d. Ollqota ashin      pichqata, llapanta dansayta yachaqllata.
   man     he:sends five,       all      to:dance ones:who:know:how;-only-

e. Chaychawpis      huk kanan             ligiyta yachaq
   there:in:too     one there:should:be to:read one:who:knows:how

   wakin   kaqpita-ga.
   other   from:those:which:are-TOP

f. Hukpis     kanan            mas  dansayta yachaq
   one:also there:should:be more to:dance one:who:knows

   wakin kaqpita-ga.
   other from:those:which:are-TOP

g. Kimsa kaq    ichan-ga    pooku yachaqllapis        kakun.
   three who:be perhaps-TOP little ones:who:know:even there:may:be
```

```
a. 'He looks for three women who know how to dance.'
b. 'There should be one woman who really knows how (to dance).'
c. 'The other two may not know so well.'
d. 'He looks for five men, all of whom know how to dance.'
e. 'Among them there should be one who knows how to read better
    than the others (in contrast to the others).'
f. 'There should also be one who knows how to dance better
    than all the others.'
g. 'The other three don't have to know so well.'
```

20.2.3.3. -*qa* with negative assertions and yes/no questions

In a negative sentence there may be one constituent which is focal, i.e., one constituent which the speaker assumes is primarily responsible for the negativity of that sentence. Similarly, there may be a focal constituent in a yes/no question, the constituent which the speaker does not assume to be correct, the one for which he is requesting verification. One possibility available to the Quechua

380

speaker for indicating the focal constituent of a negative sentence or yes/no question (a possibility widely reported in the literature) is to put -chu 'negative, yes/no' on the focal constituent.[328] This possibility is illustrated in 1842a and 1843a below. Another possibility, one that is favored in Huallaga Quechua, is to put -qa on the focal element and -chu on the main verb of the sentence. This possibility is illustrated in 1842b and 1843b, which--as far as I have been able to determine--are completely synonymous to 1842a and 1843a respectively.

```
a. Mana maqasha      Juan-ta-chu.                              1842
   Not  he:hit:him John-OBJ-TOP

b. Mana maqasha-chu     Juan-ta-qa.
   not  he:hit:him-NEG John-OBJ-TOP

a,b. 'He didn't hit JOHN.'

a. Umayki-chaw-chu    chayachishkashunki?                      1843
   your:head-LOC-Y/N  he:caused:it:to:arrive:to:you

b. Umayki-chaw-qa     chayachishkashunki-chu?
   your:head-LOC-TOP  he:causes:it:to:arrive:to:you-Y/N

a,b. 'Did he land (the blow) ON YOUR HEAD?'
```

Other examples of this latter way of indicating which element is focal in negative sentences are given below. Note that in many of them the focal constituent is in contrast with some other element in the context. Thus the use of -qa to effect focus and the use to contrast elements cannot be said to be distinct; in fact, it may be the case that whenever negation is indicated by -qa on the focal element it is because it is being contrasted with some other element.

```
Mana ishkaa-qa        rurashkaa-chu. Huknillaa  rurashkaa.    1844
not  two:of:us-TOP  we:did-NEG       one:of:us  I:did:it

'We both didn't do it.  I did it by myself.'  (This
would be appropriate if two persons were assigned a
task, and only the speaker did it.)

Mana hatipan-chu              yana-ta-qa.     Hatipan        1845
not  they:put:on:him-NEG black-OBJ-TOP    they:put:on:him

paykuna kabritillu-ta.
they    linen-OBJ

'They don't dress him in black.  They dress him in linen.'
(of the burial of a child, in contrast to what is done to an
adult.)

Mayordoomu mas   pooku gastan.   Mana gastan-chu            1846
majordomo  more less  he:spends not  he:spends-NEG

tesureeru-naw-qa.
treasurer-SIM-TOP

'The majordomo spends less.  He does not spend LIKE THE
TREASURER DOES.'

Ama chay-naw-qa   rura-ma-y-chu.  Mihur  apusti-ta apustishun...   1847
not that-SIM-TOP do-=>1-IMP-NEG. better bet-OBJ   let's:bet...

'Don't do LIKE THAT to me.  Better, let's make a bet...'
```

---

[328]A single gloss for -chu might be preferable, but I will gloss it 'NEG' when it is used as a negative and 'Y/N?' when it is used in a yes/no question.

```
Paykuna-pa mana kan-chu  achka-ga mandu-n-kuna.                      1848
they-GEN    not there:be-NEG many-TOP subordinate-3p-plur
```

'They don't have MANY subordinates (i.e., some but not many).'

```
Juan-pa-ta-ga    mana-mi ima-n-ta-pis      apashaq-chu.            1849 ·
John-GEN-OBJ-TOP not-IND what-3p-OBJ-INDEF I:will:take-NEG
```

'I will not take anything that belongs to JOHN.'

In the following example it could be that the first occurrence of -*qa* is "resurrecting" an old topic (as discussed in 20.2.3.6) since the *tesureeru* 'treasurer' has been previously discussed, or it could be a contrastive use (as discussed in 20.2.3.2), contrasting the treasurer's responsibilities with those of the *mayurdoomu* 'majordomo'. The second and third occurrences of -*qa* are both instances of focal negation and also of contrast, contrasting what the official does, and what he pays money for respectively. The fourth occurrence (that of 1850c) is somewhat of a mystery; I suspect that it is employed on *paypaq* 'for him' to firmly establish that the thematic (or topical) thread of the discourse has shifted from the *mayordoomu* and his responsibilities to the *tesureeru* and his responsibilities.

```
a. Tesureeru-ga  mana chaynaw-ga   qaran-chu.                        1850
   treasurer-TOP not  like:that-TOP he:does-NEG

b. Nii qellaytapis mana churan-chu  santupaq-ga.
   nor money:even  not  he:puts-NEG for:the:image-TOP

c. Paypaq-ga mas  huknaw      kustumrin.
   for:him-TOP more another:way his:custom
```

```
'a. The treasurer doesn't feed them like that.
 b. Nor does he even pay money for the saint.
 c. For him there is another custom.'
```

20.2.3.4. -*qa* indicating alternates

-*qa* is attached to constituents which refer to alternates in the same (or "parallel") roles.[329] The following piece of text describes the various reactions of fathers when they are approached by the representative of a young man who wishes to marry their daughter; -*qa* is attached to *wakin runa(kuna)* 'some men' in 1851a, 1851c and 1851e. (The second -*qa* in 1851a is a case of focal negation, as discussed in 20.2.3.3. The occurrence in 1851f is one of contrast, as discussed in 20.2.3.2. The occurrence in 1851d is as described in 20.2.3.5 below.)

---

[329]Perhaps the contrastive uses discussed in 20.2.3.2 are simply a special case of the alternative use discussed here. The difference (a fuzzy one) seems to lie in the degree of polarity asserted of the alternates. In the case of contrastive uses the alternates are asserted to be polar opposites (true/false, more/less, big/small,...). In the case of non-contrastive alternates there is much weaker opposition or none at all, as for example when the same thing is predicated of various referents.

```
a. Chaynaw    yaykuptinpis    wakin runa-ga fiyu; mana allipaq-ga     1851
   like:that though:he:enter some  men-TOP bad    not  for:good

   parlapan-chu.
   they:speak:NEG

b. Punkunman    hamaykachir         wasin      rurinman yaykukuykur
   at:the:door having:seated:him his:house to:inside having:entered

   mana lloqshipaamun-chu.
   not  he:comes:out:for:him-NEG

c. Wakin runa-ga huklaapa            qeshpipaykun.
   other men-TOP to:some:other:place they:escape:on:them

d. Chawra-ga amatar ñakan        warmi ashiqkuna.
   so-TOP    really they:suffer woman seekers

d. Wakin runakuna-ga alli.
   other men-TOP       good

f. Chay kaq-ga           hamachin;     alli parlan.
   that which:is-TOP they:seat:them good they:converse
```

```
a. 'Though he enter like that, some men are bad; they don't speak
      with him for good.'
b. 'Seating them at the door, entering into his house, he doesn't
      come out (to the other's detriment).'
c. 'Some men escape to some other place.'
d. 'So the woman-seekers suffer greatly.'
e. 'Some men are good.'
f. 'THOSE (in contrast to the others) seat him and speak
      nicely with him.'
```

The following example describes--for various parents--the frequency with which they bathe their children: -*qa* occurs on *wakin* in 1852c and 1852d because it refers to alternate sets of parents in their role as bathers of the children. (The occurrence of -*qa* in 1852e is like the negatives of 20.2.3.3, but where *pooku* 'little' is the negative element rather than *mana* 'not'. The occurrence of -*qa* in example 1852h is an instance of focal negation, but again, one which involves contrast: after discussing the frequency of bathing children until they are two years old, 1852h informs us that thereafter they no longer bathe then *continually*; of course, this is not to say that they do not bathe them anymore!).

```
a. Chaynaw   iti    wamrankunatapis     arman          sigiiru.                    1852
   like:that infant their:children:also they:bathe:them continually

b. Wakin arman            waran    waran.
   some  they:bathe:them  tomorrow tomorrow

c. Wakin-ga  arman           kara  ishkay  hunaq.
   others-TOP they:bathe:them every two     days

d. Wakin-ga  arman           chusku hunaq pichqa hunaq.
   others-TOP they:bathe:them four   day   five   day

e. Pooku  arman           waran    waran-ga.
   little they:bathe:them tomorrow tomorrow-TOP

f. Mas  arman           karu karu.
   more they:bathe:them far  far

g. Chaynaw  arman           iti    kashanpita     asta
   like:that they:bathe:them infant from:his:being until

   ishkay watayoq       kananyaq.
   two    years:having  until:his:being

h. Chaypita   mana arman-na-chu   sigiiru-ga.
   thereafter not  they:bathe:them continually-TOP

i. Kara  semaana imalla-na   arman          kikillan armakuyta
   every week    somewhat-NOW they:bathe:them himself  to:bathe

   yachakunanyaq.
   until:he:knows:how
```

```
'a. They bathe their infant children continually.
 b. Some bathe them daily.
 c. Others bathe them every other day.
 d. Others bathe them every four or five days.
 e. Rarely do they bathe them daily.
 f. More commonly they bathe them occasionally.
 g. They bathe them like that from the time they are
    infants until they are two years old.
 h. Thereafter they no longer bathe them continually.
 i. Every week they bathe them somewhat until they know how to bathe
    themselves.'
```

20.2.3.5. -qa with sentential connectives

There is a small set of words--among them *chawra* 'so.then', *nirkur* 'immediately thereupon'. *chaypita* 'thereafter. for that reason'--which "link" a sentence to the preceding discourse. These words frequently bear *-qa*. This is consistent with the notion that *-qa* occurs on the constituent(s) which are most responsible for a sentence being relevant to its context, for it is the function of these words to express the logical or temporal relationship of the sentence to what precedes it in the discourse.

I conjecture the following about the frequency of occurrence of *-qa* with sentential connectives: connectives which express an extremely close relationship between a sentence and the preceding discourse bear *-qa* more frequently than do connectives which express only a loose relationship.[330] For example, *chaypita* 'thereafter' expresses a loose relationship (as evidenced by the fact that it often occurs on the first sentence of a new paragraph) and the frequency of *-qa* with *chaypita* is low; by contrast, *manachaq* 'if not then' (used as e.g.. in 'Let's tie it up. *Manachaq*-qa it will get away.') expresses a very close relationship between the two sentences and virtually always occurs with *-qa*. I

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[330]I intend 'loose' and 'tight' roughly as used in Longacre [22].

384

further conjecture that when -qa is used with a connective, the relationship indicated is somewhat tighter than when that connective is used without -qa. If this is true one would expect to find *chaypita* followed by -qa more frequently within a paragraph than at the beginnings of paragraphs.[331]

Examples of -qa occurring on sentential connectives are found in 1817, 1824 and 1851.

20.2.3.6. -qa to resume a topic

-qa is used to resume a discourse topic which has been temporarily set aside; -qa occurs on the NP which refers to that topic after the interruption. For example, the cantor is the topic of 1853a, where *kantur* is the overt subject, and of 1853b where he is again the subject, but so topical that he is referred to by zero anaphora. The cantor is also the topic of 1853d, where again *kantur* is the overt subject, and of 1853e, where he is referred to by zero anaphora (aided by verbal inflection). 1853c interrupts this topic chain; its understood subject (and topic) is the set of pallbearers. The important point is that when the cantor is resumed as topic in 1853d, *kantur* bears -qa.

```
a. Apaptin            kantur    aywan    kantaparaykar asta              1853
   when:they:take:it  cantor    he:goes  singing       until

   pantiyun rurin  kapillaman chayachinanyaq.
   cemetery inside chapel     until:they:cause:it:to:arrive

b. Chay kapilla-chaw yapay kantapan           may  oora
   that chapel-LOC    again he:sings:for:him   long time

c. Chaypita apan           uchku-man-na  pampananpaq.
   then     they:take:him  hole-GOAL-NOW to:bury

d. Chayman  apaptin-pis            kantur-qa aywan    kantaraykar
   to:there as:they:take:him-ALSO  cantor-TOP he:goes  singing

e. Uchku kantun-man churaykur-pis          yapay  kantapan
   hole  side:GOAL  when:he:places:him-ALSO again  he:sings:for:him

'a. When they take it (the corpse) the cantor goes singing
    until they have caused it to arrive inside the cemetery.
 b. In that chapel (in the cemetery) again he sings for a long
    time.
 c. Then they take it to the hole (now) to bury it.
 d. Also as they take it the cantor goes singing.
 e. Also placing it in the hole he again sings.'
```

Consider example 1854. The light (*achki*) is the topic of 1854a and 1854b. Then in 1854c and 1854d there is no reference to the light. When the light is resumed as discourse topic in 1854e, it bears -qa.

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[331]This is a falsifiable claim which I hope to verify when time allows.

385

```
a. Chawra aywapaakun chay chakay achki rikashan-man.                          1854
   so    they:go     that night  light which:they:had:seen-GOAL

b. Mas mas  aywaptin     mas  hatun-na-shi rikakaamun  achki.
   more more as:they:go  more big-NOW-IND  it:is:seen  light

c. Aywaykaallar-shi             chayan       wasi-man.
   just:as:they:are:going-IND  they:arrive  house-GOAL

d. Achkaq suwakuna-shi tiyasha kasha chay wasin-chaw.
   many   thieves-IND  lived   where that house-LOC

e. Achki-ga  rikaraamusha kasha bintaanapa-shi.
   light-TOP seen         was   through:the:window-IND
```

```
a. 'So they all went that night toward where they had seen the
   light.'
b. 'The farther on they went, the bigger the light was seen
   (to be).'
c. 'As they were going along they arrived at a house.'
d. 'Many thieves lived in that house.'
e. 'The light had been seen through the window.',
```

Lest it be thought that every interruption of topic involves *-qa* we present the following example. The *rigidur* is the topic of 1855a and 1855b (referred to by zero anaphora in 1855b). The topic of 1855c and 1855d is the *eskirbaanu*. The *rigidur* is resumed as topic in 1855e; he is referred to by zero anaphora in that sentence.[332]

```
a. Rigidur-na   tuman        hinan      marka sirkallanpa.                    1855
   rigidur-NOW goes:about that:very town  about:its:vicinity

b. Tumaykashanchaw       uywa    mikuy-ta mikuykaq-ta tarir-ga
   as:he:is:going:about animals food-OBJ eating-OBJ  if:he:finds:TOP

   uywapa     duynun-ta astan          alswasirnin charipaptin
   animal's owner-OBJ he:whips:him his:alwasir as:he:holds:him

c. Chaykuna tumananpaq   eskirbaanu mandan.
   those    to:go:about eskirbaanu he:orders:them

d. Eskirbaanu urdin-ta  horqun agenti-pita chay urdin-wan
   eskirbaanu order-OBJ he:gets agenti-ABL  that order-COM

   tumananpaq.
   that:they:go:about

e. Danukoqkuna      mana respitananta purichin  chay urdinta.
   those:who:damage not  respect      take:about that order-OBJ
```

```
a. 'The rigidur circulates right in the vicinity of the town.'
b. 'If as he is going about he finds animals eating crops,
   he whips the animal's owner as his alwasir grabs him.'
c. 'The eskirbaanu orders them to go about.'
d. 'The eskirbaanu gets an order from the agenti with
   which they are to go about.'
e. 'Lest those who damage crops not respect them, they take that
   order with them.'
(Text continues with the set composed of the rigidur and
kampu as the topic referring to them by zero anaphora.)
```

---

[332] I have a hypothesis as to why it is possible to resume the *rigidur* as topic in 1855e without so much as a pronoun: namely that the *eskirbaanu* is not established as a topic in 1855d. I suspect that if the *eskirbaanu* had been referred to in 1855d by zero anaphora--as well might be the case since there is reference to him in the immediately preceding sentence--it would have established him as a topic. and that then more drastic measures would have to be taken in 1855e to return to the *rigidur* as topic: probably it would be necessary to refer to him by *rigidur-qa* rather than as in 1855e by zero anaphora.

20.2.3.7. -*qa* on adverbial clauses

As described in section 14.6.1. adverbial clauses may be used to "recapitulate" the content of a previous sentence, thereby adding cohesion to a discourse. Many adverbial clauses used this way bear -*qa*; e.g., see examples 1812b. 1816 and 1823.

This is not too surprising: one function of such clauses is to provide a site for elaborating the relationship of a clause to its context beyond the minimal signals provided by the sentential connectives.[333] In many cases. such a recapitulative adverbial clause provides the only explicit material that can be said to demonstrate the relevance of the following, main clause to the context.

For a particular subset of adverbial clauses the occurrence of -*qa* is much higher than for adverbial clauses as a whole. These are the conditional adverbial clauses. They bear -*qa* in almost all of their occurrences. This fact is not too surprising considering that the notion of "topic" has a close relationship to that of "conditionals"; this is argued by Haiman [14].

How does this seeming relationship between conditionals, topics, and -*qa* relate to the proposal made here that -*qa* has to do with relevance? Presumably a conditional clause expresses those aspects of the context which are relevant (in the eye of the speaker) to what is said in the main clause; e.g.:

```
Karaaho,    mana wañuchinaata    munar-qa        kayman                        1856
(expletive) not  that::kill:you if:you:want-TOP to:here

obidinti    yaykuy     kustalman.
obediently you:enter to:sack

'(Expletive), if you don't want me to kill you, get into this
sack obediently.'
```

In the following example. the conditional adverbial clause has an adverbial clause embedded within it. which in turn has an adverbial clause embedded within it. (Of course; the embedded adverbial clauses cannot bear -*qa* because they are not major constituents.)

