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A Grammatical Sketch of Chimborazo Quichua

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of

Yale University

in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Ronald William Beukema

December 1975

ABSTRACT

A Grammatical Sketch of Chimborazo Quichua

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Yale University

1975

The study is a description of the dialect of Quechua spoken in the Chimborazo province of Ecuador and known as Quichua. The description is based on texts elicited from native speakers of Quichua. The approach is basically that of Stratificational grammar. The scope of the description is wide: phonology, morphology, phrase structure, lexotactics, and semology. As a result of this wide coverage, detailed treatment of theoretical and historical problems has been sacrificed except in those cases where such discussion makes possible interesting and significant simplifications of the grammar. In addition to the description there is included a folk tale with a detailed analysis of its structure in terms of the methods developed in the body of the grammar. Finally there is a short dictionary that includes all words in the corpus on which the analysis is based.

Preface

This dissertation grew out of a desire to work 'in the field', particularly in Ecuador, the land where I was born but in which I had never had the opportunity to live. My year in the field lived up to expectations, largely because of the kindness of many people. The staff of the Gospel Missionary Union station in Colta were very helpful in providing us with a comfortable home for eight months and in giving us many opportunities to meet Quichuas. My informants were excellent. I would particularly like to thank Victor Manuel Naula S. for his patient help. One hardly thinks to thank one's parents, but last year I came to be especially grateful to them as they helped out in many ways.

After the year of field work was accomplished we moved back to New Haven to write up the results and, inadvertently, to learn more about the Quichua language than I had in the field. Those characteristics of the academic environment which made this year in New Haven so profitable are many. Those that I can mention, I will. First, of course, are the invaluable discussions with Professors Floyd Lounsbury and Sydney Lamb. I dare say there were times when they found me trying, but they stuck it out with genuine patience, never failing to come up with helpful suggestions and real insights. Then there

were informal discussions with other members of the faculty and with classmates. Out of most of those talks I was able to distill something that would call for one more re-write. For that, I'm not sure I'm grateful. Yale University was helpful in very practical ways. I'm grateful to them for the excellent collection of Quechua materials in Sterling library, and also for their generous administration of NDEA and NDAF funds.

The person who has probably had to tolerate the most from my academic life is my wife. Somehow, through six years of marriage, all of which I have spent in school, she has made home a good place to come at the end of the day. This, in spite of having to move that home to Ecuador and back. And our two children certainly come in for praise at this point. They were, and are, little interested in my shop-talk, so they have taught me how to put it aside.

New Haven has also been a good home this last year because of the warmth of fellowship and the practical help of the people in the Trinity Evangelical Free Church.

More important than environment, however, my family and the Christian church have given me a reason for working and a reason for having faith in God. So I come to dedicate this work to Marj, Kristie, Peter, and the Church of Christ.

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Introduction. Quichua is the name given to the Ecuadorian dialects of the Kechua language. The dialect described in this thesis is that spoken in the province of Chimborazo in the central regions of the Andes highlands of Ecuador. About one and a half million people speak dialects of Quichua.

My informants come from three communities in Chimborazo, and so there is some dialect variation among them. My principal informant was Victor Manuel Naula Sañay, who, at the time I worked with him, was a medical student in the Universidad Central in Quito. He is from the town of Pulucate, and has lived in various parts of the country: Guayaquil, Oriente province, and Quito.

My other informants were: José Manuel Naula, José Maji, Ramona Bueno Chimbulema. José Manuel Naula was brought up in the community of Troje. He is now a radio announcer in Quito. José Maji lives in Colta and works at the mission station there as a gardener and general handyman. Ramona Bueno Chimbulema is a young girl who worked in our home in Colta.

The corpus on which this grammar is based consists primarily of narrative texts from the principal informant. The narratives are both fictional and factual. A secondary source of material is a series of radio sermons done by José Manuel Naula. The other two informants helped with material elicited to check hypotheses.

The material was gathered during a stay of eight months in Ecuador. Six months of the period was spent in the village of Colta so that the language could be observed 'on the hoof' without the inconvenience and inadequacy of short informant sessions.

The theoretical model of this grammar is primarily Stratificational. The basic philosophy is that the system of language is best described by levels of representation. Each level of representation has a tactic pattern of its own, and is related to the other levels by patterns of realization. 'Items' within a level of representation are posited on the basis of their position and function in the tactic pattern of that level. Ideally, there should be a minimal amount of variation between the levels.

For Quichua, I take there to be four levels of representation: Phonemic, morphemic, lexemic, and sememic. Chapter 1 deals with the construction of the phonological word at the phonemic level. Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the construction of the morphological word and the phrase at the morphemic level. Chapter 4 describes syntax at the lexemic level, and Chapter 5 is a sketchy approach to matters of meaning (portions of the sememic level) that are pertinent to an understanding of the rest of the grammar. Chapter 6 is a textual sample and Chapter 7 is a short dictionary.

Most of the details of the approach and philosophy adopted here are made clear as the discussion unfolds. For any ideas that are not thus clarified, the reader may turn to various works on stratificational grammar, the most convenient being Lockwood 1972.

Chapter 1

Phonology

100. Quichua phonology is discussed in five major sections. In the first, §110, phonemes are presented by means of an articulatory chart. These phonemes are then analyzed componentially in §120. Clusters are discussed in §130. Suprasegmentals and the phonological word are presented in §140. Morphophonemic alternation is the subject of §160.
110. Articulatory chart of Quichua phonemes. (Details of the phonetic realization of phonemes are provided in §§123-4.)

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatalized	Retroflex	Velar	Laryngeal
plosive							
voiceless	p	t	c	tʃ		k	ʔ
aspirated	ph	th	ch	tʃh		kh	
voiced	b	d		dʒ		g	
affricate		ts					
spirant							
voiceless		s	ʃ		ʂ	j	h
voiced		z	ʒ		r		
lateral			l				
nasal	m		n	ɲ			
glide	w			y			

Vowels:	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		a	

Many borrowed Spanish words are pronounced with the Spanish vowels e and o. Stress: There is only one contrastive stress: [ˈ] (143). Boundaries: Word, morpheme, and enclitic boundaries have phonological realizations. The symbols for these boundaries are;

- ‡ word boundary;
- + morpheme boundary;
- boundary between word and enclitic (143).

The syllable boundary is \$ (140).

120. Componential analysis. Phonemes may be defined as bundles of articulatory components. Furthermore, the particular combination of components functions to distinguish one phoneme from another. Components that function to distinguish phonemes we call phonemic components; they are distinctive features of the phoneme. Components that define (or realize) a phoneme but are not necessary to distinguish it from other phonemes are phonetic components; they are non-distinctive features of the phoneme.

For example: The English phonemes /p/ and /b/ are defined as 'voiceless bilabial stop' and 'voiced bilabial stop', respectively. 'Voiced' is a phonemic component that distinguishes the two phonemes (and hence such minimal pairs as /bin/ and /pin/.). 'Aspirated' is a phonetic component found in the /p/ of /pin/, but not that of /spin/.

Components are values of a dimension. For example, the components 'labial', 'dental', 'palatal', and 'velar' are all values of the dimension 'place of articulation'. Dimensions do not themselves contrast with one another. For this reason, 'labial' does not contrast with 'spirant'. Because the two components are on different dimensions, 'place of articulation' and 'manner of articulation' respectively, they are incommensurable.

Some components are determined; that is, they occur predictably in a certain environment. For examples, nasals in Quichua are always voiced, so we say the component 'voiced' is predictable in a phoneme with the nasal component. This general fact about the language need not be mentioned in the definition of any one nasal. Instead we state it once in a section of the description reserved for such statements, in this case §124.

Some determined components are distinctive in other environments; some are not. As an example: 'voiced' is distinctive for stops, but determined for nasals in Quichua. On the other hand, apical articulation is always determined for the dental stops.

A componential analysis of Quichua phonemes is given in tabular form in 121. In 122, the contrasts between components are illustrated by lexical examples. Phonetic variation of the components is presented in 123; determined components are discussed in 124; and in 125 a case of phonemic overlapping is mentioned. In 126 Quichua consonant clusters are listed and explained by rules using components.

121. Chart of Quichua components.

	Lb	D	Al	Fr	R	Ve	Lr	---
Cl	p	t	c	ʈ		k	'	
Cl.Asp	ph	th	ch	ʈh		kh		.
Cl.Vd	b	d		ɖ		g		
Sp		s	ʃ		ʂ	j	h	
Sp.Vd		z	ʒ		r			
N	m			ɳ			n	
L			l					
Gl	w			y				
Vo	u			i			a	

Cl	Closed, i.e. stop articulation	Lb	Labial
Sp	Spirant	D	Dental
Asp	Aspirated	Al	Alveolar
Vd	Voiced	Fr	Front
N	Nasal	R	Retroflexed
L	Lateral	Ve	Velar
Gl	Glide	Lr	Laryngeal
Vo	Vowel		

Not shown is the complex phoneme, /ts/. A complex phoneme contains two components from the same dimension and may be thought of as a phonetic cluster. Its distribution in the phonological word is that of a single segment, so it is not considered to be a phonemic cluster. /ts/ has the two components C1 and Sp to specify the manner by which it is articulated.

122. Contrast between components. Rather than illustrate all possible contrasts between Quichua components one by one, I prefer to give examples of each phoneme in context along with its componential definition. The reader can readily see the contrast between any two phonemes or any two components simply by comparing words containing the phonemes or components in question. Of course, to give all possible environments and all minimal pairs is impossible in a list of reasonable length.

/p/:Lb: pay'(s)he', 'apu 'lord', lampa 'shovel'.

/t/: D: tanda 'bread', yanta 'firewood'.

/c/:Al: cagra 'field', acka 'much'.

/t/:Fr: taski- 'to receive', kantis 'seven'.

/k/:Ve: ku- 'to give', 'acka 'much', šuk 'a, one'.

/ʔ/:Lr: 'ayca 'meat', 'uma 'head', 'inti 'sun'.

/b/:Lb: bacuk 'lamb', hambi 'medicine'.

/d/: D: danta 'tapir', rundu 'hail'.

/d/:Fr: đus 'God'.

/g/:Ve: garwa 'drizzle', tsagma- 'to cultivate'.

/ph/:Lb: phanga 'leaf', phuyu 'cloud'.

/th/: D: thanga- 'to push'.

/ch/:Al: chimba 'braid', chuka 'saliva'.

/tʰ/:Fr: tʰapa 'stutterer'.

/kh/:Ve: khipa 'after', khari 'man', khiža 'lazy'.

/ts/: D: tsawar 'cabuya', mitsa 'stingy'.

(cabuya is a cactus-like plant, the fibers of which are used in making the Panama hat).

/s/: D: sapi 'root', sisa 'flower', pilis 'boil'.

/š/: Al: šamu- 'to come', šuwa 'thief', waša 'back'.

/š/: R: lašu 'chaff', mašu 'musician'.

/j/: V: alaja 'pretty', mayjan 'someone', ñaja 'a while ago'.

/h/: Lr: hawa 'above', hapi- 'to get', huca 'sin'.

/z/: D: zuyu 'dawn', tazin 'nest'.

/ž/: Al: žužu 'lie', aži 'good'.

/r/: R: rura- 'to do', garwa 'drizzle', cagra 'field'.

Cl

Vd

Asp

Sp

Vd

L { /l/:Al: lulun 'egg', calwa 'fish'.

N { /m/:Lb: mana 'no', ama 'don't, pamba 'grave'.
 /n/: : nanay 'pain', ñan 'road'.
 /ñ/:Fr: ñawpak 'before', phiñaci- 'to anger'.

G1 { /w/:Lb: wawa 'baby', wawki 'man's brother'.
 /y/:Fr: yaya 'father', 'ayca 'meat', may 'someplace'.

Vo { /i/:Fr: 'ima 'something', ni- 'to say', pi 'someone'.
 /u/:Lb: 'uya- 'to hear', tupa- 'to find', 'apu 'lord'.
 /a/: : 'ama 'mistress', 'angu 'tendon', ñuka 'I'.

123. Variation in the phonetic realization of components.

Lb: bilabial articulation in /p b m/;

lip rounding in /w u/.

D: apico-dental articulation in /t d ts/ (tongue tip against the upper front teeth);

lamino-dental in /s z/ (tongue blade against the upper side teeth, tongue tip against the lower front teeth).

A1: apico-alveolar in /c l/ (tongue tip against the upper alveolar ridge);

lamino-alveolar in /s̃ ž/ (tongue blade against the upper side alveolar ridge, tongue tip proximal to the front alveolar ridge, lips spread, tongue tense and forward).

Fr: palatalized in /č đ ñ/ (dynamic articulation starting from apico-alveolo-palatal and rapidly shifting to lamino-alveolo-palatal);

front-dental in /y i/ (tongue blade against upper side teeth).

Cl: freely varying degree of closure from closed to spirant in /ph kh g/ in word initial position before /a/, in /k g/ in syllable or word final position, and in /b/ between vowels. (/k g/ are more frequently found as spirants in syllable and word final position than as stops, the reverse is true of /ph kh g/.

Sp: tap closure in /r/ in syllable (but not word)
initial position;
spirant release of [t] in /ts/.

124. Determined features.

- Vd for all nasals, laterals, glides and vowels
Al for all laterals and fronts.
Ve for the unspecified nasal phoneme before
k, g, j, r, †.
Al for the unspecified nasal phoneme in
all other environments.
Cl between phonemes in clusters /nǰ/ and
/mr/ (the result is epenthetic d and b,
respectively). (134)

125. Phonemic overlapping. The phone [x] is a realization
of three different phonemes, /kh/, /k/, and /j/, in
different positions in the phonological word.

	Word Initial	Syllable Initial	Word Internal	Syllable Final	Word Final
/kh/	[k]/[x]	---		---	---
/k/	[k]	[k]		[x]	[x]
/j/	---	[x]		---	---

Why analyze these data so as to have overlapping?

First, there is a case of metathesis in Chimborazo that suggests that [x] is actually an allophone of /k/:
ñutku /ñuxtu 'brain'.

Second, syllable or word final [x] corresponds to [k] in many other Quechua dialects, while syllable initial [x] is found mostly in Spanish loan words.

The [x] allophone of /k/ need not even be considered an innovation. Rather it can be seen as a retention of a phenomenon that is more extensive in other dialects. For example, in the Cuzco dialect, /p t k q/ all have spirant allophones in syllable and word final position.

130. Clusters. The chart of clusters is based on about 2000 lexical items and the large number of wrds resulting from the combination of suffixes and enclitics according to the morphotactics.

131. None of the phonemes with a laryngeal component combine in clusters. For this reason the /h/ and /'/, and the aspirated stops are not even included in the chart.

In addition note that /s̃/ does not appear in any cluster and that the phonemes /t̃ d̃ ts̃ j̃ ñ̃/ are never the first members of a cluster.

132. Geminate consonants. There are no geminate clusters in Quichua. The only apparent exception to this rule, /kk/, is not in fact an exception since the sequence is phoneti-

cally [xk]. The restriction may be stated in terms of components: No two consecutive consonant allophones may have the same phonetic componential definition.

133. Vowel and glide restrictions. Vowels are not listed on the chart, primarily because there are never two vowels in sequence in Quichua (141). However, vowels do appear in sequence with glides. This sequence is restricted in the same way as are geminate consonant clusters, ie. a vowel does not precede or follow a homorganic glide in the same syllable.

By defining /w/ with the component Back, and /y/ with the component Front, we have made it possible to state the restriction in terms of components. The restriction is: BB and FrFr are not permissible sequences in the same syllable.

134. Nasal assimilation in clusters. Notice on the chart that /m/ and /n/ are nearly in complementary distribution in clusters. The only points of contrast are before /z̃/ and /r/.

From a segmental phonemic point of view there is a possible alternate analysis. That is that the [d] and [b] are themselves segments. In that way the contrast between [mbr] and [nr] is represented as /nbr/ and /nr/. Likewise, [ndž] and [mž] are /ndž/ and /nž/. Such a

proposal is unsatisfactory for two reasons. In the first place, [m] and [n] contrast in word and syllable initial position so it is necessary on independent grounds to give them both phonemic status.

Secondly, to give the epenthetic b and d segmental status would complicate the simple C V (C) syllable structure by introducing three-consonant clusters.

The four clusters are realized phonetically in this fashion:

/nž/ as [ndž]

/nr/ as [nr]

/mž/ as [mž]

/mr/ as [mbr].

The place of articulation of /n/ is determined by the second phonemic member of the cluster: alveolar by /ž/ and velar by /r/. /m/ is defined as labial and is unconditioned by /ž/ and /r/.

The epenthetic consonants are determined by the phonotactics. In componential terms we say that C1 is a determined feature of the clusters /nž/ and /mr/. The place of articulation of the stop is conditioned by the nasal (124a).

135. There is no contrast between /k/ and /g/ in syllable final position. The reasons for this are both historical and morphophonemic.

Historically, /k/ has been voiced before voiced segments within morphemes, eg. Old Quechua (OQ) *akĩa- 'to choose' > Ecuador Quechua (EQ) agž̃a- 'to choose'; OQ *sakma- 'to kick' > EQ sagma- 'to butt'.

There is, however, at least one exception to the historical rule and that is found in the onomatopoeic word [waxya] /wakya/ 'to make a rushing noise'.

Synchronically, /k/ alternates with /g/ before other morphemes beginning with voiced phonemes. This rule applies across both morpheme and word boundaries, eg. /mici/ + /k/ 'shepherd', /mici/ + /g/ + /wan/ 'with a shepherd'; /randi/ + /k/ 'buyer'; /randi/ + /g/ † /rirka/ 'he went to buy' (160).

140. Phonological word. The members of the phonological word are the syllable, contrastive stress, and non-contrastive stress. The Quechua syllable is symbolized \$ C V (C) \$. \$ represents the syllable boundary. V represents the three vowels /a i u/ and C represents the consonants, which are all segmental phonemes in Quichua that are not vowels.

There are three levels of non-contrastive stress. They are symbolized in this way: ^ primary stress, ` secondary stress, and ~ weak stress (142).

Contrastive stress is represented by the symbol ´.

The phonological word is simply a string of syllables:
\$ C V (C) \$ C V (C)

141. Distribution of phonemes in the phonological word. We distinguish four positions in the Quichua phonological word for consonants.

	WORD INITIAL:	ph th ch fh kh h ' d and the members of the three sets below.
WORD	SYLLABLE INITIAL:	t ts d š j ñ and the members of the two sets below.
INTERNAL	SYLLABLE FINAL:	p t c b g z ž l m and the members of the remaining set below.
	WORD FINAL:	k s š r n w y ø.

142. Non-contrastive stress. The three levels of stress are distributed among the syllables in a predictable pattern based on the syllable's position in the word.

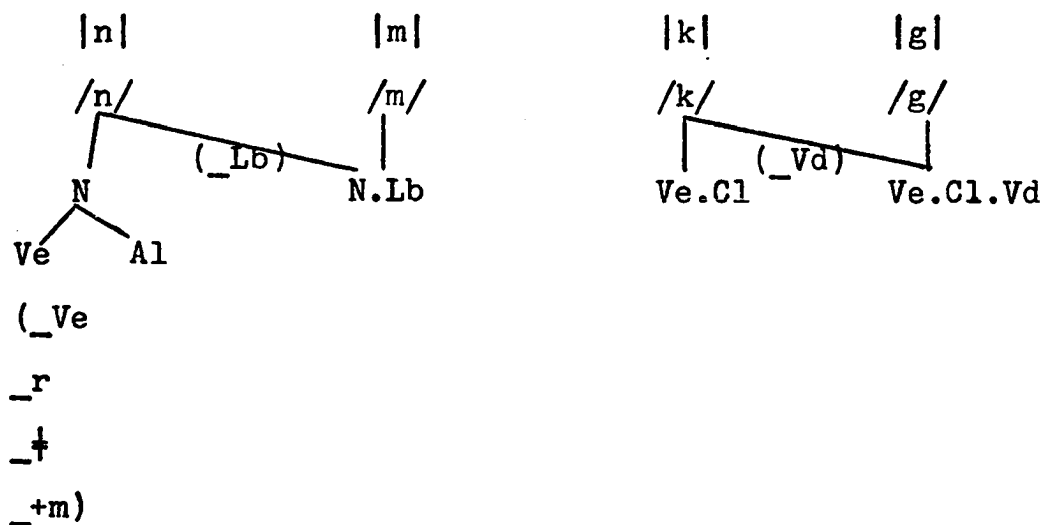
The penultimate syllable (in a word with two or more syllables) takes primary stress; and the first syllable (in a word with four or more syllables) takes secondary stress. All other syllables have weak stress.

In a word of only one syllable the stress is apparently conditioned by the lexical function of the word. A functor such as a numeral or a pronoun has weak stress, while a word with lexical content like a noun has primary stress.

143. Contrastive stress. There is one contrastive stress in each phonological phrase. It falls on the syllable of a word that would take primary stress and augments that stress, except for words ending in enclitics. In the latter, the penultimate syllable is either the second from the boundary between the stem and the enclitic or the second from the end of the entire word. The former definition is used to place the primary stress; the latter, the contrastive stress. In effect then, words with enclitics show more than just an alternation between two degrees of stress; they also show an alternation in stress placement. It is therefore necessary to recognize a special phonological boundary, symbolized /-/, that occurs before enclitics. For purposes of primary stress placement, /-/ functions like a word boundary. But for contrastive stress placement, it doesn't.

ňúkǎ-mǐ	primary stress
ňúkǎ-mǐ	contrastive stress

150. Morphophonemic alternation. Automatic morpho-
 phonemic alternation involves |n| and |m|, and |k| and |g|. (|| bracket morphons) The alternations and conditions are given in §§126d and e above but they may be summarized again here.



Chapter 2

Morphology

200. The subject of this chapter is the word. Words are both simple and complex. That is, a word is made up of one or more morphemes. The morphological word is not the same thing as the lexeme. To illustrate the difference let us analyze the English sentence I am going. There are three words: I, am, going. There are four morphemes: |I|, |am|, |go|, |ing|. There are five lexemes: I, present tense, progressive aspect, 1st person, go. The lexemes 1st person, present tense, and progressive aspect combine into the crystallized locution am ... ing, which combines with go to yield am going.

There is a comparable distinction in Quichua between word and lexeme. This is most clearly seen in the verb phrase (330).

The word has an internal structure, particularly in a language that makes as extensive a use of suffixes as does Quichua. The constraints on the combination of these morphemes into words is the primary topic of this chapter.

In addition to the internal structure of the word, we are concerned with classes of words (230). While these word classes are not generally marked by any particular morphological characteristics, they are useful

analytic constructs because they reflect lexotactic and semotactic classes.

210. Morphotactics. The subject of the morphotactics is the construction of the morphological word. Within the word we may classify morphemes according to privileges of distribution and combination into three broad categories: roots and stems (211), suffixes (212), and enclitics (213).

Each morpheme is cited with a notation consisting of three parts: (1) its form in morphonic notation; (2) its morphotactic class indicated by an abbreviation; (3) its meaning, or its lexemic representation, indicated by a gloss in single quotes; e.g. ci vV 'Causative'. Definitions generally follow the terminology of Yokoyama 1951.

Abbreviations for morphotactic classes:

Adj	Adjective
En	Enclitic
N	Noun
Vr	Verb root
Vs	Verb stem
vV	Verb suffixes (212a)
vD	
vI	
vN	

nN	}	Noun suffixes (212b)
nV		
nA		

+ Morpheme boundary

- Enclitic boundary

space Word boundary

211. Roots and stems. There are three types of root: Verb (Vr), Noun (N), and Adjective (Adj).

The verb root is a bound form; it never occurs without suffixes (212a) or a postposition (237). Noun and adjective roots are free forms.

The root is the form that is listed in the dictionary. Some roots are ambiguous: They represent two or more lexemes. This ambiguity is either between verb and noun, or among the various lexemic categories of verb such as intransitive and transitive. Whenever any given morpheme is written, we propose to resolve the ambiguity by marking the morpheme according to which lexeme it is intended to represent. Thus the ambiguous morpheme žuža Vr; N 'to lie; a lie' is given as either žuža Vr 'to lie' or as žuža N 'a lie'.

The lexemic categories of verbs are: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, quotative, and predicative.

Vr-i

Vr-t

Vr-d

Vr-q

Vr-p.

Examples: pega Vr-i 'to stick on something'

pega Vr-t 'to hit something'

kumbida Vr-t 'to invite someone'

kumbida Vr-d 'to give something to someone'

ni Vr-q 'to say'

ni Vr-t 'to want something'.

212. Suffixes. Suffixes are either optional or obligatory; they are also either final or non-final. Optional suffixes are also non-final; obligatory suffixes are final. Verbs must take final suffixes to be complete words. A verb form with only non-final suffixes is called a verb stem.

Each suffix is given a label that tells the classification of the form to which it is attached and the classification of the resulting form. Thus, vV represents those suffixes that are attached to verb roots to form verb stems; vN, suffixes that are attached to verbs to form nouns; nA, suffixes attached to nouns to form adverbials; etc.

212a. Verb suffixes. There are four classes of verb suffixes: vV, vD, vI, vN. The vV suffixes form verb stems; vD suffixes form verbs that function as the head of dependent clauses; vI suffixes form verbs that function as the head of independent clauses; and vN suffixes form nominals.

The individual suffixes are discussed and exemplified in §§221-224.

The relative order of suffixes within words is given in Chart 1. In Chart 2 are given the vI suffixes in greater detail. (The lexo-morphemic variation associated with vI suffixes is discussed in §223.)

CHART 1

VERB SUFFIXES

Optional
Non-final
vV (221)

Obligatory
Final
vD (222)

naku ci ra mu ku wa
ri¹ ri² pa

špa
kpi
ngapak
cun

1 Medio-passive

VI (223)

2 Inceptive

see Chart 2

vN
k
y
na
ška

CHART 2

vI suffixes with ka Vr-p 'to be' as the model.

Parentheses are used to bracket optional morphemes.

INDICATIVE MOOD

TENSE	PERSON	NUMBER	
		Sg	Pl
Present	1	ka+ni 'I am'	ka+n+cik 'we are'
	2	ka+ngi 'you are'	ka+ngi+cik 'you all are'
	3	ka+n '(s)he is'	ka+n+(kuna) 'they are'
Past	1	ka+rka+ni 'I was'	ka+rka+n+cik 'we were'
	2	ka+rka+ngi etc.	ka+rka+ngi+cik
	3	ka+rka	ka+rka+(kuna)
Perfect	1	ka+ška+ni 'I have been'	ka+ška+n+cik 'we have been'
	2	ka+ška+ngi etc	ka+ška+ngi+cik
	3	ka+ška	ka+ška+(kuna)
Future	1	ka+ša 'I shall be'	ka+šun+(cik)
	2	ka+ngi etc	ka+ngi+cik
	3	ka+nga	ka+nga+(kuna)

IMPERATIVE MOOD

Present	2	ka+y 'be!'	ka+y+cik 'you all be!'
Future	2	ka+ngi 'be!'	ka+ngi+cik 'you all be!'

PROPENSITIVE MOOD

TENSE	PERSON	NUMBER	
		Sg	Pl
Present	1	ka+y+man 'if I were'	ka+n+cik+man 'if we were'
	2	ka+ngi+man etc	ka+ngi+cik+man
	3	ka+n+man	ka+n+(kuna)+man
Past	1	ka+rka+y+man	ka+rka+n+cik+man

and so forth for all the tenses.

212b. Noun suffixes. There are three classes of suffixes: nN, nV, and nA. nN suffixes form nouns out of nouns. (They may thus be regarded as morphotactically optional.) nV suffixes form verb stems (which are bound forms) (211). nA suffixes form adverbials.

The class meanings and the meanings of the individual suffixes are discussed and exemplified briefly in §§225-7.

The base to which these suffixes may be applied includes: Nouns, proper nouns, pronouns (personal, demonstrative, and possessive) (231), adjectives (211), postpositions (238), nominals (224), nominal phrases (340), indefinites (232), quantifiers (233), and numerals (234).

NOUN SUFFIXES

nV (226)

ya 'Mutative'

ci 'Formative'

nN (225)

kuna 'Plural'

pak 'Possessive'

nA (227)

kama 'Limitative'

man 'Allative'

manta 'Ablative'

nta 'Repetitive'

pak 'Benefactive-purposive'

pi 'Locative'

ta 'Accusative'

wan 'Accompaniment'

213. Enclitics. Enclitics may be attached to any word of any morphological class. They are bound forms.

The boundary between the word and the enclitic is not a phonological word boundary. This is reflected in the stress pattern (143), and in the conditioning of allophones (124).

In §227 is presented a brief discussion of the function of enclitics along with some examples.

ENCLITICS

piš 'Conjunctive'	ka 'Theme'	ari 'Emphatic of opinion'
tak 'Differential'	mi 'Affirmative'	
rak 'Imperfective'	cu 'Non-factual'	
	ši 'Speculative'	
	cari 'Unconfirmed opinion'	
	mari 'Confirmed opinion'	

220. Bound morphemes. The suffixes and enclitics given in the morphotactics (210) are listed here, along with examples of their occurrence in words and brief references to their function and meaning.

The format of the examples is this:

Word in morphonic notation; gloss in single quotes.

Meaning or lexemic label under each morpheme.

Morphotactic category label under each morpheme.

Thus:

manca	+	na	+	ya	+	k	+	ta	'frightfully'
fear		Subs		Mut		Agt		Acc	
Vr-t		vN		nV-i		vN		nA	

221. vV suffixes.

naku vV 'Reciprocal'. This suffix is used with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive roots and does not affect their status with respect to transitivity. Role structure associated with the reciprocal is discussed in §513.

asi	+	naku	+	ška	+	kuna	'they laughed together'
laugh		Recip		3Pf		Pl	
Vr-i		vV		vI		vI	

ni	+	naku	+	ška	'they said to each other'
say		Recip		3Pf	
Vr-t		vV		vI	

tanda	+	naku	+	y	+	ta	'meeting together'
meet		Recip		Inf		Acc	
Vr-i		vV		vN		nA	

ri vV-i 'Medio-passive'. This suffix is used with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verb roots to form intransitive medial and passive verb stems. (513).

cašpi	+	ri	+	špa	'shaking himself'
shake		M-p		Ptc-e	
Vr-t		vV-i		vD	

rima	+	ri	+	ška	'he was talking to himself'
talk		M-p		3Pf	
Vr-d		vV-i		vI	

saki	+	ri	+	rka	+	ni	'I was left'
leave		M-p		P		l	
Vr-t		vV-i		vI		vI	

uya	+	ri	+	ška	'he was heard'
hear		M-p		3Pf	
Vr-t		vV-i		vI	

ci vV 'Causative'. The causative suffix adds transitivity to the root. That is, an intransitive root is formed into a transitive stem, a transitive root is formed into a ditransitive stem. The roles involved in the semology of this suffix as it is used in the sentence are discussed in §513.

yayku + ci + špa 'having them go in'
 go in Caus Ptc-e
 Vr-i vV-t vD

singu + ci + špa 'making it tumble over'
 tumble Caus Ptc-e
 over
 Vr-i vV-t vD

kucu + ya + ci + kpi - ka 'moving it close'
 close Mut Caus Ptc-d Th
 Adj nV-i vV-t vD En

ra vV 'Intensive'. This suffix has the implication of perseverance.

kati + ra + y 'keep on following'
 follow Int Imp
 Vr-t vV vI

capa + ra + ku + ška + kuna 'they had
 wait Int Cont 3Pf Pl been steadfastly
 Vr-t vV vV vI vI waiting'

mu vV 'Cislocative!'. This suffix has a meaning that focusses attention on a particular location.(522).