```
[[[Chaynaw    willaptin]      llapan parlakarkaarir]                          1857
   like:that when:he:tells all    when:they:discuss

"rurashun"  nir]-qa          ruran;
let's:do:it if:they:say-TOP they:do:it

"mana" nir-qa           mana.
 not   if:they:say-TOP not

'If, after he has told them that and they have discussed it,
they say "Let's do it" they do it: if they say "no" then
they don't (do it).'
```

In the following example. the conditional adverbial clause which bears -*qa* is sentence final (whereas in the other example it is sentence initial):

```
Kay  kuru aycha-ta ushakurkun      churaraachi-pti-n-qa                        1858
this worm meat-OBJ he:finishes:it cause:to:be:stored-adv-3PTOP

'This (type of) worm finishes up the meat if it is stored long.'
```

In the passage in 1859, -*qa* occurs on conditional adverbial clauses in 1859c and 1859h. (The occurrence in 1859e and the first in 1859g are on sentential connectives. That in 1859f is on an alternate as discussed in 20.2.3.4. The second in 1859g is presumably because the girl being proposed to is herself the element most responsible for her statement ("Another man seeks me") being a

---

[333]Such elaboration is accomplished by means of pre- and post-transition suffixes on the verb of the adverbial.

387

relevant response to his proposal: she is the "topic of conversation".)

1859

```
a. Chakra runakuna warmi-ta  ashin        huknaw.
   field  men       woman-OBJ they:search another:way

b. Moosu       runa hipash warmi-ta  parlapa-r nin
   adolescent man  young  woman-OBJ speak-ADV he:says

   ashinanpaq         nirkur    kasarananpaq.
   to:search:for:her  thereupon to:marry:her

c. Chaynaw    ni-ptin  hipash warmi mana muna-r-qa
   like:that say-ADV  young  woman not  want-ADV-TOP

   "Manami qamwan    tiyaamanchu"       nin.
    not    with:you I:would:not:live"  she:says

d. Wakin warmikuna hapallan quyaakuy-ta  munan       mas  unay-yaq.
   some  women     alone    to:abide-OBJ they:want more later-LIM

e. Chawra-qa mana munan-chu     runa ashinanpaq
   so-TOP    not  they:want-NEG man  to:search:for:them

   parlaptinpis.
   even:though:he:asks

f. Wakin-pa-qa   kan-na       parla-shan runa pay-ta  ashinanpaq.
   other-GEN-TOP there:is-NOW speak-rel  man  her-OBJ to:search:for

g. Chawra-qa chay hipash       mana-na munan-na-chu
   so-TOP    that young:woman not:now she:want-NOW-NEG

   "Noqa-ta-qa huk    runami ashiman"        nir.
    I-OBJ-TOP  other man    he:searches:for:me" saying

h. Hapallan kaykar-qa awnin.
   alone    being-TOP she:agrees

'a. Rural men seek a wife differently.
 b. The young man, having spoken to the young woman, tells
    her that he will seek her, thereupon to marry her.
 c. When he tells her that, if the young woman doesn't
    want it she says, 'I will not live with you'.
 d. Some women wish to remain single until later on.
 e. So they don't want (to marry) even though the man
    speaks with her about seeking her.
 f. Some women already have a man who has proposed to seek her.
 g. So that young woman refuses saying 'Another man seeks
    me'.
 h. If she is single, she agrees.'
```

20.2.3.8. -*qa* on main verbs

-*qa* may occur on the main verb of a sentence. but such cases are quite rare and probably have rather special conditions. Coombs et al. [10] (pg. 147) suggest that when -*qa* occurs on a verb, the action of that verb has been mentioned previously in the discourse. An adequate account of -*qa* would have to account for this very strong tendency. We will now present several examples in which -*qa* follows a verb.

In the following, the verb of 1860c is old information following directly the previous mention of that verb:

```
a. ...papa-ta        murunchi abril killa.                          1860
      potatoes-OBJ   we:plant april month

b. Nirkur chakmanchi.
   then   we:cultivate:them

c. Chakmanchii-qa         maayu.
   we:cultivate:them-TOP  May
```

a. '...we plant potatoes in the month of April.'
b. 'Then we cultivate them.'
c. 'We cultivate them in May.'

Again. in the following example. in the reported conversation, *yaykushun* 'we will enter, let's enter' is old information in 1861b having been introduced in 1861a:

```
a. 'Apuray yaykushun'   ninshi  mishiwan allqu.                     1861
    hurry  let's:enter  he:says cat:with dog

b. Chawra buurru ninshi,  'Noqa markakunachaw  rikashaanaw
   so     donkey he:says  I    in:the:towns    as:I:saw

   yaykushun-qa    tukaraykar.
   lets:enter-TOP  playing
```

a. '"Hurry. let's enter" say the cat and dog.'
b. 'So the donkey says, "Let's enter like I saw in the towns. playing (music)."'

In the following example. 1862b seeks to correct a faulty presupposition of 1862a. namely that some criticism was addressed directly to the addressee. (Actually. it was addressed to the addressee's son.)[334]

```
a. Imatataq nishkanki qam payta?                                   1862
   what     you:said  you to:him

b. Chawra noqata-chu mana nimasha-qa
   well    to:me-NEG not  he:said:to:me-TOP
```

a. 'What did you reply to him?'
b. 'Well he didn't say it (directly) to me.'

The following example is also consistent with the hypothesis that the action of the verb to which -*qa* is attached has been previously mentioned. because the previous context deals with the hero's coming to be rich:

```
Imanawpataq riikuyan-qa         pay?                               1863
how?        he:becomes:rich-TOP he

Noqasi riikuyaashaq.
I:too  I:will:become:rich
```

'How does he become rich? I too will become rich.'

One further example is 1840c. Although its immediate context would not suggest so, it is also a case in which the action of the verb to which -*qa* is attached has been previously mentioned.

With this we conclude our survey of the various uses of -*qa*.

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[334]Note that the occurrence of -*qa* and *chu* 'NEG' are precisely the opposite of that demonstrated extensively in 20.2.3.3 where -*chu* occurs on the verb and -*qa* on the "focal" constituent: I have no explanation for the situation in 1862b.

20.3. Conclusion.

This chapter has exhibited a wide range of data involving -*qa*, the so-called "topic marker", demonstrating many facts which an adequate account of -*qa* would have to explain. No such account has been attempted here. but it has been suggested that some very general pragmatic function underlies the various uses of -*qa* and that this function is roughly that

> -*qa* marks those constituents of a sentence which--in the speaker's eye--are most responsible for that sentence being relevant to its context.

Hopefully future work will further evaluate and refine this proposal.

21. EVIDENTIAL SUFFIXES

There are three main evidential suffixes in HgQ: *-mi, -shi* and *-chi*: these will be glossed 'DIR' (direct). 'IND' (indirect). and 'CNJ' (conjecture) respectively. These have sometimes combined with other suffixes or postpositions to yield variants (e.g. *-mari* from *-mi+ari*).

Three major points will be made in chapter:[335]

1. *-mi/shi/chi* give a *perspective* on the information of a sentence.[336] By PERSPECTIVE I mean such things as how the speaker came by the information (*evidential*, e.g.. first hand or second hand), what the speaker's attitude is toward the information (*validational*, e.g., does he regard it as fact/fiction/conjecture...), what the speaker intends the hearer to do with the information (e.g., believe it, act on it, doubt it, etc.). The question whether *-mi/shi/chi* are basically evidential or validational is addressed.

2. The relative positions of the so-called "topic" marker *-qa, -mi/shi/chi* and the verb define a pattern. This pattern gives an *information profile* to the information of the sentence, roughly characterizing the sentence's progression from theme (topic, old information) to rheme (comment, focus, new information).

3. Deviating from the normal pattern is a rhetorical device.

I conclude with a suggestion for how this could have come about. To anticipate, I suggest that these markers occurr more naturally on new information because they indicate the source of new information: thus. they tend to occur on the rhematic part of a sentence. In conjunction with *-qa*. which occurs on highly thematic/topical material. this gives rise to a profile along theme-rheme lines. Deviations from this pattern unsettle the listener. making him take note, and thus serve as a rhetorical device. So information profiling and pattern deviations for rhetorical effect are natural outgrowths of *-mi/shi/chi*'s status as indicators of information perspective.

The evidential suffixes are testimony to the caution a Quechua speaker exercises with respect to information. The following are--I believe--true of Quechua culture:[337]

1. (Only) one's own experience is reliable.

2. Avoid unnecessary risk. such as by assuming responsibility for information of which one is not absolutely certain.

3. Don't be gullible.[338]

4. Assume responsibility only if it is safe to do so. (Doing so builds stature in the community.)

The utility of *-mi/shi/chi* is in allowing the Quechua speaker to handily assume or defer responsibility for the information he conveys. thus minimizing his risks while building his stature in

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[335]This chapter was presented at a symposium on evidential suffixes. held in Berkeley in May 1981: see Weber [40]. It includes data from other Huánuco dialects closely related to HgQ. It is based primarily on written material from the following: Amador Tucto Ramírez (*ATR*) of Marías (province of Dos de Mayo), Lorenzo Albino Moreno (*LAM*) of Matihuaca (province of Ambo). Teodoro Cayco Villar (*TCV*) and Anastacia Nasario de Figuieredo (*ANF*) of Llacón (province of Huánuco).

[336]An assumption made here is that the primary unit into which information (to be communicated by speech) is packaged is the *sentence*. defined as in section 2.3.

[337]Perhaps they are to some extent cultural universals?

[338]Witness the many Quechua folk tales in which the villain is foiled because of his gullibility.

the community. With -*mi* the speaker assumes responsibility, with -*shi* he diverts it (to someone else), and and with -*chi* he indicates that it is not the sort of information for which anyone should be held responsible.

21.1. The Meaning of -*mi*, -*shi* and -*chi*

Section 21.1.1 presents one analysis of -*mi/shi/chi* which fits a large range of facts for many dialects. A more complete discussion follows: 21.1.2 deals further with -*mi* and -*shi*, and 21.1.3 deals further with -*chi*.

21.1.1. A First Characterization

For Tarma Quechua, Adelaar (1979:79) says that -*mi/shi/chi* "indicate the validity of the information supplied by the speaker" and that

-*mi*   "indicates that the speaker is convinced about what he is saying."

-*shi*   "indicates that the speaker has obtained the information that he is supplying through hearsay."

-*chi*   "indicates that the speaker's statement is a conjecture."

This characterization is consonant with the majority of cases found in a wide range of dialects. Examples follow from Huanuco Quechua consistent with it. The gloss sometimes includes the situation (ST) in which the example would be appropriate and the rhetorical force (RF) it would have in this situation.

```
                   (a. -mi  )                                                      1864
Wañu-nqa-paq- { b. -shi } .
die-3FUT-FUT   ( c. -chi )

'It will die.'

ST: a diviner has chewed coca and predicts death
a. said by the diviner
   RF: (I assert that) it will die.
b. said by someone who brings the diviner's prediction
   RF: (I was told that) it will die.
c. said in response to the diviner or to the messenger
   RF: (Perhaps) it will die.

      ( a. -mi )                                                                   1865
Noqa- { b. -shi }  chaya-:-man    aywa-r-qa.
I     ( c. -chi )  arrive-1-COND  go-adv-TOP

'I would/could/might arrive, if I were to go.'

a. ST: In response to person(s) who have expressed doubt as to the
       speaker's ability to make it (e.g. to the top of a mountain)
   RF: (I assert that) I would make it if I were to go.
b. ST: If the speaker knows that someone has said he should able to
       make it
   RF: (It is said that) I should make it if I were to go.
c. ST: In response to person(s) who have expressed that the speaker
       can make it and the speaker wants to hedge
   RF: I might make it.
```

392

```
                         ┌a. -mi ┐                              1866
Qam-pis  maqa-ma-shka-nki-┤b. -shi.│
you-also hit-=>1-perf-2   └c. -chi ┘

'You also hit me.'

a. ST: I saw/felt you hit me (and was conscious)
b. ST: I was drunk when you hit me, and someone has informed
       me that you hit me
c. ST: A group of people beat me up, and I think you might
       have been one of them
```

These examples are consistent with the characterization of *-mi* as information about which the speaker is convinced. *-shi* as information gained by hearsay, and *-chi* as conjecture. We will now consider an alternative analysis.

21.1.2. *-mi* and *-shi* are Evidentials

The characterization given in 21.1.1 has the peculiar property that *-mi* and *-chi* are *validational* (indicating commitment to the truth of the proposition) while *-shi* is *evidential* (indicating the source of the information). This gives rise to certain problems e.g.. what about information one learns by hearsay but about which he is convinced: would *-mi* or *-shi* be used? If *-mi* and *-shi* were both of the same type (i.e.. either both evidential or both validational) such problems would not arise. I will argue that *-mi* and *-shi* are basically evidential: *-mi* means 'learned by direct experience' and *-shi* means 'learned by indirect experience (hearsay)'. A validational interpretation for *-mi* is often appropriate because of the axiom that direct experience is reliable (and thus one is convinced about it). Table 21-1 summarizes these relationships (where the arrow indicates the force of the just-mentioned axiom):

	EVIDENTIAL	VALIDATIONAL	RESPONSIBILITY
-mi	direct ====> convinced		speaker
-shi	indirect	unconvinced	other than speaker

Table 21-1: EVIDENTIAL AND VALIDATIONAL INTERPRETATIONS

Various data are now given in support of this view:

Datum 1: -mi where direct experience is unlikely. According to TCV,[339] 'My mother's grandfather's name was John' is natural with *-shi* but not with *-mi*, even if the speaker is convinced that it is true. This is because with *-mi* it implies that the speaker has met his great grandfather (extraordinary!). What is basic for *-mi* is the source of the information (direct experience), not commitment to the truth of what his name was.

The same result obtains for a sentence that the speaker does not believe, e.g. 'The moon is made of cheese.' According to TCV this is natural with *-shi*, indicating that the speaker had been informed that the moon was made of cheese. With *-mi*, says TCV, it implies that the speaker had been to the moon.

Datum 2: -shi to escape the implication of direct experience. A speaker may use *-shi* when he wishes to escape the implication that he has had direct experience. For example, descriptions of

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[339]See footnote **335.**

cultural practices and institutions are generally told either with -mi or with no validational, but -shi is used if the author wishes to make explicit that he has not had direct experience. This -shi has nothing to do with whether the author really believes the information. For example, TCV believes the following but since he has not experienced it (he seldom chews coca) he uses -shi:[340]

```
TCV (from a description he wrote of coca use)                    1867
...mana kuka-ta  chaqcha-r puñu-y-lla-ta-shi     muna-n.
    not  coca-OBJ chew-ADV  sleep-inf-just-OBJ-IND want-3

...chaqcha-rku-pti-n balur-nin-pis     sumaq-shi yuri-rku-n.
   chew-asp-adv-3P    strength-3P-indef well-IND  arise-asp-3

'...if they don't chew coca, they just want to sleep.
...having chewed coca, their strength comes to them.'
```

The same results obtain for cases where the information is not believed; for example. TCV has not witnessed nor does be believe the following:

```
(from a description of burial practice)                          1868
Kiki-n    kasta   arma-pti-n-qa      fiyu ni-n.
self-3P clan    bathe-adv-3P-TOP  bad  say-3

Llapan-shi chay kasta  ka-q-qa      wañu-n.
all-IND     that family be-sub-TOP  die-3

'They say it is bad for a relative to bathe it (corpse).
All of that family dies (if they do so).'
```

Datum 3: -shi when scope of information is too large. In some cases where -mi would be expected. -shi occurs if what would have to be experienced is impossibly large. For example. in Cayco 1975b (a booklet on Peruvian history) 'Their tools and things are found throughout Peru' has -shi because the author could not possibly have seen all those things found in all those places.

Datum 4: -shi is inappropriate as a direct response. -shi is never appropriate when repeating some information back to the speaker. If -shi were basically validational (meaning 'unconvinced'). one might expect it as a way to indicate that he doubts it: this unacceptability is a strike against the validational analysis. On the evidential view one would not expect it used this way since there is no reason to inform one's hearer that what he has just said was heard second hand.[341]

Datum 5: where -mi may be absent. Whereas many speakers use -mi in telling personal narratives, describing procedures, institutions. and such. TCV does not. He uses -mi only where there is some question about the source of the information. When he reports events in which he was obviously a participant (e.g.. a trip to Lima. an amusing mishap that occurred to him and a cousin.

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[340]For Huaraz (Ancash) Quechua. Pantoja [25] (pg. 254) gives a similar example in his text on coca chewing. In his text on avoiding conception and abortion (number 25), he uses -shi throughout except in statements like 'They told me that about them' (line 26) in which -mi is used. In Pantoja's eighth text (pg. 132) he uses -mi for the descriptive parts but -shi in cases where he wants to disclaim responsibility for the information. e.g. (line 60-61): '...they say that those who do the fiestas (i.e.. those who sponsor them) are really good. It takes away their guilt...'

[341]Note that -chi may be used to repeat information back to one's hearer (see 2.3).

etc.) he regards it as unnecessary to indicate (by -*mi*) his direct experience.[342]

Other speakers demonstrate this tendency to varying degrees. For example, ATR. in telling of going to see a football game. did not use -*mi* in the the parts describing his getting to and from the game (told in the first person). but he did use -*mi* in describing the doings of other people (companions, players, referees....)

Further, TCV does not use -*mi* for "non-events," i.e., happenings not somehow embedded in time. (This is not to be taken as "irrealis" because he does use -*mi* with the future tense.) He does not use -*mi* in "how-to-make" texts (how to make a basket, weave a poncho. build a house, butcher a sheep....), in descriptions of static objects (buildings, pictures....), in descriptions of culture (coca chewing. bathing, curing, fiesta administration....) or in more narrative descriptions (Holy Week happenings. engagement practice,...) These have in common that they do not concern actual events (either past, present. or future) but rather prototypical instances of events. He is speaking/writing on these matters from direct experience (and would defend the accuracy of his descriptions): his non-use of -*mi* in these cases is not due to a lack of commitment to the truth of his claims, but because these are not actual events. but hypothetical ones.

Datum 6: -shi may also be interpreted validationally. -*mi* is often interpreted validationally, to mean 'convinced'. because one is generally convinced of one's own (direct) experience. -*shi* may also be interpreted validationally. and when it is, the implication is that the speaker is unconvinced of what he is saying. (-*shi* is interpreted validationally much less frequently than -*mi*, perhaps because one is actually convinced of much of what one hears second hand.) Flpor example, a speaker (from a dialect in northern Junin) wrote a pamphlet on cultivating pastures. His source of information was an agricultural engineer with whom he had talked at length: consequently the author used -*shi* throughout his pamphlet. Readers apparently interpreted this as the author's lack of commitment to the idea: no one was moved by it to planting a pasture. Such evidence is insufficient justification for analyzing -*shi* validationally. In the same way. one should not, just on the basis of some cases in which -*mi* is interpreted validationally. analyze it so since these can be explained from an evidential analysis in terms of the axicm that one's own experience is reliable.

These cases support the claim that the fundamental distinction is evidential: what is at issue is not whether the author is convinced that what he is communicating is true, but whether or not he learned it by direct or indirect experience.

A word must be said in defense of Adelaar's claim for Tarma Quechua that -*mi* means 'convinced.' In all Ignacio Zarate Mayma's texts. both those in Adelaar [1] (pg. 308-407) as well as those in Puente [30], I have not found a single case of -*shi*. Even though much of the material is far beyond the realm of the teller's experience (including folk tales about the fox and the condor), he uses -*mi* throughout. This is because he believes the stories he is telling; for example, he says, 'Even the fox, being very powerful and very clever. died eventually. In the same way today we are very

---

[342]The only exception is a description of a trip which concludes with the following. which contains the only -*mi* in the entire text:

Chaynawlla-<u>mi</u>   Limata   aywar imatapis rikashkaakuna.
in:that:way-DIR to:Lima going whatever we:saw

'In that way-DIR having gone to Lima we saw whatever.'

clever and powerful....(319).' These facts justify Adelaar's claims for Tarma.[343]

21.1.3. The Uses of *-chi*

Given 'conjecture' as the meaning of *-chi*. one would expect it to be an appropriate way to say 'Perhaps it needs to be wound' in response to e.g.. 'Your clock needs to be wound.' Such is not the case. One could respond with 1869a but not 1869b:

```
                       ⎧a. Kapas    pishi-n millu-na-n.              1869
Mana musya-:-chu.     ⎨   perhaps lack-3  wind-SUB-3
not  know-1-NEG        ⎪
                       ⎪b. *Pishi-n-chi millu-na-n
                       ⎩   lack-3-CNJ  wind-SUB-3

a. 'I don't know.  Perhaps it needs to be wound.'
```

Why is 1869b not acceptable? It is grammatical: e.g.. in response to *Relohuyki pishin millunan* 'Your clock needs to be wound' one could respond:

```
Pishi-n-chi millu-na-n.  Millu-y  ari!                              1870
lack-3-CNJ  wind-SUB-3   wind-IMP emphatic

'It needs winding (you say; well go ahead and) wind it!'
```

At present. I am unable to explain why 1869b is no acceptable. The best I can do is illustrate some of the the rhetorical effects of *-chi*. and hope that they lead ultimately to a better understanding of its meaning and use.

In conversation. *-chi* is useful as a way to respond to a statement without committing to its truth--a way to avoid being taken as gullible. We will now see that *-chi* achieves a wide range of rhetorical effects. I will not attempted a tight explanations of them. but suspect they have a basis in *-chi*'s use as a way to avoid committing to the truth of a statement, a consequence of its marking information for which no one should be held responsible.

-chi cannot initiate conversation. One may not initiate a conversation with 1864c above: it must be said in response to a statement like 1864a or 1864b. To say 'Perhaps it will die' *not* following such a statement like 1864a or 1864b. one use the Spanish loan *kapas* 'perhaps'.[344]

21.1.3.1. *-chi* as a query

In some cases. *-chi* results in a query. a sort of challenge to answer. For example. if someone's boss is reading a list of those who are to go. and he is not sure whether his name was called he could say 1871 to his boss. It has the force of the question 'Am I to go?'

---

[343]To the Huanuco Quechua ear. Zarate's use of *-mi* seems exceedingly incautious with respect to the information he conveys. This suggests that perhaps he is not a member of a Quechua speaking community in which he values his stature. Such cases are not unknown. For example. TCV knows a man (referred to by his neighbors as "loko") who constantly uses *-mi*. TCV reports that no one believes what he says because he "always speaks as though he had witnessed what he is telling about." (At best he is an argumentative braggart and from TCV's description I would guess that he is mentally ill.)

[344]For example. one could say

```
Kapas    wañu-nqa.
perhaps die-3FUT

'Perhaps it will die.'
```

```
Noqa-chi aywa-shaq-paq.                                              1871
I-CNJ     go-1FUT-fut
```

'I will go.'

In response to 'John killed his son.' 1872 would be a challenge to respond roughly like 'If you could give an adequate reason why he would do such a thing, then I might believe what you say.'

```
Wamra-n-ta-chi      wañuchi-ra-n  ima-pita-(taq)?                    1872
child-3p-ACC-CNJ    kill-PAST-3   what-ABL-(?)
```

'He killed his son because of what?'

In Cayco [4], page 18 the cat says 'You are going to play (music)' with *-chi* 'CNJ', to which the dog and the donkey answer 'Yes, yes!' The fact that it is answered shows that the rhetorical force of the sentence is a query.

-chi as a negative. In some cases the rhetorical force is equivalent to a negative. For example. the following sentence conveys something like. 'So you think I know? I don't know a thing about it!':

```
Chay-ta   musya-yka-:-chi.                                          1873
that-ACC  know-impfv-1-CNJ
```

'I know that.'

Suppose two peoples' paths converge. and after walking a ways together. they take a rest. One gets up and. on the assumption that the other is continuing in the same direction, says. 'Let's go.' The other. who was not planning to go farther. might reply:

```
Noqa aywa-yka-:-chi  qam-paq-qa.                                     1874
I    go-impfv-1-CNJ  you-PUR-TOP
```

'I am going (on your behalf).'

The RF is roughly 'you might have thought I was going (there). but I'm not.' It is a curt/abrupt way to respond. definitely not polite. It could be comfortably followed by an emphatic denial like *noqa aywa-yka-:-taq+chu* (I go-impfv-1-NEG) 'I'm *not* going!

21.1.3.2. *-chi* as flippant, sarcastic, or haughty

For example. in Cayco [3] the fox. while prancing about showing off. accidentally steps on a frog. and says:[345]

```
Sapu-ta-chi      ima-chi    haru-riyku-: hahaa hahahaha!             1875
frog-ACC-CNJ     what-CNJ   step-ASP-:   (laughs)
```

'It seems I've stepped on a frog, haha hahahaha!'

To conclude, *-chi* has surprising restrictions and rhetorical effects (question, negation, sarcasm, etc.). Hopefully further research will yield refined explanations for these.

---

[345] In 1875 *ima-chi* has either become frozen or *ima* 'what' is present simply to support an added *-chi* (?).

21.2. Information Profile

What determines where -mi/shi/chi occur in a sentence? Perhaps in some dialects they are simply associated with a pragmatic function. For Tarma Quechua. both Creider [11] (pg. 16f) and Adelaar [1] (pg. 80) identify the element to which -mi/shi/chi is attached with "focus."[346] This may sometimes be the case in HgQ. but certainly not always. For example. in 1876. the second sentence 'having tied me' is not the focus--being highly thematic--and yet bears -mi:[347]

```
Hatra-truu-mi  wata-ra-yka-:.    Wata-ykU-ma-r-mi        aywa-sha.              1876
bush-LOC-DIR   tie-stat-impfv-1  tying-impact-=>1-adv-DIR go-3PERF
```

'I am tied on a bush. Having tied me (here). she went.'

21.2.1 shows that in HgQ -mi/shi/chi occur in a certain pattern. 21.2.2 shows that this pattern roughly characterizes the sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic information.

21.2.1. The Pattern

The evidentials. -qa 'TOP' and the verb generally pattern in Huánuco Quechua as in 1877. (Notation: $(X)^j_i$ means "between i and j cases of X". $<$ means "precedes but not necessarily contiguously" and $<=$ means "precedes (not necessarily contiguously) or coincides with".)

$$(X\text{-}qa)^n_0 < (Y\text{-}EVD)^1_0 <= VERB (\{OBJ\text{-}qa, SUBJ\text{-}qa\})^2_0 \qquad 1877$$

This means that there may be any number of elements bearing -qa. followed by the element bearing the -mi/shi/chi. which must either precede the main verb or be the main verb itself: this may be followed by one or two -qa-bearing elements. which must be the subject or object.

The practical limit on the number of occurrences of -qa is probably 5. For example. 1878, an extreme case. has five -qa's.[348]

```
Chawra-na-qa punta-truu-qa traya-ru-pti-n-qa      wamra-ta-qa             1878
So-now-TOP   peak-LOC-TOP  arrive-asp-adv-3P-TOP  child-OBJ-TOP

mayna-shi    Dyos-ninchi-qa heqa-rkU-ykU-chi-sha
already-IND  God-12P-TOP    go:up-up-impact-caus-3PERF

syelu-ta-na-shi.
heaven-OBJ-now-IND
```

'When she (the witch) reached the peak. God had already taken the child up into heaven.'

To what extent is 1877 followed? Counts made on written folk tales by three Huánuco authors

---

[346]For yes/no questions the focused element is the one being verified: for content questions it is the element which has the question word (who. what. étc.): for negatives. it is the element which is responsible for the sentence being false. I am not sure how to define "focus" for other sentences. but perhaps as a rough characterization. it is the least presupposed element.

[347]This example is from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua. a dialect closely related to HgQ.

[348]The alert reader will notice that 1878 violates 1877 in that the evidential-bearing element follows the verb. and in that there are two cases of -shi 'IND'. This example is again from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua.

398

(from the three different dialects considered) yielded the following results:[349]

```
        (1)      (2)      (3)      (4)      (5)
     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
LAM  |  .67   |  .57   |  12%   |   5%   |  293   |
     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
ATR  |  .30   |  .27   |   6%   |   3%   |  387   |
     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
TCV  |  .13   |  .54   |   5%   |   1%   |  575   |
     +--------+--------+--------+--------+--------+
```

Table 21-2: EVIDENTIALS AND -qa IN THREE HUANUCO DIALECTS

```
(1)=number of -qa per sentence
(2)=number of evidential suffix per sentence
(3)=percentage of sentences not conforming to 1877
(4)=percentage of sentences having a post-verbal subject or object
(5)=approximate number of sentences counted
```

Note that the percentage of pattern-deviating sentences (column 3) and the percentage of postverbal subjects and objects bearing -qa (column 4) is very closely proportional to the frequency of -qa (column 1). That is. the more frequently -qa occurs. the more frequent are sentences deviating from 1877 and the more frequent are sentences having a postverbal subject or object which bears -qa.

The counts tabulated in table 21-2 amply demonstrate that there is a pattern, with deviations (for various authors) running from 5% to 12%.

21.2.2. The Pattern as Information Profile

The image of sentence in terms of which this discussion is framed is roughly that which has evolved in the Prague school (Firbas 1971): a sentence is seen as a crescendo of communication-advancing material. It builds *from* elements which relate it to the context (theme, old information, topical material) and material which sets the stage for the communication-advancing material. *to* the material which advances the communication (rheme, new information). A few disclaimers are in order. Admittedly. the notions of theme. rheme, old information. new information. topic. focus. etc. are very difficult ones to define or to convincingly impose on text. And the boundary between thematic and rhematic material is not a discrete one. Despite these problems. the theme-rheme distinction captures--in my opinion--something real (though fuzzy) about sentences.

I propose that the pattern of 1877 serves to roughly characterize a sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material (what I call an "information profile"). That is, with fair accuracy one can tell what parts are thematic and what parts are rhematic simply from the pattern of -qa(s). the evidential and the verb. This should not be construed as identifying the evidential suffix with any particular element, e.g. the first rhematic or the last thematic one. Perhaps the following is the strongest that can be said: in "ordinary" sentences. the thematic material occurs to the left of the evidential suffix and the rhematic material follows the last preverbal -qa.

As a first justification for "information profile" consider the conclusion to chapter 20:

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[349]Sentence-initial *chayshi* or *chaymi* was not counted as *chay* 'that' followed by an evidential because it has become a single word (a sentence-initial conjunction meaning 'then' or 'because of that'). Evidence for this is that an evidential suffix may occur elsewhere in the sentence. The actual number of sentences counted was slightly larger than the counts given since sentences without finite verbs were generally not counted.

399

-qa marks those constituents of a sentence which--in the speaker's eye--are most responsible for that sentence being relevant to its context.

If this is correct, then the initial -qa-bearing elements contain material which is thematic, while the rhematic material follows.

Example 1879, the beginning of a text, further support the "information profile" claim. In 1879a the rhematic information is that there was a famine. This becomes thematic in 1879b; the rhematic information is that the famine was long ago. In 1879c the thematic part sums up 1879a and 1879b 'so when there was a famine.' Note how in 1879b and 1879c the pattern of -qa's and -shi's relates to the progression from thematic to rhematic material:

1879

```
a.  Chayshi ka-ra-n    muchuy.
    so       be-past-3 famine

b.  Muchuy-shi ka-ra-n    unay.
    famine-IND be-past-3 long:ago

c.  Chawra-ga muchuy ka-pti-n-ga    pasaypa mana-shi ima-pis
    So-TOP    famine be-adv-3P-TOP really  not-IND  what-indef

    ka-ra-n-chu miku-na-n-paq.
    to:eat      eat-sub-3P-PUR

a.  'There was a famine.'
b.  'The famine was long ago.'
c.  'So there being a famine, there really was not anything to eat.'
```

Again, note that the thematic material in 1880b is a repetition of the rhematic material of 1880a:

1880

```
a.  Machka papa-ta-shi    qara-n wamra-ta-qa.
    mealy  potato-OBJ-IND give-3 child-OBJ-TOP

b.  Chawra machka papa-ta    qara-pti-n-ga    wamra-ga
    so     mealy  potato-OBJ feed-adv-3P-TOP child-TOP

    apta-rku-n-shi.
    grasp-asp-3-IND

a.  'She (the witch) gives the child mealy potatoes.'
b.  'So when she gives her a mealy potato, the child grasps it.'
```

In 1881, note the repetition concerning the many children--too many to feed. It is much more thematic when repeated in the last sentence than on its first mention (in the second sentence), and thus it bears the -qa and -shi. Also note the thematic clause of the third sentence repeating the rhematic material of the first:

400

```
a. Chawra utku-pa    muru-11a-n-ta-shi   tari-mu-n.                        1881
   So      cotton-GEN seed-just-3P-OBJ-IND find-afar-3

b. Wamra achka ka-sha.
   child many  be-3PERF

c. Chayshi utku-pa    muru-11a-n-ta    tari-rkU-mu-r-ga
   so      cotton-GEN seed-just-3P-OBJ find-asp-afar-adv-TOP

   anka-q-shi.
   fry-narpst-IND

d. Wamra-ga  achka-shi kasha.
   child-TOP many-IND  there:were

a. 'So she found only some cotton seeds.'
b. 'There were many children.'
c. 'So finding just some cotton seeds, she fried them.'
d. 'There were many children.'
```

Example 1882 (from Albino [2][350]) shows that the thematic element may "reach back across" background material. The second and third sentences (with verbs in the past perfect) are not on the event line. The thematic adverbial clause in the last sentence picks up from the first sentence.[351]

```
                                                                         1882
a. Y    traya-chi-n    marka-man [may-man-mi    hipash qeshpi-sha]
   And  arrive-caus-3 town-GOAL  where-GOAL-DIR girl   escape-3PERF

chay-man.  b. Hipash-ga willa-ku-sha-na    ka-sha   kay-nuy
there-GOAL    girl-TOP  tell-refl-prtc-now be-3PERF this-SIM

paasa-nqa-n-ta.  c. Chay-nuy willa-ku-pti-n  iglesya-man
happen-sub-3P-OBJ   that-SIM tell-refl-adv-3P church-GOAL

witra-paaku-sha  ka-sha.  d. Chawra-ga iglesya punku-man
close-modal-prtc be-3PERF.   so-TOP    church  door-GOAL

traya-ru-r-ga        kondenadu-ga nin-shi...
arrive-asp-adv-TOP condemned-TOP says-IND

a. 'And it brings him to the town, to the place where the girl had fled.'
b. 'The girl had been told what had happened.'
c. 'When she had been told that, she was shut into the church.'
d. 'So arriving to the door of the church, the condemned one says...'
```

To conclude, these examples show that the pattern in which the -qa's, the evidential, and the verb occur characterize (in a very loose way) a sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material.

21.3. Pattern Deviations as a Rhetorical Device

As shown in 21.2.1 there is a basic pattern for the occurrence(s) of -qa, the evidential, and the verb, with few deviations from this pattern (5-15%). These deviations are not simply randomly distributed in a text but constitute a rhetorical device for marking crucial points in a narrative. Not all deviations are crucial points, and conversely, not all crucial points involve a deviation from the pattern. Perhaps not all speakers use this device. Nevertheless, I find the examples given below reasonably convincing. By no means do I consider the rhetorical uses given here as exhaustive: there

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[350]Again, from Ambo (Huánuco) Quechua.

[351]The braces mark off a correlative relative clause, as mentioned in section 21.4 (see example 1888, page 407) and discussed more fully in Weber [39], section 3.3.

are perhaps a host of different (and novel) uses various speakers make of pattern violation.

21.3.1. Pattern Deviation at Textual Boundaries

Pattern deviations occur at textual boundaries,[352] e.g.. sentences like 'So the three of them go on their way' which concludes an episode or like 'And then there appears a hawk' which begins an episode. Of the sentences which deviate from the pattern in Cayco [4]. five of them involve a post-verbal goal: they are given in 1883. 1883a deviates from 1820 in that -qa occurs after the evidential and before the verb, and 1883b-1883e deviate in that the evidential follows the verb:

```
a. Y chayshi runaga aywasha yaya kampuman. (p. 2)               1883
   'And then the man went to the respected kampu.'

b. Chaypita atoq chayan runamanshi. (p. 4)
   'After that the fox arrives to the man's place.'

c. Atoq chayan liyunmanshi. (p. 9)
   'The fox arrives to the lions' place.'

d. Chaypita osoga chayan yunka muntimanshi yantakoq. (p. 12)
   'After that the bear arrives to the jungle to cut firewood.'

e. Chaypita runa chayaykun mayur suwamanshi "ayi ayi" nishpanshi. (p. 24)
   'After that, the man arrives to the head thief saying "ayi ayi".'
```

Each of these sentences imply a change of scene. For some linguists this would perforce mean the beginning of a new paragraph. And this accords well with the observation that chaypita 'thereafter, then' is a very "loose" connective. the sort which initiates paragraphs.

Consider 1884. which has been reorganized to make clear the parallelism from episode to episode. The written order was 1a-c, 2a-c. ...5a-c. There are three pattern deviations in this section of text: 1a. 3a. and the first sentence in 5a. Each of these initiates a new episode. (I do not know why 2a and 4a. which also initiate episodes, do not deviate from the pattern.) Considering the infrequency of deviations from the pattern in ATR's folk tale (about 6%). it could hardly be considered coincidental that these occur precisely at the point of initiating a new episode.

Note that 1a, 3a and 5a do not deviate from the pattern in the same way. 1a deviates in that -shi precedes -qa while 3a and 5a deviate in that the element with -shi follows the verb. (Incidentally, all the a sentences give the first mention of the bird of that episode;[353] perhaps that is why the subjects are postverbal.)

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[352] I hesitate to say whether the deviation serves to mark those boundaries or whether their occurrence is for some special effect such as discussed in section 21.3.

[353] anka. kiliksa. alqay. wiskul. and condor are all birds of prey or carrion.

1a Saychaw qaparaykaptin_shi_ waqerashan puntapa_qa_ anka tumaskamun.   1884
2a Yapay wamrakuna waqaykaayaptin_shi_ tumaramun kiliksa.
3a Tumaramun alqayna_shi_
4a Nikaalaptin_shi_ yuriskamun wiskul.
5a Wamrakuna_qa_ qaparaykan saynawla_shi_. Say oora_qa_ aanir_shi_
   huk hatun kondor yuriskin. Tumar tumar qaqa hananpa_shi_ heqarpamun.

1b Y wamrakuna_qa_ ruwakuyan: Tiyay anka, horqaykalaamay!
2b Saytana niyan wamrakuna: Tiyay kiliksa, horqaykayaamay!
3b Ruwayan saytana: Tiyay alqay, horqaykayaamay!
4b Saytana ruwakuyan: Tiyuy wiskul horqaykayaamay!
5b Saytana ruwakuyan kaynaw nir: Tiyuy kondor, horqaykayaamay!

1c Anka kaynawpa kontistan: Imapaqtaq "walpa suwa anka" nimarqayki?
   Nir_shi_ paasakun.
2c Niptin kiliksa nin: Imapaqtaq "pisqu apaq kiliksa" nimarqayki?
3c Paasakun_shi_ kaynaw nir: Imapaqtaq_ "aqish baaraq alqay" nimarqayki?
4c Saypis paasakun_shi_: Imapaqtaq "wañush alqu mikuq wiskul" nir
   ashlimarqayki? Hoodikuy! --nir_shi_ paasakun.
5c Niptin aanir tumar tumar laadunman niraq witin.

1a As they are yelling there, an *anka* comes around the point
   where they were hung up.
2a Again, as the children are crying, a *kiliksa* comes around.
3a There comes around an *alqay*.
4a When it has said that, there appears a *wiskul*.
5a The children are yelling just like that. At that moment, agreeing
   a large condor appears. Circling about, it comes down toward the
   top of the boulder.

1b And the children beg: Aunt *anka*, please take us out!
2b To that one now the children say: Aunt *kiliksa*, take us out!
3b They beg that one now: Aunt *alqay*, take us out!
4b That one now they beg: Uncle *wiskul*, take us out!
5b That one now they beg saying like this: Uncle *kondor*,
   take us out!

1c The *anka* answers like this: Why did you call me "chicken thief
   anka? Saying (thus) he went on.
2c When they said that, the *kiliksa* says: Why did you call me
   "bird snatcher *kiliksa*"?
3c He goes on saying like this: Why did you call me "tripe *baareq alqay*"?
4c That one too goes on. Why did you insult me saying "dead dog eater
   wiskul"? Be damned! saying he went on.
5c When they saying, agreeing circling he comes right down next to them.

A similar example from Cayco [4]. pg. 15ff is given in 1885. The only pattern deviations in this section of text are in 2f and 3f: they deviate in that the evidential-bearing element follows the verb. They conclude their respective episodes. Again. pattern deviations being fewer than 5% in TCV's folk tales. their occurrence on these episode final sentences cannot be considered coincidental.

403

```
1a Warannin hunaq kaminunpashi aywakuykan.                                    1885
2a Warannin lo mismo ishkallanshi aywakurkaykan.
3a (absent)

1b Kasi las du:sinashi tarin kaminu kantunchaw lataraykaqta
   huk awkis allquta haqayashta.
2b Aywaykashanchawshi tarin kaminuchaw mishi lataraykaqta.
3b Mas mas aywaykashanchawnashi tarin huk gaallu hatun sawan
   hananchaw ushaypa ushar kantaykaqta.