žukši + mu + ška 'it came out'
 go out Cisl 3Pf
 Vr-i vV vI

tigra + mu + ngapak 'in order to come back'
 return Cisl Cns-e
 Vr-i vV vD

caya + mu + ška 'he came up to something'
 approach Cisl 3Pf
 Vr-i vV vI

ku vV 'Continuative'. The meaning of this suffix is aspectual; it means that the action of the verb is going on or continuing. How this fits in with the rest of the temporal indicators of a sentence is discussed in §532.

puri + ku + ška 'he was walking'
 walk Cont 3Pf
 Vr-i vV vI

rima + naku + ku + špa 'while they were talking
 talk Recip Cont Ptc-e with each other'
 Vr-d vV vV vD

ri vV 'Inceptive'. This suffix functions as an aspect marker. A discussion of its use is found in §532.

hapi + ri + rka 'he touched it' (literally,
 take Inc P 'he started to take it')
 Vr-t vV vI

manca + ri + špa 'getting frightened'
 fear Inc Ptc-e
 Vr-t vV vD

kaca + ri + ri + ša 'I'll jump' (literally,
 send M-p Inc 1F 'I'll start to send myself')
 Vr-t vV-i vV vI

wa vV 'Receptive'. This suffix indicates that the speaker is either the patient or the receiver of the action of the verb. If the verb is ditransitive, the speaker is receiver, not patient.

saki + wa + y 'let me go'
 leave Rec Imp
 Vr-t vV vI

rura + wa + ška 'he created me'
 make Rec 3Pf
 Vr-t vV vI

ku + wa + y 'give it to us'
 give Rec Imp (the context of this example would
 Vr-d vV vI indicate the plurality of the
 referents of wa)

pa vV 'Honorific'. This suffix is used by the speaker to indicate respect for the listener, or at least a recognition of higher social status, which is not quite the same thing.

ažižacu	ka	+	pa	+	ngi	'are you fine, sir?'
	be		Hon		2	
	Vr-p		vV		vI	

222. vD suffixes. The class meaning of these suffixes is 'marker of subordinate clause in a compound sentence.'¹ The individual suffixes have two functions: to indicate relative time with respect to the main verb, and to specify whether the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause. (See §420 for a definition of 'main clause'.) Since the subject is optional, the co-referentiality may obtain between understood subjects or between an overt and an understood subject.

The distinction of relative time is either 'same or preceding the time indicated by the main verb' or 'following the time indicated by the main verb'. There is another component of meaning associated with those verbs that indicate following time, namely, consequence.

TIME

S U B J E C T	same or preceding		following, consequence
	same	špa	ngapak
different	kpi	cun	

špa vD 'Participle - equivalent subject'. (Ptc-e)

(For examples in a sentence context see §420.)

ni + špa 'saying'

say Ptc-e

Vr-q vD

šaya + ci + špa 'making it stand'

stand Caus Ptc-e

Vr-i vV-t vD

kpi vD 'Participle - different subject'. (Ptc-d)

ri + ku + kpi 'going'

go Cont Ptc-d

Vr-i vV vD

ni + kpi - ka 'having said'

say Ptc-d Th

Vr-q vD En

ngapak vD 'Consequential - equivalent subject'. (Cns-e)

riksi + ci + ngapak 'in order to get acquainted'
 know Caus Cns-e
 Vr-t vV-t vD

tigra + mu + ngapak 'in order to come back'
 turn Cisl Cns-e
 Vr-i vV vD

cun vD 'Consequential - different subject'. (Cns-d)

uya + cun 'for (you) to listen' ('you' is determined
 listen Cns-d from the sentence context of this
 Vr-t vD particular example)

susta + ri + cun 'so they will worry'
 fear Inc Cns-d
 Vr-i vV vD

223. vI suffixes. The class meaning of these suffixes is simply 'main verb of the independent or main clause' (420). Tense is discussed in §530. Person, as it is related to role structure, is presented in §510. Number is mentioned in §411 along with Person in the context of the lexotactics. Finally, Mood is in §470 under Conditional sentences, and in §480 in connection with Imperative sentences.

It is unnecessary to elaborate examples here since the paradigm of §212a is complete.

The realization of lexemes as morphemes is stated below under the rubrics Simple realization, Alternation, and Portmanteau realization.

<u>Simple realization:</u>	Lexemes	Morphemes
Tense:	Present	0
	Past	rka
	Perfect	ška
	Future	see below
Mood:	Indicative	0
	Propensitive	man
	Imperative	Portmanteau

Alternation:

Person:	1	n before Plural; y before Propensitive Portmanteau with Future; ni elsewhere.
	2	y before Imperative; ngi elsewhere.
	3	0 after Past, Perfect; Portmanteau with Future; n elsewhere.

<u>Alternation</u> (cont):	Lexemes	Morphemes
Number:	Plural	cik after 1, 2; kuna elsewhere.

Portmanteau realization:

	Future	
	Sg	Pl
1	ša	šun + (cik)
3	nga	nga + (kuna)

Future is realized as 0 before the second person morpheme *ngi*.

	Imperative
2	y

224. *vN* suffixes. These suffixes form nominals of two sorts: Lexemes and nonce forms. Nonce forms are frequently heads of nominal phrases (340) which function as complements (331) or as embedded clauses (430).

The two suffixes *ška vN* 'Resultative' and *k vN* 'Agentive' have a unique function in the predicate of narrative clauses (333, 440).

The names given to these morphemes are those used by Yokoyama 1951 and subsequently maintained by other Quechuanists.

y vN 'Infinitive'. The infinitive suffix forms abstract nouns.

yuya + y 'thought'
 think Inf
 Vr-q vN

nana + y 'pain'
 hurt Inf
 Vr-i vN

tanda + naku + y 'meeting'
 meet Recip Inf
 Vr-i vV vN

na vN 'Substantival'. This suffix generally forms nouns that denote objects. The object denoted may stand in any relation to the action of the verb root except that of agent. Most often it is the patient. (See §510 for a discussion of the terminology of roles.)

miku + na 'food'
 eat Subs
 Vr-t vN

manca + na + ya + k 'frightful'
 fear Subs Mut Agt (mancana is 'an object
 Vr-t vN nV vN of fear')

šuwa + na 'to steal' (nonce form)
 steal Subst
 Vr-t vN

ška vN 'Resultative'. The objects to which words with this suffix refer stand in any relation except that of agent to the action denoted by the verb root. This is the same relationship signified by the na vN 'Substantival' suffix. The difference between the two is that ška vN 'Resultative' adds an aspectual component of meaning, namely, completed aspect. na vN 'Substantival' contrasts with ška, not because it shows incomplete aspect but rather because it is lacking in any reference to aspect. ška could therefore be defined as a past perfect participle.

tranka + ška 'dammed up'
 dam Res
 Vr-t vN

caki + ci + ška 'dried'
 be dry Caus Res
 Vr-i vV-t vN

k vN 'Agentive'. The agentive forms nominals that refer to the agent of the action indicated by the verb root.

mici + k 'shepherd, herder'
 herd Agt
 Vr-t vN

manda + k 'ruler, commander'
 command Agt
 Vr-t vN

rupa + k ža 'hot, almost burning'
 burn Agt almost
 Vr-i vN En

225. nN suffixes. The class meaning of these suffixes is their function of forming nouns out of nouns. The two suffixes are not mutually exclusive, nor are they ordered with respect to each other, ie. either may precede the other. e.g. runa + kuna + pak 'the men's', runa + pak + kuna 'the man's things'.

kuna nN 'Plural'. This form simply pluralizes whatever it is attached to without affecting the classification of the base form.

wasi + kuna 'houses'
 house Pl
 N nN

pak nN 'Possessive'. This is attached to nouns to form possessive nouns. Like nouns in general, possessive nouns function as either nouns or adjectives (310).

mama + pak 'mother's'
 mother Poss
 N nN

doktor	+	pak	+	man	'to the doctor's (place)'
doctor		Poss		All	
N		nN		nA	

226. nV suffixes. The class meaning of these suffixes is simply that they form verb stems out of nouns.

ya nV 'Mutative'. The suffix is added to noun or adjective stems to form intransitive verb stems. The meaning of the verb that is formed is 'to become whatever the noun or adjective denotes'.

yaku	+	ya	+	y	'to become water, to become liquid'
water		Mut		Inf	
N		nV-i		vN	

cawpi	+	ya	+	mu	+	ška	'it came to be the middle'
middle		Mut		Cisl		3Pf	
N		nV-i		vV-i		vI	

ci nV 'Formative'.² The suffix is added to nouns or adjectives to form transitive verbs that mean 'to cause or let something become what the noun or adjective denotes'.

aži	+	ci	+	ku	+	rka	+	kuna	'they were mending'
good		Form		Cont		P		Pl	('causing x to
Adj		nV-t		vV		vI		vI	become good')

durmi	+	na	+	ci	+	ška	'he got sleepy'
sleep		Subs		Form		3Pf	
Vr-i		vN		nV-t		vI	

227. nA suffixes. These suffixes are case markers.

They function to form adverbials and adverbial phrases (360) which in turn function in the lexotactics as adverbs (414), connectives (415), and realizations of all the roles except agent (510). The meaning of the individual suffixes is primarily functional but it is possible to draw a spatial metaphor of the relations they have with each other. This is done in §531.

kama nA 'Limitative'. The English translation of this suffix is usually 'up to, as far as', or 'until'. It is used as a locative and as a temporal (414a,b), and also forms connectives (415).

tulkan	+	kama	'as far as Tulcan'
Tulcan		Lim	
N		nA	

cay	+	kama	'by then'
that (time)		Lim	
Pro		nA	

man nA 'Allative-dative-illative'. Allative is used as the cover term. This suffix forms adverbials that function as locative adverbs (414a), motivational adverbs (414d), and as indirect objects (413).

cay + man 'to that place'

that All
(place)

Pro nA

cagra + man 'to the field'

field All

N nA

wawki + kuna + man 'to (his) brothers'

brother Pl All

N nN nA

kaca + ri + na + man 'in order to send off (the
send Inc Subs All water)'

Vr-t vV vN nA

manta nA 'Ablative'. The ablative forms adverbials that function as locatives (414b), temporals (414a), motivational adverbs (414d), and as connectives (415).

žakta + kuna + manta 'from countries'

country Pl Abl

N nN nA

utka + manta 'from early (in the morning)'

early Abl

N nA

tuta + manta 'morning' (literally 'from night')

night Abl

N nĀ

šuwa + na + manta 'because of stealing'

steal Subs Abl

Vr-t vN nA

caya + mu + ška + manta 'because they had

approach Cisl Res Abl arrived'

Vr-i vV vN nA

atuk + manta 'concerning a wolf'

wolf Abl

N nA

pak nA 'Benefactive-purposive'. Adverbials formed by this suffix function as temporals (414a), as motivationals (414d), as benefactives (414f), and as connectives (415).

onse + pak 'for (an) 11 o'clock (appointment)'

11 B-p

Num nA

ima + pak - šī 'why? I wonder'

what B-p Spec

Ind nA En

pay + pak 'for him'

he B-p

Pro nA

cay + pak - mi 'for that (reason)'

that B-p Aff

Pro nA En

pi nA 'Locative'. The locative adverbial functions as a locative (414b), a temporal (414a), and as a connective (415).

pungu + pi 'in the doorway'

door Loc

N nA

punža + pi 'on that day'

day Loc

N nA

cay + pi 'therefore'

that Loc
(reason)

Pro nA

ta nA 'Accusative'. The accusative forms locative and temporal adverbs (414a,b). It also forms adverbials from adjectives which function as manner adverbs (414c), and adverbials from nouns and nominal forms that function as objects (413).

wici + ta 'along the slope'

slope Acc

N nA

saca + ta 'through the woods'

woods Acc

N nA

domingo + ta 'on Sunday'

Sunday Acc

N nA

papel + kuna + ta 'the papers (direct object)'

paper Pl Acc

N nN nA

rupa + ku + k + ta 'burning (direct object)'

burn Cont Agt Acc

Vr-i vV vN nA

alaja + ta 'carefully'

nice Acc

Adj nA

sinži + ta 'firmly'

hard Acc

Adj nA

wan nA 'Accompaniment-instrumental'. The adverbials formed with this suffix function as manner adverbs (414c), secondary agents or adverbs of accompaniment (414e), and as connectives (415).

maki + wan 'with the hand'

hand Accp

N nA

ima + wan - tak 'with what?'

what Accp Diff

Ind nA En

ñuka + ncik + wan 'along with us'

1 Pl Accp

Pro nN nA

atuk + wan 'with the wolf'

wolf Accp

N nA

228. Enclitics. Enclitics are attached to sentence constituents without regard for their morphological class. Nevertheless, they are appropriately considered under the rubric of morphology because they are bound morphemes.

The boundary between the enclitic and the base is indicated by - (143).

The function of the enclitic is on the level of the discourse. A complete discussion of these functions is given for each enclitic in §§551-5.

piš En 'Conjunctive'. Generally this enclitic is to be translated as 'too' or 'also' (551).

ñuka - piš 'I too'

I Conj

Pro En

maki + wan - piš 'with his hand, too'

hand Accp Conj

N nA En

cay - piš 'that too'

that Conj

Pro En

rak En 'Imperfective' (Impf). The indication of this enclitic is continuing action or state of affairs (534).

irki - rak 'still thin'

thin Impf

Adj En

pay - rak 'still he'

he Impf

Pro En

mana - rak 'not yet' (still not)

not Impf

Neg En

tak En 'Differential (Diff)'. This enclitic has two primary functions. In the declarative sentence it contrasts directly with piš En 'Conjunctive' with the meaning 'different state than formerly or expected'. In the interrogative sentence it is found in conjunction with the indefinites asking for information. The meaning of 'differential' still applies in that the indefinite specifies the domain and the interlocutor is asked to differentiate among the possibilities (551).

cari	+	gri	+	ni	-	tak	-	ka	'now I shall have
have		Inc		l		Diff		Th	(some meat) for
Vr-t		vV		vI		En		En	a change'

mana - tak 'but not'

not Diff

Neg En

ima - tak 'what?'

what Diff

Ind En

may + pi - tak 'where?'
 some Loc Diff
 place
 Ind nA En

ši En 'Speculative' (Spec). The enclitic indicates that the speaker does not know something that he is wondering about (554).

ima - š i 'I wonder what'
 what Spec
 Ind En

pi - š i 'I wonder who'
 who Spec
 Ind En

ka En 'Theme' (Th). This enclitic is so common, and has such a variety of functions that it proved necessary to use a fairly neutral gloss for it. Examples may be found in §§420, 533.

mi En 'Affirmative' (Aff). This enclitic is most commonly found with predications (332) and with pre-posed adverbs of manner (416). Its meaning is discussed in §553.

cašna ža - mi '(it is) just like that'
 like just Aff
 that
 Adv En En

kunu - mi '(it was) a rabbit'
 rabbit Aff
 N En

ña - mi 'right now'
 now Aff
 Adv En

cu En 'Non-factual' (N-f). The two functions of this enclitic are to mark questions and negatives. The questions so marked are yes-no questions (443). The negatives are in conjunction with the Negative lexeme mana 'no, not' or the prohibitive ama 'don't' and a verb or predicate nominal (442).

ña - cu 'now?'
 now N-f
 Adv En

mana - cu 'no?'
 no N-f
 Neg En

aži ža - cu 'just fine?'
 fine just N-f
 Adj En En

mana	urma	+	ška	-	cu	'they didn't fall'
not	fall		3Pf		N-f	
Neg	Vr-i		vI		En	

mana	-	piš	obeja	-	cu	'but it wasn't a lamb'
not		Conj	lamb		N-f	
Neg		En	N		En	

ari En 'Emphatic of opinion' (Emph). The meaning of this enclitic is that the speaker is making a strong affirmation about something he is convinced of (554).

yayku	+	ci	+	y	-	ari	'you must let him in'
enter		Caus		Imp		Emph	
Vr-i		vV-t		vI		En	

ima	oratak	šamu	+	nga	-	ari	'when is he coming?'
	when	come		3Fut		Emph	(he ought to have
		Vr-i		vI		En	come by now)

cari En 'Unconfirmed opinion' (Unc). This is a fused form, a combination of cu and ari. The indication is that the speaker's opinion has no factual confirmation (555).

bacuk	-	cari	'it must be the lamb'
lamb		Unc	
N		En	

cay	+	manta	-	cari	'it must be for that reason'
that		Abl		Unc	
reason					
Pro		nA		En	

yaca	+	ngi	-	cari	'surely you know'
know		2		Unc	
Vr-t		vI		En	

mari En 'Confirmed opinion' (Conf). This enclitic is also a fused form; in this case between mi and ari. The indication is that the opinion of the speaker has been confirmed or cannot be gainsaid because of its basis in fact (555).

kay	-	mari	'so (it's) this'
this		Conf	
Pro		En	

miku	+	gri	+	ni	-	mari	'I-am most certainly
eat		Inc		1		Conf	going to eat (you)'
Vr-t		vV		vI		En	

aži	+	ta	-	mari	'certainly well'
good		Acc		Conf	
Adj		nA		En	

230. Word classes. This section is devoted to words that are monomorphemic. These words are divisible into various word classes on the basis of their relations to the semantics and lexotactics. Membership in a particular word class does not necessarily correspond to any particular morphological characteristic.

Nouns, adjectives, and verbs are discussed above in §211.

231. Pronouns (Pro):

231a. Personal pronouns (Per):

ñuka 'I'

kan 'you'

pay '(s)he'

Inanimate objects and animals are not referred to with personal pronouns but rather with the demonstrative.

The plural of the personal pronoun is not completely regular:

ñukancik 'we'

kankuna 'you all'

paykuna 'they'

There are two things to note about the plural: The second and third persons have /kuna/, while the first person has /ncik/. The latter also occurs as realization of first person plural in verb forms, in which /n/ means first person while /cik/ means plural (212a).

231b. Possessive pronouns (PossP):

ñuka 'my'

ñukancik 'our'

kambak 'your'

kankunapak 'your'

paypak 'his, her'

paykunapak 'their'

Possessive pronouns are distinct from nouns formed with pak nN 'Possessive' (225). In the first place, there is no suffix attached to the first person pronoun. In the second, the form /kambak/ has lost the + between |kan| and |pak|. With +, the word would be /kampak/. (|p| is not voiced across morpheme boundaries.)

231c. Demonstrative pronouns (Dem):

kay 'this'	kayšuk 'another, this other'
cay 'that'	cayšuk 'another, that other'

232. Indefinites (Ind). These forms function both as pronouns (310) and as interrogatives (460).

ima 'something, what'
 mašna 'how much, how many'
 may 'someplace, where'
 mayjan 'someone, who'
 pi 'someone, who'.

233. Quantifiers (Q).

acka 'much, many'
 aša 'little, few'
 tawka 'many, enough'
 tukuy 'all'

234. Numerals (Num).

šuk 'one'
 iški 'two'
 kimsa 'three'
 ťusku 'four'
 picka 'five'
 sukta 'six'
 kanfis 'seven'
 pusak 'eight'
 iskun 'nine'
 cunga 'ten'
 patsak 'hundred'
 waranga 'thousand'.

Numerals are combined in the same way as in English, but without morphological marking. The units, numbers one through nine, multiply the numbers 10, 100, and 1000 when the former precede the latter. Units are added to the larger numbers when the units follow the latter.

iški cunga '20'
 patsak iški cunga '120'
 kimsa waranga pusak cunga picka '3085'
 cunga šuk '11'
 iška cunga kimsa '23'

235. Negative (Neg).

mana 'no, not'

236. Prohibitive (Proh).

ama 'don't'

237. Adverbs (Adv).

kunan 'now'

kutin 'again'

khipa 'after'

ña 'at this time'

ñawpa 'earlier'

utka 'early'

unipi 'a long time'.

238. Postpositions (PP). Postpositions are words that function to form postpositional phrases (350). They do not take stress and sometimes they elide with the head word of the phrase. Many words from other word classes may function as postpositions (350).

One might say that postpositions are in fact case markers. There are two reasons for not doing so. One: Most postpositions co-occur with case endings, ie. postpositional phrases take case endings. Two: A substantial number of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs function like postpositions. It is clearly undesirable to label these words 'case markers'.

laya 'like'
 ndik 'together with'
 nik 'beyond'
 pak 'around, near'
 sapa 'having a large ...'
 wa(wa) 'baby, little'
 yuk 'owner of ... '

239. Comparative (Comp). The only function of this form is the construction of the comparative adjective phrase (320).

yaži 'more'.

240. Conjunction (Conj). This class of words is taken over from the Spanish. They function as connectives (415).

aver 'let's see'
 i 'and'
 peru 'but'
 talves 'maybe'

250. ža. The form ža 'just' has the freedom of placement of an enclitic but differs from the enclitics in that it is separated from the forms to which it is attached by a word boundary rather than an enclitic boundary. To add to the difficulties of classifying this form, there seems to be no satisfactory way of defining it other than with the English gloss 'just'.

In this grammar *ž*a 'just' is provisionally taken to be an enclitic with the unusual characteristic of not occurring in conjunction with an enclitic boundary.

pay *ž*a 'just he, he alone'

he just

Pro En

šuk *ž*a 'just one'

one just

Num En

cay *ž*a - tak 'right there, just that and no

that just Diff more'

Dem En En

kan *ž*a - tak 'you yourself'

you just Diff

Pro En En

Footnotes

1. The definition of compound sentence in Quichua is not the same as that in English. In English a compound sentence has two or more conjoined independent clauses. In Quichua, such a construction does not exist. Its functional equivalent is a series of clauses, one of which is marked with finite verb endings, and the others of which have verb endings that agree with the finite endings. The defining characteristic of both types of compound sentence is that there is no intermixing of the constituents of the various clauses. See §420.

2. One could well argue that this suffix is the causative found in the verb suffix system. The only reason for distinguishing the two is that they are not tactically identical, even though they share a basic meaning. Not only is the one found with verbs and the other with nouns, but also the two may be found together in the same word: aži + ci + ci + y 'have something be mended'.

Chapter 3

Phrases

300. In Quichua there are several constructions larger than the word that have fixed order of constituents. These I call phrases.

Each phrase has a head word, after which it is named. Thus we have: Noun phrases (310), adjective phrases (320), and verb phrases (330).

In addition there are three types of exocentric phrases, formed from the above by means of suffixes or postpositions. These are the nominal phrases (340), the postpositional phrase (350), and the adverbial phrase (360).

310. Noun phrase. The noun phrase (NP) is represented by this formula:

(det) (q) (mod) head.

The brackets show optional constituents.

Determiners are:

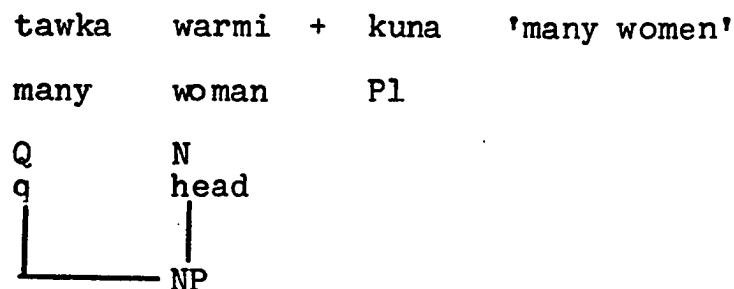
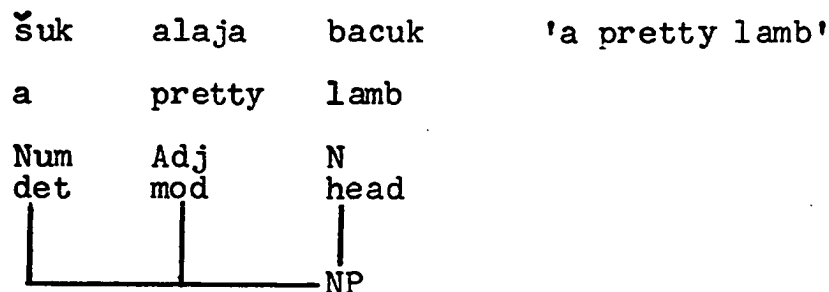
šuk	Num	'a, some ¹ '	(234)
kay	Dem	'this'	} 'the' (231)
cay	Dem	'that'	
ima	Ind	'some (thing)'	} (232)
may	Ind	'some (place)'	
pi	Ind	'some (one)'	
kayšuk		'this other'	} 'another' (234)
cayšuk		'that other'	

Quantifiers. This function is performed by Quantifiers (233), and Numerals (234).

Modifiers. A modifier may be an Adjective (211), an adjective phrase (320), a noun (310), noun phrase (310), a nominal (224), or a nominal phrase (340).

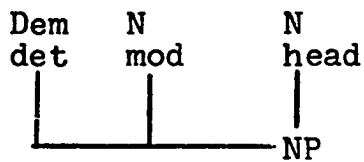
Head. The head of the noun phrase is a noun or a lexemic nominal (211, 224).

Some examples of the noun phrase are presented here, with constituent analyses. The functional NP constituent label is in lower case below the morphotactic or word class label. (See §416 for a discussion of constituent analysis in general.)



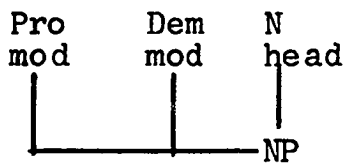
cay khiwa šuwa² 'the grass thief'

the grass thief



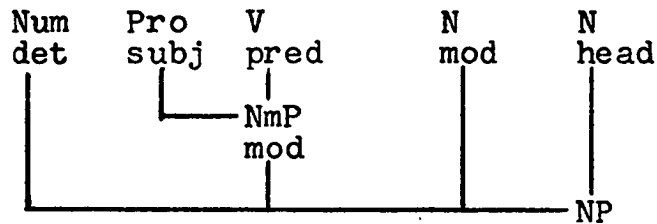
ñuka kay wasi 'my house here'

my this house



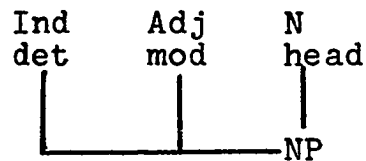
šuk pay cariška kuri bolita 'a golden ball

a she had gold ball that she had'



may karu žakta 'some distant country'

some far country



320. Adjective phrase. The adjective phrase consists of an optional pre-adjective and one or more adjectives.

The pre-adjectives are:

aštawan 'more'

libre 'complete'

Adjectives are members of the word class adjective, marked as such in the dictionary and presented in §211.

Examples:

alaja 'pretty, nice'

birdik 'green'

hatun 'big'

sumak 'beautiful'

aži 'good, fine'

etc.

The comparative adjective phrase has this construction:

Noun+Acc yaži Adjective.

Example: cay + ta yaži hatun 'bigger than that'

that Acc Comp big

Pro nA Comp Adj

The adjective may also be qualified by the pre-adjective aštawan. cayta yaži aštawan hatun 'much bigger than that'.

330. Verb phrase. In the English sentence I have to go to the doctor's, there are two available analyses of the verb phrase. In the one analysis, the verb phrase consists of the auxiliary verb have and the complement to go. In the other analysis, the auxiliary is have to and the complement is go. The former analysis might be called a word structure analysis or a morphological analysis since it makes the constituent cut between the inflected verb have and the infinitive to go. The latter analysis is lexemic in that it respects the idiomatic sense and apparent crystallization of the locution have to. The latter analysis is supported by the parallel construction I must go in which must corresponds to have to. (Consider also Must you?/Do you have to? and You must./You have to.) The morphological analysis, on the other hand, is supported by the existence of the infinitive in other constructions: It is necessary to go.

Rather than make a choice between the two analyses that would deny one or the other significant structure it is in keeping with stratificational philosophy to say that both analyses represent generalizations at different levels of representation. The word structure analysis is appropriate to the morphology and the lexemic analysis is appropriate to the lexotactics. In the discussion that follows, the Quichua verb phrase is analyzed lexemically to show how it fits into the structure of the clause, and morphologically to show its internal word structure.³

There are three types of verb phrase: complementive (331), predicative (332), and quotative (333). They all share a tendency to drop the inflected verb of the phrase or to incorporate it into the complement. This indicates that the inflected verb is not the head of the construction. Instead, the head seems to be the complement, predication, or quotation, respectively. This notion is elaborated as each verb phrase type is discussed.

331. Complementive verb phrase. The easiest way to present this verb phrase is to give an example and discuss it.

kunan	tutamanta	doktorpakman	ri + na	ka + rka	ni
now	morning	to-the- doctor's	go	Subs	P
			Vr-i comp	vN aux	Vr-p vI vI
			VP		
			pred		

'this morning I had to go to the doctor's'

The details of the rest of the sentence are left out so that the phrase analysis can be clearly seen. The phrase consists of an auxiliary and a preceding complement. The complement is a verb (either root or stem) and the auxiliary is a combination of vN suffix and another verb, in this case 'to be'. The meaning of the auxiliary is idiomatic, just as have to is in English.

Contrast the phrase analysis with the word analysis:

ri	+	na	ka	+	rka	+	ni
go		Subs	be		P		l
Vr-i		vN	Vr-p		vI		vI
Nm			V				

Some auxiliaries and their meanings:

<u>Complement</u>	<u>Auxiliary</u>		<u>Meaning</u>
<u>Vr</u>	<u>vN</u>	<u>Vr</u> (<u>vI</u>)	
any verb	na	(ka)	subject has to do complement
root may be	y	tuku	subject is able to do complement
the comple-	k	ri	subject is going to do complement
ment	y	V	subject does complement and V together
	y	kažari	subject begins to do complement
	ška	ka rka	subject had done complement
	ška	ka Fut	subject will have done complement
	k	ka rka	subject used to do complement

Note that ka 'to be' is optional in the first construction listed. This is the case only when it would be in the third person singular, present tense, as determined by the subject and the broader context.

The auxiliary k ri has become crystallized in rapid speech into the form /gri/. Since one meaning of /gri/ is the same as the inceptive suffix ri vV

'Inceptive', the two are considered to be partial alternants of each other. This means that the particular verb phrase alternates with a verb stem:

<p>/rikugrirka/ or /rikug rirka/</p> <p>riku + k ri + rka</p> <p>see Agt go P</p> <p>Vr-t vN Vr-i vI</p> <p>comp aux</p> <p>VP</p>	<p>/rikurirka/</p> <p>riku + ri + rka</p> <p>see Inc P</p> <p>Vr-t vV vI</p> <p>Vs-t</p>
--	--

'he went to see'

'he began to see'

'he was going to see' =

'he was about to see'

332. Predicative verb phrase. This verb phrase consists of a predication and a predicator. The predication may be a noun (211), a noun phrase (310), a nominal (224), a pronoun (231), an adjective (211), or an adverb (236).