1c Chawra buurrushi tapun: Imanirtaq qam haqayash kaykanki amiigu?
   ninshi.
2c Chawra buurrushi tapun: Imanirtaq qam kaminunchaw lataraq
   shakamushkanki?
3c Chawra buurrushi tapun gaalluta. Ninshi:  Imanirtaq qam
   ushaypa ushar kantanki, gaallu, llakishalla kunkaykipis
   qasmananyaq?

1d Allqushi kuntistan:
2d Chawra mishi kuntistan:......  (Here follows negotiations between
3d Chawra gaallu kontestan:......  the donkey and the dog/cat/rooster)

1e Chawra allqu ninshi: Chaynaw qoyananchi kaptin aywakushun chawra.
2e Chawra mishipis ninshi: Chawra noqawanpis aywakushun tukapakoq.
3e Chawra gaallu nin: Chawra baamu aywakushun.

1f Chawra buurru ishkanshi aywakun kaminunpa.
2f Chawra aywakun kimsanshi kaminunpa.
3f Niptin aywakun chuskunshi kaminunpa.

1a The next day they are going on their way.
2a The next day in the same way the two of them are going.
3a (absent)

1b Just before noon they find an old, unhappy dog laying in the middle
   of the road.
2b As they are going along they find a cat laying in the road.
3b As they are going on farther and farther, they find a rooster on
   top of a gate, crowing his heart out.

1c So the donkey asks, "Why are you unhappy, friend?"
2c So the donkey asks, "Why have you come to lay in the road?"
3c So the donkey asks the rooster, "Why do you sing your heart out,
   rooster, until your throat gets raw?"

1d The dog answers,.....
2d So the cat answers,....
3d So the rooster answers,...

1e So the dog says, "If that's the way we'll live, let's go!"
2e So the cat, too, says, "So I'll go along to play (music)."
3e So the rooster says, "So let's go!"

1f So both of them go on their way, the donkey (and the dog).
2f So the three of them go on their way.
3f When he said that, the four of them went on their way.
```

These examples show that the pattern deviations occur at textual boundaries.

21.3.2. Pattern Deviations to Build (and Resolve) Tensions

Pattern deviations sometimes flag a theme on which tension is built in the narrative. For example, a tension running through one text is a girl's ignorance of what the witch has done with her brother (particularly since her ignorance puts her in considerable danger). The girl asks about her brother and does not get a satisfactory answer. She asks a second time, and her question is set by 'Again the girl asks...' where the pattern is X-*shi* < Y-*qa* < verb. Her danger is brought home by a sentence saying that the witch *had cut up* her brother and put him into a pot to boil in which the pattern is X-*shi* < Y-*qa* < verb. After some intervening events, the tension is built with 'And she asks

the witch about her brother° in which the pattern is verb-*shi* < Y-*qa*. The girl's preoccupation about her brother--and the reader's concern that she realize her dangerous situation--are resolved when the bird (*yukish*) and the frog inform her. where the pattern is W-*qa* < X-*qa* < Y-*qa* < verb < Z-*shi*. This illustrates a tension woven into the narrative which is flagged by pattern deviations.

21.3.3. Pattern Deviation to Distinguish Two Themes

When intertwined in text. two themes may be kept distinct by making the sentences of one theme conform to the pattern while making those of the other strand deviate from it. For example. in Cayco [5], a sketch of Peruvian history, two themes are interwoven:

1. that which used to be (that which happened historically). and

2. the basis on which we know such things.

Very consistently. the 1-sentences have past verbs (tense marker -*ra~rqa*) and -*shi* on some constituent *following* the verb--thus deviating from 1877. Equally consistent. the 2-sentences have present tense verbs. have -*na* 'now' somewhere in the sentence. and do not violate 1877. Generally the 2-sentences do not have an evidential suffix. (Exceptional are the cases in which the domain of what would have to be witnessed is too large. as discussed in section 21.1.2, page 394.) However. when evidentials and -*qa* do occur in the 2-sentences they conform to 1877.

```
1-SENTENCES                                                     1886
         |2-SENTENCES
 1 Mas mas unay achka marka-shi karan kay Peruuninchiichaw.
 2 Tiyarqan achka runakuna-shi.
 3 Pero noqanchi mana reqsishkanchiichu chay runakuna
   imanaw-shi qoyashapis
   imanaw-shi arushapis chay runakuna-qa.
         |4 Noqanchi kanan musyanchi unay perqakunata rikallarna
         | o wasinkunata puntakunachaw tarillarna.
         |5 Y tullunkunata rikanchi machaykunachaw.
         |6 Mas pis kan....
 7 Chay kushankunata rurarqan paykuna llapan rumipita-shi.
 8 Wakin-qa karqan allpapita-shi y shoqoshpita-shi.
 9 Rurarqan hanankuna dibuhuyoqta-shi bonito kuyayllapaq
   achka kastatashi.
         |10 Pero chaykunata rikallarna noqanchi musyanchi
         |   unay runakuna imanaw rurashantapis imanaw tiyashantapis.

11 Chavin hatun marka.
12 Chay marka karqan kanan departamento Ancash probinsya Huari
   kaykashanchaw-shi.
         |13 Kanan chayta musyanchi dibuhunkunata rikallarna
         |   imanawpis kashanta.
         |14 Unay Chavin markachaw dibuho kaqnaw chay kasta-qa
         |   inteeru Peruu markachaw-shi kan.
15 Pero dibuhunpa kolornin karqan reqipalla-shi
16 Llapan yanalla-shi chay Chavin markapa-qa.
```

```
 1 Long ago there were many towns/peoples in Peru.
 2 There lived many people.
 3 But we did not know those people, how they lived or how they
   worked.
          |4 Now we know, seeing the walls of long ago, or finding
          |  their houses on the peaks.
          |5 And we see their bones in caves.
          |6 There are also ...
 7 They made those things from stone.
 8 Some were of earth or of cane.
 9 They made all sorts of beautiful drawings on their surface.
          |10 But seeing those we know how the people of long ago
          |   made them and how they lived.

11 Chavin (was) a large town.
12 That town was in the department of Ancash where the province of
   Huari now is.
          |13 We know that now seeing their drawings, how they were.
          |14 Ancient drawings like those of Chavin are throughout
          |   Peru.
15 The colors of the drawings were distinctive.
16 Those of Chavin were all simply black (and white).
```

21.3.4. Conclusion

It has been shown that deviating from the pattern (1877) is a rhetorical device which can be used for various purposes:[354]

- to mark boundaries.

- to signal a theme of concern.

- to interweave two themes in such a way that the reader/listener can easily keep track of them.

I doubt this exhausts the possibilities: there are perhaps many different (and novel) uses various speakers make of this rhetorical device.

21.4. Other Uses of -mi and -shi

This section mentions some non-evidential uses of -mi and -shi.[355]

---

[354]It is reasonable to ask if deviating from the pattern serves as a rhetorical device in other dialects. I conjecture that it does. For example. the following sentence (Adelaar [1]. pg. 316. sentence 51) departs from the Tarma pattern in that the evidential *precedes* the -qa-bearing element. (I think that in the basic pattern for Tarma. the evidential is the first constituent, and -qa-bearing elements follow. It follows text describing the fox's attempts to climb down from heaven on a rope that was too short: it expresses the fox's predicament, which leads shortly to his fall and death.

```
Chaypita ali  yarparkutpin-qa      mana-mi ni  imay traamunansi kaqchu.
then      well when:he:thought-TOP not-DIR nor ever his:arrival it:was:not
```

```
'Then, when he really thought about it, he realized that he would
never reach the ground.'
```

This is. of course. merely suggestive. and I leave as a conjecture that pattern deviations of the sort discussed here serve as a rhetorical device in dialects other than those of Huanuco.

[355]Another is -chush, used to form yes/no questions in the same way as -chu. with perhaps slightly different semantic/rhetorical effect (which I am not able to make precise). I believe it to be (at least historically) -chu 'YN?' followed by -shi 'IND'. I do not have a good example from HgQ. although I know that this suffix is indeed used there. An example follows from Tarma Quechua (form Adelaar [1]. pg. 83):

```
Maa       tupayuy, kuyurinaq-chush.
lets:see  push:it! it:turns:out:to:move-CHUSH
```

```
'Why don't you give it a push, to find out whether it moves or not.!'
```

21.4.1. -mi as a Question Marker

-mi is sometimes used in the formation of content questions.[356] Far more common for this is -taq.[357] e.g.:

```
    ⎧a.  -mi  ⎫                          1887
    ⎪    ─── ⎪
    ⎪    DIR  ⎪
Pi  ⎨         ⎬  chaya-mu-sha.
who ⎪b.  -taq ⎪  arrive-afar-3PERF
    ⎩    ─── ⎭
         ??
```

'Who arrived?'

21.4.2. -mi in Correlatives

-mi is a structural feature of correlative relative clauses; see Weber [39]. It co-occurs with other evidentials, and is -mi regardless of whether the other is -mi, -shi, or -chi; e.g., (where the correlative is enclosed in braces):

```
...rus-kuna-ta    [may-pita-mi    apa-mu-ra-n]     chay-man       1888
   cross-plur-OBJ where-ABL-DIR take-afar-past-3  there-GOAL

kuti-chi-n.
return-caus-3
```

'...they return the crosses to (the places) from which they have brought them.'

21.4.3. -shi with Non-Finite Embedded Questions

There is a rather restricted sort of complement, one which forms embedded questions with non-finite verbs. (It is discussed in Weber [39], section 4.2.4.3.) Its properties are as follows:

1. the superordinate verb is a verb of perception (e.g., rika- 'see') or of cognition (reqsi- 'be acquainted with').
2. the verb of the complement is finite (all other complements have a non-finite verb). and
3. the complement contains a WH word with -shi.

Examples follow, with the complement bracketed:

```
[Ima-shi  ka-yka-n     chay-chaw] rika-ykU-mu-nki.          1889
 what-IND be-impfv-3 there-LOC   see-impact-afar-2
```

'Go and see what is there!'

```
Chay-naw+pa musya-shun [mayqa-nchi:-shi mas  kalpa-yoq      1890
that-adv    know-12     which-12P-IND   more strength-have

ka-nchi].
be-12
```

'In that way we'll know which of us is the stronger.'

---

[356] Cerrón [6] (pg.108) states that a question with -mi is less polite than a question with -taq or -raq. and indicates that the speaker has much confidence in his hearer.

[357] -raq is also used. with very special effect: see Weber [41]

21.5. Conclusions

1. -*mi*/*shi*/*chi* allow the Quechua speaker to exercise caution in the amount of responsibility he assumes for information. With -*mi* the speaker assumes responsibility, with -*shi* he diverts it to someone else. and with -*chi* he indicates that it is not the sort of information for which anyone should be held responsible.

2. -*mi* and -*shi* are evidential. but due to pragmatic axioms like "one's own (direct) experience is reliable" a validational interpretation is sometimes appropriate for -*mi*.

3. -*chi* has (seemingly curious) rhetorical effects which undoubtedly have a basis in its use as a way to avoid committing to the truth of a proposition.

4. The relative positions of one or more -*qa*'s. the evidential suffix, and the main verb form a pattern which grossly characterizes the sentence's progression from thematic to rhematic material. In "ordinary" sentences. the thematic material occurs to the left of the evidential suffix and the rhematic material follows the last preverbal -*qa*.

5. Deviations from this pattern serve as a rhetorical device. Three uses of this device were identified: occurrence at textual boundaries. for flagging "high tension" themes in the narrative, and for intertwining two sorts of information.

I wish to conclude by suggesting that information profiling and the use of pattern deviations as a rhetorical device naturally follow from -*mi*/*shi*/*chi*'s status as indicators of information perspective. How so? First.--I suggest--a marker of information perspective (be it evidential or validational) accompanies the new information more naturally than material which simply "paves the way" for it; thus. evidentials naturally occur with the rhematic part of a sentence (provided they are free to do so). In conjunction with a marker of thematic material like -*qa* 'relevance to context,' this naturally gives rise to a profile along theme-rheme lines. Second--I suggest--it is natural that the speaker/author should tamper with the information profile for rhetorical effect since--that goes to-the very heart of rhetorical "punches": unsettling the listener to make him take note. So information profiling and pattern deviations for rhetorical effect are natural outgrowths of -*mi*/*shi*/*chi*'s status as indicators of information perspective.

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22. FORMULAIC AND IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

This chapter lists some expressions whose meaning or use does not result straightforwardly from a combination of their parts. Some should simply be listed in the lexicon; others involve some syntax of limited productivity. A particular concern of this chapter is to provide the user a list of expressions with which he can interact politely in a Quechua situation.

22.1. Polite Expressions

The most important factor to successful interactions with Quechua people is to make a sincere effort at being polite *in their terms*. This makes a terrific difference in the way they react--particularly to outsiders. Unfortunately, what counts as politeness to members of other cultures (e.g. the culture of Peruvian. Spanish-speaking city-dwellers. or that of North Americans) often misses the point in interactions with Quechua people.

It is obviously not the purpose of this section to explain what politeness is to a Quechua person: it is simply hoped that the expressions included below will serve the person who interacts with Quechua people until, by personal experience, he learns how to be polite.

22.1.1. Mechanisms for Politeness

One way to indicate politeness is to liberally use *-lla* 'just' and *-lla:* 'polite'. These suffixes are seen in many of the polite expressions listed below.

With imperatives, *-ykU* 'impact' is used to indicate politeness; see section 9.2.4.4. Some requests are made more polite by phrasing them in the future:

```
Paala-yki-ta   maña-ku-shayki.                                      1891
shovel-2P-OBJ ask-refl-1=>2FUT

'Could I borrow your shovel?'
(lit. 'I will ask you for your shovel')
```

Commands are made more polite by avoiding the second person imperative. They may be rephrased in the first person plural inclusive as in 1892 or in the third person imperative as in 1893:

```
Noqa-wan aywa-ku-shun.                                              1892
me-COM   go-refl-12IMP

'Come with us' (lit. 'with me, let's go').

Chay-lla-chaw   ka-ku-yku-chun.                                     1893
there-just-LOC be-refl-impact-3IMP

'Leave it there!' (lit. 'May it just be there.')
```

Another mechanism for showing politeness (one so obvious it hardly need be mentioned) is to use the correct forms of address. Men are addressed generally with *tayta* 'sir' and women with *mami(:)ta*. If one has some relationship with a person, it is appropriate (and polite) to use that, e.g. *kompa:* (from Sp. *compadre*) 'co-father'. It is generally regarded as an abuse to use kinship (and extended kinship) terms when they are not appropriate.[358] One exception is that it the children of a

---

[358] I have heard a bitter denunciation of *bankichu's* (evangelicals) because they use terms for brother and sister where there is no such relationship.

community generally address all adults as *tiyu* 'uncle' or *tiya* 'aunt'. (It would not surprise me that this varies from town to town.)

22.1.2. Greetings

The greetings have been adapted from Spanish:

bwenus diyas 'good morning' (from Sp. *buenos días*)

bwenas tardes 'good afternoon' (from Sp. *buenas tardes*)

bwenas noochis 'good night' (from Sp. *buenas noches*)

To some extent, the first of these is used at any time of the day, and I have occasionally heard *bwenas tardes* used in the morning. But generally, their use follows Spanish in being restricted to the morning, the afternoon and evening, and the night, respectively.

There are various ways to inquire about the addressee's well-being. 1894 would be used upon first seeing someone in the morning to ask if the addressee passed a good night:

```
Alli-chu wara-shka-nki?                                      1894
good-YN? dawn-perf-2

'How did you come into the new day?'
```

If the addressee slept at some distance from where the question is asked, *-mu* may be added to the verb: *waraa-mu-shka-nki* (dawn-afar-perf-2): the meaning is then roughly 'How did you come into the new day over there'. Other ways of inquiring after someone's health are 1895 and 1896:

```
Alli-lla-chu  ka-yka-nki?                                    1895
good-just-YN? be-impfv-2

'How are you?'

Ima-naw-lla-taq  ka-yka-nki?                                 1896
what-SIM-just-?? be-impfv-2

'How are you?'
```

If you have not seen the person of whom you are asking for a considerable while (say several weeks). it is appropriate to say *Hawkallachu?* 'How are you?'.[359] The appropriate response to such inquiries is:

```
Aw,  alli-lla-mi    ka-yka-:.  Qam-qa?                       1897
yes, good-just-DIR be-impfv-1. you-TOP

'I'm fine.  And you?'
```

To inquire about someone's place of origin (nationality. place of birth) one says:

```
May-taq ka-nki?                                             1898
where-?? be-2

'Where are you from?'
```

The answer is of the same form: e.g.:

```
Qasaqmarka ka-:.                                            1899
           be-1

'I am from (native to) Qasaqmarka.'
```

---

[359]*hawka-* means 'be happy. contented'. It is also be used in e.g. *Hawka kanki?* 'Are you contented?' and *hawkaykamay* 'until later' (for leave-taking)

It is proper upon approaching a house to announce your visit by yelling out *Wasi-lla-yki?* (house-just-2P) 'Anyone home?' (said as you approach a house). If you are welcome someone in the house will respond with something like *Wasi ka-lla-n* (house be-pol-3) 'The house is.' (response to the above).[360]

To inquire who is at the door (e.g.. if someone knocks). either of the following may be used. where the second is more polite:

Pi-taq ka-nki? (who-?? be-2) 'Who are you?' or

Pi-lla-mi? (who-just-DIR) 'Who?'

The appropriate response is

Noqa-lla-:. (I-just-1P) 'just me', or

Noqa-lla-:-mi. (I-just-1P-DIR) 'just me (DIR)'

To take one's leave. it is polite to say *Aywa-lla-:.* (go-pol-1) 'I'm going now'. The proper response is *Aywa-lla-y-raq.* (go-pol-2IMP-yet) 'Go then'.

22.1.3. Giving and receiving

The following expressions are necessary to successful interactions, particularly in contexts where one is giving or receiving things (e.g. at meals):

Aw(mi) 'yes' and *Awmillaa* 'yes thank you' *Awmillaa* is used to accept invitations or in return for services: it is not used not when accepting a gift (where *pakillaa* is the appropriate response).

Kayllaa 'here. thank you!' (as when returning something),

Kaa 'here. take it!' (less polite than the above).

Katay 'Here. take it! (abrupt)' (probably derived from Sp. acá está),

Pakillaa 'Thank you' (derived from 'Que Dios se lo pague'),

Wallka-lla-ta-pis (little-just-OBJ-indef) 'although (it was) just a little bit' (in response to thanks for a meal or some refreshment).

Mana ima-pita-pis. (not what-ABL-indef) 'you are welcome, it was nothing',

Chay-lla-paq-na. (that-just-PUR-now) 'that's enough. I've had enough.' (as when being offered a second helping).

Haa 'huh?' (to get someone to repeat what he said),

Hama-pa:-ri-shun! (sit-ben-sud-12IMP) 'Let's rest a bit.'.

Mana ima+na-n-pis-chu. (not what+do-3-indef-NEG) 'It doesn't matter.',

Kay-raq-mi mishki-lla-qa (this-yet-DIR tasty-just-TOP) 'This sure is good!',

To ask that something be handed to you (e.g. the bread) one could say:

```
Tanta-ta   makya-ykU-lla:-ma-y.                                    1900
bread-OBJ  hand-impact-pol-=>1-2IMP
```

'Please pass me the bread.'

---

[360] The most common exchange after this is to discuss whether the dog(s) of the house bite, initiated by the visitor saying something like the following:

```
Allqo-yki  kañi-ma-n-man-chu?
dog-2P     bite-=>1-3-COND-YN?
```

'Might your dog bite me?'

411

Both -*lla:* and -*ykU* contribute to making 1900 polite. Another possibility is simply to add -*lla-yki* as e.g.:

```
Kachi-lla-yki                                                          1901
salt-just-2P

'just your salt / Pass me the salt.'
```

To ask a question, it is polite to pave the way with *Tapu-ku-shayki* (ask-refl-1->2FUT) 'I will ask you.' To ask other for other things (e.g. to borrow something) it is polite to pave the way with *maña-ku-shayki* (ask-refl-1=>2FUT) 'I will ask (of) you'.

22.2. Expressions Reflecting Different Perspectives

The examples of this section show that HgQ speakers express some matters from a different perspective than we who are of a different culture. (They also seem to involve a different way of perceiving or conceiving matters.) For example. to indicate how many siblings someone has, he is include in the count:

```
Pay qanchis wawqe.                                                     1902
he  seven   brother

'He has six brothers.' (lit. 'He is seven brothers.')
```

```
Kimsa wawqe    ka-:.                                                   1903
three brother be-1

'I have two brothers.' (lit. 'I am three brother')
```

Of course. this is no more remarkable than it is to say "He has six brothers"; it simply follows a different convention.

To speak of "blowing" a light means to blow on coals to get a flame. thereby lighting rather than extinguishing it:

```
achki-ta   puuka-                                                     1904
light-OBJ  blow

'blow a light. i.e. get a flame by blowing on a cinder'
```

Anger is spoken of in the same way as an illness, i.e.. one recovers from it:

```
Rabya-sha-yki-pita allcha-ka-y!                                       1905
enrage-sub-2P-ABL  fix-pass-2IMP

'Don't be angry any more.'
```

Whereas an English speaker talks of "getting" some malady, in HgQ illnesses (broadly conceived) "grabs" one;[361] e.g., *nana-y chari-* (pain-inf grab-) 'to begin labor pains',

```
Mana-na chari-q-na-chu        killa qeshya-n-pis.                     1906
not-now grab-narpst-now-NEG   month sickness-3P-indef

'Month sickness had not yet grabbed her.'
(i.e. 'She had not yet begun to menstruate.')
```

Authority is spoken of as a characteristic that someone has *with* respect to another: *muna-y-niyoq ka-...* [X]-*wan* (want-inf-have be-... [X]-COM) 'to have X in one's authority'. Or one

---

[361]This correlates nicely with the way many dialect (HgQ not among them) express "to get well": and one is freed of the illness.

can speak of being in someone's authority: *muna-y-nin-chaw ka-* (want-inf-3P-LOC be-) 'to be under his authority'.

22.3. Idioms

HgQ has very few idiomatic expressions. This discussion will begin with idioms that are semi-productive, and then turn to those which are not.

Semi-productive idioms allow some latitude in their formation: in those mentioned here, it is possible to substitute different phrases within the expression, provided these phrases are of the appropriate type. (Certainly the distinction between productive and non-productive idioms is not a clear cut one.) The following idioms are semi-productive idiomatic expressions:

TO BECOME

Examples 1907-1911 show that *rika-kU-* (see-refl-) can be used to mean 'to become x' where x is some complementing substantive (a substantive phrase, a participle):

```
saanu   rika-kU-                                          1907
health  see-refl-

'to become well'

mas    hatun  rachi-sha  rika-kU-                          1908
more   big    tear-prtc  see-refl-

'to become more torn'

fiyu+pa  almira-sha   rika-kU-                             1909
very     admire-prtc  see-refl-

'to be amazed'

qeshyaq  /chichu    rika-kU-                               1910
sick-sub/pregnant  see-refl-

'become pregnant'

mancha-kaaku-q  niraq      rika-kU-                        1911
fear-compl-sub  just:like  see-refl-

'he became extremely frightened'
```

WITHOUT FAIL

...*mana* WH-*pis pishi-q* (...not WH-indef lack-sub) means 'without fail' for example, *mana pi-pis pishi-q* (not who-indef lack-sub) 'everyone without fail'.

AROUND THE EDGE

inteeru NP-*pa tuma+ri-q* (entire NP-GEN go:about-sub) means 'all around': e.g., *inteeru kantu-n-pa tuma+ri-q* (entire edge-3P-GEN go:about-sub) 'all around the edge',

IT DOESN'T MATTER

The third person imperative is used, as illustrated in 1912, to form the complement to the idiomatic expression *imata qokaman* 'it doesn't matter to me':

```
Kuchpa:-ku-chun-pis  ima-ta     qo-ka-ma-n.               1912
roll-refl-3IMP-even  what-OBJ   give-refl-=>1-3

'May it roll (down the hill)--it doesn't  matter to me!'
```

PROFESSIONALLY DEDICATED TO

To express ones profession, one can use the frame [X]-*y-lla-chaw kakU-*, where X is either a substantive referring to a profession or an infinitive such as in the following

413

example:

1913

```
chakra  aru-y-lla-chaw    ka-kU-
field   work-inf-just-LOC be-refl-
```

'to be professionally dedicated to farming'

We now turn to non-productive idioms. i.e. those which are frozen, and allow no syntactic manipulation.

I have only seen one HgQ idiom which refers to an internal organ as the center of consciousness. emotion, feeling, etc.; *shonqo* 'heart/lung' used as the center of personality or character. For example. *shinchi shonqo* (hard heart) 'uncompassionate'. Further, in example 1914 *tukuy shonqoopa* 'with all my heart' refers to emotion or will:

```
tukuy  shonqo-:-pa   maña-kU-
all    heart-1P-GEN  ask-refl-
```
1914

'to ask with all my heart'

These cases are rare and little used, leading me to suspect that they are borrowed from Spanish.[362]

Unpleasant/uncouth subjects may be referred to euphemistically: e.g. *paharo*--literally 'bird' from Sp. *pájaro* 'bird'--is a euphemism for penis.[363] To speak of someone's death, one may euphemistically speak of his being lost:

```
Tayta-:-ta      oqra-shka-:
father-1P-OBJ   lose-perf-1
```
1915

'My father died.'
(literally, 'I lost my father.')

Examples 1916 and 1917, show "displaced reference". i.e., the predication is really about one thing (e.g. in 1916 about one's mental state) but this is stated in terms of some other object (e.g. the eyes):

```
Ñawi-: puñu-na:-yka-n.
eye-1P sleep-desid-impfv-3
```
1916

'I am sleepy.' (literally 'My eye wants to sleep.')

In 1917. it is, of course, the contents of the pot which are said to boil, and not the pot itself:

```
Payla timpu-yka-q-ta       talli-ri+yku-r...
pot   boil-impfv-sub-OBJ   tip-sud-adv
```
1917

'Quickly tipping over the boiling pot...'

There follows a (rather jumbled) list of non-productive idioms:

adoobi-ta chuta- (adobe-OBJ pull-) 'to make adobes (putting mud into a mold. etc.)'
rupaypa rupaykan 'to spread like wildfire'; e.g.:

```
Chay-lla-mi     alburu:ta rupa-y+pa rupa-yka-n.
that-just-GEN   word      burn-adv  burn-impfv-3
```
1918

'Everyone is learning about it (i.e.. word is spreading like wildfire).'

---

[362]One might suspect that that at least the brain would be viewed as the center of thought. That I have been able to tell, it is not.

[363]HgQ shares this euphemism with the Spanish of the area.

busburu-pa huk uma-n (match-GEN one head-3P) 'a single match'

asi-y binsi-rI- (laugh-inf conquer-pnct-) 'to be unable to suppress a laugh'

Qampis ni noqapis gustu kashunchu:

```
Qam-pis    ni   noqa-pis gustu   ka-shun-chu.          1919
you-indef  nor  I-indef  pleasure be-12FUT-NEG
```

'Neither of us will be the same.'

alli qoya:- [X]-*wan* 'to live compatibly with X'

mana sumaq tantiya-q-naw-chu ka-: 'I don't fully understand' (lit. 'I am as one who does not understand well.')

adyus-ta qo- (greeting-OBJ give-) 'to greet'

kichki ka- (narrow be-) 'to be packed tightly together' e.g in a vehicle/theatre where there is not really enough room.

kargu-ta yayku- (office-OBJ enter-) 'enter office'

waqa-y-man chura-ka:- (cry-inf-GOAL place-pass-) 'to begin to cry'

huk-niraq-ya:- (one-just:like-become-) 'countenance fall'

ruka-y-ta apa-ku- (replace-inf-OBJ take-refl) 'to become the replacement...' (e.g. to take over a fiesta cargo for the next year)

kwinta-ta apa-kU:- (account-OBJ take-refl-) 'to become aware that'

huti-n-pa willa- (name-3P-GEN tell-) 'to identify by name'

-pa huti-POS$_x$*-chaw* 'in x's name' e.g.:

```
Maña-ku-n santu-pa   huti-n-chaw.                       1920
ask-refl-3 saint-GEN name-3P-LOC
```

'They pray in the saint's name.'

direechun-ta qo- (right-OBJ give-) 'to give the right to (e.g. to drink liquor)'

chacha "old one" may come from an expression for 'bent over' *chachaniraq* 'like an old person' *chachashniraq* 'person/post... which is inclined'

22.4. Emotional Expressions

The following might be called "emotives": they are expressions of emotional reaction:

Achachaw! 'Oh no! (from fear or surprise)'

Achallaw! 'How beautiful!. How tasty!'

Ananaw! 'Ouch!'

Akachaw! 'How hot (ambient)!'

Wawiita (for a female) or *Wawiitu* (for a male)
          'Poor thing!'

Other, more complicated expressions of emotion follow:

desperation

kanan-raq-chi kanan-lla-qa (now-yet-CNJ now-just-TOP) means roughly 'Oh dear! What now!' and is generally followed by something like *ima-ta-raq rura-shaq?* (what-OBJ-?? do-1FUT) 'What shall I do?'. Another example:

```
Kanan-raq-chi kanan-lla-qa ima-ta-raq  ni-ma-n-qa              1921
now-yet-CNJ   now-just-TOP what-OBJ-?? say-=>1-3-TOP

duyñu-n.
owner-3
```

'Oh dear! What now! What will its owner say to me?'

exasperation

Imay-raq hama-shaq [X]-*pita* 'When might I be free of X?': e.g.:

```
Imay-lla-qa    hama-shaq-churaq qeshya-y-pita.                 1922
when-just-TOP  rest-1FUT-dub    be:sick-inf-ABL
```

'When will I get over being sick!'

pleasure   ...*yapay imay hunaq-pis* [X]-*na-:-kama* 'when might I get a chance to X again?!'; e.g.:

```
Kanan pachamanka-ta  miku-: yapay imay hunaq-pis              1923
now   pachamanka-OBJ eat-1  again when day-indef

miku-na-:-kama.
eat-sub-1P-LIM
```

'Now I eat *pachamanka*; when might I eat it again!?'

22.5. Formulaic Expressions

There are rough formulas for indicating a beginning or an end of a discourse, and there are some discourse types (e.g. riddles) with a fairly fixed structure.

There is no one fixed formula for beginning a folk tale: however, most begin with an existential as in examples 1924-1927:

```
Chay-shi hasendaaro      mishti ka-sha.                        1924
that-IND hacienda:owner white  be-3PERF
```

'There was a white hacienda owner.'

```
Chay-shi buurru ka-ra-n.                                       1925
that-IND donkey be-past-3
```

'There was a donkey.'

```
Chay-shi karan      muchu-y.                                   1926
that-IND be-past-3 famine
```

'There was a famine.'

```
Ishkay upa-kuna-shi    ka-ra-n.                                1927
two    stooge-plur-IND be-past-3
```

'There were two stooges.'

Some begin with an "encounter" between principle participants; e.g.:

```
Tinku-ka-ra-n            sooru-wan kondor-shi.                 1928
encounter-pass-past-3 fox-COM    condor-IND
```

'The fox and the condor met.'

The following are standard terminators of speeches: they all mean (roughly) 'that's all':

Chay-lla-mi ka-sha. (that-just-DIR be-3PERF)

Chay-lla-mi. (that-just-DIR)

Chay-lla (that-just)

416

These are used to terminate any sort of speech, such as the telling of a folk tale, the end of a political speech, the ending of a narrative about some incident, and even to conclude public and private prayer ('amen').

A riddle has three or four lines: the first line is very standardly *Imata:shi Imataqshi (kaykaa)?* (see 1930): the other lines give properties of the item to be guessed.

```
Ima-taq-shi ima-taq-shi (ka-yka-:)?                            1929
what-??-IND what-??-IND  be-impfv-1

Paqas-ta  hunaq-ta aywa-ku-yka-:,    yoraq-lla.
night-OBJ day-OBJ  go-refl-impfv-1   white-just

Mana ultimu  chawa-y+pa     paqas-ta  hunaq-ta.
not  finally complete-adv   night-OBJ day-OBJ

'What am I? What am I?
Night and day I am going, white,
Never stopping,
By night by day.' [mayu 'river']

Ima-taq-shi ima-taq-shi (kaykaa)? (what-??-IND what-??-IND)    1930
Wak chimpa, kay chimpa,           (there bank this bank)
Waraka-naku-yka-:.                (sling-recip-impfv-1)

'What are we? What are we?
That bank, this bank,
We sling things at each other. [runa 'man']

Wasi waqta-n-chaw noqa tiya-: (house behind-3P-LOC live-1)     1931
Imay-pis unchu-ra-:.          (when-indef squat-stat-1)
Uma rebeti-sha               (head cap-prtc)
Miku-: yapay aqtu-ri-:       (eat-1 again spit:out-pnct-1)

'I live behind a house.
Always squatting.
My head capped
I eat.  Then I spit it out.' [hornu 'oven']
```

As the ultimate in formulaic expressions, I offer following war cries:

Golpe gyeerra!

Tuuka la kampaana!

Wañuy Kaway!

22.6. Loan Translations (Calques)

There are perhaps a few cases in which HgQ has borrowed an expression from Spanish, translating them part for part. (These are called "loan translations" or "calques.") For example, Spanish has the following expressions: *estar en ayunas* 'to be on fast (i.e., to not yet have eaten breakfast)'. *estar de sed* 'to be thirsty', and *estar de hambre* 'to be hungry'. These were translated part for part into HgQ, giving rise to expressions like the following:

```
Yarqa-y-chaw        ka-yka-:.                                  1932
be:hungry-inf-LOC be-impfv-1

'I am hungry.' or 'I am without having eaten.'

Yaku-na-y-pita      ka-yka-:                                   1933
water-desid-inf-ABL be-impfv-1

'I am thirsty.'
```

23. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

This chapter describes various aspects of the phonology of HgQ. These are treated in ten sections. as follows:

1. Phonemes. see section 23.1,

2. Allophonics. see section 23.2.

3. Consonant Clusters. see section 23.3.

4. Syllables. see section 23.4.

5. Morpheme Structure Conditions. see section 23.5.

6. Orthography. see section 23.6.

7. Stress, see section 23.7,

8. Morpo-Phonological Processes. see section 23.8,

9. Loan Processes. see section 23.9

23.1. Phonemes

Table 23.1 shows the phonemes of HgQ. Those in parentheses are used only in Spanish loans.

CONSONANTS:

stops voiceless	/p/	/t/	/k/	/q/
voiced	(b)	(d)	(g)	
fricatives	(f)			/h/
affricates		/ch/		
sibilants	/s/	/sh/		
nasals	/m/	/n/	/ñ/	
liquids		/l/ /r/	/ll/ /z/	
semivowels	/y/		/w/	[length]364

VOWELS:

	front	mid	back
high	/i/		/u/
mid	(e)		(o)
low		/a/	

Table 23-1: THE PHONEMES OF HUALLAGA QUECHUA

The consonants in parentheses are found only in words which are borrowed (e.g. *bi:da* 'life' from Spanish *vida*) or onomatopoetic (e.g. *bunruru-* '(of thunder) to rumble'). The vowels in parentheses occur in native Quechua morphemes only as allophones of the high vowels. They also occur in borrowed words.

The importance\of vocalic length in the central Quechua languages cannot be over-estimated. In some extreme cases. virtually every vowel is long. e.g. /aka:-chi-yka:-ma:-na-nchi:-paq-qa/

364Length is phonetically vocalic (being the protraction of a vowel) but it is listed here because it has the value of a . consonant in the phonological system.

[aka:chi:ka:ma:nanchi:pá:ga] 'in order to be making me hot'. Length may be the only clue to rather sharp differences: e.g.:

```
[kawará:chu] /kawa-ra-:-chu/ (live-past-1-NEG) 'I did not live'

[kawará:chu] /kawa-:-raq-chu/ (live-1-yet-NEG) 'I still don't live'
```

In many cases length is the only feature distinguishing two morphemes: e.g. roots may be distinguished only by the length of the final vowel:[365]

```
a. pishi-chi-n  (urinate-caus-3)
b. pishi:-chi-n (be:lacking-caus-3)

a. 'he makes/allows him urinate (of a small child)'
b. 'he causes it to be lacking'

a. rika:-ku-n (spectate-refl-3)
b. rika-ku-n  (see-refl-3)

a. 'he looks (as a spectator)'
b. 'he sees/looks'

a. wayra:-chi-sha (blow-caus-3PERF)
b. wayra-chi-sha  (winnow-caus-3PERF)

a. 'he made it blow (as by opening a window)'
b. 'he made him winnow it'
```

In some cases the allomorphs of different suffixes are distinuished only by length. For example, /-ykU/ 'directly' and /-yka:/ 'imperfective' both have allomorphs with the [-yka], but that of /-ykU/ can occur in an open syllable whereas in such an environment /yka:/ will have a long vowel:

```
[chayaykámur] chaya-ykU-mu-r  (directly)
[chayayká:mur] chaya-yka:-mu-r (imperfective)

'upon arriving'
```

23.2. Allophonics

/p/   voiceless bilabial stop. e.g., /papa/ [pápa] 'potato'

/t/   voiceless apico-alveolar stop, e.g., /tanta/ [tánta] 'bread'

/k/   voiceless dorso-velar stop

---

[365]Here is a list of roots which end in long vowels. (Abbreviations used are the following: v1 intransitive verb. v2 transitive verb. pro pronoun. s sustantive. adj adjective. loc emotive/expression/locution. onom onomatopeic.) achikya:- v1 shine: aha:- v1 form a sore on the skin: aka:- v1 be hot: akaqya:- v1 be hot (e.g.. a sprained ankle): ama: s mythical figure (like a witch): asqa:- v1 be sour: asya:- v1 stink: ayara:- v2 to hold something horizontal in the hands: aypa:- v1 to reach,to be sufficient: v2 to hand to: chapa:- v2 to cover. to protect by covering: chara:- v2 to have: chayaka:- v2 to stain: chillapya:- v1 to sparkle: chipya:- v1 to be shiny: ha: huh? (what you say to get someone to repeat what he has said): hischo: whoa! (what you say to a horse to make it stop): hitapa:- v2 to cast the blame on: hucha:- v1 to sin: illa:- v1 to be absent: illqa:- v1 to disappear: ka: here! (what you say when extending something to someone so that he will take it): kaylla: here, thanks! (what you say when returning something): kuchpa:- v1 to roll (down the slope): ma: loc let's see! (a challenge to do something): macha:- v1 to be intoxicated: melana:- v2 to be nauseatinig or revolting: micha:- v2 to impede. to stop from doing: mishki:- v1 to become sweet: nana:- v1 to hurt/pain. v2 to be painful to: pacha:- to take lodging: pi: pro who: pishi:- v1 to be lacking to: pochqo:- v1 to be too salty. to be fermented: qapara:- v1 yell: qasa:- v2 to be cold (derived from qasi-ya:- 'peaceful-become'): qoya:- v1 to pass time: raqa: s an old house in ruin (without roof...): rawra:- v1 to burn (skin): rika:- v1 to watch (as a spectator): shana:- v1 to be warm (from the sun): shuya:- v1 wait: v2 to wait for: qoñu:- v2 to be warm: ura:- v1 to go down: utika:- v1 to be tired: wara:- v1 to dawn: washa:- v2 to defend (by coming between the agressor and victim): wayra:- v1 to blow (cf. wayra- 'to winnow'): weqlla: s species of plant: wicha:- v1 climb: yanapa:- v2 help: yarpa:- v2 think. remember. deliberate...: yarqa:- v1 to be hungry:

  - Word-finally /k/ is sometimes pronounced with a strong vocalic termination
   e.g. /huk/ [huk^u] 'one'.

  - In the morpheme /-yka:/ 'impfv' the /k/ is sometimes voiced [-yga:] and
   sometimes the point of articulation is quite far front (in the palatal region) with
   a strong palatal offglide [-yk⁽ʸ⁾a:] e.g. /kaykaqwan/ [kayk⁽ʸ⁾ág^ewaŋ].

/q/ voiced or voiceless dorso-uvular stop or fricative.[366] The facts are roughly these:

```
/q/ --> g~ɣ           / V___V
        x             / ___[voiceless stop or affricate]
        ∅             / ___## (i.e., word-final)
        g~ɣ~x~:       / in certain morphemes when
                         followed by some other suffix
```

For example, /aqu/ [ágo]~[áɣo] 'sand', /aqcha/ [áxcha] 'hair'. To clarify the last two
cases, the /q/ of suffixes with the shape /-Caq/

  1. either drop /q/ altogether or have a slightly audible velar friction [x] (perhaps
   post-velar [x̱]) when word-final.

  2. may be either length (of the preceding vowel) or a voiced velar stop [g] or [g̱]
   generally followed by a transition vocoid: e.g.