The predicator is one of these four verbs:

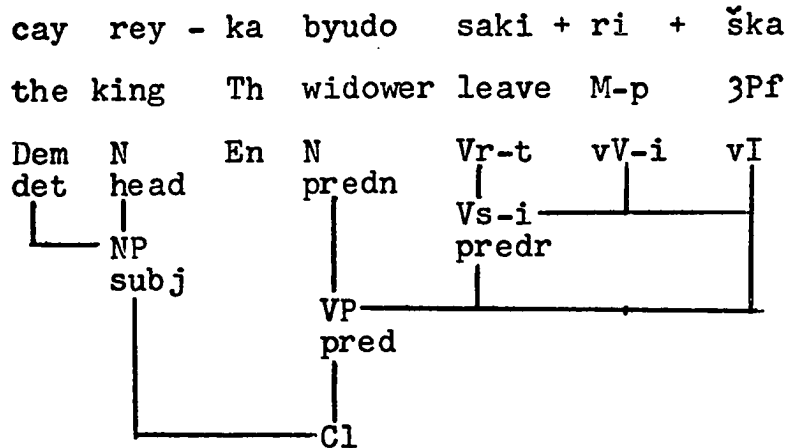
ka Vr-p 'to be'

tuku Vr-p 'to become'

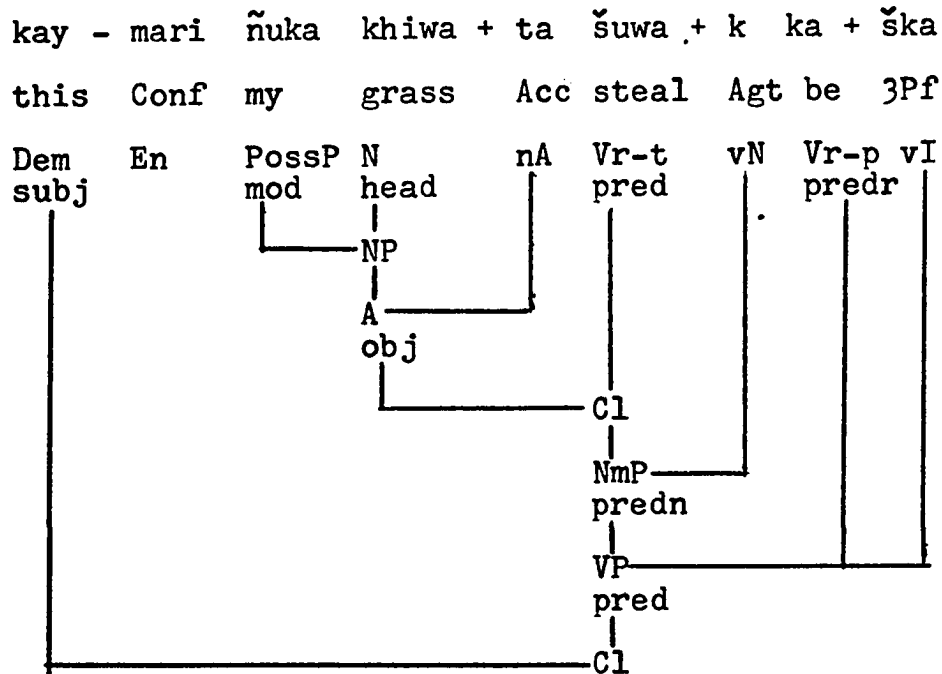
sakiri Vs-p 'to be left'

bali Vr-p 'to be worth'.

The verb ka Vr-p 'to be' is optional in the third person singular present, just as it is in the complementive verb phrase when it functions as an auxiliary.



'the king was left a widower'



'this was the stealer of my grass'

333. Quotative verb phrase. The phrase consists of a direct quotation followed by one of the quotative verbs which are:

ni Vr-q 'to say'

yuya Vr-q 'to think'.

There are four crystallized forms with special functions.

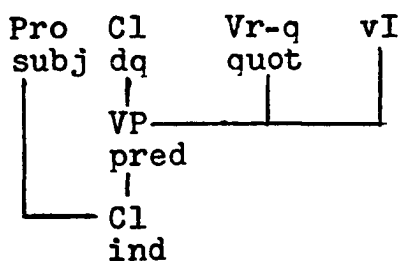
Vr + ša ni + vI 'to want to do ...' (literally,
'to say "I will do ..."')

Vr + ška nin }
Vr + k nin } narrative predicates

Vr + k ni + vI onomatopoetic expression

These forms and their functions are discussed in §441.

pay riša ni + rka 'he wanted to go'
he I- say P ('he said "I will go"')
will-
go

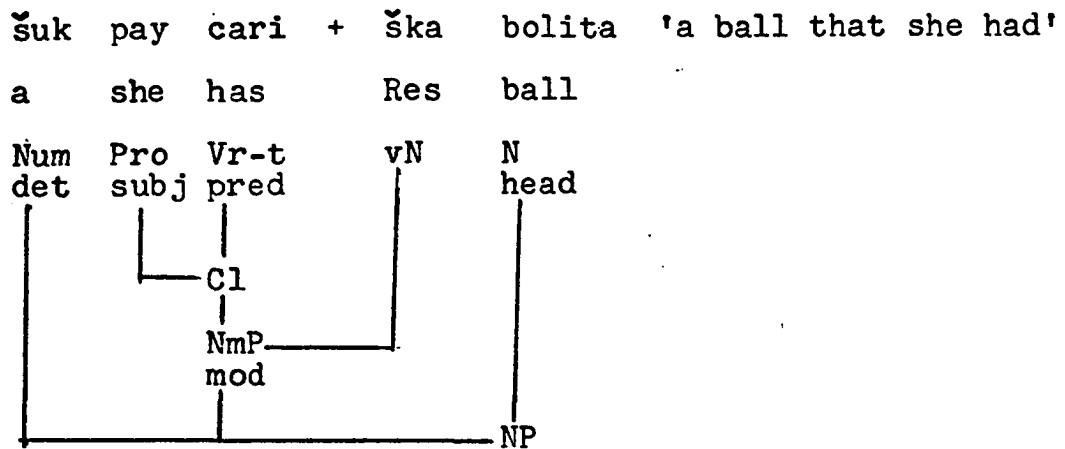


340. Nominal phrases. The nominal phrase is formed from verbal constructions (either the verb phrase (330) or the clause (410)) by means of one of the four vN suffixes attached to the verb that is the head of the verbal construction. The vN suffixes, or nominalizers (224), are:

- k vN 'Agentive'
- na vN 'Substantive'
- ška vN 'Resultative'
- y vN 'Infinitive'.

Since clauses frequently consist of only a verb, a form can be both a nominal and a nominal phrase. If the nominal form is a crystallized form, that is, a lexeme, then it is simply a nominal, not a nominal phrase. If the construction is a nonce form, it is considered to be a nominal phrase. Thus, for example, mikuna 'food' is a nominal, while randina 'to buy' is a nominal phrase, even though both may be morphologically analyzed into Vr-t + vN.

Without going into details of the structure of the clause, it is possible to give a basic constituent analysis of a nominal phrase.



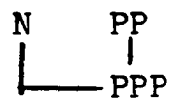
There are many more examples of nominal phrases in the context of the complex sentence (430).

350. Postpositional phrases. The construction involves a postposition (238) preceded by a substantive (n) (212b). In other words, postpositions are attached to the same constituents to which are attached noun suffixes.

Postpositional phrases function as adverbs (414), connectives (415), and as bases for adverbial phrases (360).

uma sapa 'having a big head'

head having-a-big



ñuka laya 'like me'

I like

Pro PP
 └───┬───┘
 PPP

Many postpositional phrases are formed by means of postpositions that are not members of the word class 'postposition', but rather are nouns, adjectives, or adverbs. The most common of these are:

cawpi N 'middle'

cimba N 'across'

hanak N 'North; up'

hawa N 'up'

lado N 'side'

siki N 'buttocks; under'

khipa Adj 'after, following'

uku Adj 'inside'

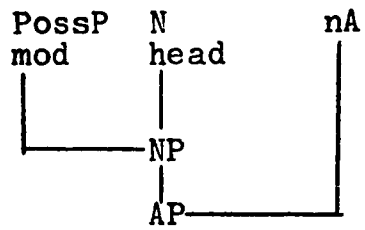
waša Adj 'after'

šina Adv 'thus, like'

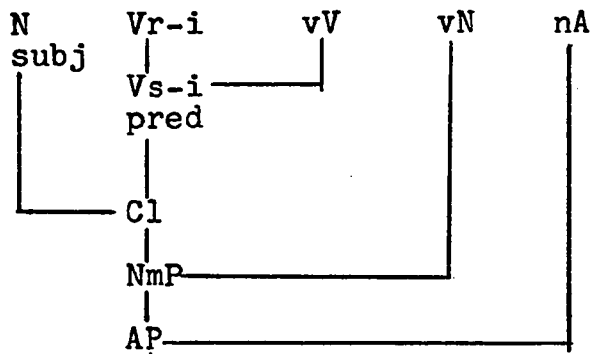
360. Adverbial phrases. The adverbial phrase is formed by the addition of a nA suffix (226) to a NP (310), NmP (340), or a PPP (350). The meaning and function of the nA suffixes is discussed in §§226, 414, 531.

ñuka wasi + manta 'from my house'

my house Abl

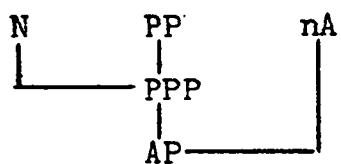


nina rupa + ku + k + ta 'fire burning' (direct
fire burn Cont Agt Acc object)



wasi uku + pi 'inside the house'

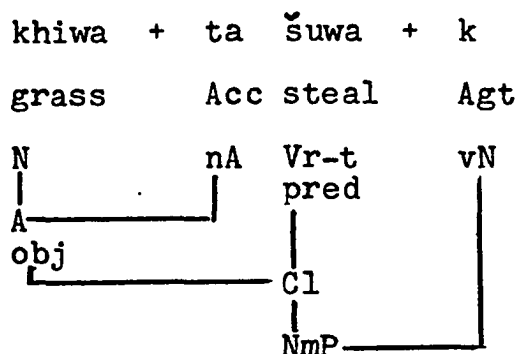
house inside Loc



Footnotes

1. When šuk is used as a determiner along with a plural noun or a mass noun it is to be translated 'some'.

2. khiwa šuwa 'grass thief' is to be distinguished from khiwata šuwak 'grass thief' which is to be analyzed:



'stealer of grass, one who steals grass'

3. In preparing this analysis I have profited much from discussions with Professor Sydney Lamb and Professor Floyd Lounsbury. Of course, any failings in the application of the analysis are my own responsibility.

Chapter 4 Lexotactics

400. Syntax. The major construction of syntax is the sentence. A sentence consists of one or more clauses and an optional connective (415). The simple sentence has only one clause (410). The compound sentence (420) has two or more clauses that are conjoined, and the complex sentence (430) has embedded clauses.

The quotative clause has a peculiar structure that is worthy of special mention (440). In addition there are various non-declarative sentences: Negatives (450), Interrogatives (460), and Imperatives (470). Conditional sentences have more than one clause (480).

410. Simple sentences. The simple sentence has only one obligatory constituent and that is the clause. In addition there is an optional connective (415). The clause itself has only one obligatory constituent and that is the predicate. The predicate is considered to be the head of the clause. There are three other, optional constituents of the clause: Subjects, objects, and adverbs.

Subjects and objects are directly related to the predicate by co-occurrence restrictions. Adverbs are constrained only in a probabilistic sense, ie. some adverbs are more appropriate to certain contexts than are others.

The major constituents of the simple sentence and their formal realizations are discussed in turn. (The method of constituent analysis is elaborated in §416).

411. Predicate. (Pred). The predicate may be either intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. This classification states the co-occurrence restrictions between the predicate and the objects.

Intransitive	No object
Transitive	Optional direct object
Ditransitive	Optional direct and indirect objects.

The intransitive predicate is either a Verb phrase (330), an intransitive verb root (211), or an intransitive verb stem (221).

Examples:

VP: mici + na ka + n 'he has to be pastor'
 pastor Subs be 3 Pres

Vr-t	vN	Vr-i	vI
comp	aux		
VP	VP		
pred	pred		

Vr-I: ri 'to go'; muyu 'to move'
 ri + rka 'he went'
 go 3 P

Vr-i	vI
pred	pred

79

Vs-i: uya + ri + rka 'he was heard'

 hear M-p 3 P

 Vr-t vV-i vI

 | |

 Vs-i ——— |

 pred

The transitive predicate is either a transitive verb root (211), or a transitive verb stem (221).

Examples:

Vr-d: ku + y 'give it (to someone)'

 give Imp

 Vr-d vI

 pred

Vs-d: riksi + ci + ška 'he got someone

 know Caus 3 Pf to know someone

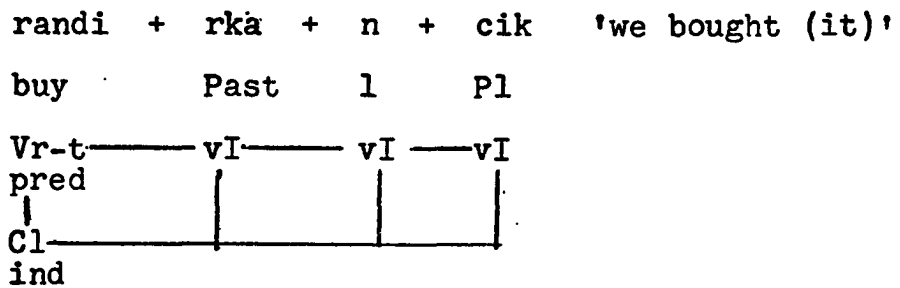
 Vr-t vV-t vI else'

 | |

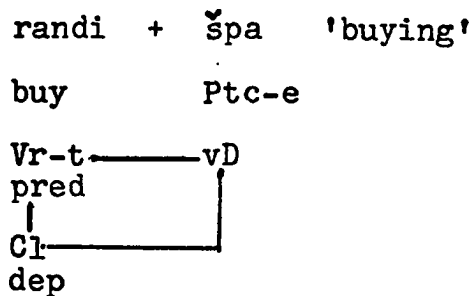
 Vs-d ——— |

 pred

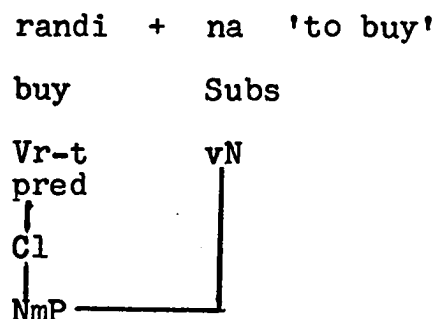
If the predicate is the head of an independent clause, it then takes a vI suffix which agrees with the subject (whether overt or covert) in person and number, unless the subject calls for a third person plural. In that case the plural may be omitted from the verb (223). The diagram is intended to illustrate the dual function of the vI suffixes as Tense, Person, Number markers and as markers of the independent clause.



If the predicate is the head of a dependent clause (420), then it has a vD suffix (222), which indicates whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same or different from that of the main clause (whether overt or covert again). Again the diagram must indicate the relation between the verb and its person marker, and the relation between the clause and its marker of dependent status.



If the predicate is the head of an embedded clause (430), there is neither agreement with an overt subject, nor indication of a covert subject. Hence there is no connection between the vN suffix (224) and the predicate.



412. Subject. (subj). The subject is an optional constituent. Agreement with the predicate is discussed above in §411.

The formal units that may be subjects are:

Personal pronouns (231)

Demonstrative pronouns (231)

Proper nouns (310)

Indefinites (232) except *mašna* 'how much'

and *may* 'somewhere'

Nouns (211)

Noun phrases (310)

Nominals (224)

Nominal phrases (340).

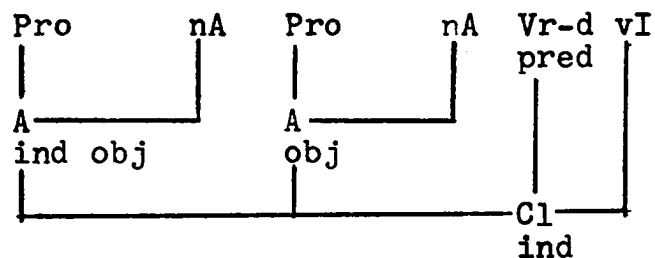
413. Objects. (obj). There are two objects, a direct (obj) and an indirect (ind obj). Both are optional, even when the predicate is transitive or ditransitive (411).

Formally both objects are either Adverbials (226) or Adverbial phrases (360). The direct object usually has the accusative suffix and the indirect the dative. When this is not the case, the exception is conditioned by the verb that is functioning as predicate. Verbs that are found with such patterns are marked in the dictionary. One example is the verb *rura* Vr-d 'to play a trick on'. Both objects are marked with the accusative. (*Rura* also has the meaning 'to make; to create' as a transitive verb.)

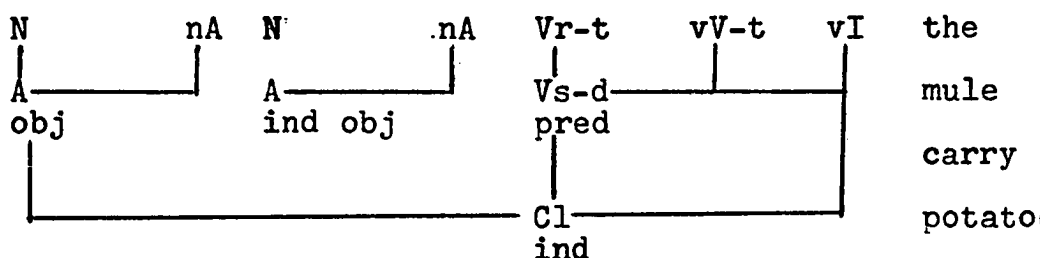
Examples:

ñuka + man cay + ta ku + y 'give me that'

I Dat that Acc give Imp



papa + ta mula + man apa + ci + ška 'he
potatoes Acc mule Dat carry Caus 3 Pf made



414. Adverbs. (a). Adverbs are optional and unrelated to the predicate except in a probabilistic way. That is, a predicate referring to motion is more likely to take a locative in the same clause than is some other type of predicate.

There are six classes of adverbs. While the classes are based on semantic criteria, there are both formal and distributional reasons for including the classification in the syntax. The formal makeup of the classes is discussed in this section. The distribution of the various adverbs is given in §416.

The adverbs are:

temporal (temp)

locative (loc)

manner (man)
 motivational (mot)
 accompaniment (accp)
 benefactive (ben).

The first four classes give information about the setting of the action indicated by the verb; the second group of two gives information about some of the participants involved. This type of information is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

414a. Temporal adverbs. (temp). Temporal adverbs are either members of the word class adverbs (237) or else are adverbials formed from the following nouns and suffixes (227).

Nouns:	ciši	'afternoon'
	giñi	'twilight'
	kaya	'morning'
	kayandik	'tomorrow' (with morning)
	kayna	'yesterday'
	pakari	'daybreak'
	kiža	'month'
	punža	'day'
	tuta	'night'
	wata	'year'
	zuyu	'dawn'

Suffixes: nA: kama 'Limitative'
 manta 'Ablative'
 nta 'Repetitive'
 pak 'Purposive'
 pi 'Locative'
 ta 'Accusative'.

The meaning of these suffixes, especially with reference to the temporal system is elaborated in §530.

414b. Locative adverbs. (loc). Locative adverbs are postpositions (238) and adverbials (226) or adverbial phrases (360).

It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of bases for locative adverbials. Any noun, adjective, or postposition with a locational meaning may be used with an nA suffix to form such an adverbial. Furthermore, in the appropriate context, pronouns and indefinites may also be used.

The suffixes used are:

kama 'Limitative'
 man 'Dative'
 manta 'Ablative'
 pi 'Locative'
 ta 'Accusative'
 wan 'Accompaniment'.

See §520 for a discussion of the meanings of these suffixes in a locational use.

414c. Manner adverbs. (man). There are three formal categories of manner adverbs: Adverbials formed from Adjectives with ta nA 'Accusative'; Adverbials formed from nouns with wan nA 'Accompaniment'; and Postpositions or Postpositional phrases.

Adverbials formed with ta nA 'Accusative' (226):

alajata 'nicely' (nice)
 ackata 'extremely' (much)
 ažiata 'well' (good, fine)
 žakinayakta 'sadly' (that which becomes
 an object for sadness)

etc.

Adverbials formed with wan nA 'Accompaniment' (226):

makiwan 'with the hand'
 yakunaywan 'with hunger'
 azadonwan 'with a hoe'
 etc.

PP: šina 'thus' (238)

PPP: cašna 'like that' (350)

kašna 'like this'

ñuka šina 'like me'

414d. Motivational adverbs. (mot). The term motivation is intentionally ambiguous in order that the primary sense of both cause and purpose may be indicated. These adverbs are adverbials formed with three of the nA suffixes:

man nA 'Dative'

manta nA 'Ablative'

pak nA 'Benefactive-purposive' (226).

Examples:

ñuka + ncik + manta 'because of us'

1 PL Abl

Pro ——— nN nA
|
A —————

pay + pak 'for him'

he B-p

Pro nA
|
A ———

riku + na + man 'in order to see'

see Subs All

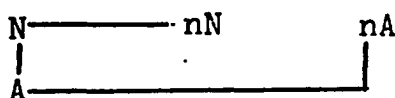
Vr-t Vn nA
|
NmP ———
|
AP ————— See also §540.

414e. Accompaniment. (accp). Adverbs of accompaniment are Adverbials (226) or Adverbial phrases (360) formed with wan nA 'Accompaniment'.

See §510 for a discussion of the roles indicated by this adverb.

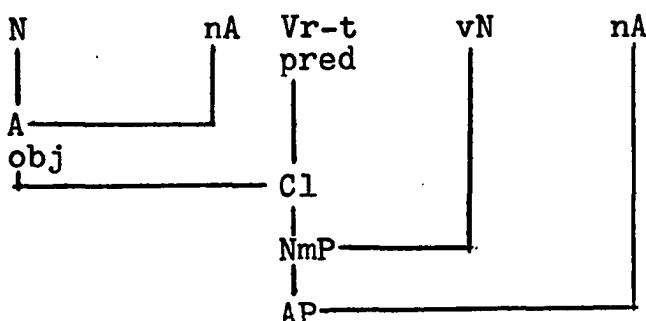
pato + kuna + wan 'with the ducks'

duck Pl Accp



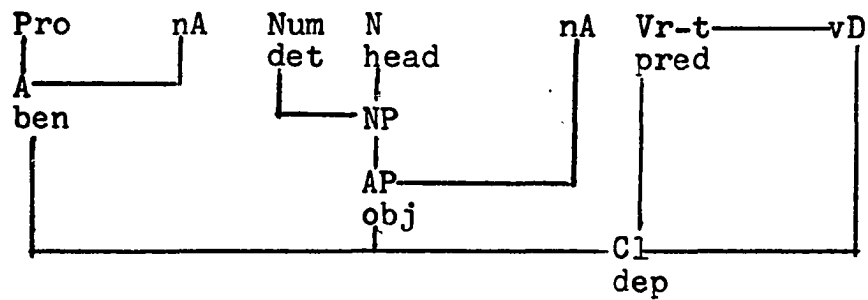
burro + ta cari + ška + wan 'with the possession

burro Acc has Res Accp of a burro'



414f. Benefactive adverbs. (ben). These are formed with the pak nA 'Benefactive-purposive' suffix (226). The base for the suffix must be anything capable of realizing the beneficiary role in the semology, usually a noun denoting an animate being (510).

pay + pak šuk warmi + ta maska + špa
 he B-p a wife Acc seek Ptc-e



'looking for a wife for him'

415. Connectives. (con). We may say that connectives stand outside the clause, since the function of the connective is to relate the entire sentence to the surrounding discourse.

There are two classes of connective: Spanish conjunctions (239) and Quichua adverbs (236). Some of the Quichua connectives are also adverbials or adverbial phrases, usually of the type that function as manner or motivational adverbs.

The most common Quichua forms are:

kutin Adv 'then, next' (237)

ña Adv 'now, at this time' (533)

šinažatak 'in just the same way' (237)

cašna 'like that' (350)

kašna 'like this' (350)

caymanta A 'for that reason' (226)

cayoi A 'in that situation' (226)

Spanish connectives are found only in sentence initial position. A Quichua connective, on the other hand need not be. There may be other, pre-posed constituents preceding it (416).

Except for the connective *šinažatak* 'likewise', connectives do not take enclitics. This restriction is useful in disambiguating pre-posed adverbs from true connectives.

For example: *cašnami kazarirkani* 'that's how it was that
Adv-En I started out'
cašna šuk wasiman kucuyamuk nin 'so they drew
con near a house'

(The form *šinažatak* 'likewise' shows this formal analysis:

šina ža a tak 'just exactly so'
so just Diff
Adv En En)

The adverb *kutin* 'then; again' has very different meanings depending on whether it functions as connective or adverb. As connective it means 'then, next'; as adverb it means 'again, times'.

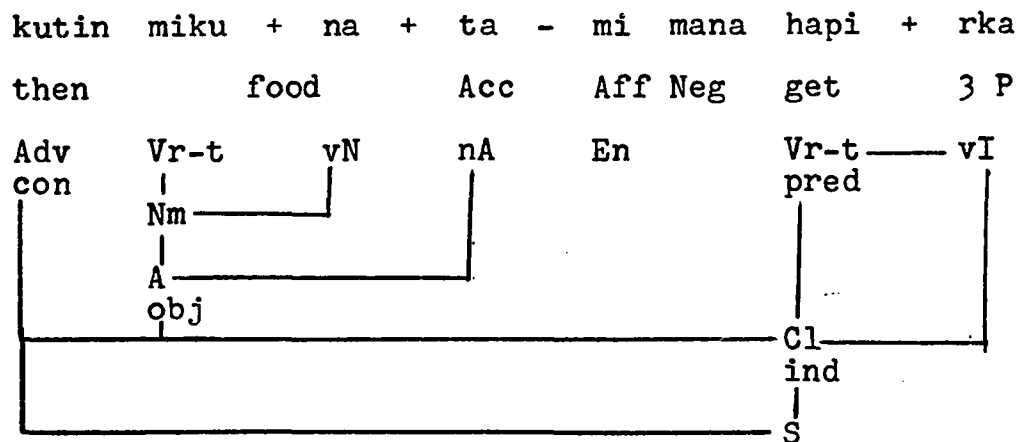
kutin kimsa nišpa 'then saying "three"
then three saying

kimsa kutin nišpa 'saying (it) three times'
three times saying

416. Order and variation of the constituents of the simple sentence. First a formal summary is given of the constituents and then the variations in order are presented with examples.

The formal information of the previous five sections may be summarized with a diagram (page 93).

In the presentation of examples, it is necessary to give some sort of constituent analysis. The format used here is a summary of the analyses presented in chapters 2, 3, and 4. The conventions are summarized here with a short example.



- 1) The example is given in morphonic notation with morpheme boundaries indicated by +, enclitic boundaries indicated by -, and word boundaries indicated by space. e.g. miku + na
- 2) Glosses are given for each word and morpheme. The glosses are either meanings or lexeme labels. e.g. food

- 3) Each morpheme is labelled according to either its morphotactic category or its word class. e.g. Vr-t
- 4) Constructions are indicated by means of abbreviations that are capitalized. e.g. Cl, S
- 5) Constituents are indicated by means of abbreviations in small letters. e.g. obj
- 6) Construction labels are put under the head of the construction. e.g. Cl is under the predicate.
- 7) Enclitics do not enter into the syntax of the sentence, hence they are labelled but no lines are drawn to connect them with the rest of the constituents.

The reader will notice that the format is that of a string constituent analysis rather than an immediate constituent analysis. String constituent (SC) analysis yields fewer levels of construction than immediate constituent (IC) analysis. This is primarily because the IC analysis makes use of dichotomous cuts, SC analysis does not. However, the levels of analysis are also different in kind: each node of an SC analysis represents a formal construction which is labelled. Most nodes of an IC analysis are not labelled, or at least need not be. (As adopted into the phrase structure component of a transformational grammar, IC analyses have more extensive labelling.) Not only are SC constructions labelled, they also have meanings and/or functions of their own. For example, an adverbial phrase may function as a temporal adverb or as a connective depending on its position in the sentence (415).

The primary reason for adopting a basically SC analysis in this grammar is tactic simplicity. This simply means that only formal constructions that have identifiable meanings or functions in other constructions are acknowledged. Thus the principle of dichotomous cutting used in IC analysis is not carried out, but the principle of expansions most definitely is.

There are a number of variations in constituent order. A close look shows that in most of the variations only one constituent is out of its usual place and in fact is found in either clause initial or clause final position. (Except that if the clause is the first clause of the sentence, an item may precede the connective, which is itself outside the clause.) If we call the former pre-posing and the latter post-posing, and add the name of the constituent involved, then we can readily refer to the variant orders. In this way, the order object-subject-predicate would be called object pre-posing.

Pre-posing seems to have the discourse function of emphasizing or highlighting the constituent involved. Post-posing is often connected with compound sentence formation (420) or apposition (417).

Below are given in some detail examples of each of the common orders for simple sentences and clauses.

S

con (415)

Cl

Conj subj(412)

a (414)

pred (411)

Adv N accp loc temp man ben ind obj obj i Vr-i mot

A Pro A Adv Adv Adv A A A VS-i A

Ind A A A AP AP VP AP

Nm AP AP AP t Vr-t

NP PPP VS-t

NmP d Vr-d

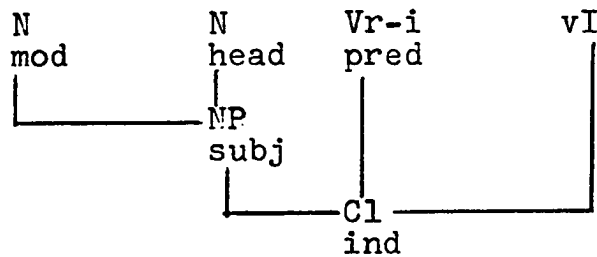
VS-d

All constituents are optional except the predicate.

S P: unmarked clause:

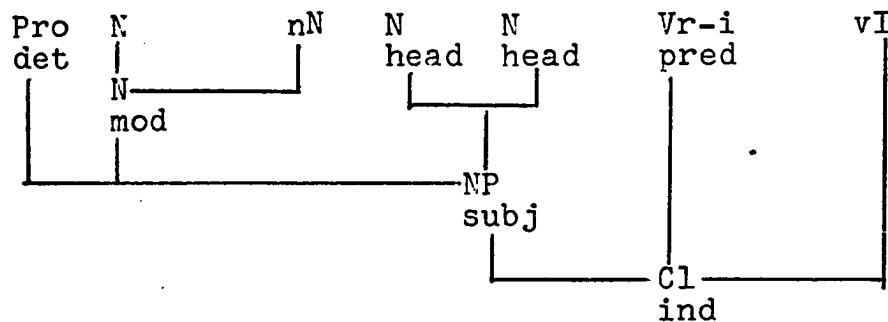
kayandik punža pakari + ška 'the following day dawned'

tomorrow day dawn 3 Pf



cay mama + pak misi atižpa phiña + rka

the woman Poss cat chicken be angry 3 P

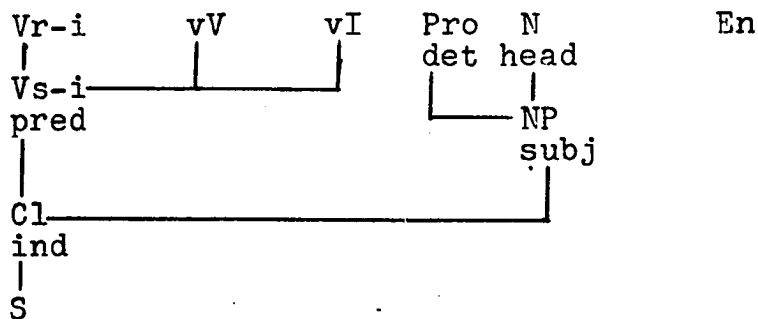


'the woman's cat and chicken got angry'

P S: subject post-posing:

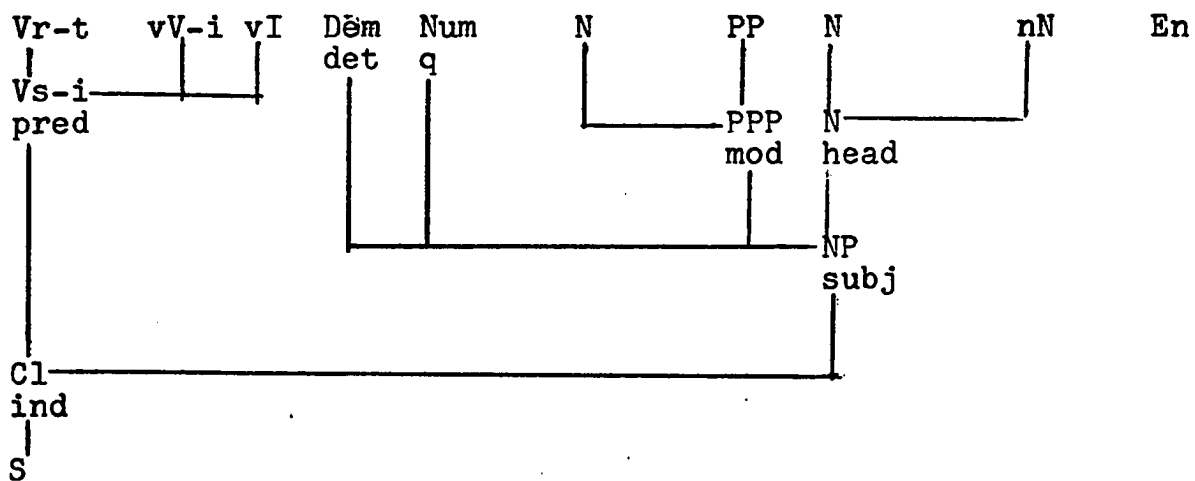
puri + ku + ška cay wamra - ka 'the boy was

walk Cont 3 Pf the boy Th walking'



En

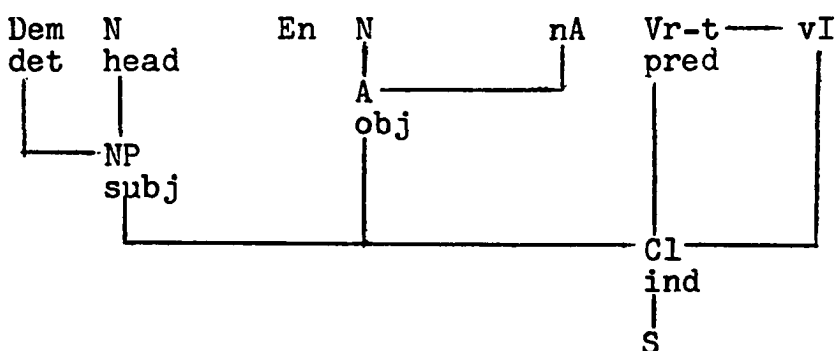
saki + ri + rka cay kanfis wawki ndik wamritu + kuna - ka
 leave M-p P the seven brother to- boy Fl Th
 gether



'the seven brothers together were left'

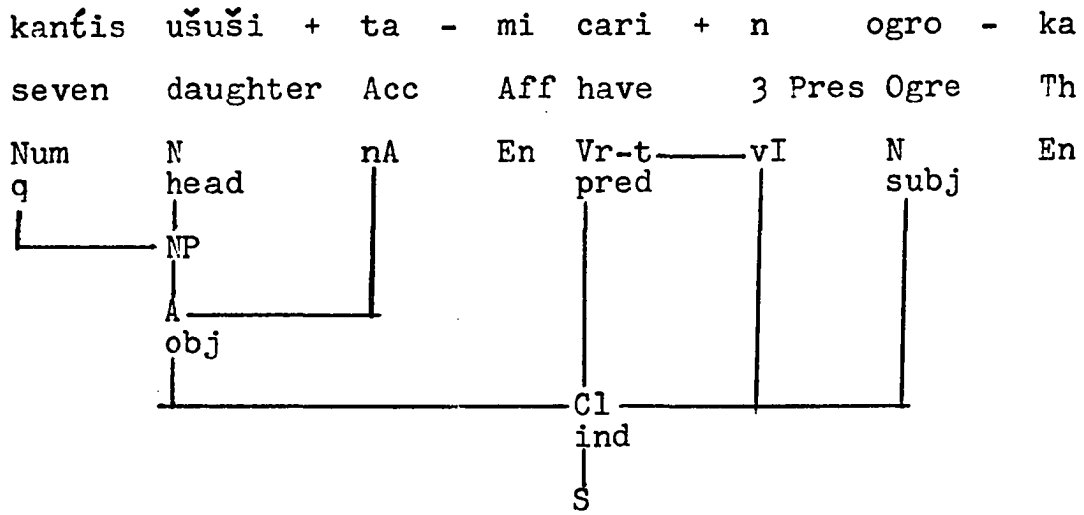
S O P: unmarked clause:

cay runa - ka cagra + ta cari + ška
 the man Th field Acc have 3Pf



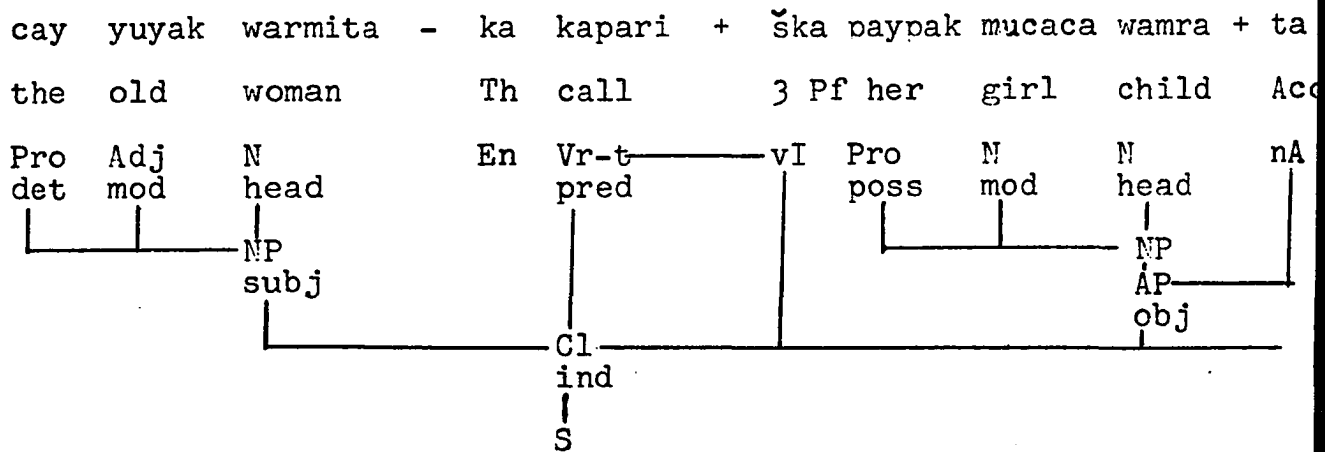
'the man had a field'

O P S: subject post-posing:



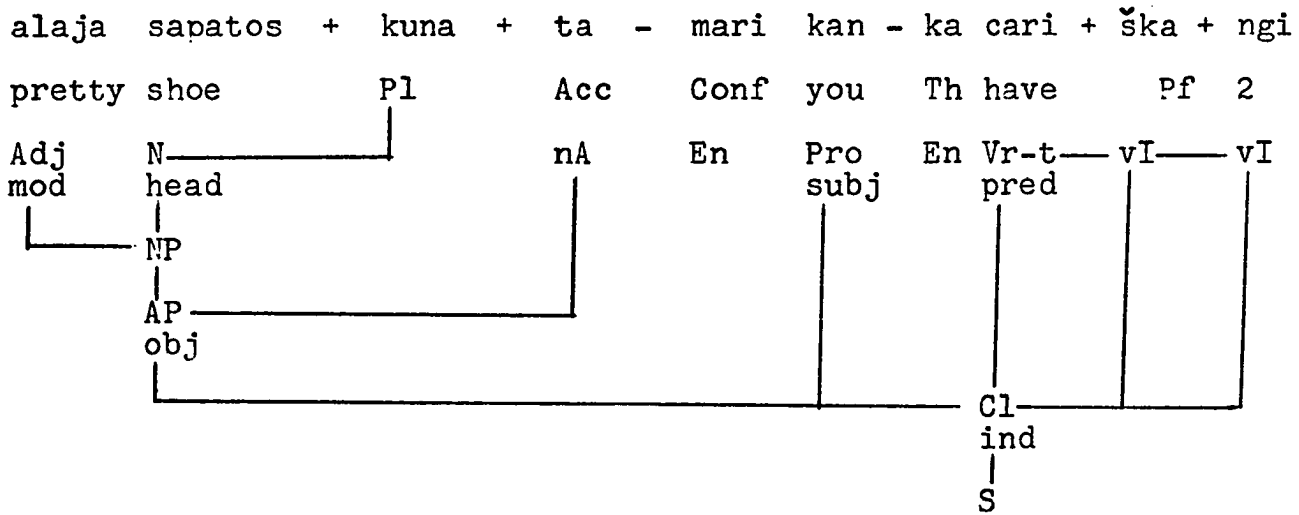
'the Ogre has seven daughters'

S P O: object post-posing:



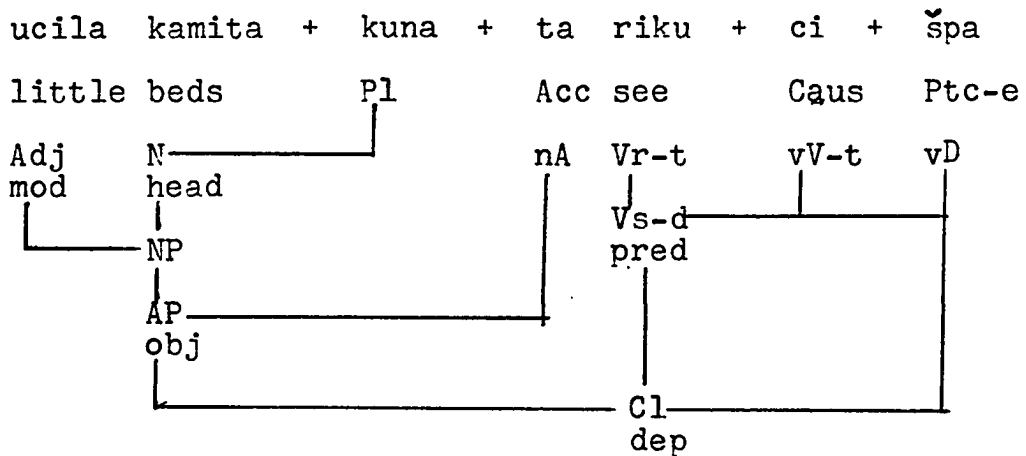
'the old woman called her girl child'

O S P: object pre-posing:



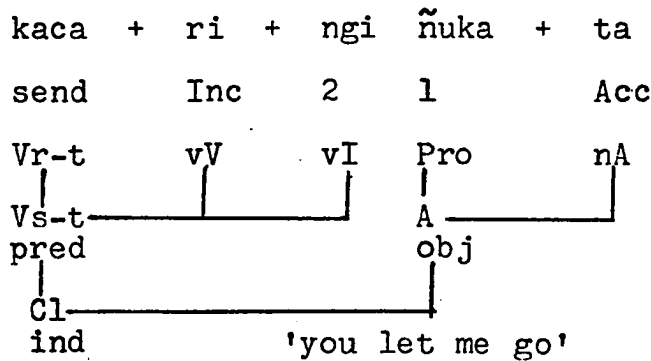
'you certainly have pretty shoes'

O P: unmarked clause:



'showing them the little beds'

P O: object post-posing:



Intransitive clauses with adverbs. By far the majority of intransitive clauses that have adverbs only have one. Of those that have two, the following patterns obtain.

1) Intransitive clauses with two adverbs and a subject.

A S A P

A A S P

S A A P

S P A A

S A P A

A S P A

2) Intransitive clauses with two adverbs and no subject:

A A P

A P A

P A A

3) Intransitive clauses with three adverbs and no subject:

A A P A

(This pattern is extremely unusual; this may account for the fact that there are not more configurations for three adverbs.)

The relative order of adverbs in 1, 2, and 3 is that given in §414: temporal, locative, manner, and motivational adverbs.

There are some instances of temporal and locative post-posing in the S A P A configuration, and of locative post-posing in the A P A.

Transitive clauses with adverbs. The patterns that are found are these. (Again there may be statistical limitations of the corpus since it is rather unusual to find transitive clauses with adverbs.)

S A O P

S O A P

A S O P

A O P

O A P

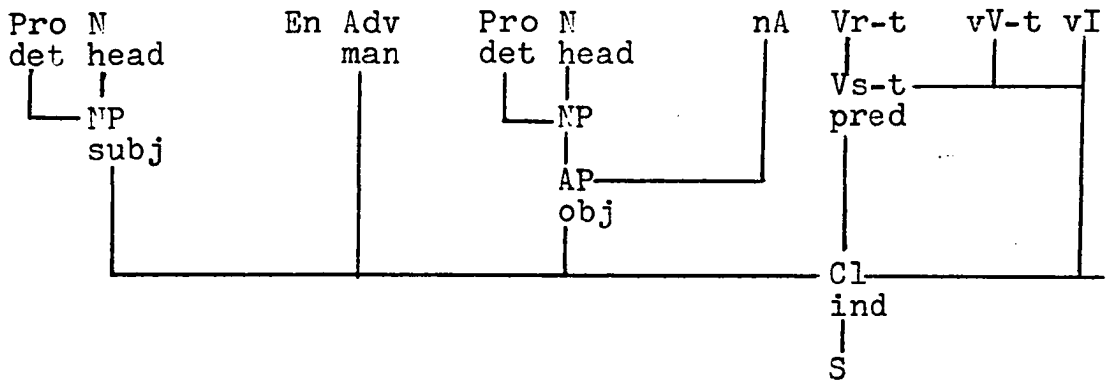
A P O

O P A

Examples:

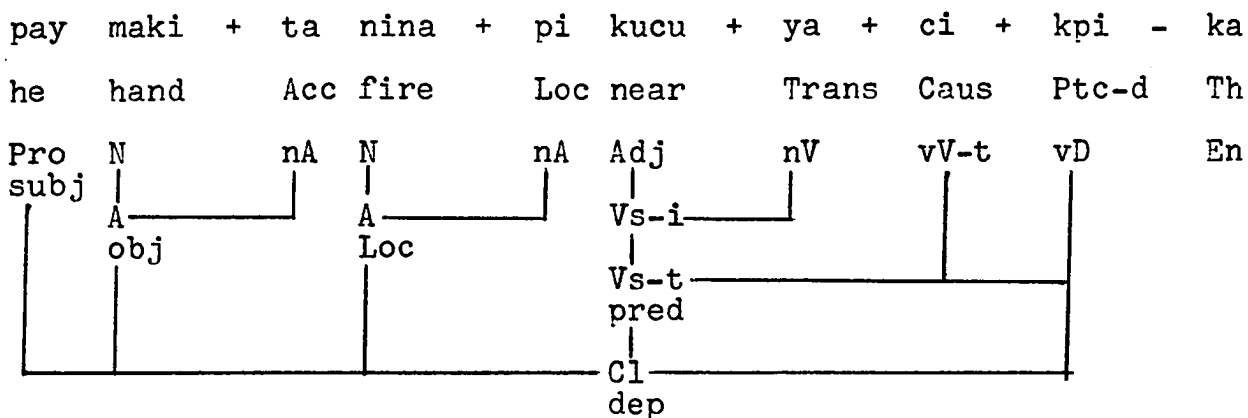
S A O P: unmarked order:

cay soltera - ka ratito cay maskara + ta cura + ri + ška
 the girl Th sudden the mask Acc put M-p 3 Pf
 ly



'the girl suddenly put the mask on'

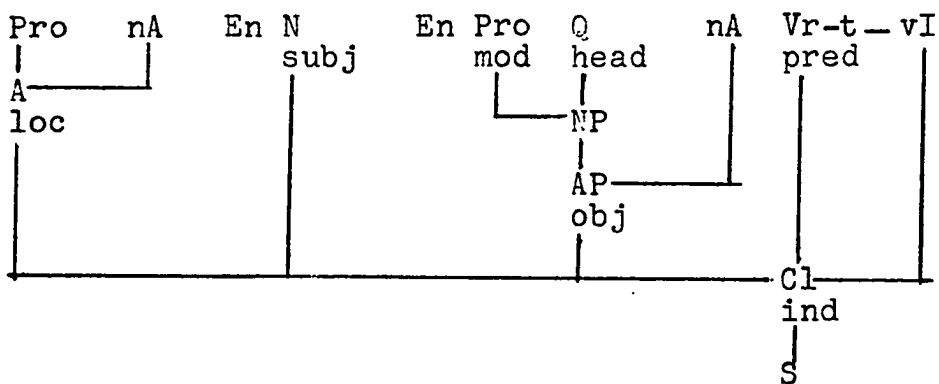
S O A P: unmarked order:



'he was putting his hand near the fire'

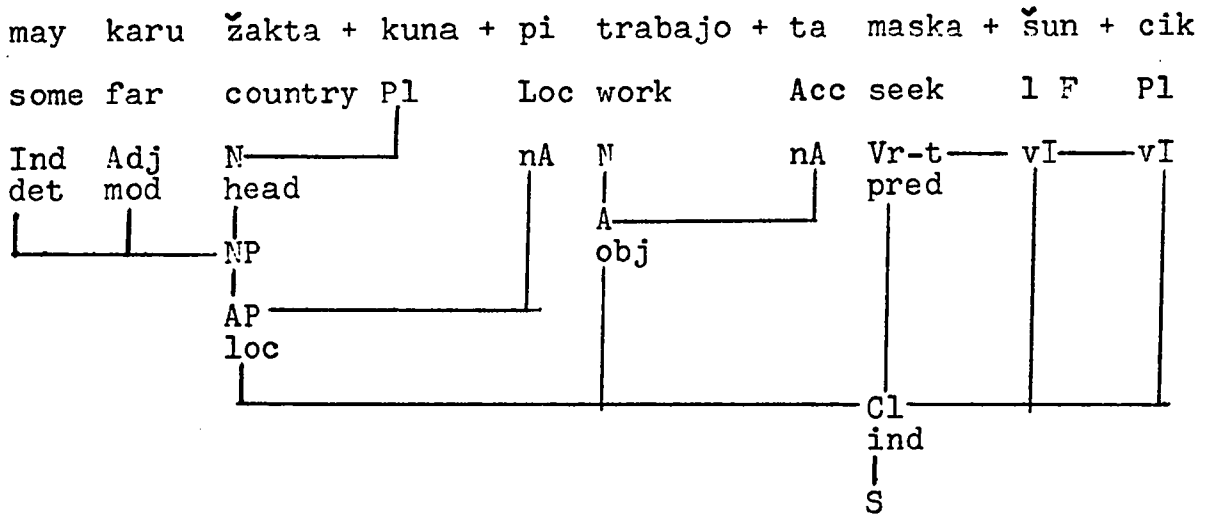
A S O P: adverb pre-posing:

kay	+	pi	-	ka	ogro	-	ka	kay	tukuy	+	ta	cari	+	ška
this		Loc		Th	Ogre		Th	this	all		Acc	have		3 Pf
place														



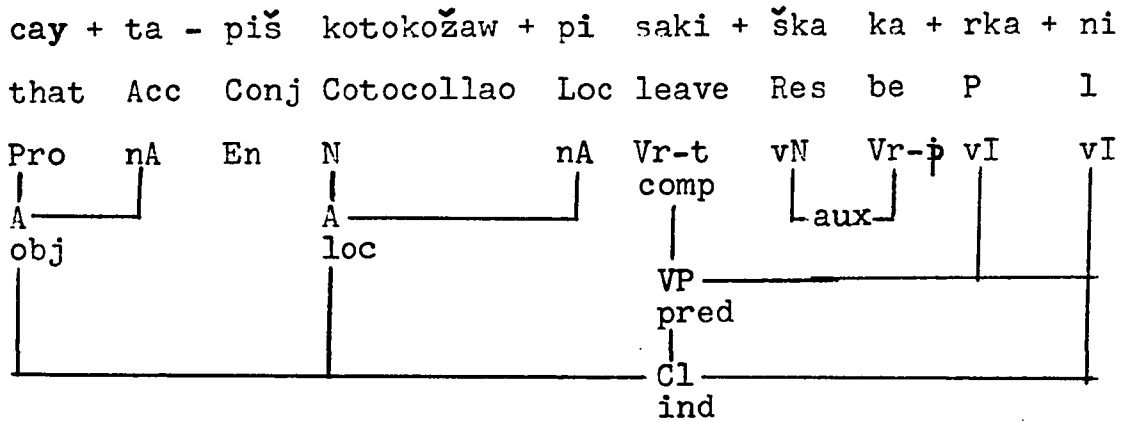
'here the Ogre has all this'

A O P: unmarked clause:



'we will look for work in some distant countries'

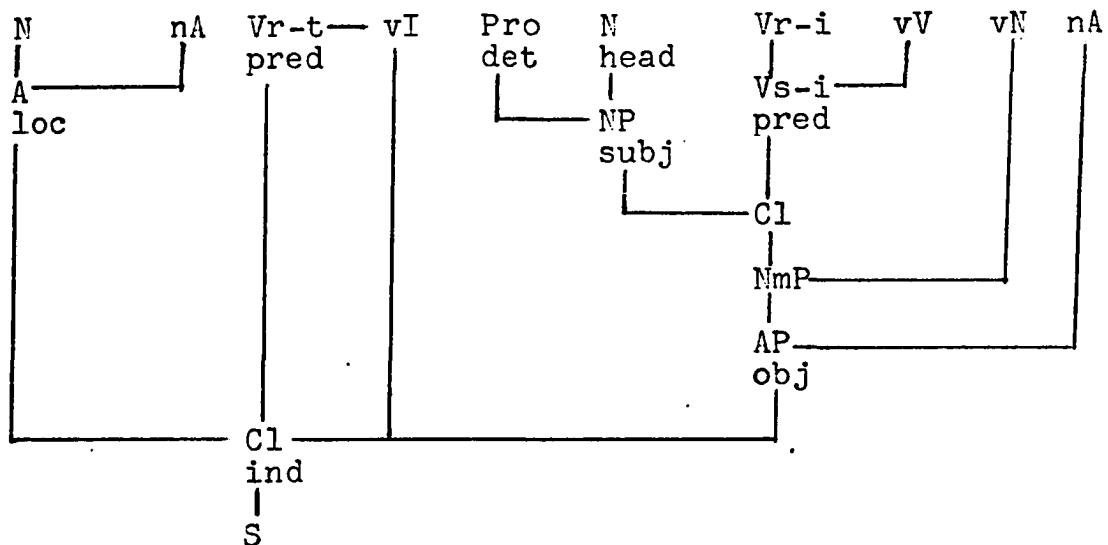
O A P: object pre-posing:



'I had left that in Cotocollao too'

A P O: object post-posing:

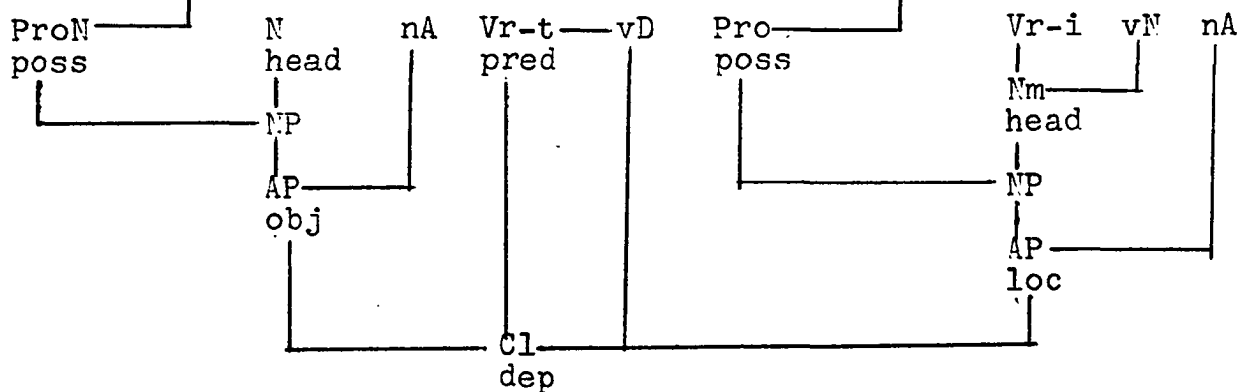
pungu + pi riku + ŝka cay expelma rupa + ku + k + ta
 door Loc see 3 Pf the candle burn Cont^f Agt Acc



'in the doorway he saw the candle burning'

O P A: adverb post-posing:

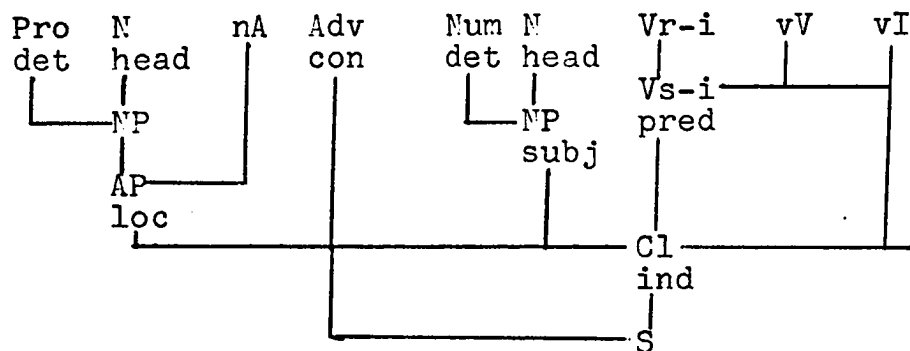
dyos + pak ŝimi + ta cari + cun ñuka + ncik rima+ y + pi
 God poss word Acc have Cns-d l Pl speak Inf Loc



'so that we may have God's word in our language'

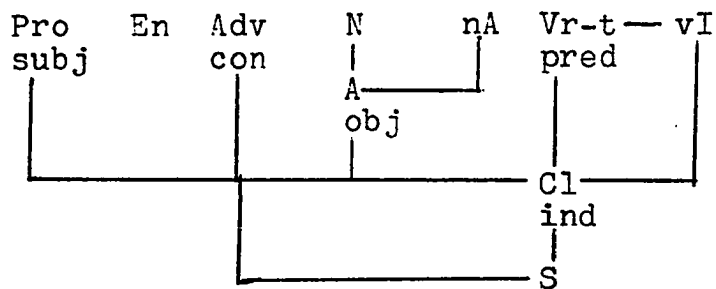
Connectives in second position due to pre-posing of other constituents:

cay uri + ta kutin šuk runa pasa + ku + ška
 the hill Acc then a man pass Cont 3 Pf



'then along the hill a man was passing'

pay - ka kutin ñan + ta haai + ška
 he Th then road Acc take 3 Pf



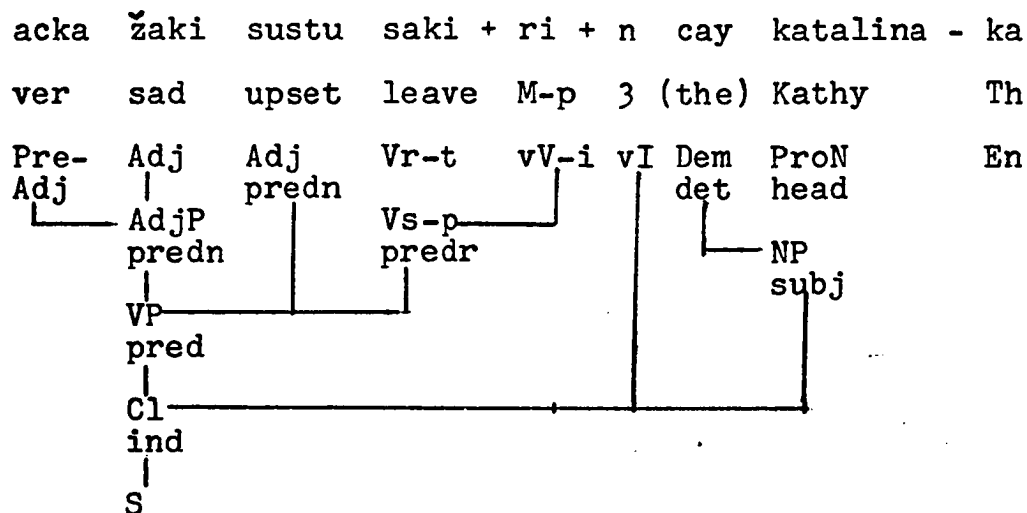
'then he took the road'

417. Multiple constituents. It sometimes happens that two or more items fulfill the same function in the sentence. There may be two subjects, two direct objects, two locative adverbs, two predications, etc.

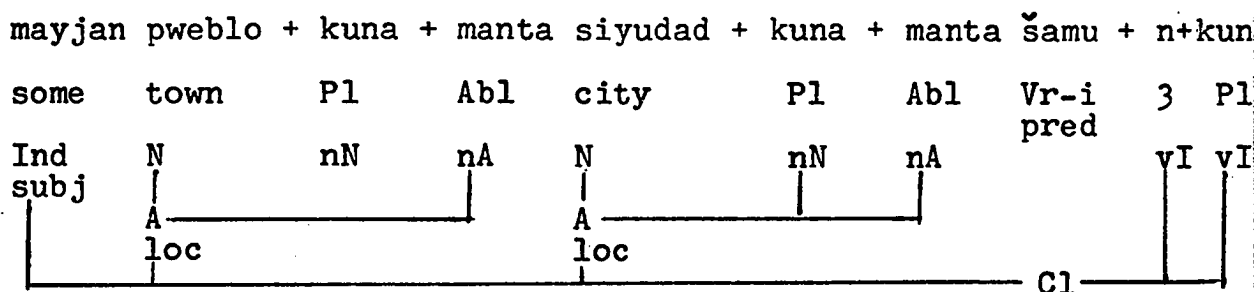
In such a case, there are two possibilities of order. One is that the several constituents are in sequence; the other is that one of them is post-posed. Where one constituent is post-posed, the construction seems to be apposition.

Examples are given below.