```
/mana-raq/    [manárax] ~ [manará:]
/aywa-shaq/   [aywáshax] ~ [aywashá:]
```

/b/ voiced bilabial stop or fricative (as in Spanish). e.g. /aba/ [ába]~[áva] 'grape'

/d/ voiced apico-alveolar stop. e.g.. /deeru/ [dé:ru] 'finger'

/g/ voiced dorso-velar stop. e.g.. /rigin/ [rǐgiŋ] 'he believes'

/f/ voiceless labio-velar fricative.[367] e.g., [ˣw̓ísta] 'fiesta'

/h/ voiceless breath. e.g. /hacha/ [hácha] 'shrub, brush'

/ch/ voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate, e.g., /chaka/ [cháka] 'bridge'

/s/ voiceless apico-alveolar sibilant, e.g., /suqta/ [sóxta] 'six'

/sh/ voiceless lamino-palatal sibilant. e.g.. /shamun/ [shámuŋ] 'he comes'

/m/ bilabial nasal stop. e.g., /micha/ [mǐcha] 'stingy'

/n/ alveolar nasal stop. e.g.. /anka/ [áŋka] 'eagle'

/ñ/ lamino-palatal nasal[368]. e.g. /ñatin/ [ñátiŋ] 'liver'

/l/ alveolar lateral. e.g.. /lapis/ [lápis] 'pencil'

/ll/ lamino-palatal lateral. e.g.. /alli/ [álli] 'good'

/r/ apico-alviolar flap. e.g. /chariy/ [chári] 'grab it!'

/z/ voiced apico-postalveolar fricative.[369] e.g.. /kaazu/ [ká:zu] 'truck, car'

/y/ high front semi-vowel, e.g.. /yaykuy/ [yáykuy] 'enter!'

/w/ high back rounded semi-vowel. e.g.. /wawa/ [wáwa] 'baby'

[length] length of the preceding vowel

---

[366] /q/ is rarely pronounced as a voiceless stop in HgQ as it is in most other dialects.

[367] This covers a wide range of labial and velar constriction: [ˣw̓]~[xʷ]~[ˣw̓]

[368] I.e.. this is formed with the blade of the tongue.

[369] I.e.. it is retroflexed. Orthographically this is represented with r̠.

23.3. Consonant Clusters

The following consonant clusters and their phonetic values have been recorded. (This list is not intended as a complete list of all possible clusters.) There seem to be little constraint on what may occur as a cluster.[370]

/kk/	[k] *ichikkuna* 'little ones'
/kq/	[kg] e.g. *hukqa* (one-TOP)
/ksh/	[ksh] e.g. *taksha* 'small'
/l.ll/	[ll][371] or [ly] e.g. /papillla/ [papilla]~[papilya] 'just paper'
/llq/	[ll^{e}g] e.g. *pallqa-*
/ly/	[ly] or [l^y]
	/ly/ e.g., *pelya-* 'to fight' [pelya-] ~ [pel^{y}a-][372]
/mp/	[mp] e.g. *hampi* 'medicine', *qampa* 'yours'
/mr/	[m^{b}r] e.g. *wamra* 'child'
/mw/	[mw] e.g. *qamwan* 'with you'
/nch/	[nch] e.g. *hancha-* 'take by the hand'
/nk/	[ŋk] e.g. *anka* 'hawk'
/nn/	[ŋn] e.g. *hatunnin* 'the biggest'
/np/	[mp] e.g. *Juanpa* 'John's'
/nq/	[ŋg] e.g. *tanqa-* 'push'
/nr/	[ŋ^{e}r] e.g. *qanra* 'dirty'
/ns/	[ŋs] e.g. *mayqansi* 'which(indef)'
/nt/	[nt] e.g. *tanta* 'bread'
/nw/	[ŋw] *piikunwan* 'with his pick'
/ny/	[ŋy] or sometimes [ny] e.g. *qanyan* 'yesterday'[373]
/pr/	[pr] or [p^{e}r] e.g. *qapra* 'blind' *tap(a)rakoq* 'butterfly'
/qch/	[xch] e.g. *aqcha* 'hair' *paqcha* 'waterfall'
/qk/	[xk] e.g. *atoqkaq* 'fox+def [atóxkax]
/qq/	[:g] or [:γ] e.g. *atoqqa* 'fox-TOP'
/ql/	[q^{e}l] e.g. *paqla* 'bald'
/qll/	[q^{e}ll] e.g. *atoqlla* 'just the fox' *chaqlla-* 'cover with sticks'
/qm/	[:m] e.g. *aywashaqmi* 'I will go' or [g^{e}m] or [x$^{(e)}$m] e.g. *saqma-* 'to stone'
/qn/	[g^{e}n] or [x^{e}n] e.g. *hunaqna* 'now day'
/qr/	[g^{e}r] e.g. *paqra* 'worthless soil', *mugre* 'soiled'
/qsh/	[xsh] e.g. *taqsha-* 'wash clothing'
/qy/	[g^{e}y] e.g. *hunaqyaq* 'until day' *waqya-* 'howl (dog)'

---

[370]And these might simply reflect distributional constraints on consonants in terms of syllables: e.g. /h/ may only occur in the syllable onset. so there are no clusters which begin with /h/.

[371]This is perhaps slightly longer than a normal /ll/.

[372]/ly/ contrasts with /ll/. e.g. *pelya-* 'to fight' is pronounced [pel^{y}a-] and not *[pella-].

[373][ny] contrasts with [ñ]: e.g. a minimal pair is *manya-* 'to tie the hands of. to hobble' versus *maña-* 'to ask for'.

/qw/	[gw] e.g *laqwa-* 'to lick'
/rd/	[z] e.g. *kumpa:rri* (from compadre)
/rk/	[rk] e.g. *marka* 'town'
/rr/	[z] e.g. *puñurraq* 'yet sleeping'
/rl/	[r^el] e.g. *urlaykichaw* 'below you'
/rm/	[rm] or [r^em] e.g. *kirma* 'cot/strecher' *turmanya* 'rainbow'
/rn/	[zn] e.g. *puñurna* 'sleeping now' *gubirnu* 'government'
/rt/	[zt] e.g. *parti* 'region'
/ry/	[r^iy] e.g. *ukumarya* 'bear'
/rs/	[zs] e.g. *puñursi* (sleep-adv-indef)
/sr/	[sz] e.g. *paqasraq* 'yet night'
/sy/	[sy] e.g. *paqasyaq* 'until night'
/shch/	[sch] e.g. *kikishchaw* 'in the armpit'
/shsh/	[ssh] e.g. *kuurrishshi* 'he ran' (run-3PERF-IND)
/tq/	[t^eg] e.g *watqa-* 'to spy on'
/ww/	[w:] e.g. *illawwan* 'with the weaving stick'

23.4. Syllable Structure

The following account for virtually all of Quechua syllabic structure:

1. A phonological word is a series of syllables.
2. Syllables are simply (C)V(C).
3. The syllable onset is obligatory except in the initial syllable.
4. Length patterns as a consonant (which only occurs in the coda). i.e. V: = [V][C].

Using C={consonants and length} and V={short vowels} the above-listed facts yield the following constraints:

*CCC	i.e.. no clusters of three consonants.[374]
*#CC	i.e.. no consonant clusters initially (Loans are exceptional e.g.. *kwartu*)
*CC#	i.e.. no consonant clusters finally
*VV	i.e.. no two vowels together[375]
*:CC and *C:#	i.e.. length does not occur in closed syllables (These are special cases of the first two constraint given (respectively).)

23.5. Morpheme Structure Conditions

Any combinations of consonants, vowels and length which (1) meets the phonological constraint presented above, (2) does not result in too many syllables (four being about the limit) could be a (verbal or substantival) root morpheme. Verbal roots must end in a vowel (either short or

---

[374]We must not be misled by digraphs: "shll" is only two consonants. Snow [33]. page 252. gives *mayqanntsishi*. which violates this constraint: I suspect this is simply wrong.

[375]But length is represented orthographically by double vowels.

long). There is a strong (diachronic) tendency to make verbal roots bisyllabic.[376] For example. *rika* ᛫ *cha-* becomes *rikcha-* 'to look intently at' *qara* ᛫ *cha-* becomes *qarᶜcha-* 'to drag' etc.

The canonical shapes (morpheme structure conditions) of suffixes include the following:

-C	-*n* 'third person'
-:	-: 'first person'
-CV	-*ta* 'OBJ'
-CV:	-*pa:* 'ben'
-CVC	-*paq* 'purpose'
-CCV	-*ykU* 'impact'
-CCV:	-*yka:* 'impfv'
-CCVC	-*ynaq* 'without'
-:CV	-*:shi* 'help'
-CVCV	-*pita* 'ABL'
-CV:CV	-*pa:kU* 'plur'
-CVCV:	-*kacha:* 'iterative'
-CCVCV:	-*ykacha:* 'iterative'
-CVCCV	-*raygu* 'sake'

If /q/ occurs in a suffix. then neither /i/ nor /u/ occurs in it. This is probably because phonetic lowering would make the /i/ or /u/ into [e] or [o] (respectively). making them susceptible to re-analysis as /a/.

23.6. Orthography

The orthography used throughout this work is that authorized by the Peruvian Ministry of Eduction.[377] Table 23-2 is included for the benefit of any who might venture to read material written in a Hispanic orthography.

PHONEME	AUTHORIZED	HISPANIC	
/w/	w	hu	word initial and sometimes between vowels
		u	in all coda. after consonants
/y/	y	i	
/k/	k	qu	before e and i
		c	elsewhere
/q/	q	gu	before e and i
		g	elsewhere
/h/	h	j	

Table 23-2: ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

The authorized orthography requires that the vowels be written lowered only if no morpheme

---

[376] Perhaps this is true for all roots. but the tendency is certainly stronger for verbal roots.

[377] Resolución Ministerial No. 4023-75-ED. October of 1975.

boundary intervenes between the lowered vowel and the /q/ which causes the lowering. Thus,

```
/atoq/     'fox'          is written    atoq  but
/upu-q/    'drink-agent'  is written    upuq

/asi-nqa/  'search-3fut'  is written    asinqa  but
/sinqa/    'nose'         is written    senqa
```

When /n/ has undergone assimilation to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate, it should nevertheless be written as "n". Thus,

```
[wasimpa]  /wasi-n-pa/   'to his house'  is written    wasinpa  but
[pampa]    /pampa/       'ground'        is written    pampa
```

23.7. Stress

Basically. stress is assigned to the penultimate mora.[378]

In the most usual case. the next to the last syllable is stressed. Thus:

```
/ayway/          [ayway]            'go (IMP)'
/aywaykan/       [aywaykaŋ]         'they are going'
/aywaykanmi/     [aywaykaŋnmi]      'they are going (DIR)'
/aywashaykikama/ [aywashaykikama]   'until you go'
```

Since long vowels count as two mora. word-final long vowels are stressed. This may come about by (i) the final morpheme ending in an underlying long vowel or (ii) length resulting from compensatory lengthening upon the loss of a /q/:

```
/raqa:/      [ragá:]      'abandoned house in ruins'
/ama:/       [ama]        'a prehistoric people'
/mana-raq/   [manárax] ~ [manará:]  'not yet'
/aywa-shaq/  [aywáshax] ~ [aywashá:] 'I will go.'
/chay-lla-raq/ [chayllárax] ~ [chayllará:] 'just a moment ago'
```

Because the penultimate mora is stressed and because the first person suffix (either verbal or non-verbal) is length, it is accompanied by stress unless it occurs pre-penultimate. (One could say that it attracts stress from its left but not from its right.) Thus,

```
/uma-:/        [umá:]        'my head'
/uma-:-ta/     [uma:ta]      'to my head'
/uma-:-pita/   [uma:pita]    'from my head'
/uma-:-pita-mi/ [uma:pitámi] 'from my head (assert)'
```

---

[378]Not all stress follows the rules presented below in the text. For example. stress may be used for emphasis: in the following. the final vowel of noqa is lengthened and stressed:

```
Kasarashaq noqá:::.
```

```
'I will marry her!' (pleading so her father won't throw
the speaker over a cliff)
```

Further. in some discourses. a speaker may shift to a staccato pattern: heavy stress on the first syllable *of a phrase* followed by decreasing stress and pitch to the end of that phrase. I have only seen this pattern maintained over fairly small streches of a discourse.

23.8. Morpho-Phonological Processes

23.8.1. Sibilants

/sh/ becomes /s/ when it immediately precedes /ch/: e.g.

/hanash-chaw/ [hanaschaw] 'farther up +LOC'

/aywa-sha-chu/ [aywasháchu] ~ [aywáschu]

'Has he gone?/He has not gone.'

/kikish-chaw/ [kikïschaw] 'in the armpit'

/sh/ may also become /s/ before /y/; e.g..

/wipchush-yaq/ [wipchúsyax] or [wipchús^iyax]

In the following, the (second) [z] and the following [sh] merge together into a continuous affrication with the tongue tip moving forward

/kuurri-r-shi/ [ku:zïzshi] (run-adv-IND)

The same is true of the /r/ and /sh/ of the following example, even though a word boundary intervenes:

[gongáykuzshakamúsh kashká:]

/qonqaykur shakamusha kashkaa/

'I had come forgetting it.'

23.8.2. Phonetic Lowering

High vowels become mid vowels in the environment of /q/.[379]

- when the vowel directly precedes: /uq/ --> [oq], /iq/ --> [eq], e.g.. /suqta/ [sóxta] 'six'
- when the vowel directly follows: /qu/ --> [qo]. /qi/ --> [qe], e.g., /qipi/ [gépi] 'bundle'
- when a resonant occurs between the /q/ and the (preceding) vowel: for example. /unq/ --> [onq]. e.g.. /shunqu/ [shóŋgo] 'heart'; /irq/ --> [erq]. e.g.. /pirqa/ [pérga] 'wall'. /ullq/ --> [ollq] e.g. /ullqu/ [óllgo] 'male'. etc.
- but (generally) not with other consonants intervening: for example. /uchq/ --> [uchq].[380] e.g.. /puchqan/ [púchgaŋ] 'he spins'; /utq/ --> [utq] etc.

23.8.3. Lowering of High Long Vowels

In HgQ there is a strong tendency to lower long high vowels; e.g.:

/ashi:shiy/ [ashé:shi] 'help him search'

/miku:/ [mikó:] 'I eat'

/mana tapu-:-raqᵣchu/ [mána tapo:rá:chu] 'I haven't asked yet.'

---

[379] This process operates across morpheme boundaries as well as within morpheme boundaries.

[380] There are some exceptional words in which /u/ is virtually always lowered despite an affricate between it and the /q/. e.g., /puchqun/ [póchgoŋ]

425

The long high vowels of highly assimilated loans are sometimes lowered; e.g.:

    [biyó:ra] 'widow' from Sp. viuda

This does not occur in all loans; e.g.:

    /kara-u:nun/ 'each one of them' [karaú:nuη] NOT:[karaó:nuη]

23.8.4. Nasal Assimilation

Syllable initially /n/ is simply [n]. Syllable final, /n/ assimilate to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate; otherwise. syllable finally it is velar.

/n/ -->	[m] / __p	e.g. /taytanpaq/	[taytámpax]
	[n] / __t,ch	e.g. /umanta/ /punchu/	[uṃánta] [púnchu]
	[η] / __k	e.g. /anka/	[áηka]
	[η] / syll final	e.g. /anan/	[ánaη]

For example. /n/ is [η] before /r/ e.g.. /qanra/ [gáηra] 'dirty'; before /s/. e.g., /aywansi/ [aywáηsi] 'he also goes'. Generally before semivowels /n/ becomes [η], e.g.. /taytanwan/ [taytáηwaη]. However before /y/ there is alternation between [n] and [η]:

    /qanyan/ [qányan] ~ [qáηyan] 'yesterday'

    /manya-/ [mánya-] ~ [máηya-] 'hobble'

Nasal assimilation does not apply in /panpanya-/ [paηpaηya-] 'to explode (fireworks)' formed by the cliticization of -ya: to the onomatopoetic expression [páη páη].

23.8.5. Apocope

When word final and following a short vowel, some suffixes of the form -CV may (optionally) lose the final vowel (accompanied by a shift of stress). Thus,

    /mana-mi/   -->   [manámi] ~ [mánam] (not-DIR)

    /uma-ta-mi/ -->   [umatámi] ~ [umátam] (head-OBJ-DIR)

but never

    /aywa-n-mi/ -->   [aywáηmi] ~ *[aywanm] (go-3-DIR).

Suffixes which undergo this process are: -mi 'direct', -shi 'indirect', -si 'even, also', -sha 'participle'. Apocope is very common immediately preceding ka- 'be'. [állim káykaη] is much preferred to [allími káykaη].

23.8.6. Contractions

23.8.6.1. Syllable dropping

If adjacent syllables are highly similar at the end of a word, one is sometimes deleted; e.g.:

426

/-yki-kaq/ --> [-yk^(y)ax] (with [k] somewhat fronted)

/-pita-taq/ --> [-pitax]

/-ta-taq/ --> [-tax]

For example,

/puñushaykikaqman/ --> [puñushayk^yáxmaŋ]

'to the place where you slept'

/maypitataq/ --> [maypíta] 'from where?'

/wallpaykitataq/ --> [wallpaykíta] 'your chicken+OBJ?'

In /kikikikunata/ [kikik:unata] 'yourselves+OBJ' the third [k] is somewhat longer than an "ordinary" [k], presumably because it is the collapse of /kik/.

In example 1934 four animals are mentioned in parallel, each overtly followed by -shi except mishi: the absence following mishi is due to the contraction of like syllables at the end of a word.

<div style="text-align:right">1934</div>

```
a. ...puñuykaarinshi chay washichaw
b. burru-shi hawa punku pampaman
c. allqu-shi punku yaykurinachaw
d. mishi-Ø tullpa punkuchaw y
e. gaallu-shi wasi hanan pinkuchaw.