Sequenced multiple constituents:

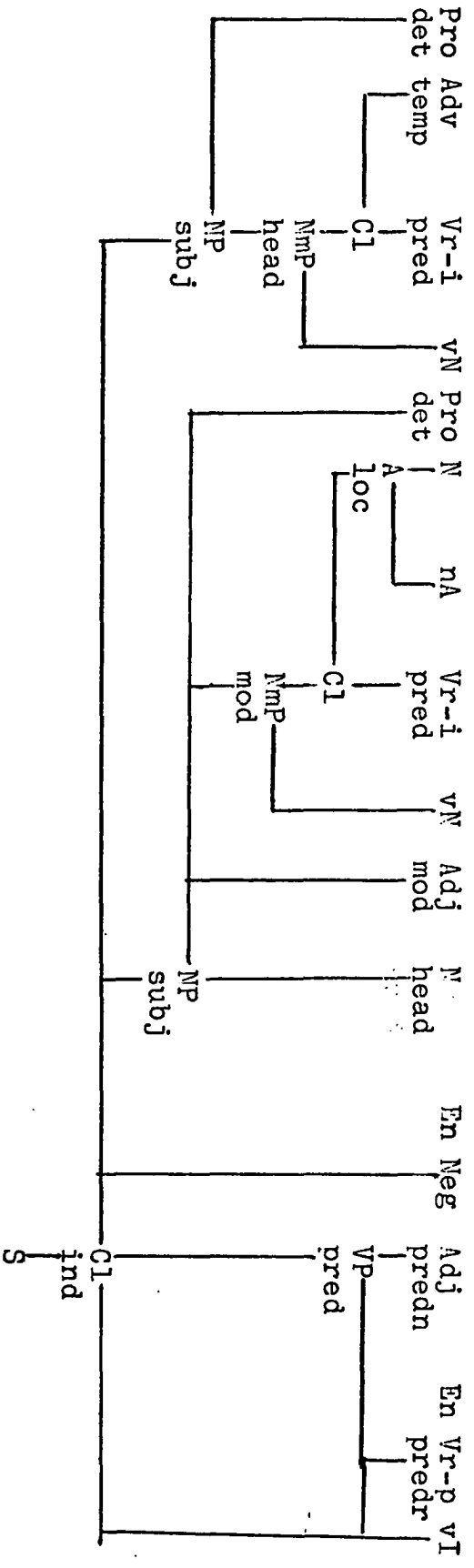


'Kathy was left very sad and upset'



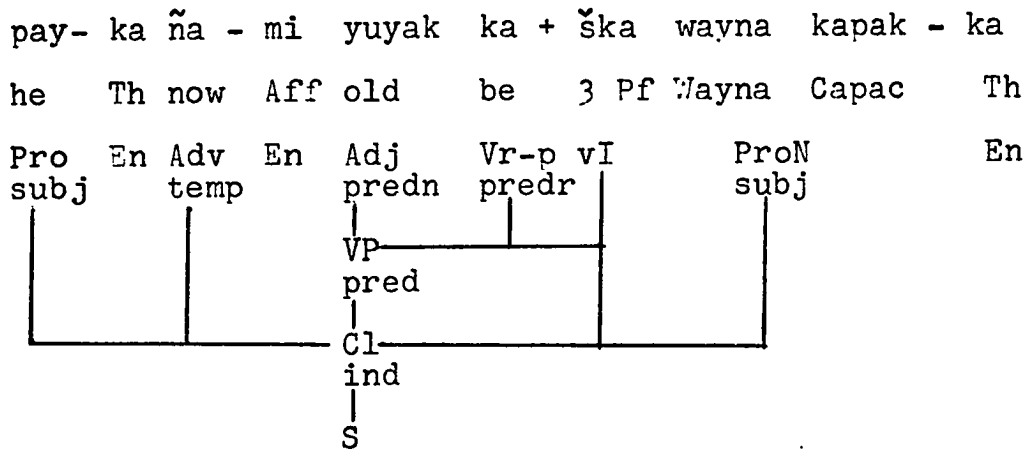
'some come from towns and cities'

cay kunanža tугy + k cay kara + 'manta žukši + k ucila patito - ka mana alaja + cu ka + ška
 the now hatch Agt the shell Abl come Agt small duck Th not pretty W-f be 3Pf

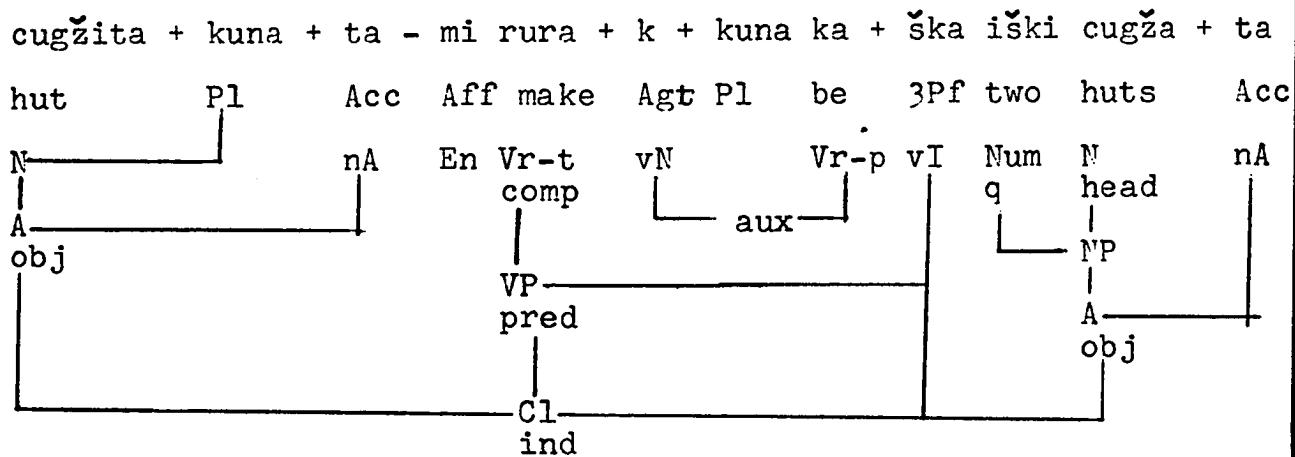


'the one who was hatching now, the little duck coming out of the shell, was not pretty'

Multiple constituents with one post-posed:

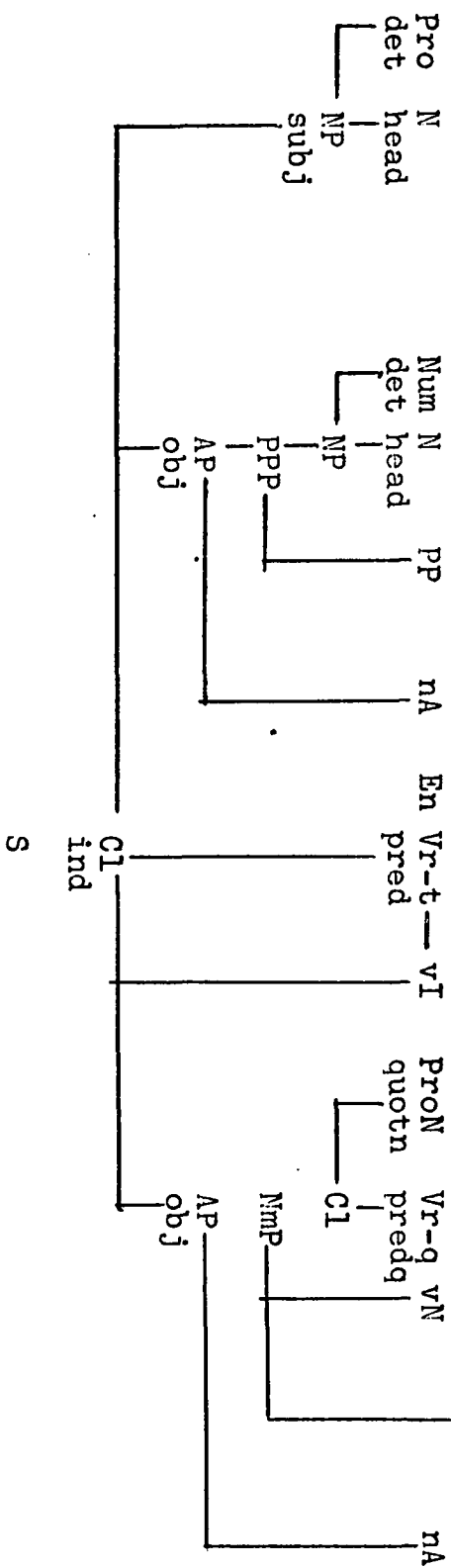


'now he was old, Wayna Capac was'



'they used to make little huts, two of them'

cay inka + kuna šuk koreo šina + ta - mi cari + ška faski ni + ška + kuna + ta
 the Inca Pl a post like Acc Aff have 3 Pf faski call Res Pl Acc
 system



'the Incas had something like a postal system, called faski'

420. Compound sentences. When a sentence is made up of two or more clauses, one clause is the main clause, the rest are subordinate. The verb of the main clause carries one of the vI suffixes to mark it for Tense, Person, and Number. (223) The verbs of the subordinate clauses are marked with the vD suffixes. (222)

The clauses of a sentence occur in various orders with respect to each other. The most common order is sequential. The other order is included, in which case one clause or more is included among the constituents of another clause.

If there are both špa vD 'Participle equivalent subject' and kpi vD 'Participle different subject' clauses in sequence with the main clause, there are two levels of subordination rather than just one. In such a case, the clause with kpi vD 'Ptc-d' as its head, acts as the main clause to all the špa vD 'Ptc-e' clauses preceding it (if any). This is crucial to the interpretation of the subjects of the subordinate clauses, as discussed in §222.

In the examples below, the structure of the individual clauses is not elaborated due to lack of space.

Simple sequence of clauses:

cay	espelmata	randišpa,	cagraman	yaykuna	pungupi	šayaciša
the	candle	buying	field	entrance	door	I-will-put
		Cl-dep			Cl-ind	

'after buying the candle, I will put it in the entrance to the field'

šina nikpika, mana kacariška espelmaka
 so saying not let go the candle

Cl-dep Cl-ind
 subordinate main

'after he said that, the candle still didn't let him go'

randišpaka, ninata hapicišpa, sakišpa, riška wasiman
 buying fire lighting leaving he-went home

Cl-dep Cl-dep Cl-dep Cl-ind

'he bought it, lit a fire, left it, and went home'

caypi tawkakuna tiyaricun, bankakunata curarkakuna
 there many sit benches put

Cl-dep Cl-ind

'they put up benches, so many people could sit there'

pay ňukata pušarka, misyonerokunaman riksicingapak
 he me led missionaries to get acquainted

Cl-ind Cl-dep

'he led me there, to get me acquainted with the missionaries'

Sequence with two levels of subordination:

pero cay rato, payka umata alsašna, wašaman tigrarikuknika,
 but that moment he head lifting back turning

caypi šayakuška šuk hatun animal ruku, uma sapa

there stood a big animal old head large-having

Cl-dep, Cl-dep; Cl-ind

sub main₁ main₂

'but that moment, when he lifted his head and turned back,
there was standing a large old animal with a large head'

kutin pozadata maskašpa, šamuška, durmingapak

then lodging seeking came in order to sleep

Cl-dep

Cl-ind Cl-dep

'then they came, looking for lodging in order to sleep'

Included order:

talves cay yuyak mamitaka, ama pi mozokuna kazaracun, cay šina
maybe the old woman not any lad should that like
marry

carirka

Cl-dep included in Cl-ind

had-it

'perhaps the old woman, so that no young man would marry
her, had it like that'

ña cay lulunkunaka, punža naktakoi, tugyaška

now the eggs days completed hatched

Cl-dep included in Cl-ind

'the the eggs, the days being completed, hatched'

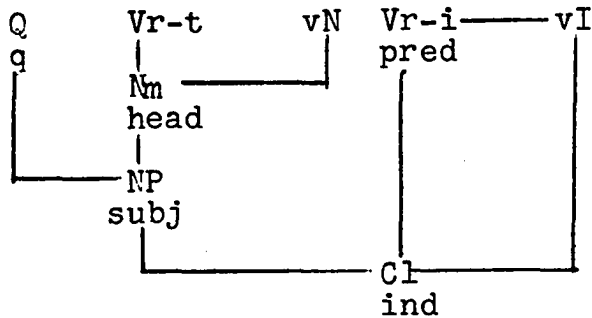
430. Complex sentences. Any sentence that contains a Nominal phrase (340) formed from a clause is said to be a complex sentence. These clauses may be spoken of as embedded clauses. Such embedded clauses function much as do other constituents. Examples are given here to show them as subjects, objects, modifiers, complements, and adverbs.

The order of constituents in a nominal phrase is constrained so that the verb is in last position. It is not clear whether there are rigid restrictions on the other constituents or not. (340)

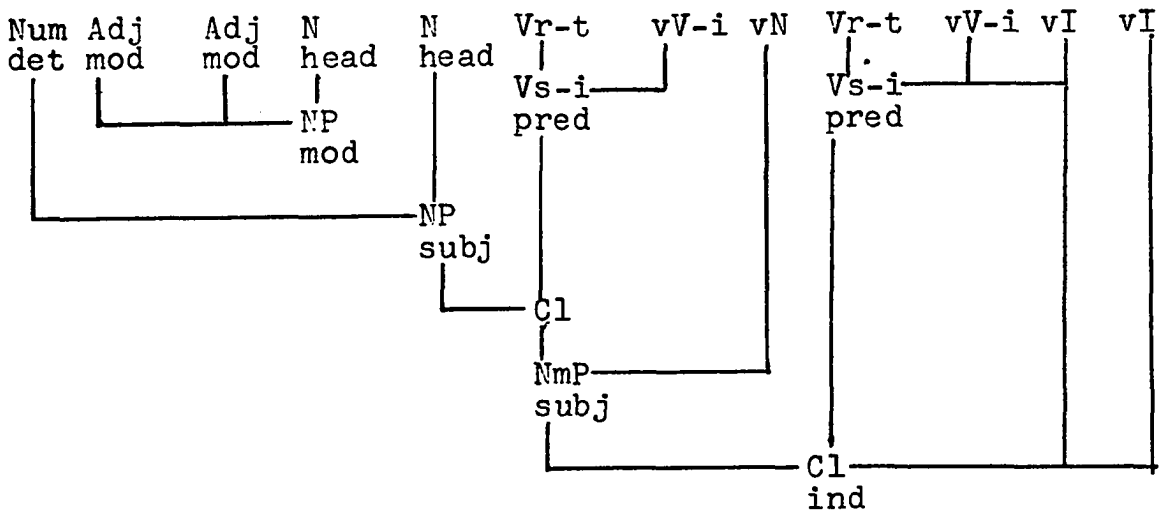
Embedded subjects.

acka riku + na tiya + rka 'there was much to see'

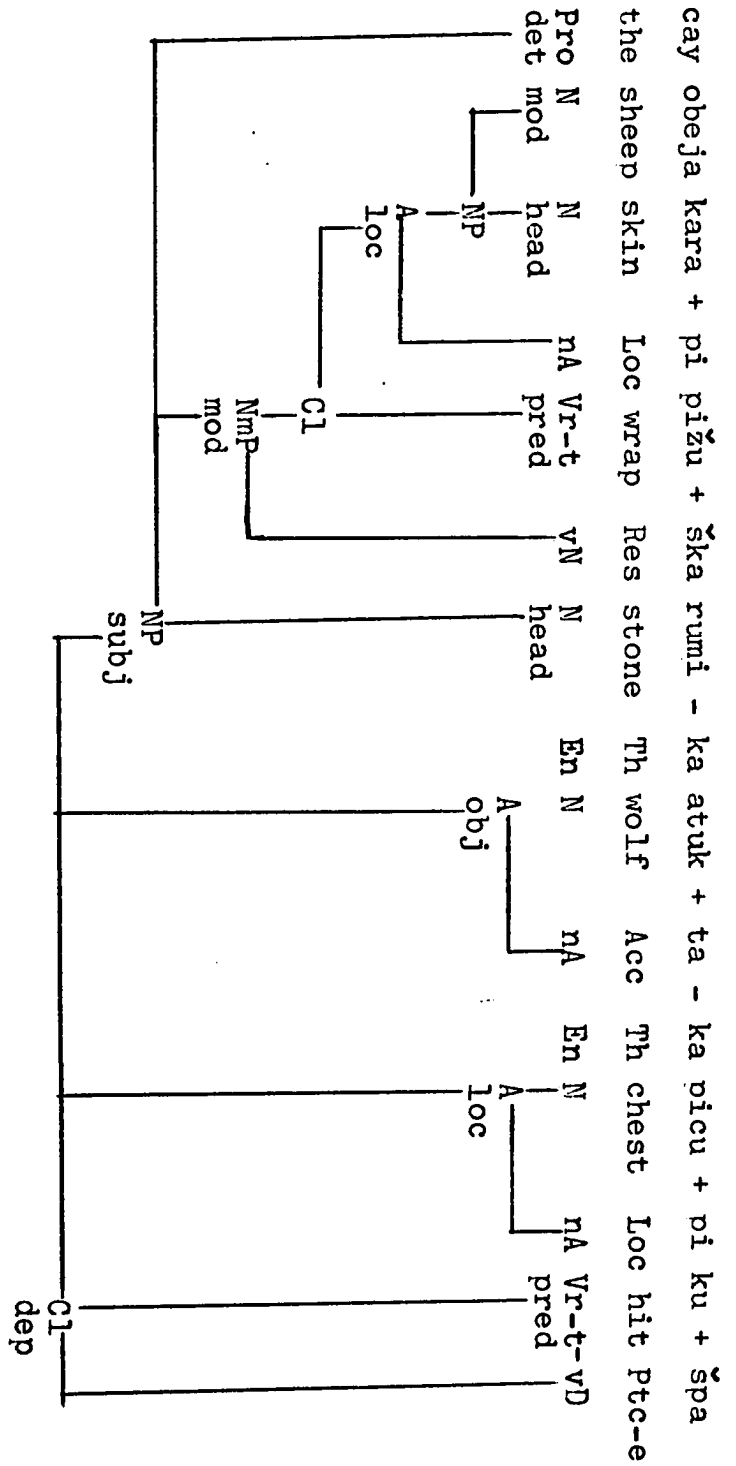
much see Subs exist 3 P



šuk medyo raku kunga ruku rima + ri + ška uya + ri + rka nin
 a half thick voice old talk M-p Res hear M-p 3 P Narr



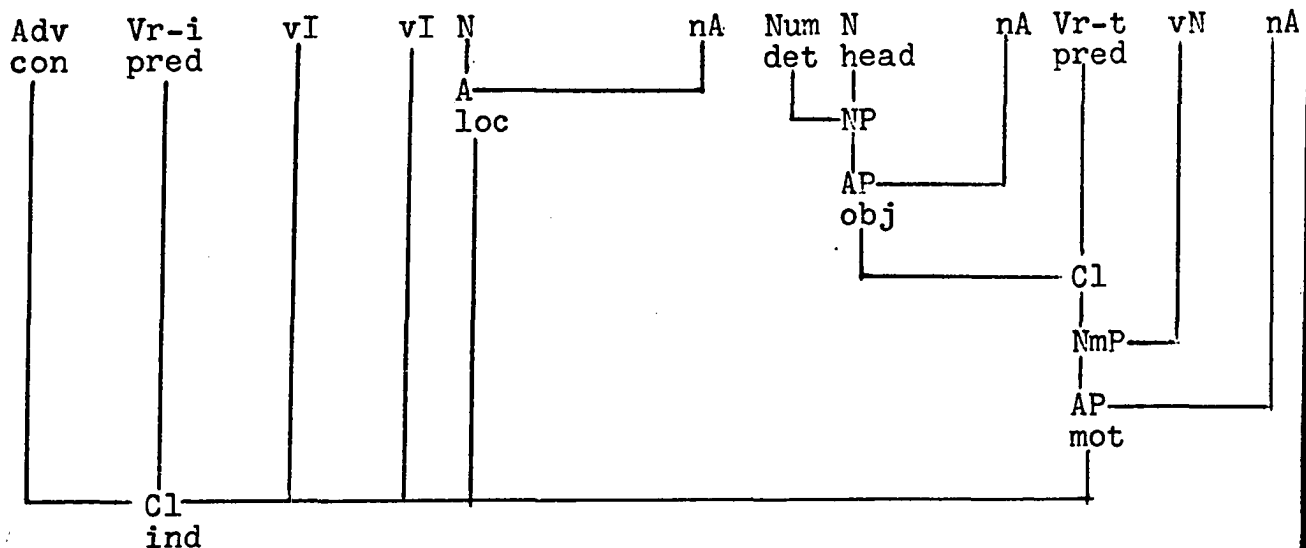
'there was heard an old man with a deep voice talking'

Embedded modifiers.

'the stone wrapped in the sheep-skin hit the wolf in the chest, ...'

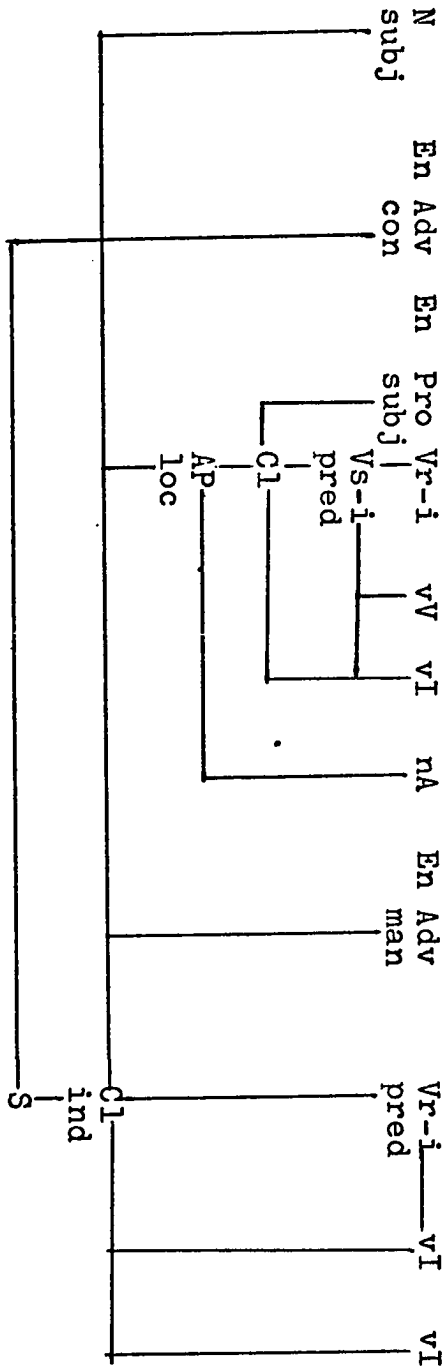
Embedded adverbs.

kutin tигра + rka + ni kotokožaw + man cay papel + ta apa + na + ma
 then return P 1 Cotocollao Dat the paper Acc bring Subs
 Da



'then I returned to Cotocollao to bring the paper'

yaku - ka ña - piš pay siri + ku + n pi - ka ratito hunda + k nin
 water Th now Conj 3 lie Con 3 Loc Th suddenly fill Impf Narr



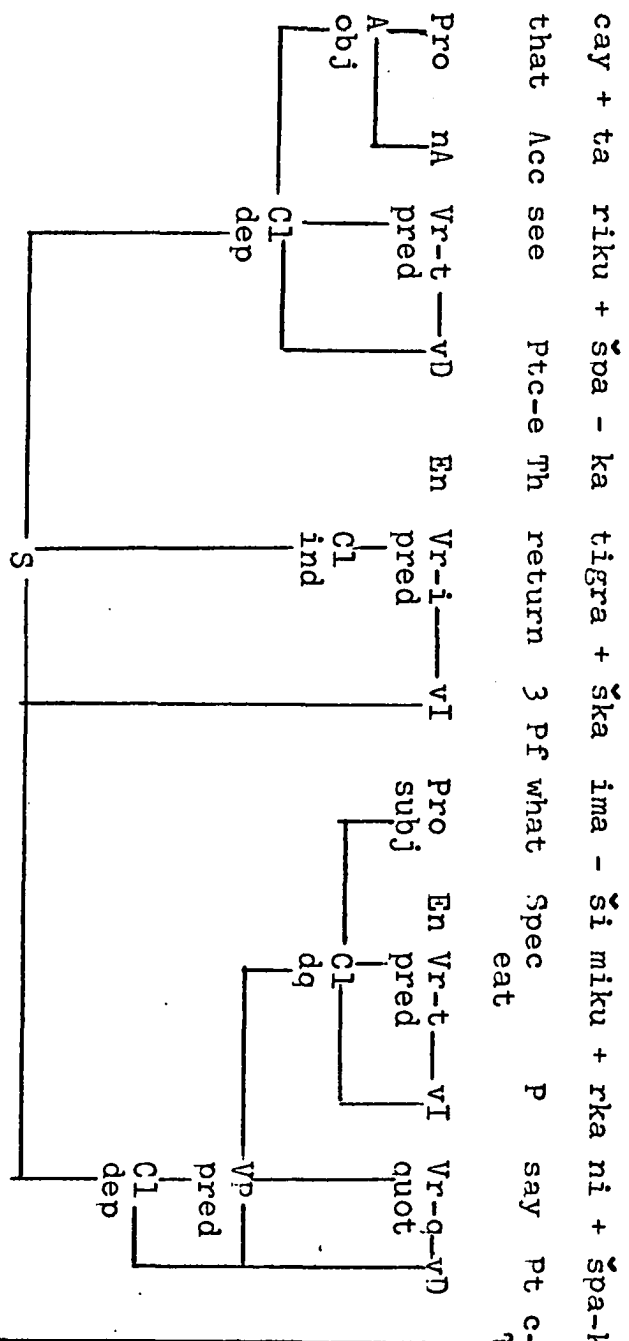
'the water suddenly fills up the place where he is lying'

440. Quotative sentences. A sentence that includes a quotative verb phrase is called a quotative sentence. There are four functional types of quotative sentence. They are: quotations, expressions of volition, narrative sentences, and onomatopoetic expressions.

The structure of the verb phrase involved in each of these is presented in §333. Examples of each type are given here.

Quotations:

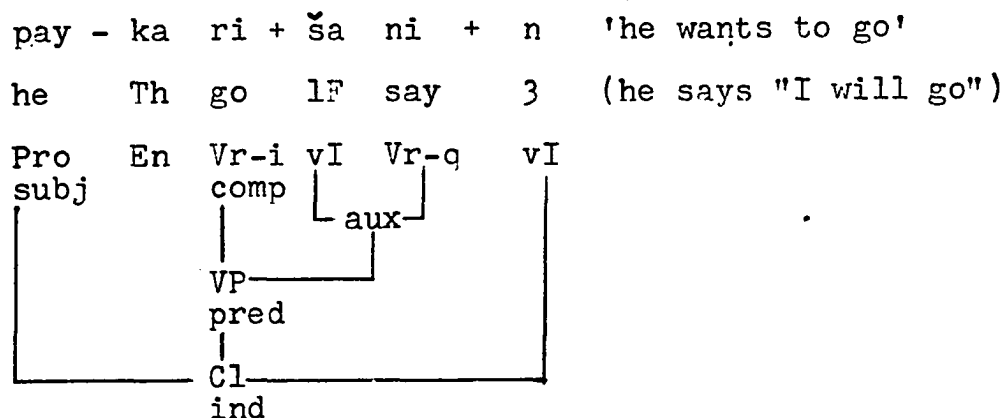
'seeing that, he returned, saying "what could be eating it?!"'



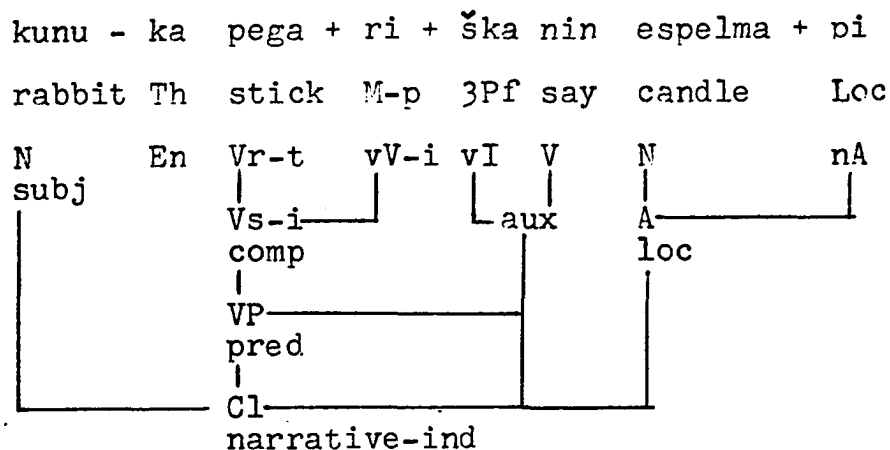
The head of a quotative verb phrase used for a direct quotation is the quotative verb. The quotation has no structural limitations on it; it can be anything someone has said. The quotative verb is inflected to agree with the subject of the sentence.

The other three types of quotative Verb phrase are in direct contrast with the above. They are crystallized forms as indicated in §333.

Volition:

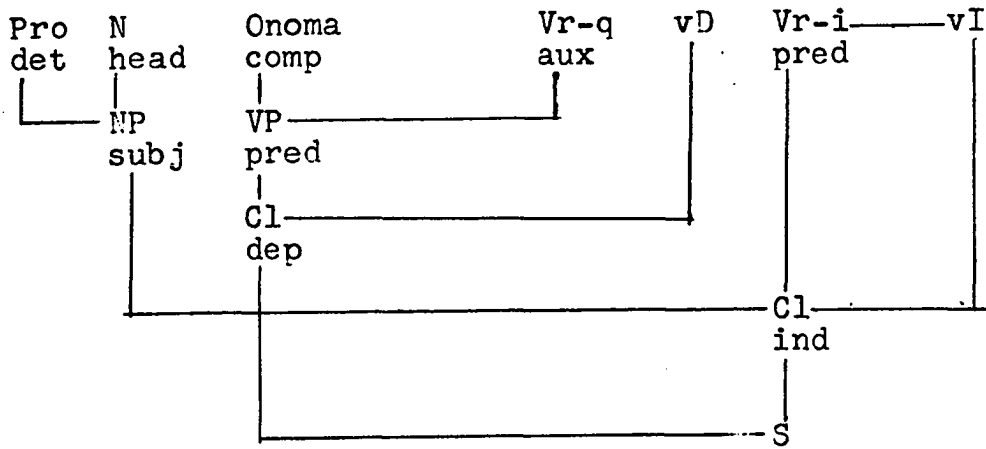


Narrative:



Onomatopoeia:

cay wamra kholón kholón ni + špa bola + n
 the boy clump clump say Ptc-e fly 3

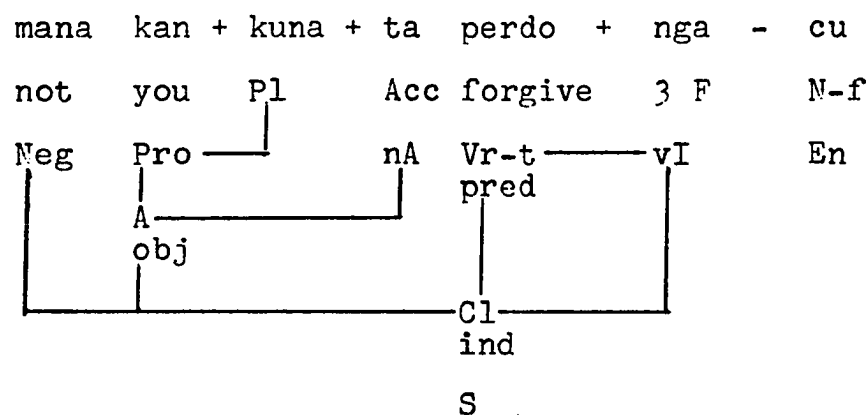


'the boy is running, clumping along'

450. Negation. Negation is expressed by mana 'no' and the optional enclitic cu En 'Non-factual'. The scope of the negation is whatever is included between the two whenever cu En 'Non-factual' is used. e.g. mana bužašuncu 'we won't make noise' (bužašun 'we-will-make-noise').