a. ...they go to sleep in the house
b. the   donkey-IND on the ground outside the door
c. the      dog-IND in the doorway,
d. the      cat-Ø   at the door of the hearth, and
e. the rooster-IND up on the ridge pole of the house.
```

Sometimes other syllables are dropped as a speech-speed phenomenon, e.g.:

/karuna-kuna-ta/ [karukunata]

/taqay washa/ [ta:wásha]

The /a/ of -pa 'GEN' is sometimes lost in compounds:

/ikchuypa ikchur/ [ikchuyp:íkchur] 'sobbing'

/buurru-pa chupa-n/ [bu:zupchúpaŋ]
'donkey's tail (type of plant)'

23.8.6.2. *Hana*, *ura* and *washa* contracting with *qa*

Hana, *ura* and *washa* are discussed in section 12.3.2.3. These roots may contract with a following substantive as *han-*, *ur-* and *wash-* (respectively). For example, with *la:du* 'place, side':[381]

/han^elá:/ ~ /hanalá:/ ~ /hana lá:du/

/ulá:/ ~ /uzlá:/ ~ /ur^elá:/ ~ /úra lá:du/

With *wasi* 'house':

/han^ewasi/ ~ /haŋwasi/ 'that house up there'

/wash^ewasi/ ~ /washwasi/ 'that house over there'

/ur^ewasi/ 'that house down there'

---

[381][e] is a transition vocoid: it does not have the status of a phoneme.

The following show this contraction with /qa/:[382]

```
[han^eqa-]   /han'qa-/   < hana+qa
[ur^eqa-]    /ur'qa-/    < ura+qa
[wash^eqa-]  /wash'qa-/  < washa+qa
```

23.8.6.3. Contractions involving suffixes and postpositions

Some rare cases show the contraction of /...aq+ya:-/ to /...qa-/: e.g.:

```
[mall^eqa-] /mall'qa-/ 'to be hungry'
    from /mallaq+ya:-/ (hungry+become-)

[yor^eqa-] /yor'qa-/ 'to pale'
    from /yoraq+ya:-/ (white+become-)

[chan^eqa-] /chan'qa-/ 'to become tight (e.g. a knot in a rope)'
    from /chanaq+ya:-/ (tight+become-)
```

The third of these examples contrasts with [chaŋqa-] /chanqa-/ which means 'to damage a tuber when harvesting'.[383]

The postposition *ari* fuses with the -*mi* 'DIR'. and -*chaq* 'sure':[384]

```
/-mi#ari/    --> /-mari/

/-chaq#ari/  --> /-chari/
```

23.8.7. Metathesis

In the following examples. metathesis has applied to the (medial) consonant cluster:

```
/achikya:-/ 'to shine' from /achki/ 'light' and /-ya:/ 'become'

/tunka-/ ~ /tukna-/ 'to support, to uphold'

/samqa-/ ~ /saqma-/ 'to stone'
```

23.8.8. Non-Phonemic Transition Vocoids and Consonantoids

Transition vocoids have been illustrated above. For cases like [chan^eqa-] /chan'qa-/, speakers definitely reject a pronunciation like [chanaga-] in which the vocoid would have phonemic status (i.e.. /chanaqa-/).

Transition consonants are found in native Quechua words such as [wam^bra] /wamra/ 'child' and in Spanish loans such as [in^driga-] /inriga-/ 'turn over to'. Again, these consonantoids do not have phonemic status.

---

[382] This /qa/ probably derived from an old substantive (probably a spatial pronoun): it no longer occurs freely.

[383] The [chan^eqa-] could be analyzed as /chañqa-/ while and [chaŋqa-] as /chanqa-/, riding on the fact that /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop while /ñ/ does not.

[384] In other dialects it also fuses with -*chi* 'CNJ'. -*shi* 'IND'.

23.8.9. /i + y/

/i/ followed by /y/ is pronounced [i:]. i.e.. /i+y/-->[i:].[385] For example,

```
/chakiykan/ [chaki:kaŋ] 'It is drying.'

/asiykunchik/ [asi:kunchi] 'We are laughing.'
```

The second person non-verbal person marker (2P) is basically /-yki/. but following /i/ it is simply /ki/. Following a consonant, /-ni/ intervenes. making 2P follow /i/. Thus the complete rule for 2P is:

```
2P --> -ki    / i__        e.g. /ñawiki/ 'your eye'

       -niki / C__         e.g. /atoqniki/ 'your fox'
             / long vowel__ e.g. /raqa:niki/ 'your abandoned house'

       -yki  / elsewhere    e.g. /umayki/ 'your head'
```

23.8.10. Word Final /i + y/

Word final /i+y/ becomes simply [i] (i.e.. short [i]). For example. /asi-y/ [ási] 'laugh-imper'. Because the length of the first person plural inclusive suffix /-nchi:/ is also lost word finally[386] it could be analyzed as /-nchiy/.

23.8.11. Morphophonemic Lowering

The high vowel of certain morphemes becomes /a/ when one of certain other suffixes follow in the word.[387] For example. /-kU/ becomes /-ka/ if e.g. /-mu/ follows. so /sha-kU-mu-n/ becomes /shakamun/ 'he comes' The suffixes involved are:

AFFECTED		TRIGGERS	
-ykU	-kU	-mu	-pu
-rkU	-nakU	-chi	-pa:
-rpU	-ka:kU	-ma:	-pa:kU
-rI	-:rI	-:rI	
-rqU	-pa:kU		

Table 23-3: TRIGGERS AND AFFECTEES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC LOWERING

Note the convention of writing the vowel which is lowered with a capital letter. The following

---

[385]This may not be a phonological rule but certainly bears mentioning.

[386]For example.

```
[aywánchi] /aywa-nchi:/ 'we (incl) go'

[aywanchi:mi] /aywa-nchi:-mi/ 'we (incl) go (DIR)'

[wasinchi] /wasi-nchi:/ 'our house' but

[wasinchi:pita] /wasi-nchi:-pita/ 'from our house'
```

[387]Morphophonemic lowering does not occur across word boundaries: e.g. in the following. the /U/ of -kU is lowered. it being within the same word and preceding -mu. but that of -ykU is not. since it is in a different word:

```
Qonqa-yku-r        sha-kU-mu-sha.
forget-impact-adv  come-refl-afar-3PERF

'He came forgetting it.'
```

conventions has been observed throughout:When in the text of this work a suffix is referred to, the final vowel will be capitalized if the suffix has the property of undergoing morphophonemic lowering. In examples however, that vowel will be capitalized only if the vowel has actually been lowered. i.e.. if the vowel is actually /a/. For example, when writing about the reflexive suffix we write /-kU/, but [shakâmuŋ] 'he comes' would be cited in an example as *sha-kU-mu-n*.

Some examples of morpho-phonemic lowering follow:

/quykamanki/ qu-ykU-ma:-nki'you give it to me (direct)' (Cf. /quyka:manki/ < qu-yka:-ma:-nki 'you are giving it to me'.)

/aywarka:ramunki/ aywa-rkU-:rI-mu-nki 'they came up here'

/aywarayka:riran/ < aywa-rI-ykU-:ri-ra-n 'they went (for just a moment)'

/mikukarka:rinaykipaq/ miku-kU-rkU-:ri-na-yki-paq 'in order that they eat it'

/apakaraykamusha/ apa-kU-rI-ykU-mu-sha 'he brought it here'

/wañuykachiran/ wañu-ykU-chi-ra-n 'he killed it'

/wañukamunanpaq/ wañu-kU-mu-na-n-paq 'so that he dies over there'

/yarpachakachiman/ yarpa-chakU-chi-ma-n 'it makes me think'

/rantikapasha/ ranti-kU-pa-sha 'he sold it for him' (i.e., he negotiated the sale for the seller)

/chayayka:ramur/ chaya-ykU-:rI-mu-r 'right upon arriving'

Note that the trigger need not immediately follow the affected suffix. The suffix which undergoes lowering may be separated from the trigger by suffixes which do not undergo lowering.

With roots derived (historically) by the combination of a monosyllabic root like *qa-, ya-,* or *hu-* with a directional suffix (*-ykU, -rkU, -rpU, -rqU*) the final vowel of the root may become lowered, or it may not. depending on the extent to which the fusion has dissociated the property of lowering from what was previously a suffix. Thus in the following there is variation:[388]

```
chu+rku-pa:-ma-y      ~  chu+rkU-pa:-ma-y
put+up-ben-=>1-2IMP
```

'Put it on (to cook) for me.'

But in the following there is no variation possible:

```
ya+rqu-chi-ma-sha      but not *ya+rqU-chi-ma-sha
go+out-caus-=>1-3PERF
```

'He turned me out.'

The following suggests that *-mu* 'afar' and *-pU* 'ben' have a greater lowering effect than *-chi* 'caus':

```
a. mikU-mu-sha or miku-mu-sha (eat-afar-3PERF)
b. miku-chi-sha (eat-caus-3PERF)

a. 'he ate (over there)'
b. 'he made/allowed him to eat'

a. mikU-pa-ku-n ~ miku-pa-ku-n
b. mikU-pa:ku-n ~ miku-pa:ku-n
c. mikU-pa-y ~ miku-pa-y

a. 'he begins to eat'
b. 'they eat'
c. 'eat it (to your benefit)'
```

---

[388]I think there is variation in the *ya+ykU-*: the following show that the lowering is not obligatory:

```
ya+yku-chi-n 'he allows/makes it enter'
ya+yku-kU-ykU-:ri-ra-n 'they entered'
```

The following suggests that -:*rl* may cause lowering only in the immediately preceding suffix:

```
a. ya+yku-ri-ykU-:ri-sha (enter-punct-impact-plur-3PERF)
b. arma-ku-ri-ykU-:ri-shun (bathe-refl-punct-impact-plur-3PERF)

a. 'They entered in for a moment.'
b. 'Let's bathe ourselves for a moment.'
```

But note that -*mu* necessarily causes the lowering to more than just what immediately precedes:

```
a. Aywa-ri-ykU-:ri-y! (go-punct-impact-plur-2IMP)
b. Ranti-rI-ykU-mu-y! (buy-punct-impact-afar-2IMP)

a. 'Go (and come back right away)!'
b. 'Go buy it (and come back right away)!'
```

When -*rl* occurs by itself, it is lowered if a trigger follows. So, for example, upi-rI-rkU-:rI-chi-r is /upirarka:rachir/ 'putting it right out' (e.g. a flame). However this is not the case when it is co-lexicalized with another morpheme; for example, it is colexicalizing with *qalla-* 'begin'. *qapa-* 'to yell', and *hata-* 'to stand up' so there is now variation:[389]

```
qalla+ri-mu-chun ~ qalla+ra-mu-chun
(begin+punct-afar-3IMP) 'May he begin (over there)!'

qapa+ra-chi- ~ qapa-ri-chi-
(yell-asp-caus-) 'to make yell'

hata-rI-chi-sha ~ hata-ri-chi-sha
(stand-asp-caus-3PERF) 'it made him stand up'
```

23.8.12. -ni Insertion

-Ni Insertion is not a necessary rule in this grammar because /ni/ has been given as part of the allomorphs which would otherwise be involved; e.g. the first person possessive is said to have allomorphs -: (following short vowels) and -*ni:* (elsewhere). However, we will discuss -ni Insertion briefly here. The rule is roughly this: when a possessive suffix, -*ntin*, -*ynaq*, or -*yoq* directly follow a consonant, -*ni* intervenes; e.g.:

```
/hatun-ni-:/           'my big one'

/maqa-ma:-q-ni-nchik/  'the one who hit us (incl)'

/ñatin-ni-ynaq/        'not having a liver'
```

The motivation for the rule is to avoid illegal consonant clusters which would otherwise result; see 23.4. However, this motivation is insufficient in two ways:

1. In the case of -*yoq*, no illegal consonant cluster would result.[390]
2. Some roots have alternative forms with ending in /ni/ which are not motivated by a need to avoid an illegal consonant cluster; e.g. *llapa(ni)-* 'all', *ishka(ni)-* 'two'. See 12.4.1 for a more

---

[389]When *hata-rl-* occurs right before -*mu* (as in a) then there is possible variation, but if -*rl-ykU* intervenes (as in b) -*rl* is much preferred: it is as though -*rl-ykU* takes the brunt of the effect of the trigger:

```
a. hita-rI-mu-y ~ hita-ri-mu-y
b. hita-ri-rI-ykU-mu-y ~ ?hita+rI-rI-ykU-mu-y

a. 'Throw it (to here)!'
b. 'Throw them (down)!'
```

[390]It has been suggested (Peter Landerman, personal communication) that -*yoq* might have been -*yyoq* in some previous era.

431

complete list of these roots.

Because of these problems. I have chosen to incorporate /ni/ as part of allomorphs rather than to defend a rule of -ni Insertion.

23.8.13. Processes Involving Length

23.8.13.1. Foreshortening

Long vowels of verbs become short in closed syllables. or to put it another way, long vowels "surface" only in open syllables. Examples:

```
/maqa-ma:-n/    [magámaŋ]    'he hits me'

/chaki-yka:-n/ [chakî:kaŋ] 'it is drying'

/shuya:-ma:-na-n-paq/ [shuya:ma:námpax] 'to wait for me'
```

Certain morphemes "foreshorten" even though they begin /-CV/, and thus should not close the preceding syllable. These are:

```
-chakU 'deliberate'
-ka: 'pass'
-ka:kU 'compl'
-na: 'desid'
-pa: 'ben'
-pa:kU 'plur'
-ra: 'stat'

-sha 'sub'.391
```

For example:

/mikuykasha:ta/ < miku-yka:-sha-:-ta 'that which I am eating'

/achikyapa:may/ < achikya:-pa:-ma-y 'shine it for me'

/utikapa:man/ < uti-ka:-pa:-ma-n 'he gets tired on me' (i.e.. to my detriment, e.g. by holding me up)

/qoyapaka:kun/ < qoya:-pa:-ka:kU-n 'he stays way over the expected time, he overstays his welcome'

/waraka:kusha/ < wara:-ka:kU- 'the day has fully dawned. it is fully light now'

/melanapan/ < melana:-pa:-n 'it is disgusting to him'

/pishi:raykan/ < pishi:-ra:-yka:-n '(some) is lacking (of what he left)'

/charararan/ < chara:-ra:-ra-n 'he had it'

/yarpa:-chaku-sha/ [yarpachakúsha] 'he thought'

The long vowel of a substantive is never foreshortened; if a suffix follows which begins with two consonants, /ni/ intervenes (see 23.8.12); e.g.. *siwra:* 'city' followed by *-ynaq* 'without' becomes *siwra:niynaq* 'without cities' and not *siwraynaq*.

---

391 Note the following contrast. due to the fact that *-sha* 'sub' foreshortens but *-shayki* '1=>2FUT' does not: /yanapa:shayki/ *yana + pa:-shayki* (help-1=>2FUT) '1 will help you' /yanapashayki/ *yana + pa:-sha-yki* (help-sub-2P) 'which you helped'.

23.8.13.2. Length in *noqanchi(:)kuna*

When *-nchi:* '12P' is followed by *kuna* 'plural', the length of *-nchi:* is optional: e.g.

[uywanchikúna] ~ [uywanchi:kúna] 'our sheep'

[noqanchi:kuna] ~ [noqanchikuna] 'we (inclusive plural)'

I conjecture that the two forms came about as follows:

1. The proto-Quechua form of 12P was */nchik/. /-nchik-kuna/ would have been pronounced [-nchikuna] because /kk/ was pronounced [k]. This has been preserved as a frozen form.
2. On the other hand, *-nchi:* is now the basic form of the first person plural inclusive suffix. The length occurs when *-kuna* follows: [-nchi:kuna].

23.8.13.3. Length for emphasis

If /y/ occurs in the coda of the stressed. lengthened syllable, it may be held into a protracted. voiceless fricative. somewhere in the region of the palat (roughly a fronted [x]): e.g.,

/aywakuykan/ [aywakuy$^{x:::}$kan] 'they are going'

If /w/ occurs in the coda of the stressed. lengthened syllable, it may be carried into a protracted voiceless velar friction accompanied by lip rounding: e.g..

/chawra/ [chaw$^{x:::}$ra] 'then. so'.

Other examples of length used for emphasis are the following:

/mana/ [má:::na] 'no!!'

/may karu/ [má::y:: káru] 'very far'

23.8.13.4. Compensatory lengthening

Under certain conditions. when /q/ is the coda of a syllable it may be lost leaving compensatory length. Various conditions are discussed:

1. Certain morphemes whose shape is /Caq/ (e.g. *-paq* 'PUR', *-shaq* '1FUT'...) become /-Ca:/ when followed by certain other suffixes (e.g. by *-pita. -mi. -wan. -pis*); e.g.:

/ima-paq-taq/ [imapa:ta] 'what for?'

/nuqa-paq-pis/ [noyapá:pis] 'for me too'

/tuni-mu-shaq-chu/ [tunimushá:chu] 'shall I fall?'

Following some suffixes there is alternation with [x]:

/nuqa-paq-wan/ [noyapá:waŋ] ~ [noyapáxwaŋ] 'and for me'

/kay-kaq-wan/ [kayká:wan] ~ [kaykáxwan] 'this which is here'

Some following suffixes do not cause the change:

/chay-yaq-lla/ [chayyág^{e}lla] NOT: *[chayyá:lla]

2. Rarely is /q/ lost when it is a suffix (e.g. *-q* 'sub') but the following shows that it is possible:

/willa-pa-q-qa/ [willapá:ya] 'the one who tells +TOP'

3. When *kaq* is a separate word it does not lose /q/ with compensatory lengthening unless the immediately following suffix is *-qa* 'TOP'; compare the following:

433

```
/kutichimushan kaqpita/ [kaxpita] NOT: *[ka:pita]
'from the place to which they were returned'

/kuntranchi kaqqa/ [kuntranchi ka:ya]392
'the one who opposes us'

/chaychaw kaqkaqqa/ [chaychaw kaxka:ya]
'those that were there'
```

4. Roots ending with /q/ seem to suffer the loss of /q/ with compensatory lengthening only if /-qa/ 'TOP' follows:

```
/atuq-qa/ [ató:ya] 'fox+TOP'

/hunaq-qa/ [huná:ya] 'day+TOP'

/sumaq-qa/ [sumá:ya] 'very+TOP'
```

Compensatory length also applies in the following words (but is not a productive process for /y/ as it is for /q/):

```
/pay-qa/ --> [pá:ya]

/kay-qa/ --> [ká:ya]

/chay-qa/ --> [chá:ya] ~ [cháya]
```

23.8.13.5. Final length suppression

-chaw 'LOC' and *-naw* 'SIM' have allomorphs *-cho:* and *-no:* (respectively). The length in these occurs only when some other suffix follows: word finally the vowels are short; e.g.:

```
/wasi-n-chaw/ [wasincho] 'in his house'                    1935

/wasi-n-chaw-mi/ [wasinchó:mi] 'in his house (DIR)'
```

23.8.14. -lla POS Switch

In HgQ *-lla* 'just' precedes possessive suffixes and *-r* 'adv'. There is reason to believe that this order comes about by a reordering rule: see 19.1.1.1. A phonological reason for thinking so is that the reordering interacts with other morpho-phonological processes. For example, a words like *kikish-ni-lla-yki* 'just your armpit' involves -ni Insertion followed by reordering; without such a derivation there would be no motivation for introducing -ni. Further, the selection of the allomorph for 2P must follow the reordering, since /yki/--not /ki/--is chosen.