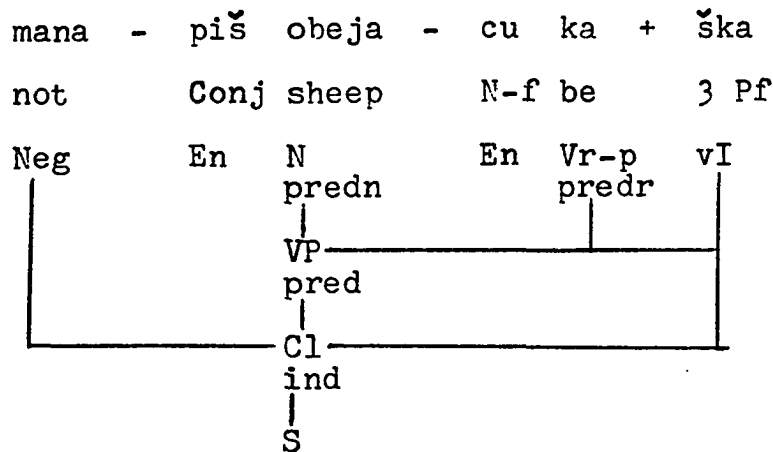
It is not clear what constituents may be negated. Ross (1962) suggests that any constituent may, but my data suggest that there are severe restrictions on any negation outside the predicate. The exact nature of the restrictions is still unclear, however.

The normal negation is applied to the predicate.



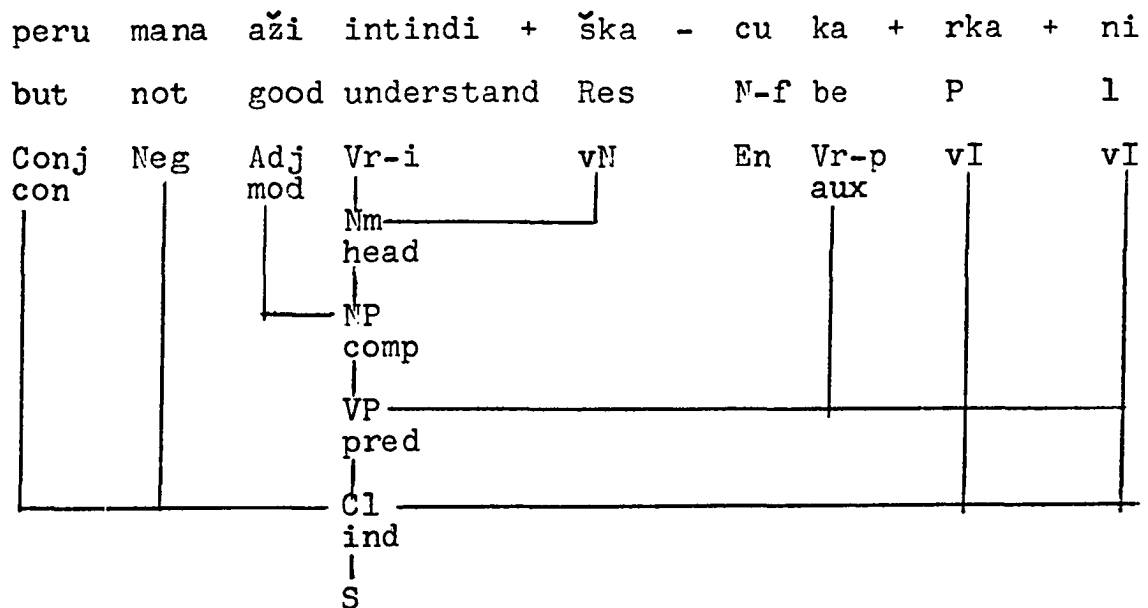
'he won't forgive you'

The predicative verb ka Vr-p 'to be' is exceptional; it never takes the enclitic, but rather remains outside the scope of the negation. This is in keeping with the notion that the complement and not the auxiliary is the head of the VP:



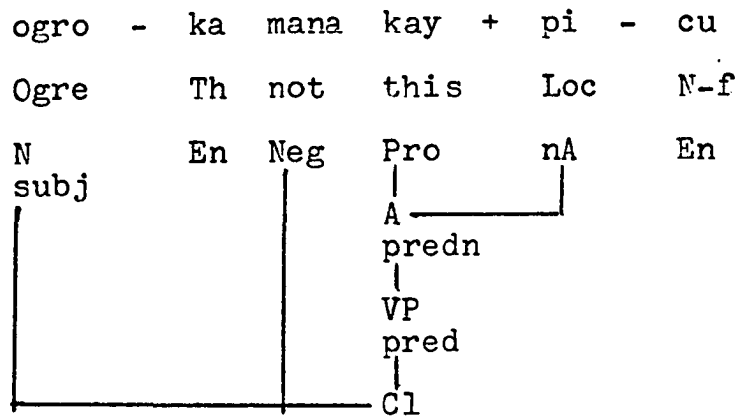
'but it wasn't a sheep'

This restriction on the verb ka 'to be' holds even in the construction of compound tenses with ka, where it functions as an auxiliary and not as a predicator.



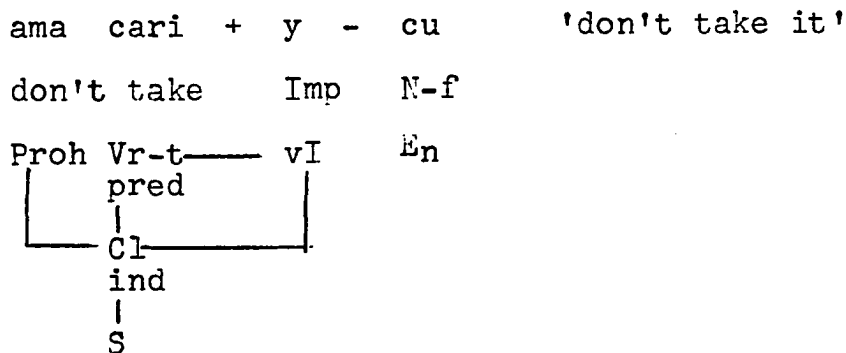
'but I had not understood well'

Frequently the verb ka 'to be' is omitted from a predication. This has no effect on the structure of the negation.



'the Ogre is not here'

In the imperative sentence, the prohibitive ama 'don't' instead of the negative mana 'not' is used.



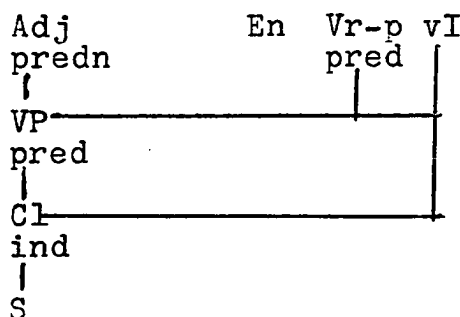
460. Interrogatives. There are two basic types of question. The one demands a 'yes' or 'no' in reply, the other asks for information.

461. Yes/no questions. These are asked with the aid of the enclitic *cu En* 'Non-factual'. (227; 552) This is the same enclitic that appears with the negative.

Cu En 'Non-factual' is most commonly attached to the predicate (with the now-familiar proviso that *ka Vr-p* 'to be' is outside the predicate).

aži ža - cu ka + ngi 'are you just fine?'

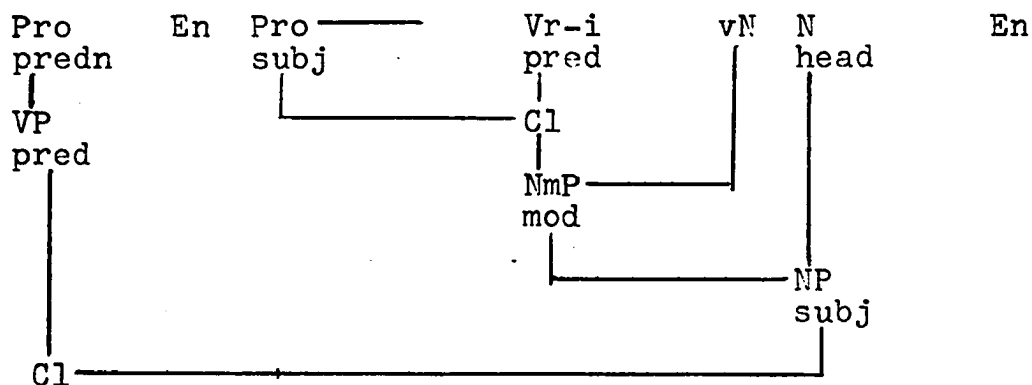
good just N-f be 2



The predicate may be pre-posed for emphasis.

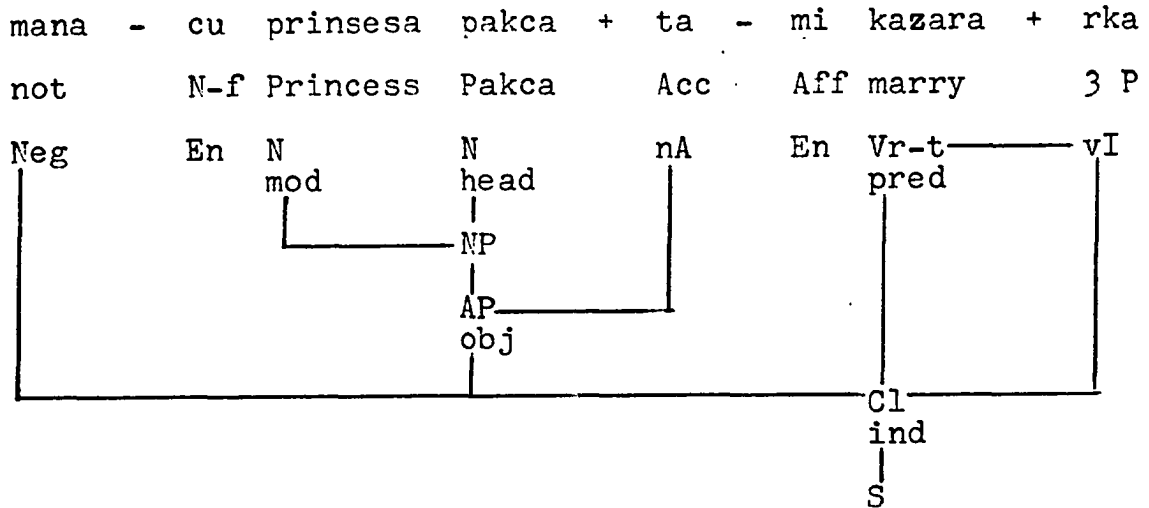
kay - cu kan + kuna kawsa + na mundu - ka

this N-f 2 Pl live Subs world Th



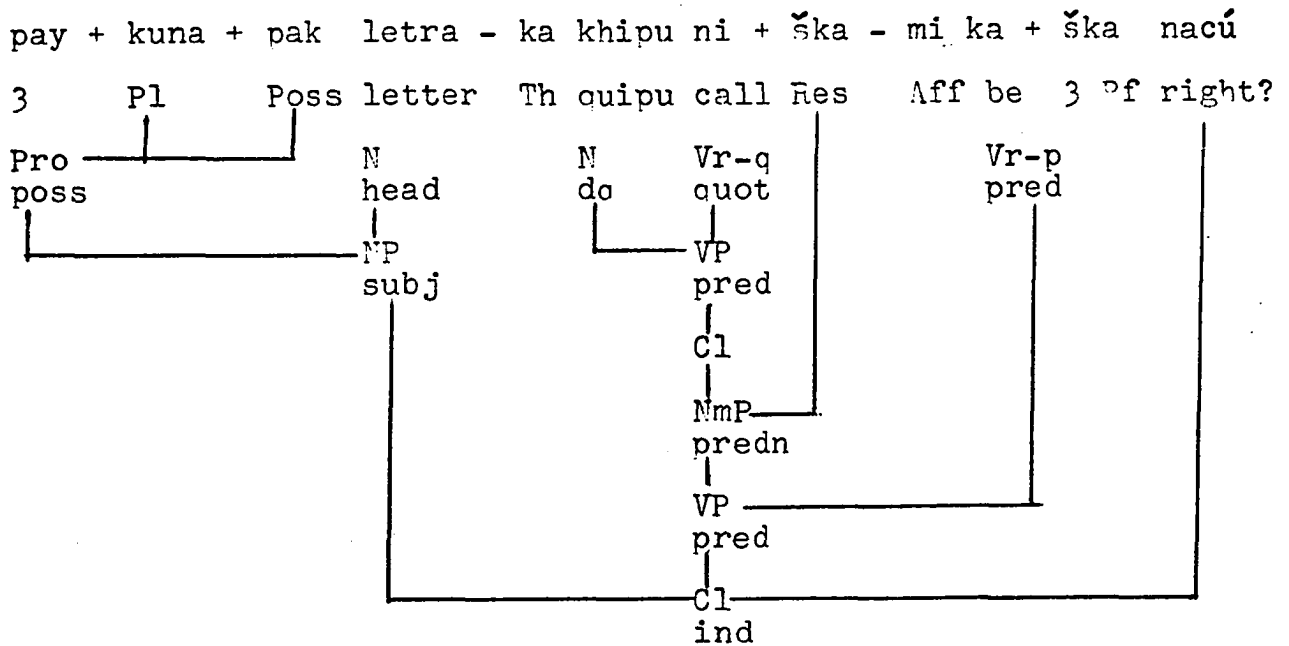
'is this the world that you live in?'

Occasionally the combination manacu 'isn't it so that...' is used. The combination is Neg - En.



'isn't it so that he married princess Pakca?'

There is a third way in which yes/no questions are asked. This last uses the form nacú 'right?' as a tag question following a statement. The etymology of nacú is unknown.



'their letters were called quipu's, right?'

462. Demands for information are accomplished by means of the indefinite (232) and the enclitic tak En 'Differential'.
(227)

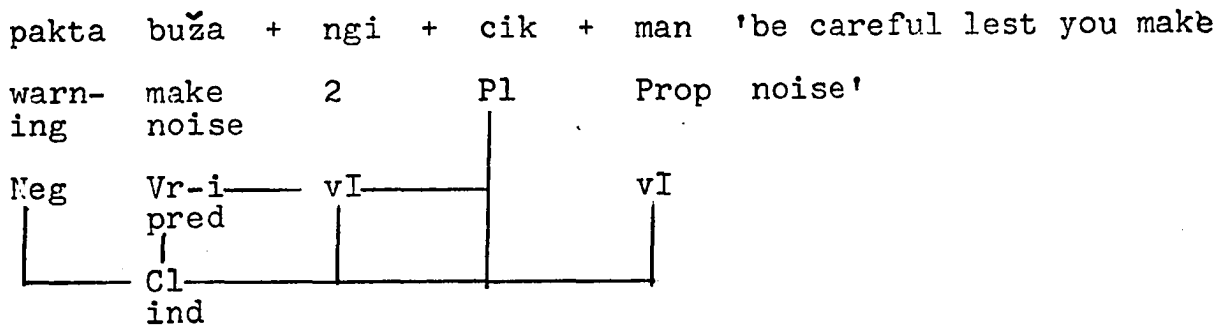
pi - tak 'who'
 ima - tak 'what'
 may + pi - tak 'where'
 Ind nA
 A
 ima šina - tak
 Ind PP
 PPP

There is no difference in word order between an interrogative of this type and a declarative sentence.

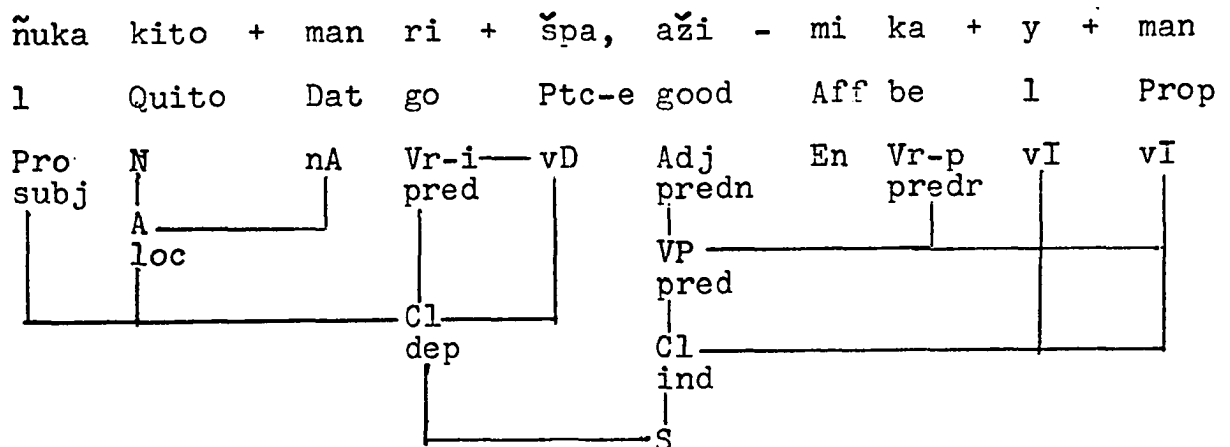
pi	-	tak	rima	+	ri	+	ku	+	n	'who is talking?'
who		Diff	talk		M-p		Cont		3	
Ind		En	Vr-t		vV-i		vV		vI	
subj			Vs-i	-----						
			pred							
			Cl	-----						
			ind							

Sometimes the enclitic is left off, since it is commonly redundant.

470. Conditional sentences. The 'warning' construction involves either pakta or ñatak with a verb in the propensitive form and is to be translated 'be careful lest...'.
 warning make 2 Pl Prop noise'



The true conditional usage involves a sentence with two clauses. The predicate of the first clause has a vD suffix (222) and the second has the propensitive vI on the verb. (223)



'If I went to Quito, then I'd be alright'

(This analysis is taken from Ross 1962 since I have only the 'warning' construction in my corpus.)

480. Imperative sentence. While there is only one imperative suffix, there are three imperative constructions.

- 1) main verb takes the imperative y vI 'Imperative'.
- 2) main verb takes ngi vI 'second person'.
- 3) main verb takes cun vD 'Consequential - different subject'.

The meaning of the first construction is immediate imperative in contrast with the second which is 'future imperative'.

kaca + y 'send it'

send Imp

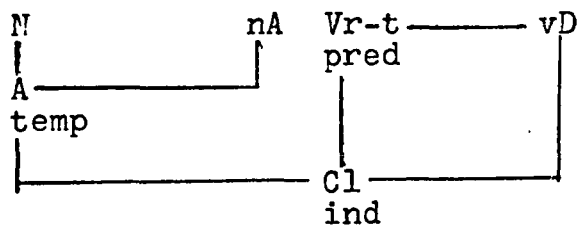
kaca + ngi 'you will send it'

send 2

The third construction means 'have a third person do it'.

domingo + ta trabaja + cun 'have him work on Sunday'

Sunday Acc work Cns-d (Ross 1962)



Chapter 5

Semology

500. Meaning of morphemes and constructions. This chapter is the most sketchy of this description. The theme that holds it together is implicit in the title: There are morphemes and constructions that have meanings which are not obvious from all that has been said about them in the other chapters.

The approach in this chapter is not systematic. Much of what is said is in ordinary language and suggests the sorts of intuitive insights that are found in traditional grammars. Occasionally, however, there has been opportunity to deal with domains of meaning that seem to form a system. Some of the enclitics are defined in this way; i.e., they are assigned values as they contrast with each other in a closed system.

A basic assumption in the writing of this chapter is that meanings are vague insofar as they are tied to a particular form, but they are specific insofar as they are found in a particular context. Thus the meaning of the enclitic *cu* is simply 'Non-factual'. But that enclitic is found in highly specific contexts, namely, in questions and in negations. In each of those contexts the enclitic takes on a specific meaning. In the one case that meaning is '?' or 'isn't it so that...?', in the other case the meaning is 'no'.

510. Role structure. A sentence refers to participants in an action or state of being. These participants may be classified according to semantic criteria into roles. For example, in any given instance of the act of giving there are three entities involved: someone who gives, someone who receives, and the thing that is given. The first is acting in the role of agent, the second as recipient, and the third as patient. Similarly, in the act of talking, there is an agent (someone who talks), a receiver (someone whom the speaker addresses), and a patient (the thing that is said).

Role structure is marked by its realizations in the lexotactics. In Quichua it is necessary to posit five roles to account for various lexotactic phenomena (511). The lexotactic phenomena are considered under two headings: Adverbials in the sentence (512), verb suffixes in the predicate (513).

511. Quichua role structure. Five roles are posited for Quichua semology: Agent, patient, recipient, beneficiary, and secondary agent.

Three of these roles are associated with the definition of verbs in the dictionary. Intransitive verbs have either agents or patients in their definition. Transitive verbs have both agents and patients. Ditransitive verbs have agents, patients, and recipients.

The three-way classification of verbs begun in Chapter 2 is based on semological criteria. The semological classification is realized by the verb's behavior in the sentence, namely, whether it functions to form intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive predicates which in turn have various co-occurrence restrictions with the other constituents of the sentence (411). The fact that Quichua verbs are classed semologically first, and syntactically second is apparent when we consider that objects are optional in transitive and ditransitive sentences.

Two of the roles are not associated with any particular verb, and therefore do not appear in the dictionary. These are secondary agent and beneficiary. The secondary agent is always realized with an adverbial formed by the wan nA 'Accompaniment' suffix (227, 512). The beneficiary is associated with an adverbial formed by the oak nA 'Benefactive-purposive' suffix (227,512).

512. Role structure and the adverbials of a sentence. In the unmarked sentence (active voice), in which the verb does not have one of the three suffixes that affect role realization (513), the roles are realized by constituents as follows:

ROLES	SENTENCE CONSTITUENTS
agent	subject (412)
patient	direct object of a transitive verb (413); subject of a stative intransitive verb
recipient	indirect object (413)
beneficiary	adverbial with pak nA 'Benefactive-purposive' (414f)
secondary agent	adverbial with wan nA 'Accompaniment' (414e).

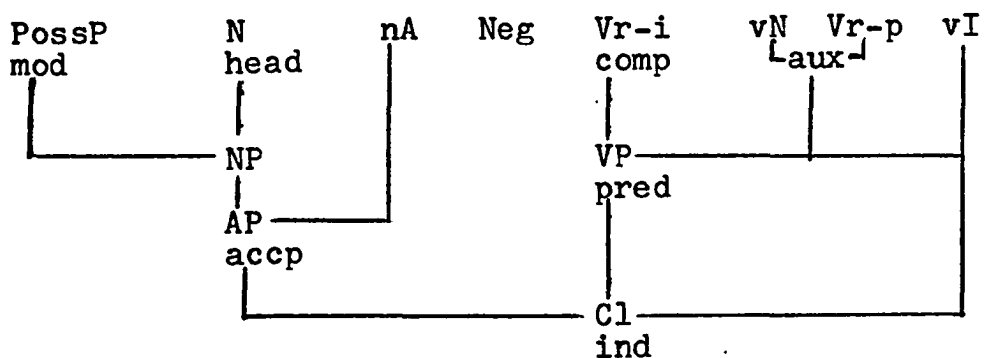
Examples:

The constituent analysis is that of the syntax presented in Chapter 4. The particular constituent that realizes the role in question is underlined in the transcription of the example.

These abbreviations are used for the roles:

agt	agent
pat	patient
rec	recipient
ben	beneficiary
agt2	secondary agent.

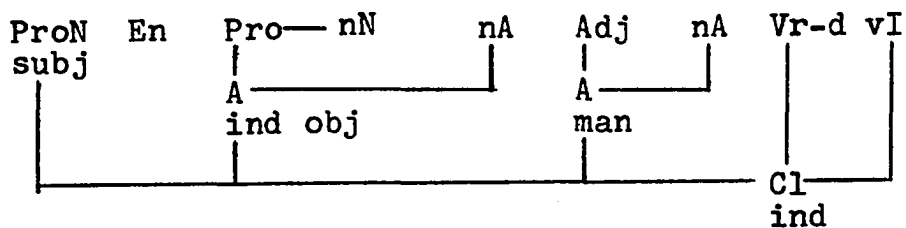
pay + pak amigo + wan mana žukši + y tuku + ška
 she poss friend Accp not go out Inf able 3Pf



'she wasn't able to go out with her friend'

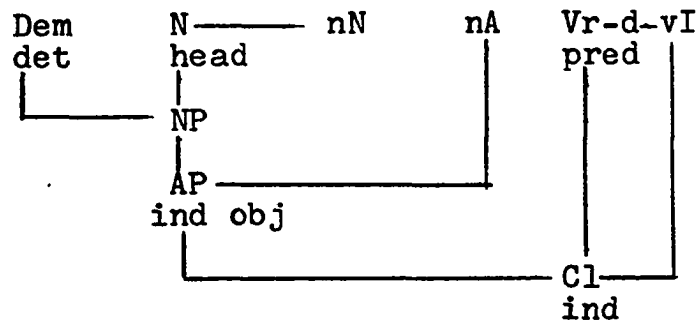
Rec/indirect object.

đus - piš kan + kuna + man aži + ta ku + nga
 God Conj you Pl All good Acc give 3Fut



'and God will give well to you'

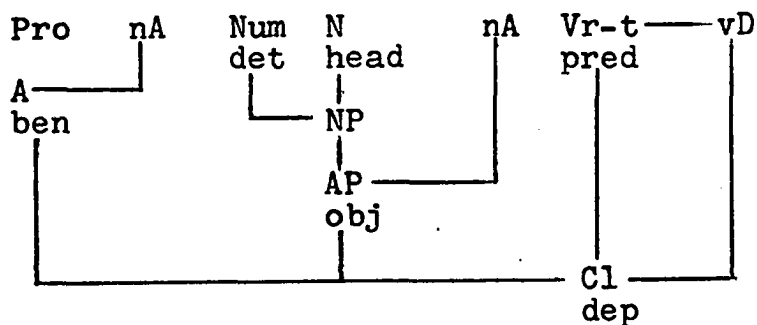
kayšuk wawki + kuna + man ni + ška
 other brother Pl All say 3Pf



'he told his other brothers'

Ben/pak nA 'Benefactive-purposive'.

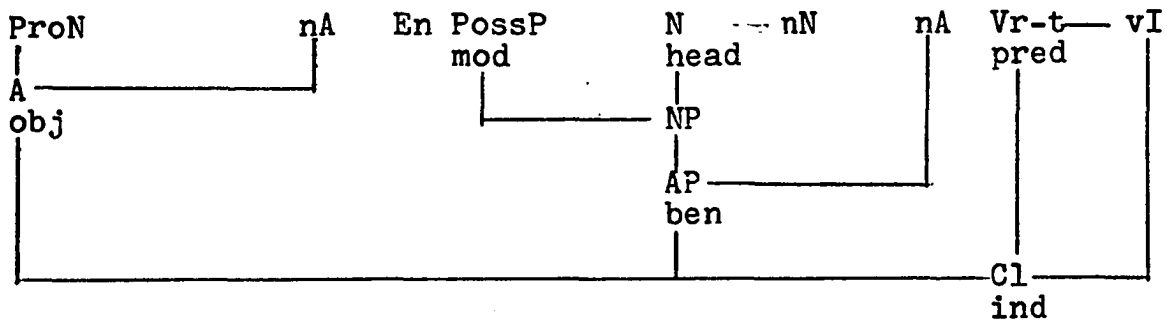
pav + pak šuk warmi + ta maska + špa
 he B-p a wife Acc seek Ptc-e



'looking for a wife for him'

tawantinsuyu + ta - ka pay + pak curi + kuna + pak saki + ška

Tawantinsuyu Acc Th he Poss son Pl B-p leave 3Pf



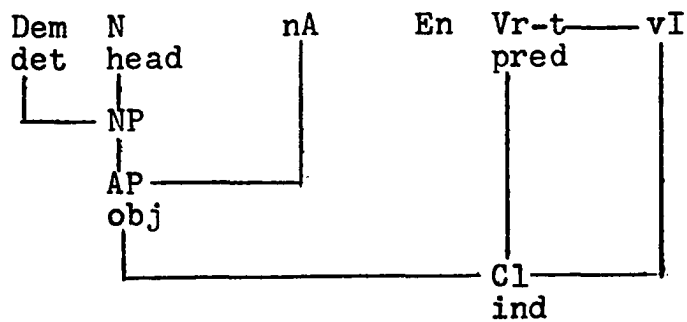
'he left Tawantinsuyu to his sons'

Notice that the verbs with the benefactive are not ditransitive but transitive.

Pat/direct object.

cay raso + ta - ka aža + ška

the ice Acc Th break 3Pf



'he broke the ice'

513. Verb suffixes in the predicate in relation to role structure. There are three verb suffixes that serve to indicate that roles are being realized by different sentence constituents than usual. These suffixes are:

naku vV 'Reciprocal'
 ci vV 'Causative'
 ri vV 'Medio-passive'. (221)

513a. naku vV 'Reciprocal'. This suffix is found with all three verb classes under discussion.

With intransitive verbs naku vV 'Reciprocal' denotes collective action in which a number of agents are involved.

tanda	+	naku	+	y	'to gather together,
meet		Recip		Inf	to meet together'
Vr-i		vV		vN	

With transitive verbs, the meaning of naku is that the participants are both agents and patients, ie. participants function in both roles.

maka	+	naku	+	y	'to fight, to hit one
hit		Recip		Inf	another'
Vr-t		vV		vN	

Notice that in this case, the resulting verb stem is intransitive; there is no object in the clause of such a verb.

With ditransitive verbs, naku denotes that participants are both agent and receiver at the same time; the patient is the direct object as usual.

parla + naku + y 'to talk with one another'
 talk Recip Inf
 Vr-d vV vN

In this case, the ditransitive verb root is formed into a transitive verb stem.

Examples of sentences with the reciprocal suffix:

cay warmi + kuna - ka asi + naku + ška + kuna
 the woman Pl Th laugh Recip 3Pf Pl
 Dem N ——— nN En Vr-i vV vI vI
 det head
 NP
 subj
 Vs-i
 pred
 Cl
 ind

'the women laughed together'

Sometimes a distinction is made between the primary agent and the secondary agent.

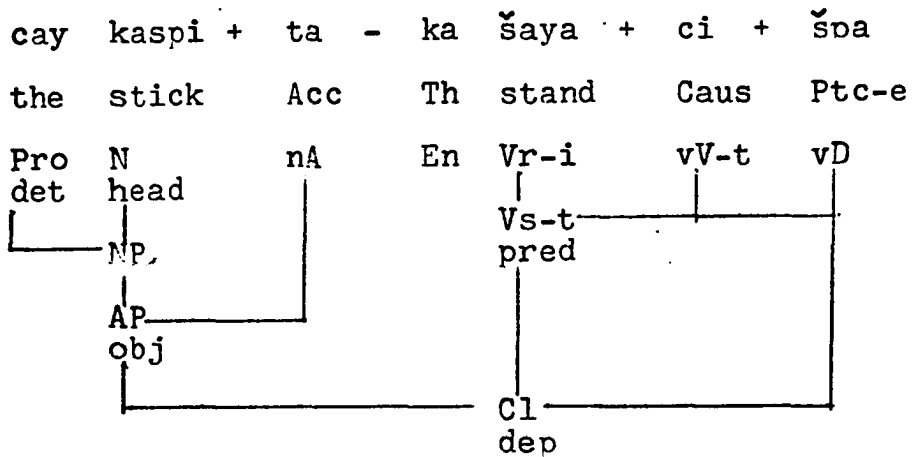
pay - ka cay saca pato + kuna + wan rima + naku + ku + špa
 he Th the wild duck Pl Accp talk Recip Cont Ptc-e
 Pro Dem N N ——— nA Vr-d vV vV — vD
 subj det mod head
 NP
 AP
 accp
 Vs-t
 Vs-t
 Cl
 dep

'while he was talking with the wild ducks'

513b. ci vV 'Causative'. The meaning of this suffix is 'to cause someone to do something'. We distinguish the agent of causation from the agent of the action that is caused by means of this notation: agt-cause and agt-Vr-t or pat-Vr-i.

Syntactically the suffix has the function of adding a level of transitivity to the verb root. Thus an intransitive verb root is formed into a transitive verb stem, and a transitive verb root is formed into a ditransitive verb stem.

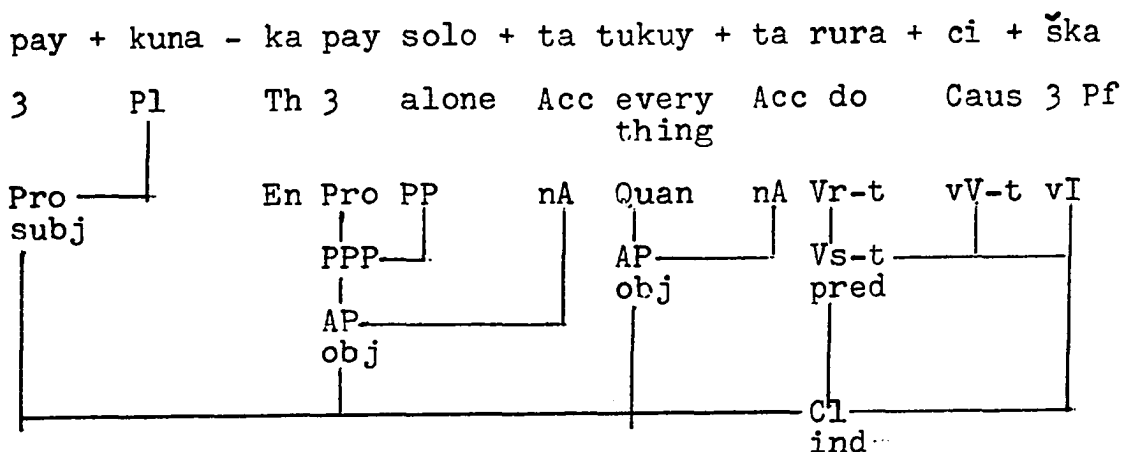
In the context of the sentence, the agt-cause is realized as the subject, the agt-Vr-t or pat-Vr-i is realized as the direct object. The pat-Vr-t is also realized as a direct object, so that a transitive verb stem formed with a causative takes two direct objects. Finally, the rec-Vr-d is realized as the indirect object.



'making the stick stand'

agt-caus = 0

agt-stand = stick



'they made her do everything alone'

agt-cause = they

agt-do = her alone

pat-do = everything

513c. ri vV 'Medio-passive'. The definition of this suffix involves several roles. When the verb has the ri suffix, the recipient of a ditransitive verb is the subject, the patient of a transitive verb is the subject, or the patient of an intransitive verb is the subject.

rima	+	ri	+	y	'to talk to oneself'
talk		M-p		Inf	
Vr-d		vV-i		vN	

caspi	+	ri	+	y	'to shake oneself'
shake		M-p		Inf	
Vr-t		vV-i		vN	

Syntactically the suffix functions to make intransitives out of all verb roots. This is indicated by the notation vV-i.

It is essential to distinguish between medial and passive. The passive is always found with a subject which is the patient; the medial need not be. In the passive, the subject is never the agent; in the medial, the subject is always the agent, as well as the realization of one other role according to the definition above.

Furthermore, the medial has a broad semantic range that is not adequately covered by a discussion of the role structure. This semantic range is idiomatic, determinable only from acquaintance with the particular verb root.

kunga + ri + y 'to forget' ; kunga 'lose'
 yuya + ri + y 'to reflect on'; yuya 'think'
 cura + ri + y 'to dress'; cura 'put, place'
 apa + ri + y 'to carry on the back, on top';
 apa 'carry'

This function of the suffix is analogous to the dative of respect found in Spanish. The agent is doing something that involves himself in some capacity distinguishable from agent, but not easily assigned to any other particular role. We call this usage the medial of respect by analogy to Spanish.

In the examples below, passive, medial, and medial of respect are distinguished.

520. Location. There are three means of indicating location: one makes use of the nA suffixes (226), another makes use of one of the vV suffixes (221), and the third involves postpositions (238).

521. Location as expressed by the nA suffixes. In this section we postulate a fairly straightforward set of semantic distinctions which are realized by a set of contrasting forms, the nA suffixes. We do not attempt to exhaustively define the forms in all their uses.

Two physical objects can stand or move in a variety of relations to each other. The general relationships can be characterized in an abstract way that is independent of context. The particular nature of a given, general relationship is deduced by the speaker from his knowledge of the objects involved, viz. the contrast between in the house and in the woods.

In Quichua two static relationships and four relationships of relative motion are distinguished. These match up with the case suffixes (nA) as they are used to form locative adverbs (414b).

pi nA 'Locative': 'in, on' primary static relationship
 wan nA 'Accompaniment': 'with, beside' static
 kama nA 'Limitative': 'up to, as far as' relative motion

man nA 'Allative': 'to, into' relative motion
 manta nA 'Ablative': 'from, out of' relative motion
 ta nA 'Accusative': 'through, by way of' relative motion

The first thing to note is that 'relative motion' as a class label is both inadequate and inaccurate. A path that 'goes through the woods' is not moving, and yet the linguistic form categorizes it as motion in both English and Quichua. We may consider the use of primarily motion-indicating terms in conjunction with description of position or extent as a metaphoric extension.

nA suffixes by themselves are not adequate to specify all locative arrangements, even given the definitions of the nouns to which they are attached. The nouns and case markers are therefore supplemented by postpositions (238, 350). e.g. wasi + pi 'in the house' (N + nA); wasi hawa + pi 'on top of the house' (N PP + nA).

In the examples below, structural analysis is provided only for the adverbs in question.

kito	+	manta	kusko	+	kama	kacakpi	'sending from Quito
Quito		Abl	Cuzco		Lim	sending	as far as Cuzco'
N		nA	N		nA		
A	_____		A	_____			
loc			loc				

waša + man tigrarikukpika 'when he had turned back'
 back Dat when-he-had-turned

PP nA
 | |
 A—————|
 loc

karu + manta kaparišpa 'calling from afar'
 far Abl calling

Adj nA
 | |
 A—————|
 loc

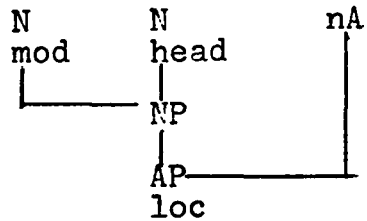
šina paka + na + manta capanaman 'in order to watch from
 thus hide Subs Abl in-order- hiding'
 to-watch

PP Vr-i vN nA
 | | |
 Nm————| |
 | | |
 A—————| |
 loc

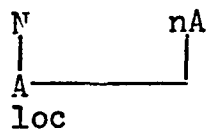
kay ža + pi šuyaša 'I'll wait right here'
 this just Loc I-will-wait
 place

Pro En nA
 | | |
 AP—————| |
 loc

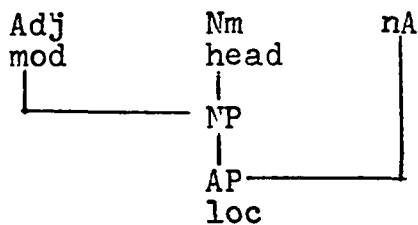
obeja kara + pi pižuk nin 'he wrapped it in a sheepskin'
 sheep skin Loc he-wrapped-it



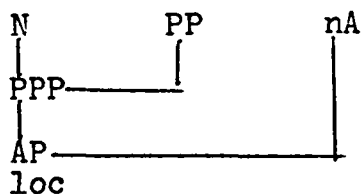
pungu + pi waktarkakuna 'they knocked on the door'
 door Loc they-knocked



sarun yaca + na + pi nirkancik 'in the last lesson we
 last lesson we-said said ...'

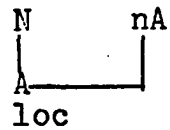


tutura cawpi + pi mitikušpa 'hiding in the middle of
 reeds middle Loc hiding the reeds'



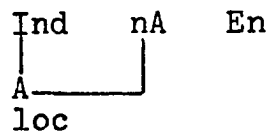
ñan + ta rikukpi 'going along the road'

road Acc going



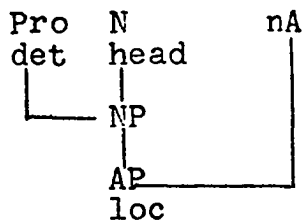
may + ta - tak riša 'where shall I go?'

some Acc Diff I-shall-go
place



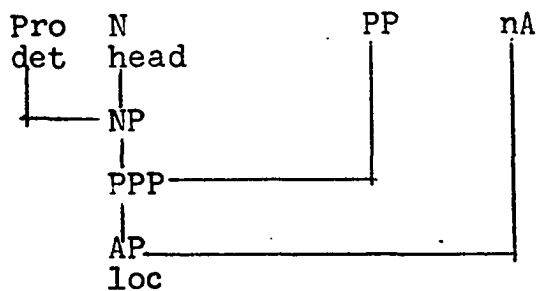
kay pungu + ta yaykuycik 'go in through this door'

this door Acc go-in



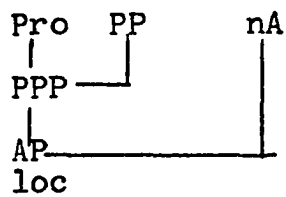
cay loma + kuna waša + ta rišvapiš 'and going behind

those hill Pl behind Acc going-and those hills'



pay lado + wan curinmi 'she puts it beside herself'

3 side Accp she-puts



522. The mu vV 'Cislocative' suffix as an expression of location. The meaning of this suffix is 'motion toward a particular place', where the 'particular place' is established in a variety of ways. Three of these ways are given here.

In conversation, the 'particular place' to which mu vV 'Cislocative' refers is the speaker's present position. This is the same component of meaning that differentiates come from go and bring from take in most dialects of English.

tigra + mu + šun 'we will come back'

return Cisl 1 F Pl

Vr-i vV vI

apa + mu + ngi 'bring it'

carry Cisl 2

Vr-t vV vI

In narration, a place in focus is the 'particular place' to which mu vV 'Cislocative' refers. For example, in a story

about a rabbit stealing grass, the field from which the grass is stolen is in focus. This is established by opening the story with a discussion of the field, who it belongs to, and how green its grass is. Whenever the narrator talks about the owner or the thief coming to the field, the suffix mu vV 'Cislocative' is used, just as in this sentence I used the verb come rather than go.

A less obvious function of mu vV 'Cislocative' is that of shifting focus. Just as in English we may introduce a new scene into narration with either come or go, so also a Quichua speaker may or may not use the cislocative. For example, in one story it is said of the hero that he came to a lake. The implication seems to be that the lake is to be the scene of activity for the next event. Thus it is put in focus without any contextual buildup.

Finally, some places are the 'particular place' of the cislocative by virtue of the human condition. Thus, the sun 'comes out' in Quichua just as it does in English. inti žukšimuška 'the sun came out'.

žukši + mu + ška 'it came out'

go out Cisl 3 Pf

Vr-i vV vI

530. Time. The temporal setting of actions is indicated by at least two systems in the sentence.

The one is the adverbial system (414a), the other is tense and aspect marking of the verb (222,223).

531. Adverbial marking of time. There are a number of time words. These are given in §236 and §414a along with their definitions. Any given time word is related to the action of the verb by means of the nA suffixes.

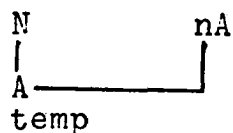
The suffix pi nA 'Locative' indicates 'point in time'. It is not necessary that the point in time be brief but only that it be thought of as a unit without relevant duration.

kašnami	cay	tukuy	tiyarka	sarun	domingo	punža	+ pi
thus	that	all	was	last	Sunday	day	Loc
				Adj mod	N mod	N head	nA
				└───┬───┘		MP	
						AP	
						temp	

'that's how everything was on last Sunday'

In direct contrast with 'point in time' is the notion of duration expressed by ta nA 'Accusative'.

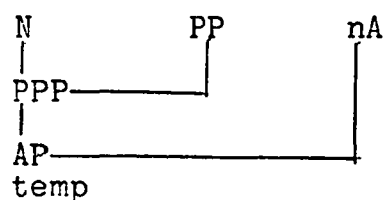
sabado + ta - ka caypi kaynarkani
 Saturday Acc Th there I-spent-the-night



'I spent Saturday night there'

If a particular clock time is referred to with the *ta nA* 'Accusative', the implication is that the time reference is approximate. This is expected from the contrast with the punctiliar nature of the *pi nA* 'Locative' suffix. The approximate nature may be emphasized by the post-position *cašna* 'like that'.

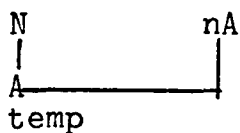
las dose *cašna* + *ta ña tukurirka* 'by around twelve it was
 .12 o'- like Acc by finished finished'
 clock that then then



(The time expressions in Quichua use Spanish numbers and determiners.)

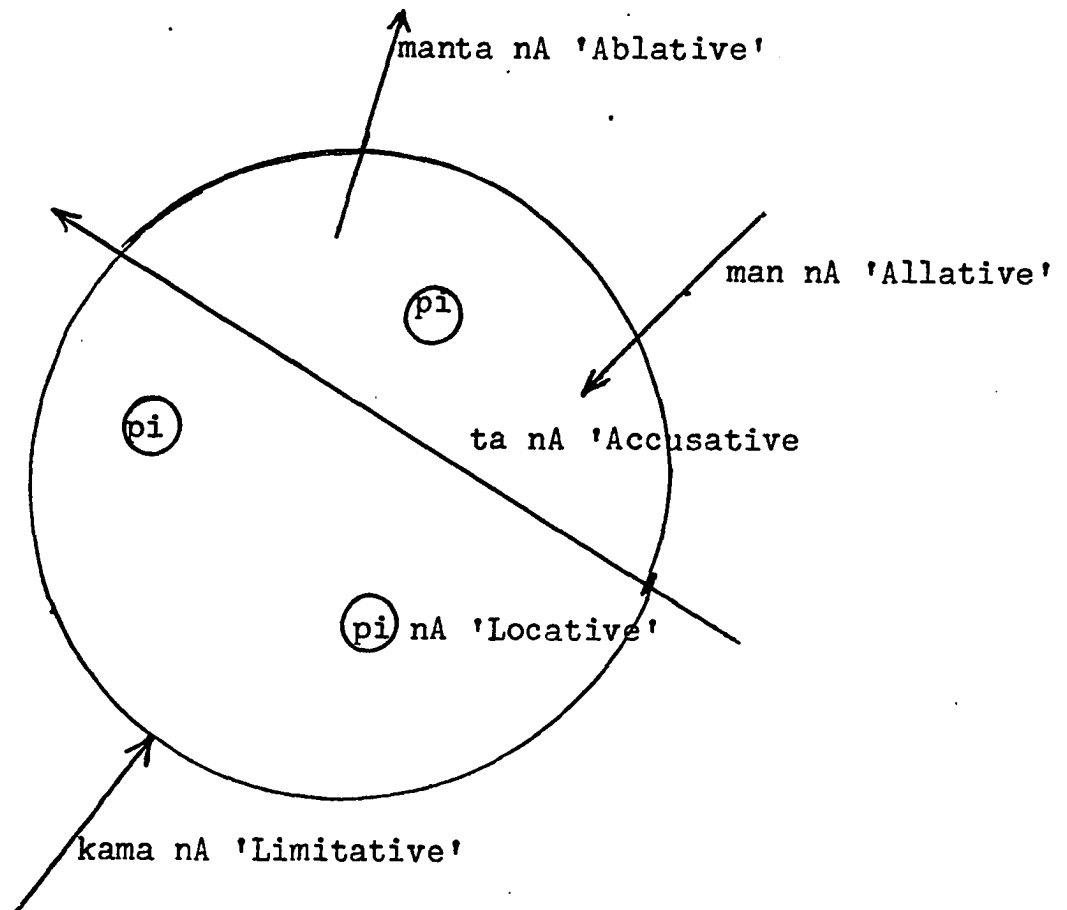
The suffix *nta nA* 'Repetitive' indicates regular recurrence at a specified time.

punža + *nta* 'every day'
 day Rep



Manta nA 'Ablative' refers to the beginning of a time period. The noun to which the suffix is attached, however, indicates the point at which the action of the verb begins. Thus, *tutamanta* 'morning' is literally 'starting from night time'; it is not 'the beginning of night'.

Similarities between locative and temporal meanings of the case suffixes can be conveniently shown in a diagram. While one might object that a spatial diagram is irrelevant to time expressions, it is exactly this association that is the point of the diagram. Quichua treats time largely by means of metaphors taken from space. That fact that Quichua case endings parallel the English metaphoric extensions is worthy of note.



The examples and discussion of §§521 and 531 might seem more systematic in light of the diagram.

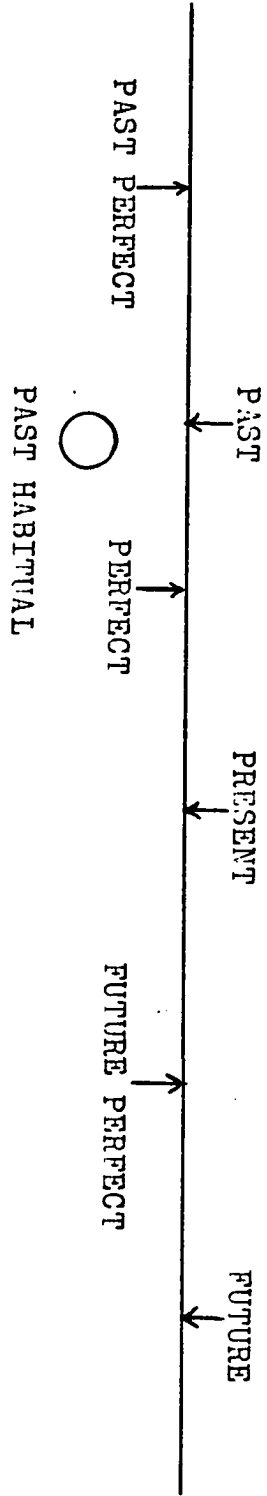
532. Meaning of time expressions in the verbal system. There are two systems of time expression in the verb: the tense system and the suffixes of duration (223, 221).

532a. Tense. The Quichuas distinguish four primary tenses and three secondary or compound tenses. (223, 330). The primary tenses are: present, perfect, past, future. The secondary are: past perfect, future perfect, and past habitual.

Semologically there are three primary times and four secondary times. This is indicated by the time line on the next page.

Real time is distinguished from narrative time. The latter is discussed in §440.

532b. Aspect. While there is an aspectual distinction in the tense system (the contrast between *ška vI* 'Perfect' and *k vN* 'Agentive' functioning as the Imperfective (440)), the primary indication of aspect is made by means of *vV* suffixes. The two suffixes involved are: *ri vV* 'Inceptive' and *ku vV* 'Continuative'.



The beginning or inception of an action is expressed with the suffix *ri vV* 'Inceptive' (221). Often there is an additional implication of suddenness.

caypi kunuka manca + ri + špa 'so the rabbit got scared'
 so rabbit fear Inc Ptc-e
 Vr-i vV vD

An alternate form of the same lexeme is *gri* (331).

ňuka šukta singucišpa kaca + gri + ni 'I'll send
 I one tumble send Inc l one tumbling
 Vr-t vV vI down'

In direct contrast with the inceptive is the continuative *ku*. This suffix denotes that the action is in progress, or continuing on.

šuk punžami šuk kunu puri + ku + ška nin
 one day a rabbit walk Cont 3Pf
 Vr-i vV vI
 'one day a rabbit was walking along'

533. *ňa* Adv 'already; by now'. Temporal adverbs usually denote time with reference to some scale such as days

or the time of day. Of course, these are not the only ways that time may be reckoned; the sequence of actions in a narrative may function as a temporal scale in its own right. Two actions in the sequence may be either contiguous or overlapping. These relations are indicated in Quichua by the following constructions:

Overlapping actions:

ña $V_1 + vD$ (špa/kpi), $V_2 + vI$

'while V_1 was happening, V_2 either started or took place'

Contiguous actions:

ña $V_1 + vD$ (špa/kpi) - ka, $V_2 + vI$

'after V_1 happened, then V_2 took place'

Notice that it is the enclitic ka En 'Theme' that functions to distinguish the two from each other. The meaning of ña is 'at the time when, by the time when'.

Examples:

Overlapping actions:

ña hatunyakušpa, rirkani eskwelaman oryente žaktaman
while I-was- I-went to-school Oriente province-in
growing-up

'at the time when I was growing up, I went to school in the Oriente province'

ña las dose tukukupimi, ñukata rikušpa kacarka doktorka
 while 12 becoming me seeing sent doctor
 'it was getting to be twelve o'clock when the doctor saw me
 and let me go'

pero cay rato ña paypak cay tazinmanta rigrišpa,
 but that moment her nest-from starting-to-go
 while

rikuška nin šuk lulun caypi sirikukta
 she-saw an egg there lying

'but that moment, while she was starting to leave the nest,
 she saw an egg lying there'

Contiguous actions:

ña yuyayta hapišpaka, kunuta yayariška nin
 when wits collected rabbit remembered
 'after he collected his wits, he remembered the rabbit'

ña kunan durmišpaka, mana bužašuncu
 when now sleeping not we-will-make-noise
 'as soon as we're asleep now, we won't make noise'

cay ucila wawa patitokunaka ña lulun karamanta
 the little baby ducklings when egg shell-from

žukšišpaka, ackata kušikuška nin
 coming-out very happy-they-were

'when the little baby ducklings had gotten out of the egg shells,
 they were very happy'

In the examples above, ña was translated 'while, when', but it could just as easily be translated 'at the time when'. In the independent clause, a better translation for ña is 'at that time, by that time'. Frequently the equivalent 'now, by now' is appropriate.

Examples:

Verb is in past tense:

ña hatunyarka 'by now she was a big girl'
now she-had-grown

Verb is in the perfect:

ña ciši cawpiyamuška 'by now it had become the middle
now PM middle-became of the afternoon'

libre koseca ña pasaška 'by now the entire harvest was
entire harvest now passed over'

kunanka ñami uyaškangicik 'by now you have heard'
now by now you-have-heard

Verb is in the present:

ña šuk sacaman abansamunkuna 'now they are going into some
now some woods-into they-are- woods'
going

ña aycata carigrinitakka 'now I am going to have some meat
now meat I-will-have-for- for a change'
a-change

ñami sertifikado niška papelta carini 'now I have the paper
now certificate called paper I have that is called a
certificate'

534. Rak En 'Imperfective'. The enclitic simply means that the action of the verb has not finished. In a negative clause it means that the action has not started^k and might not start at all.

A diagram indicates these relative times:

RAK — — — — —

MANARAK _ _ _ _ _

The translation is 'still' for the positive, and 'not yet' for the negative.

The enclitic is attached to the first word of the clause in which it appears.

Examples:

syertomari, payrak montado rikun, ñukaka cakilawan šaykukuni
 certainly he-still mounted goes I feet-with shall-get-tired

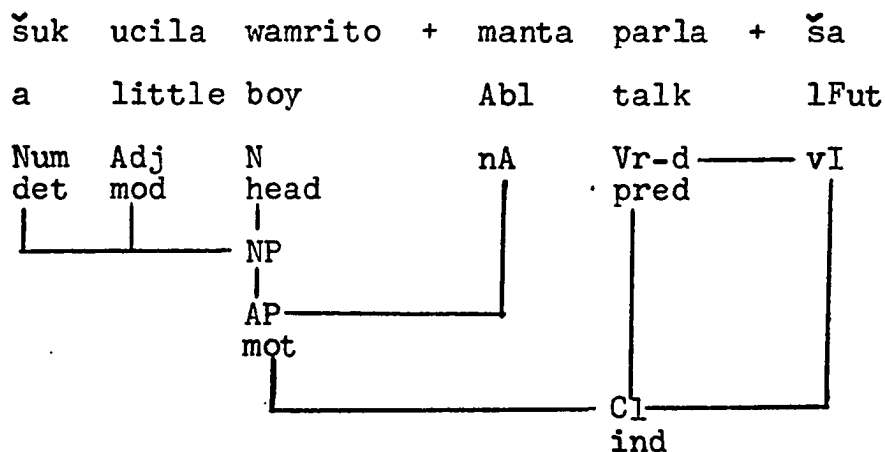
'certainly as long as he keeps on going mounted I shall get tired feet'

manarak yaykušpa 'they had not gone in yet'
 not-yet going-in

54C. Explanation. There are two sides to explaining an action: something caused it, or it was done for a reason. We call the former 'condition' and the latter 'purpose' (414d).

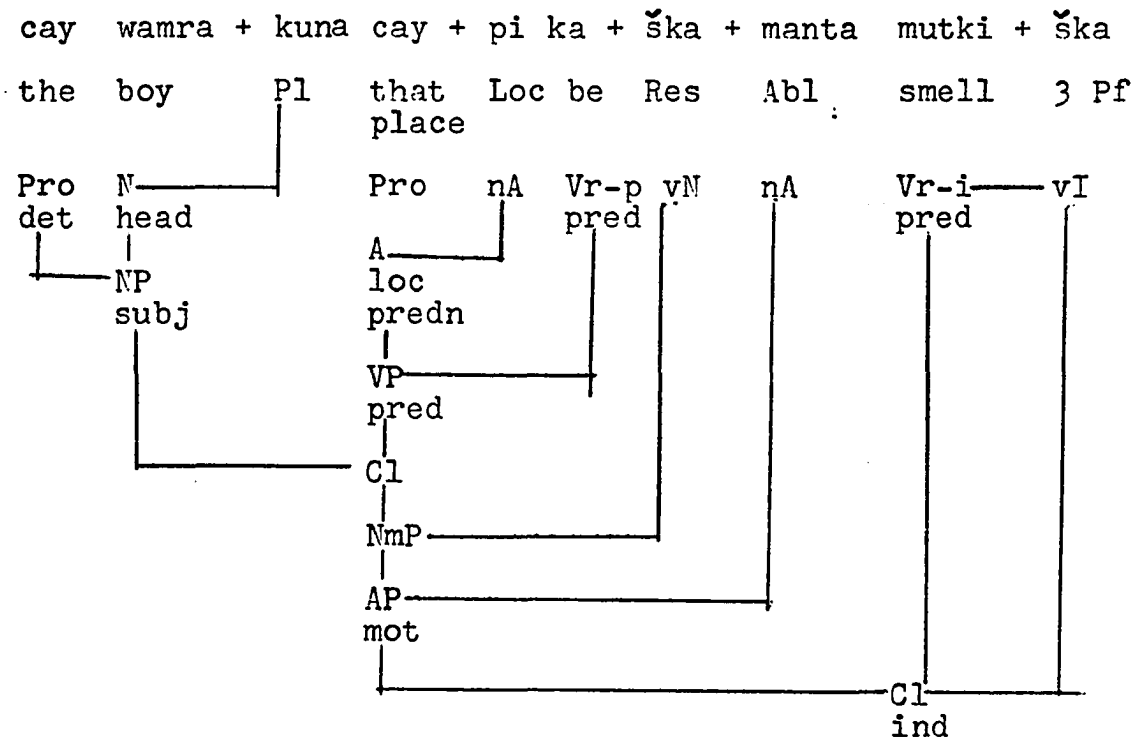
541. Condition. Condition is indicated either by means of a motivational adverb (414d) or a dependent clause (420).

Motivational adverbs are discussed in §414d and there is no need to repeat the information here. What should be pointed out however, is that not all adverbials with the manta nA 'Ablative' suffix represent either motivational adverbs or semological 'condition'. The most common case is that of a manta adverbial used to indicate the subject matter of a discourse.



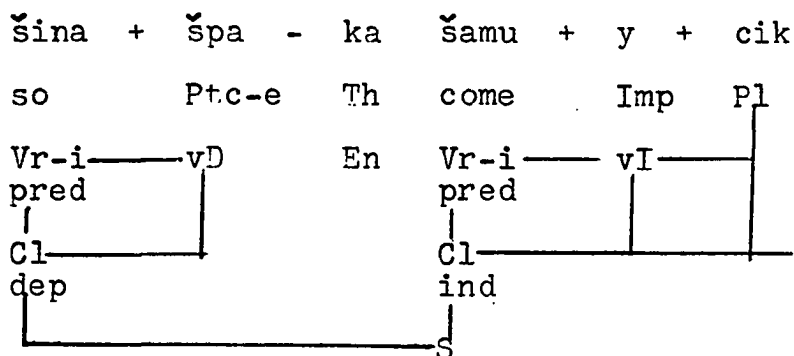
'I will talk about a little boy'

Another use of the manta adverbial in a way that is probably not representative of 'condition' is illustrated by this example:



'he could smell the fact that the boys were there'

Condition may also be indicated by dependent clauses.



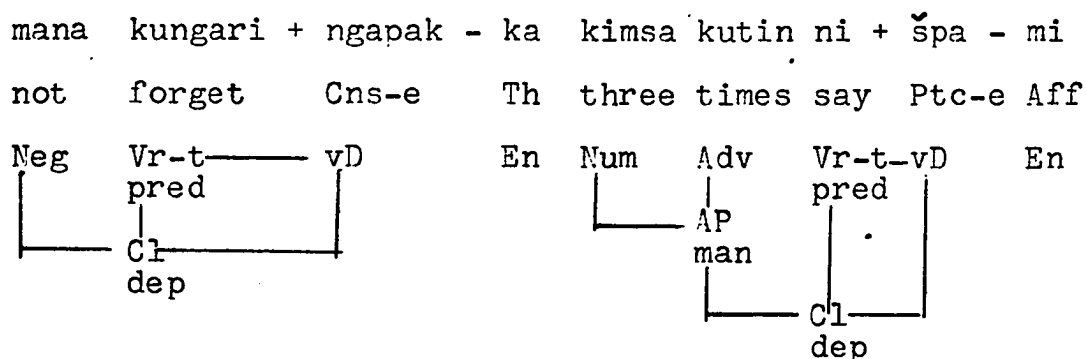
'since that is the case, come on'

There are, however, many cases of dependent clauses having no conditional connection with the main clause; they are simply in sequence. It is not clear that there is any formal distinction between the two cases.

542. Purpose. Purpose is indicated by the motivational adverbial (414d), and by dependent clauses (420).

The motivational adverbial is formed with either the pak nA 'Benefactive-purposive' or the man nA 'Dative'. The latter is used almost exclusively with Nominal phrases formed by means of the na vN 'Substantive' suffix. See §414d and 430 for examples.

Dependent clauses with the vD consequential suffixes are always purposive. (222)



'saying it three times in order not to forget it'

550. Textual functions of the enclitics. It is not possible for me to give highly precise and exhaustive definitions to the enclitics. Nevertheless, several of the enclitics do contrast with each other in systematic ways that are amenable to discussion in a grammatical sketch such as this. Five contrasting pairs of enclitics are discussed under the headings Conjunction (551), Interrogation (552), Epistemology (553), Opinion (554), and Confirmation (555).

551. Conjunction. When a speaker is comparing two objects or situations with one another, he may say either that they are similar or that they are different. There are a number of short-hand ways of doing this in Quichua that involve the use of various connectives and adverbs, but the way that concerns us here is that which uses the enclitics piš 'Conjunctive' and tak 'Differential'.

Piš En 'Conjunctive' is generally translatable as 'too', since it is the enclitic that claims similarity between the foregoing and the following.