```
/kikish-2P-lla/                                            1936
kikish-ni-2P-lla        by -ni Insertion
kikish-ni-lla-2P        by -lla POS Switch
kikish-ni-lla-yki       by spelling 2P
```

23.8.15. Cliticization of Post-positions

The following are post-positions (see 7.2):

```
kama  'respective'
pacha 'continuously'
rayku 'reason'
```

---

[392] The absence of length on *-nchi:* '12P' shows that /kaq/ is a separate word.

They may occur as a separate, stress-bearing word or they may cliticize to the preceding word, in which case they share one primary stress with that word. These clitics behave differently than suffixes with respect to certain phonological processes:

1. Whereas /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following stop or affricate *in the same word*, it is not obligatorily assimilated when the following stop is in a clitic. For example. /Llakon-man pacha/ can be pronounced [llakóŋmaŋ pácha] or [llakoŋmampácha].

2. /pachak-kama/ is not pronounced *[pachakáma] (with /kk/ as [k]) but [páchak káma]

kaq 'def *niraq* 'SIM' and *mallwa* 'young ones' share with the above-mentioned clitics that they may occur as a separate word or as part of the preceding word. *kaq, niraq* and *mallwa* are often followed by one or more suffixes. As a tendency, the more suffixes occur, the more likely they are to be a separate word from what precedes; e.g.:

```
/puñu-sha-n-kaq/ [puñusháŋkax]
'where he slept'

/puñu-sha-n kaq-pita-qa/ [puñúshaŋ kaxpitága]
'from the place where he slept'

/o:su mallwa-kuna-ta/ [ó:su mallwakunáta] 'bear cubs'
```

23.9. Loan Processes

Quechua and Spanish have been in contact for close to four hundred years. Quechua has contributed hundreds of words to Spanish.[393] and borrowed hundreds from it. In the process the Spanish words are assimilated to Quechua phonological patterns, and also expand these patterns.[394] The assimilation processes will be surveyed here; the discussion is divided into sections on

- vowels (see 23.9.1).
- syllabification (see 23.9.2).
- consonant clusters (see 23.9.3).

---

[393]For example, (to list only a few) *caihua* (a type of vegetable). *chancar* 'to mash', *champa* 'sod'. *charqui* 'jerky'. *poncho* 'poncho', *pampa* 'plain'. Much Peruvian slang is derived from Quechua: e.g. *chambear* 'work'. (Pulgar [31] has assembled several hundred examples.)

[394]Three observations about loans. which have nothing to do with their phonological assimilation:
1. Certain words have been borrowed with gender distinctions: e.g.:
   awilu//awila 'grandfather//grandmother'
   iihu//iiha 'son//daughter'
   cholu//chola 'mountain boy//mountain girl'
2. Certain words were borrowed from Quechua into Spanish and have then been borrowed back to Quechua: e.g.:
   kondur < Sp. condor < Q. kuntur
   llangi ~ llanki < Sp. llangi or llanki < Q. llanqi
   lampa < Sp. lampa < Q. llampa
3. Some borrowings show semantic differences with the Spanish word from which they were borrowed. In some cases this is due to a semantic shift in Spanish after the borrowing: e.g.:
   ladri:llo 'a floor tile' (from Sp. ladrillo) now means 'brick'
   iwal 'together with' (from Sp. igual) now means 'the same as'
   luwar 'time' (from Sp. lugar) now means 'room. place'
   dere:chu 'space above' (from Sp. derecho) now means 'right'
   almusa- 'to eat breakfast' (from Sp. almorsar) now means 'eat dinner (the noon meal)'

- loss of a syllable (see 23.9.4), and
- multiple Spanish words borrowed as a single word (see 23.9.5).

23.9.1. Vowels

23.9.1.1. Mid vowels become high vowels

In the following, a mid vowel (/e/ or /o/) in Spanish has been become high in the loan:

hiliti 'razor blade' (from Sp. Gillette),

mirinda- 'to eat dinner (noon meal)' (from Sp. mirendar), and

mantika 'lard, butter' (from Sp. manteca).

23.9.1.2. Vowel added after final consonant

A vowel may be added to words ending in consonants:[395] e.g.:

dosi 'two' (from Sp. dos).

oosi 'sickle' (from Sp. hoz).

koñaka 'cognac' (from Sp. coñac),

llipi 'jeep' (from Sp [ʝip][396]).

pikapa 'record player' (from English pickup).[397]

relohu 'watch' (from Sp. reloj).[398]

23.9.1.3. Stress and long vowels

Spanish stress is not preserved when a word is borrowed into Quechua; e.g.:

balkon [bálkoŋ] 'balcony' (from Sp. balcón)

The stressed vowel of a Spanish word becomes long when it comes into Quechua; this is subject to the constraint that long vowels occur only in open syllables. Examples:

aabi 'bird (small)' (from Sp. ave),

keeda- 'remain' (from Sp. quedar), and

soora- 'perspire' (from Sp. sudar).

Trisyllabic borrowed roots often lack the expected length. Some speakers will pronounced a borrowed word with a long vowel if they are saying it as in Spanish but with a short vowel when speaking Quechua; e.g. they would say *kabaallu* 'horse' speaking of the Spanish word *caballo* but *kawallu* when speaking Quechua.

---

[395] This may not be restricted to Spanish loans: I have on occasion heard *huk^u* for the native Quechua word *huk* 'one'.

[396] This is an approximation of how *jeep* is pronounced in the local Spanish.

[397] This is one of the few loans from English into Quechua. Another case, is *chompa* 'sweater' is from English *jumper*.

[398] The presence of the vowel is confirmed by adding a possessive suffix. e.g *relohuyki* 'your watch'; if /u/ were not present the form would be *reluhniki*.

436

23.9.2. Syllabifications

Quechua syllable structure does not allow for more than one vowel in sequence. Consequently many Spanish vowel sequences are assimilated as a vowel and a semivowel:

Sp./ae/ becomes Q./ay/, e.g.:

hwayna [xʷayna] 'work party' (from Sp. faena)

Sp./a(h)o/ becomes Q./aw/, e.g.:

awga- 'drown' (from Sp. ahogar)

awrora 'blue' (from Sp. aorora)

Sp./awa/ becomes Q./aw/, e.g.:

awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. aguardiente)

awbindita 'holy water' (from Sp. agua bedita)

Sp./aú/ becomes Q./abu/, e.g.:

babul 'trunk' (from Sp. baul)

Sp./au/ becomes Q./aw/, e.g.:

awturidaa 'authority' (from Sp. autoridad)

awha 'needle' (from Sp. aguja[399])

Sp./eo/ becomes Q./yu/ or Q./iyu/, e.g.:

hwidyus 'noodles, macaroni' (from Sp. fideos)

fiyu 'bad' (from Sp. feo)

piyur 'worse' (from Sp. peor)

Sp./ie/ becomes Q./i/ or /e/, e.g.:

asinda 'hacienda' (from Sp. hacienda)

awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. aguardiente)

iskyerda 'left' (from Sp. isquierda)

simri 'always' (from Sp. siempre)

Sp./iu/ becomes /iw/, e.g.:

siwra: 'city' (from Sp. ciudad)

Sp./ohi/ or /ohe/ becomes Q./uy/, e.g.:

ruybiiru 'forbidden' (from Sp. prohibido)

kuyti 'firecracker' (from Sp. cohete)

Sp./ue/ becomes [ʷi] or /u/, e.g.:

aswila 'fishhook' (from Sp. ansuela)

duyñu 'owner' (from Sp. dueño)

hwis 'judge' (from Sp. juez)

hwirsa 'strength' (from Sp. fuerza)

hwista 'fiesta'

hwe:bis or *huybis* 'Thursday' (from Sp. jueves)

swerti or *surti* 'fate' (from Sp. suerte)

Sp./ui/ becomes Q./uy/, e.g.:

iskuyla 'school' (from Sp. escuela)

puyri- 'be able' (from Sp. poder)[400]

---

[399]Perhaps this form suffered the following changes in Spanish before being borrowed: [áwha] < [aúha] < [ayúha]: however. in the current local Spanish. it is pronounced [ayúha] so I suspect that the changes occurred in the borrowing process.

[400]In other dialects: *pwedi-*.

23.9.3. Consonants

23.9.3.1. Stop + labialization as a consonant

In the following, a consonant with a labialized off-glide behaves in Quechua syllable structure as a single consonant:

/pw/	*pwistu* 'station' (from Sp. puesta)
	pwerta 'door' (from Sp. puerta)
/fw/	*fwirsa* 'strength' (from Sp. fuerza)
/kw/	*kwartu* 'a small bottle, a unit of liquid measure'.
	paskwa 'Easter' (from Sp. pascua)
	wa:ker 'oatmeal' (from Sp. Quaker)
/hw/	*hwan* 'John' (from Sp. Juan)
	hwis 'judge' (from Sp. juez)
	hwirsa 'strength' (from Sp. fuerza)
	hwista 'fiesta' (from Sp. fiesta)
	hwisyun 'judgement, rationality' (from Sp. juicio)
	hwe:bis or huybis 'Thursday' (from Sp. jueves)
/sw/	*swerti* 'fate' (from Sp. suerte)
	aswila 'fishhook' (from Sp. ansuela)

23.9.3.2. Stop + palatal offglide as a consonant

In the following, a consonant and a palatal offglide behaves in Quechua syllable structure as a single consonant:

/py/	*pyesa-* 'to piece together, to repair' (from Sp. piesar),
/fy/	*fye:rru* 'iron' (from Sp. fierro).
/by/	*abyun* 'airplane' (from Sp. avion).
	byernis 'Thursday' (from Sp. viernes)
/ty/	*atyus* 'goodbye' (from Sp. adios).
	tyenda 'store' (from Sp. tienda).
	tyempu 'time/weather' (from Sp. tiempo)
/dy/	*adyus* 'goodbye' (from Sp. adios).
	hwidyus 'noodles, macaroni' (from Sp. fideos)
	dyablu [ᵈyáblu] ~ [dˠáblu] ~ [yáblu][401] 'devil' (from Sp. diablo)
/sy/	*sye:rra* 'mountain region' (from Sp. sierra).
	denunsya- 'to denounce' (from Sp. denunciar).
	despasyu 'slowly' (from Sp. despacio),
	disprisya- 'to look down on' (from Sp. despreciar),
	kawsyunta 'cause + OBJ' (from Sp. caución)
/ky/	*kyeto* 'be quiet' (from Sp. quieto)
	inkye:tu 'unhappy' (from Sp. inquieto)
	iskyerda 'left' (from Sp. isquierda)
/gy/	*gye:rra* 'war' (from Sp. guerra).

---

[401]Word initially /dy/ often becomes /y/: another example: /yus/ 'God' from Sp. Dios.

/hy/   *hye:rru* 'iron/steel' (from Sp. fierro or hierro 'iron').

/my/   *simyentu* 'foundation (of a building) (from Sp. simiento).

myerkulis 'Wednesday' (from Sp. miercoles)

23.9.3.3. Clusters with /r/ and /l/

Clusters are simplified when their presence would violate consonant cluster constraints: e.g., if /n/ were preserved in borrowing Sp. *ansuela*, the cluster /nsw/ would result. To avoid this, /n/ is dropped: *aswila* 'fishhook' (from Sp. ansuela).

Clusters with /r/ or /l/ are often simplified by dropping the stop if the cluster would cause a violation of one of the consonant cluster constraints.[402] For example, the following illustrate dropping a consonant to avoid initial clusters (which are not allowed):

lanta 'plant'[403] (from Sp. planta)

laatano 'cooking banana' (from Sp. platano)

luusa 'blouse' (from Sp. blusa)

raahi 'costume' (from Sp. traje)

rus 'cross' (from Sp. cruz)

rimiiru 'first' (from Sp. primero)

rusyun 'procession' (from Sp. procesión)

ruybiiru 'forbidden' (from Sp. prohibido)

In the following, the cluster occurs within the word. If the cluster were to count as two consonants, this would violate the constraint against clusters of three consonants. But in each case the cluster is treated as a single consonant:

Sp./pl/ becomes simply Q./l/, e.g.:

kumlita- 'complete' (from Sp. completar)

Sp./pr/ becomes Q./r/, e.g.:

simri [simᵇri] 'always' (from Sp. siempre)

Sp./tr/ is treated as a single consonant or becomes simply /z/, e.g.:

kuntra 'enemy, opposition' (from Sp. contra)

enkwentru 'joint' (from Sp. encuentro)

inriga- [inziga-] 'turn over to' (from Sp. entregar)

Other changes involving clusters with /r/ and /l/ are as follows:

1. with /r/:

Sp./fr/ becomes Q./pr/ or /br/, e.g.:

aprichu 'chaff' (from Sp. afrecho)

asubri 'sulphur' (from Sp. azufre)

Sp./dr/, /tr/, and /rd/ (in highly assimilated loans) become Q./rr/ [z], e.g.:

kumpa:rri 'godfather to one's child' (from Sp. compadre)

pa:rrinu 'godfather' (from Sp. padrino)

---

[402] I have heard *presidinsya* 'residence' (Sp. residencia); this hypercorrection shows that Quechua speakers are aware that some of their loans involved the loss of a consonant.

[403] Whereas in Spanish *planta* refers to all plants, in Quechua *lanta* refers only to cultivated plants in contrast to *hacha* 'wild plants'

439

ta:rri 'evening' (from Sp. tarde)

inriga- [in^{d}riga-] ~ [iŋziga-] 'turn over to' (from Sp. entregar)

Sp./gr/ becomes Q./nr/ [ŋr], e.g.:

tinri [tiŋri] 'tigre' (from Sp. tigre)

2. with /l/:

Sp./bl/ stays Q./bl/

dyablu [^{d}yablu] ~ [d^{y}ablu] 'devil' (from Sp. diablu)

Sp./gl/ becomes Q./nl/ [ŋl], e.g.:

inlisya [iŋlisya] 'church' (from Sp. iglesia)

23.9.3.4. Initial Spanish /h/ /f/ and /j/

Quechua loans from Spanish which result in an initial Q./h/ have various possible sources:

Some Spanish words spelled with initial *h* are pronounced in some non-standard Spanish dialects with /h/. These are borrowed with Q./h/.[404] For example:

ha:cha 'axe' (from Sp. *hacha* [hácha] ~ [ácha])

harina 'flour' (from Sp. *harina* [arína] ~ [harína])

Spanish words with initial *f* are often borrowed with /h/ (or in some cases /hw/); e.g.:

horma 'shape' (from Sp. forma)

hwayna 'community work party' (from Sp. faena)

Spanish words with initial *j* (pronounced [h] or [x]) are borrowed with /h/; e.g.,

hornal 'day's wage' (from Sp. jornal)

23.9.3.5. Intervocalic consonant insertion

Spanish /ee/ is borrowed into some Quechua dialects as /iyi/. In HgQ, the semi-vowel is "strengthened" to become [g], i.e., /iyi/ -> /igi/. Examples follow:

ligi- 'read' (from Sp. leer, which might have been pronounced [leyer])

rigi- 'believe' (from Sp. creer, which might have been pronounced [kreyer])

Another process gives rise to intervocalic /g/'s in HgQ: /g/ is simply inserted when at least one of the vowels is high (i.e., /i/ or /u/). Examples follow:[405]

laguna 'some time after one o'clock' (from Sp. la una-pita)

bigulin 'violin' (from Sp. violin)

Teguduru 'Theodor' (from Sp. Teodoro)

imliga:ra 'employee(fem)' (from Sp. 'empleada')

---

[404] Spanish words spelled with initial *h* which is not pronounced (and has not been pronounced for several centuries) are simply borrowed without /h/: e.g., Q./oosi/ 'sickle' from Sp. *hoz*. I am indebted to Bill Bright for pointing out to me that the initial *h* of some Spanish words have been pronounced in some non-standard dialects, and that this could explain why in some cases the *h* is borrowed as Q./h/.

[405] In HgQ *piyun* (from Sp. peón) does not become *pigun* as reported for Inga by Levinsohn.

23.9.3.6. Intervocalic /g/

Considering the processes giving rise to /g/ discussed in section 23.9.3.5, it is surprising to find the contrary tendency, i.e. the "weakening" (lenition) of /g/ to /w/; e.g.:

ruwa- 'to plead' (from Sp. rogar)

luwar 'time (sufficient)' (from Sp. lugar)

(In all attested cases, this occurs between /u/ and /a/.)

23.9.3.7. Spanish /j/ borrowed as /sh/

Some extremely old loans have /sh/ where Spanish orthography has /j/. This is because the words were borrowed at a time when Spanish /j/ was pronounced [sh].

uysha 'sheep' (from Sp. obeja)

millish 'gizzard' (from Sp. molleja)

23.9.3.8. Stop replacing fricative

In the following, a Spanish fricate has been borrowed as a stop:

almasika- 'plant a seed bed' (from Sp. almasigar)

nubillu 'oxen' (from Sp. novillo)

asubre 'sulphur' (from Sp. azufre)

alpurha 'saddle bag' (from Sp. alforja)

gomita- 'vomit' (from Sp. vomitar)[406]

There is a contrary tendency in some (very old??) loans in which a stop has become an affricate; e.g. /kawallu/ 'horse' (from Sp. caballo).

23.9.3.9. Intervocalic Sp./d/ becomes Q./r/

Spanish /d/ becomes a flapped oral resonant in assimilated loans: e.g.:[407]

diiru 'finger' (from Sp. dedo)

siwraa 'city' (from Sp. ciudad)

karina 'chain' (from Sp. cadena)

23.9.3.10. /l/ to /r/ word final

When Spanish /l/ occurs word final, it is borrowed as /r/; e.g.:

alwasir (an officer in the fiesta administration) (from Sp. alguacil)

amatar 'very much' (from Sp. amatalo)

23.9.3.11. Metathasis of consonants

Metathesis occurs in some borrowed words, particularly when resonants follow a stop in medial clusters, this is metathesized to a resonant-stop order; e.g:

alberha or *arbelha* or *arbeha* 'pea' (from Sp. alverja or arbeja)

---

[406]Some non-standard Spanish dialects have [gomitár] for *vomitar* (Bill Bright, personal communication).

[407]A somewhat similar change is Sp./d/ becoming Q./l/ in Q./alberti-/ 'to warn' from Sp./advertir/.

ardee or *adree* 'on purpose' (from Sp. adrede)

23.9.3.12. Dropping a consonant

In a few cases, a Spanish consonant is simply dropped in the borrowed form; e.g.:

faasi 'easy' (from Sp. facil)[408]

falin 'skirt' (from Sp. falda)

23.9.3.13. Word final /ado/ and /ad/

Word finally a sequence of /Vd(V)/ becomes /V:/; e.g., /ado/ or /ad/ becomes /a:/. Examples follow:[409]

ardee ~ *adree* 'on purpose' (from Sp. adrede)

apuraa 'quickly' (from Sp. apurado)

awturidaa 'authority' (from Sp. autoridad)

kwiraa 'be careful lest' (from Sp. cuidado)[410]

laa 'side, place' (from Sp. lado)[411]

siwraa 'city' (from Sp. ciudad)

23.9.4. Loss of a Syllable

In the following, a syllable has been dropped, bringing the assimilated loan closer to the preferred bisyllabic form.

arpinti- [azpinti-] 'repent' (from Sp. arrepentir)

kalbasa 'type of squash' (from Sp. calabasa)

nisita- 'to need' (from Sp. nesecita)

uysha 'sheep' (from Sp. obeja)

awrinti 'firewater' (from Sp. aguardiente)

awbindita 'holy water' (from Sp. agua bendita)

A syllable may be lost by dropping a Spanish prefix or the vocalic part thereof;[412] e.g.:

sindi- 'to light (a fire)' (from Sp. encender)

tabla- 'to plank' (from Sp. entablar)

namura- 'to be in love with' (from Sp. enamorar)

---

[408]Perhaps this came about because of the frequency with which *faasil* occurred with *-lla* 'just'; *fasil-lla* was perhaps reanalyzed to *fasi-lla*

[409]Some of these are common pronunciations in non-standard Spanish dialects.

[410]This is a different word than Q. *kwida-* 'to take care of' from Sp. cuidar.

[411]This does not occur when *lado* is a separate word, but only when it occurs in combinations such as *hanalaa* 'that place up there'.

[412]But other words have not dropped *en-*. e.g.. *entubla-* 'to be clouded over' (from Sp. entublar).

442

23.9.5. Multiple Spanish Words Borrowed as One Word

In the following cases. multiple Spanish words have been borrowed as a single Quechua word:

akesee 'although' (from Sp. aun que sea)

amaanu 'ready. available' (from Sp. a mano)

aybeesish 'occasionally' (from Sp. a veces)

laguna 'some time after one o'clock' (from Sp. la una-pita)

lasdoosina 'it is now noon' (from Sp. las doce-na)

lasdosina 'it is now two o'clock' (from Sp. las dos-na)

lamar 'ocean' (from Sp. la mar)

lumismu 'the same' (from Sp. lo mismo)

443

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444

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445

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Index

450

453

455