ñukapiš cayman rirkani 'I too went there'
I-too there went

Tak En 'Differential' on the other hand, might often be translated with 'but'.

kunanka iškítak burropi montado rinkuna
now two-but burro-on mounted going
'but now there are two riding the burro'

But the meaning of tak is more than just that conveyed by the translation 'but'. In all of its uses it imparts the idea of newness, or variation from the expected or previous state of affairs. In the above example, tak highlights the contrast between the former situation in which there was only one rider and the present situation in which there are two. In the examples below, the meaning of tak En 'Differential' is elaborated.

kunanka šuktakta kankunaman parlagrini
 now another to you I-will-tell
 'now I will tell another one to you'

The lexeme šuktak 'another one' has been considered idiomatic in Quichua studies. But if šuk means 'one' and tak means 'different' the combination is not idiomatic. This is not to say that the combination is not crystallized, however. The two together function as a unit, as can be seen by the fact that the case ending follows the enclitic and not vice versa.

šuktak + ta
 another Acc

In this example the force of tak is greater than 'but'.

obeja šamunka. ña aycata carigrinitakka
 sheep comes now meat I-am-going-to-have-for-a-change
 'the sheep is coming. Now I'm going to have some meat for
 a change'

Both tak En 'Differential' and piš En 'Conjunctive' show a reversal of meaning in combination with the negative. manatak means 'still' (ie. not different), and manapiš means 'but' (ie. not the same).

espelmaka manatak kacariška 'the candle still didn't let him
candle still- let-him-go go'
did-not

manapiš obejacu kaška 'but it wasn't the sheep (after all)'
but-not sheep it-was

552. Interrogation. In §460 there is a discussion of the interrogative sentence and the part the enclitics play in its formation. It is not necessary to repeat that information here, other than to mention the direct contrast of tak En 'Differential' and cu En 'Non-factual'.

Tak is used with the indefinites (232) to specify a domain within which the interlocutor is asked to supply information. e.g. ima 'something' with tak 'Differential' is 'what?' or more literally 'which thing?'.
is 'what?' or more literally 'which thing?'.
is 'what?' or more literally 'which thing?'.

Cu is attached to anything that would otherwise be a declarative, and by its presence suggests that the statement stands in need of confirmation. The interlocutor is expected to either confirm or deny the statement. Naturally it is most commonly used with predications. kaypi-cu 'is it here?'.

553. Epistemology. If the enclitic *cu* 'Non-factual' implies that something is either unconfirmed (460) or disconfirmed (450), the enclitic *mi* 'Affirmative' indicates that a statement is confirmed. Naturally, then, one of the functions of *mi* is to mark answers to questions. Another is to mark predications. And a third is to emphasize a pre-posed constituent in a way that is analogous to our English 'it was just like that that ...'.

Some examples:

Answers:

imanaža? 'how are you'

ažimi 'fine'

Predications:

kay parloka cašnažami 'this story goes like that'

this story like that

Pre-posed emphasis:

ñami šamun 'it's now that he's coming'

now comes

554. Opinion. There are times in discourse when the speaker does not expect a response. Such situations include rhetorical questions, statements of wonder, strong imperatives, and strong opinions that are considered to be absolutely convincing by their holder. These situations

are clearly indicated in Quichua. Furthermore the distinction is clearly made between those situations where there is no answer because the interlocutor is not expected to have one, and those where there is no proper answer at all. The former situation is marked by the enclitic *ši* 'Speculative', and the latter by *ari* 'Emphatic of opinion'.

ši En 'Speculative'.

imaši mikurka 'I wonder who is eating'

what eats (since the object of speculation is an animal, *ima* 'what' is used)

piši kawsan caypi 'I wonder who lives here'

who lives here

derepente kanža pungumanta pitakši waktaška uyariškažami
suddenly out door-from someone banging was heard
'suddenly from outside there was heard someone banging
on the door, (and nobody knew who it was)'

ari En 'Emphatic of opinion'.

imatakari 'what could it possibly be'

what

kan šinaša niška kašpaka, yaykuciyari

you I-will said having you-must-certainly-let-him-in

'if you have said that you would do that, then you must
certainly let him in'

peru ñukaka ima kulpatatak cariniari

but I what fault have

'but surely it's not my fault?' (what fault could I possibly have?)

555. Confirmation. It is interesting to note that the opinion expressed by ari En 'Emphatic of opinion' may be evaluated as either confirmed or un-confirmed. Of course this is done with the two enclitics already discussed: cu En 'Non-factual' and mi En 'Affirmative'. The resulting slurred forms are cari En 'Unconfirmed opinion' and mari En 'Confirmed opinion'.

cari En 'Unconfirmed opinion'.

caymantacari manarak tugyaška

for-that- not-yet hatched
reason

'that must be why it hasn't hatched yet'

cay bacukcari šamun 'it must be the lamb who is coming'
the lamb comes

mari En 'Confirmed opinion'.

kaymari ñuka khiwata šuwak kaška

this my grass thief was

'so this is the one who stole my grass'

ažitamari yuyariškangi 'you have certainly thought well'
well you-have-thought

CHAPTER 6
SAMPLE TEXT

There are given here a text, a free translation, and a sentence-by-sentence analysis of the text. In all three, each sentence is numbered for ready cross-reference. The transcription of the text is phonemic; the transcription of the analysis is morphonic. In the text, commas follow clauses, periods follow sentences, and quotations are within double quotes.

(1) kunanka šuk kunu šug 'atugmanta parlagrini. (2) šuk punžami šuk kunuka purikuška nin, payža. (3) purikušpaka, šuk 'atugwan tupaška nin ñampika. (4) cay 'atukka libre 'irki tumbikuk cašna kaška nin. (5) kunuka (a) "tiyu, 'imatak tukungi?" nišpa, tapuška 'atuktaka. (6) šina tapukpika, 'atukka nig nin (a) "wawa, yakunaywanmari wañukuni. (b) yakumi mana maypi tiyan." nišpa, nig nin. (7) kunuka kutin nig nin, (a) " 'uku waykupimari šug larka tiyan. (b) cayman ri. (c) caypi 'ažagman siririšpa, šimita paskašpa, hawa siluta rikuy. (d) caypimi yakuka šimipi šutungaža " nišpa, nig nin kunuka. (8) šina nikpika, 'atukka rigža nin, (a) "pagi, wawa. (b) šinašpaka, rinimi cay larkaman" nišpaka. (9) kutin cašna nikpi, kacašpaka, kunuka

hanag waykumanta yakuta kacarinaman rig nin. (10) payka yakutami trankašpa, carik kaška cay kunuka cayšuk larkapi. (11) cay trankaška yakuta kacarišpa, kacag nin. (12) yakuka larka waykuta rigža nin. (13) 'ura waykumanka 'atukka sirikug nin, yakuta capašpa, 'ažagman, rigrata paskašpa, šimita paskašpa, hawata rikušpa. (14) šina sirikukpika, yakuka ņapiš hanaktaka mancanayakta wakyašpa, šamugža nin. (15) caypika kutin 'atukka 'ukuman kicki larkapi sirikušpaka, mana 'ima šina 'utka hatari tukuška nin. (16) yakuka ņapiš pay sirikunpika ratito hundag nin. (17) caypimi kutin cay yakuka 'atuktaka 'ura waykupi šitagrig nin. (18) caypimi kutin kazi mana 'ima šina žukši tukukušpa 'atukka, 'antis žukšiška 'ažpaman. (19) ņa žukšišpaka, caspirišpa, ņa yuyayta hapišpaka, kunuta yayariška nin. (20) kunuta yayarišpaka, (a) "bwinu, kunu. (b) ņukatacu cašna umangi? (c) hapišami 'ima 'orapiš, biringu" nišpa, rimarišpa, sakirig nin. (21) kašnažami kay parloka.

(1) Now I'm going to tell about a rabbit and a wolf.
(2) One day, a rabbit was walking along by himself. (3)
And as he was walking, he met a wolf on the road.
(4) The wolf was very skinny, and stumbling. (5) The rabbit
asked the wolf, (a)"Uncle, what has become of you?",
he said. (6) And the wolf said, (a) " Child, I am dying
of thirst. (b) Water doesn't exist anywhere", he said.
(7) So the rabbit said (a) " Down in the valley there's
an arroyo. (b) Go there. (c) Lie down there, opening
your mouth and looking up at the sky, (d) That's
where water will drip into your mouth", said the rabbit.
(8) When the rabbit had said this, the wolf said
(a) "Thank you, child. (b) If that's so, I will go to
that arroyo",and he went.

(9) Well, after the wolf said that, the rabbit,
having sent him off, went up the valley to send some
water down. (10) He kept water dammed up, that rabbit
did, in another arroyo. (11) Releasing the water, he
let it go. (12) The water ran along the bottom of the
arroyo. (13) Down the valley the wolf was lying down,
waiting for the water, holding his arms and mouth open
and looking up. (14) While he was lying like this, right
then the water came, rushing fearfully. (15) So there,
since the wolf was lying down in a narrow arroyo, there
was no way he could get up quickly. (16) And by now,

the water was quickly filling up the place where he lay.

(17) So there, the water suddenly threw the wolf out, down the valley. (18) And there, there was almost no way the wolf could get out; (in fact) he scarcely got out to land.

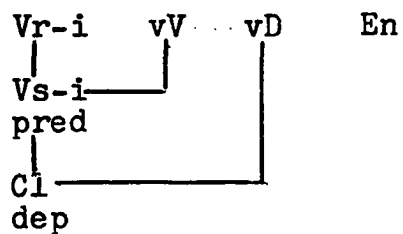
(19) When he had gotten out, and shaken himself, and gotten hold of his wits, he remembered the rabbit.

(20) And remembering the rabbit, he said (a) "All right, rabbit. (b) So you tricked me like that, huh? (c) I'll get you too sometime clown" and talking to himself he left.

(21) That's how this story is.

(3) puri + ku + špa - ka

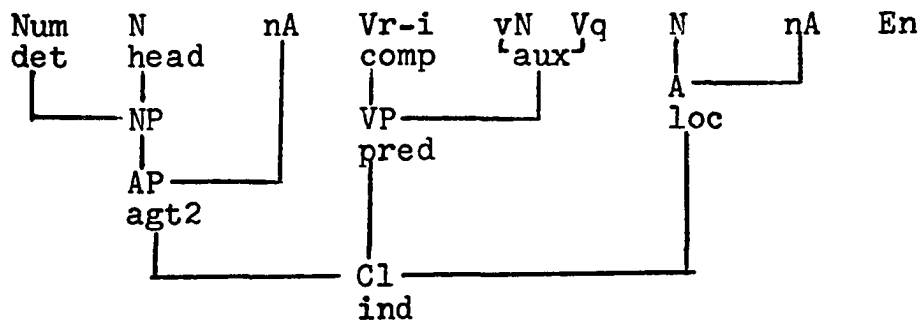
walk Cont Ptc-e Th



'while he was walking, ...'

šuk atuk + wan tupa + ška nin ñan + pi - ka

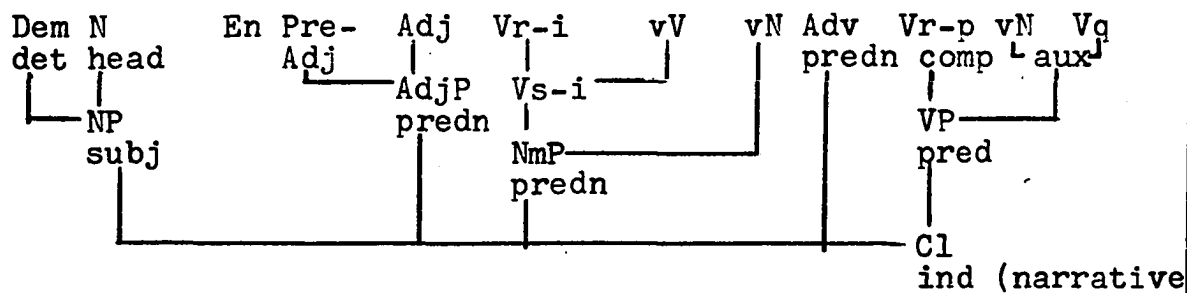
a wolf Accp meet Res say road Loc Th



'he met up with a wolf on the road'

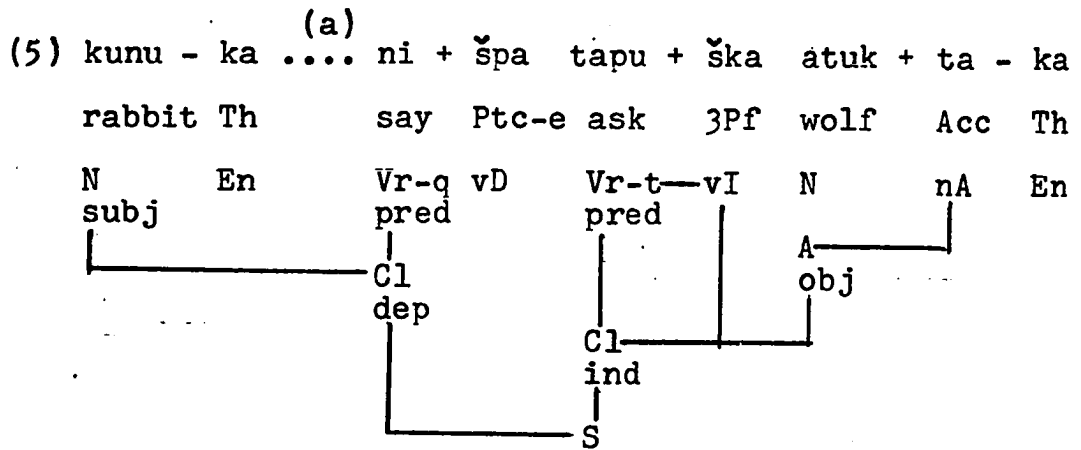
(4) cay atuk - ka libre irki tumbi + ku + k cašna ka + ška nin

the wolf Th all thin fall Cont Agt thus be Res say



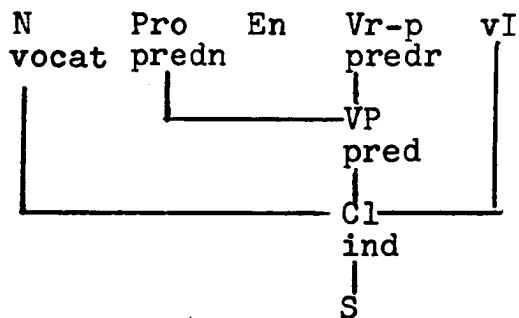
S

'the wolf was very skinny and stumbling'



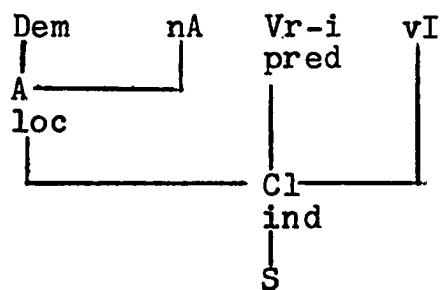
'the rabbit, saying "...", asked the wolf'

(a) tiyu ima + tak tuku + ngi
 uncle what Diff become 2



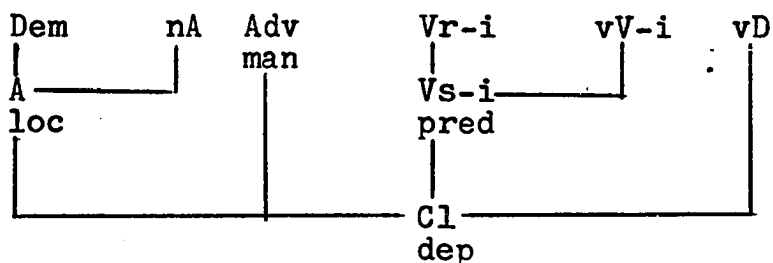
'uncle, what has become of you?' (literally, what have you become?)

(7) (b) cay + man ri + y
 that All go Imp
 (place)



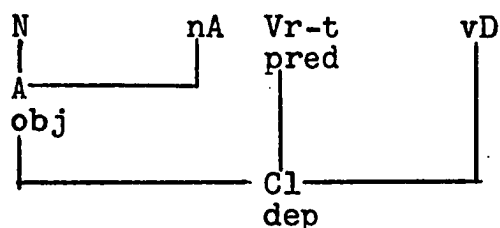
'go there'

(c) cay + pi ažagman siri + ri + špa
 that Loc face up lie M-p Ptc-e
 (place)



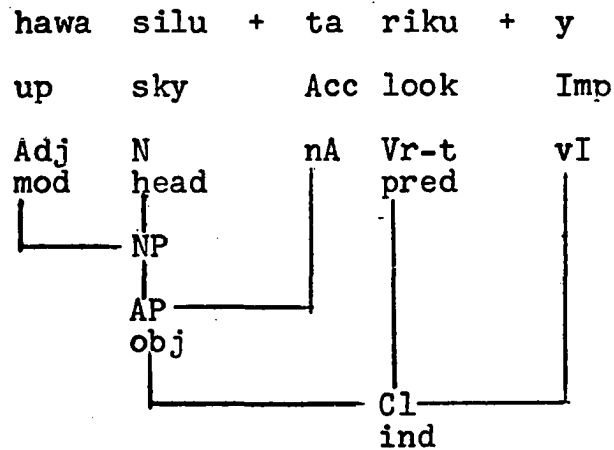
'lying down there face up'

šimi + ta paska + špa
 mouth Acc open Ptc-e



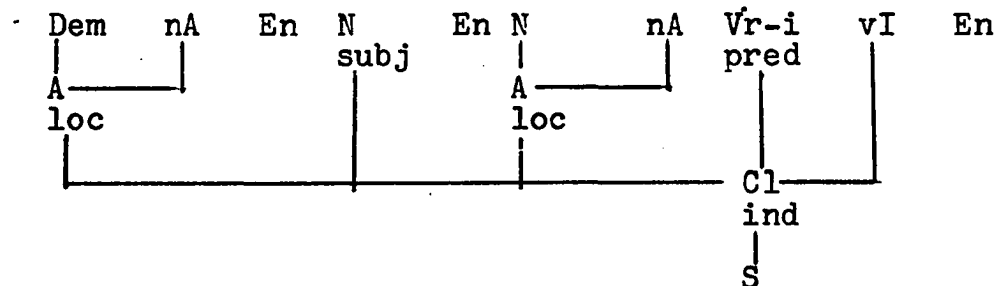
'opening (your) mouth'

(7) (c) (cont)

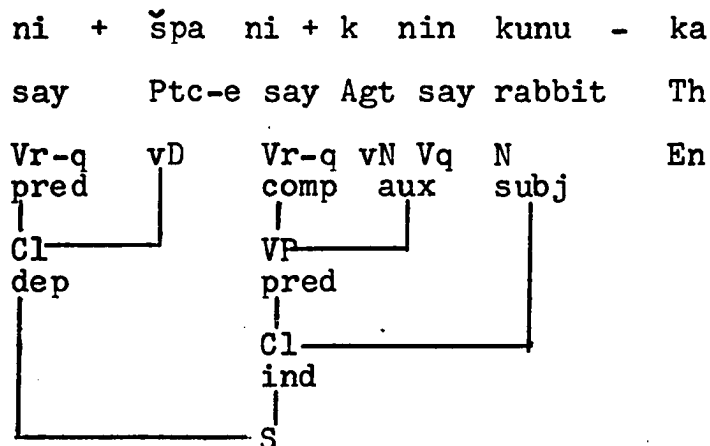


'look up at the sky'

- (d) cay + pi - mi yaku - ka šimi + pi šutu + nga ža
 that Loc Aff water Th mouth Loc drip 3Fut just
 (place)



'in that place water will just drip in your mouth'



'saying ..., the rabbit said (it)'

(8) šina ni + kpi - ka

thus say Ptc-d Th

Adv	Vr-q	vD	En
man	pred		
└───┬───┘			
	Cl		
	dep		

'so saying'

atuk - ka ri + k ža nin

wolf Th go Agt just say

N	En	Vr-i	nA	En	Vq
subj		comp		aux	
└───┬───┘					
		VP			
		pred			
└───┬───┘					
		Cl			
		ind			

'the wolf went'

(a) pagi wawa

thanks child

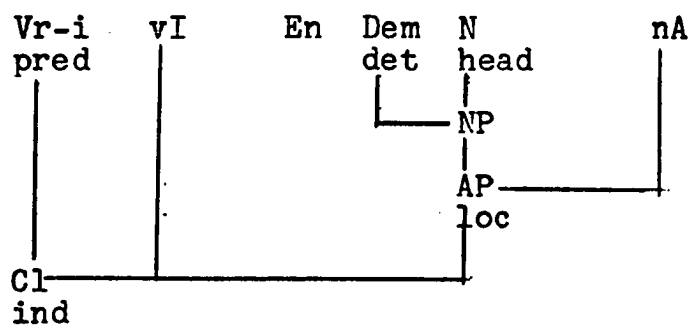
(b) šina + špa - ka

thus Ptc-e Th
(be)

Vr-i	vD	En
pred		
└───┬───┘		
	Cl	
	dep	

'if that's the case'

(8) (c) ri + ni - mi cay larka + man
 go l Aff that arroyo All

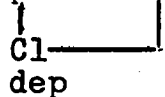


'I'll go to that arroyo'

ni + špa - ka

say Ptc-e Th

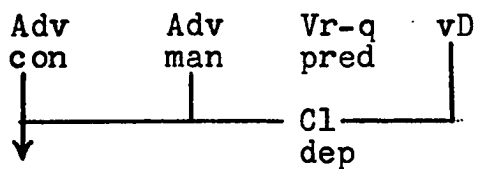
Vr-q vD En



'saying'

(9) kutin cašna ni + kpi

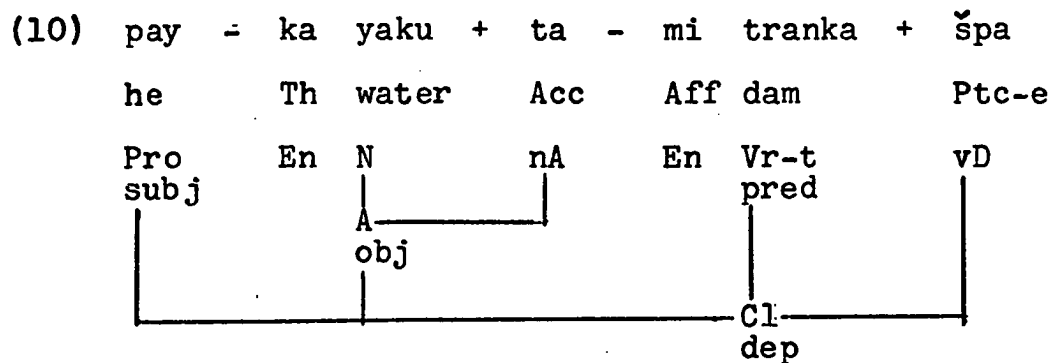
then thus say Ptc-d



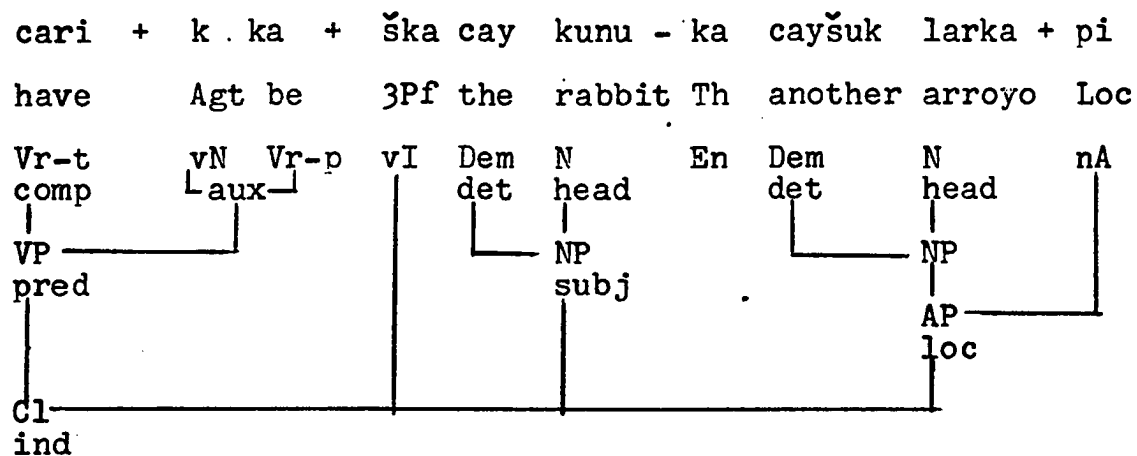
'having so said'

(9) (cont) kaca + špa - ka
 send Ptc-e Th
 Vr-t vD En
 pred
 |
 Cl —————
 dep

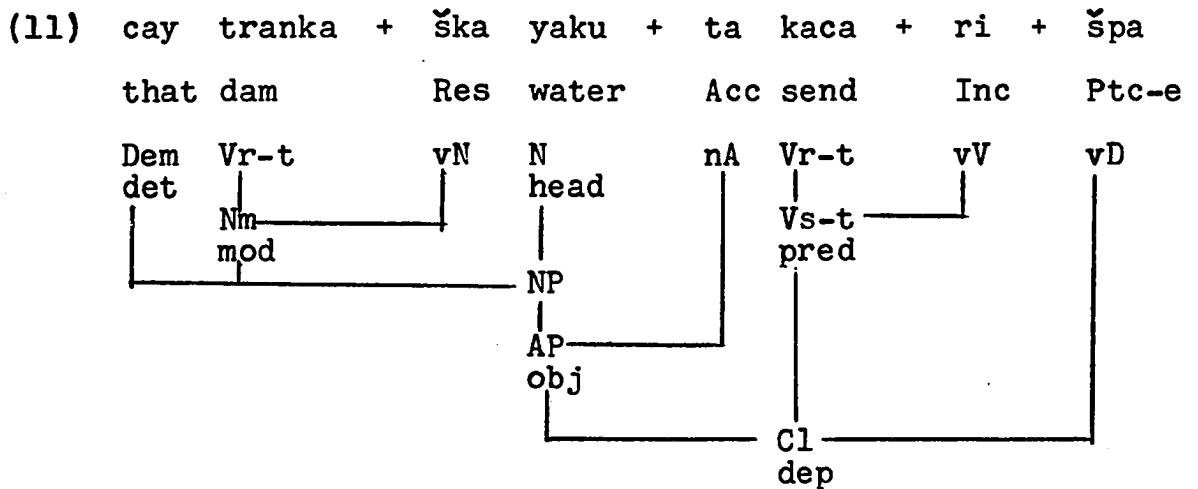
'(when) (the rabbit) had sent (the wolf)'



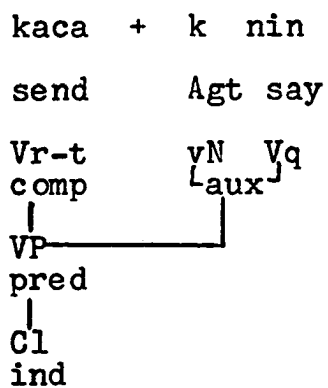
'he, damming water (up)...'



'the rabbit used to have (it) in another arroyo'

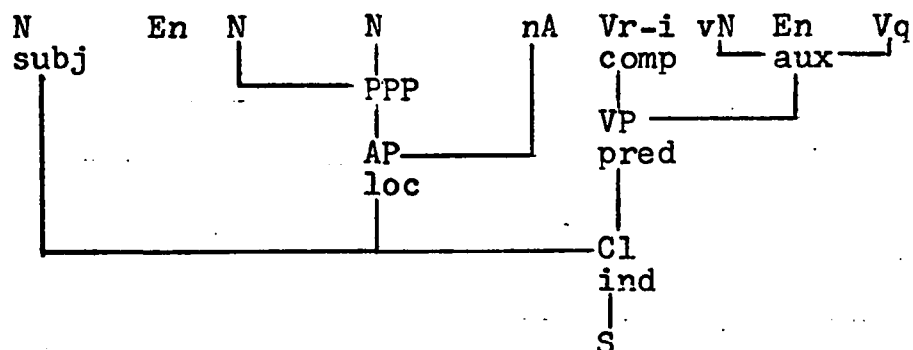


'releasing the water that was dammed up'



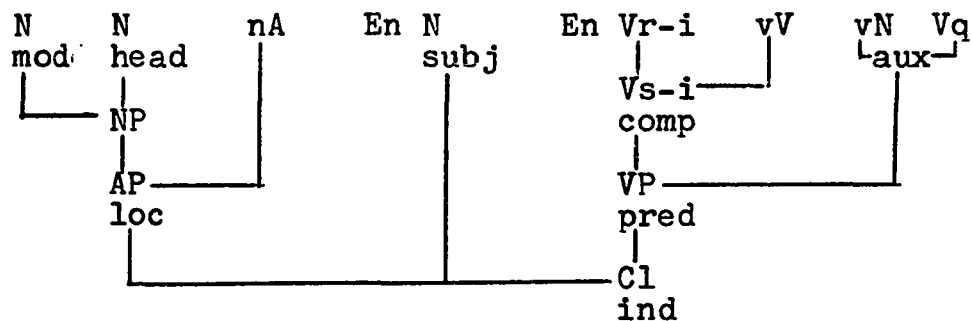
'he sent (it)'

(12) yaku - ka larka wayku + ta ri + k ža nin
 water Th arroyo bottom Acc go Agt just say



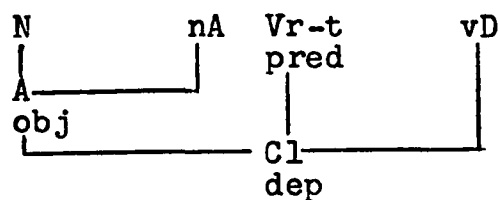
'the water ran along the bottom of the arroyo'

(13) ura wayku + man - ka atuk - ka siri + ku + k nin
 down valley All Th wolf Th lie Cont Agt say



'down the valley the wolf was lying'

yaku + ta cava + špa
 water Acc wait Ptc-e



'waiting for the water'

(13) (cont)

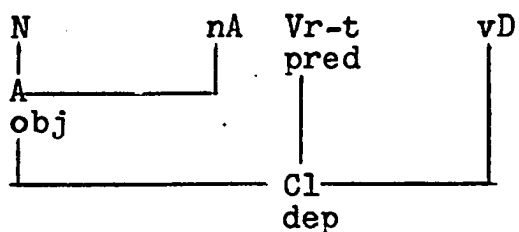
ažagman

Adv
man

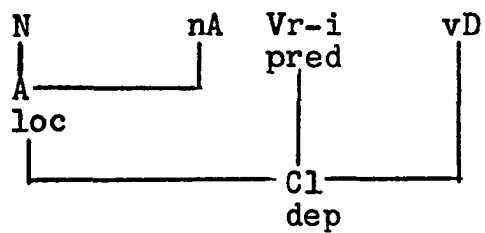
'face up'

rigra + ta paska + špa

arm Acc open Ptc-e

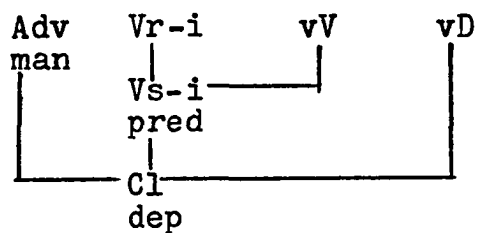


(13) (cont) hawa + ta riku + šna
 up Acc look Ptc-e



'looking up'

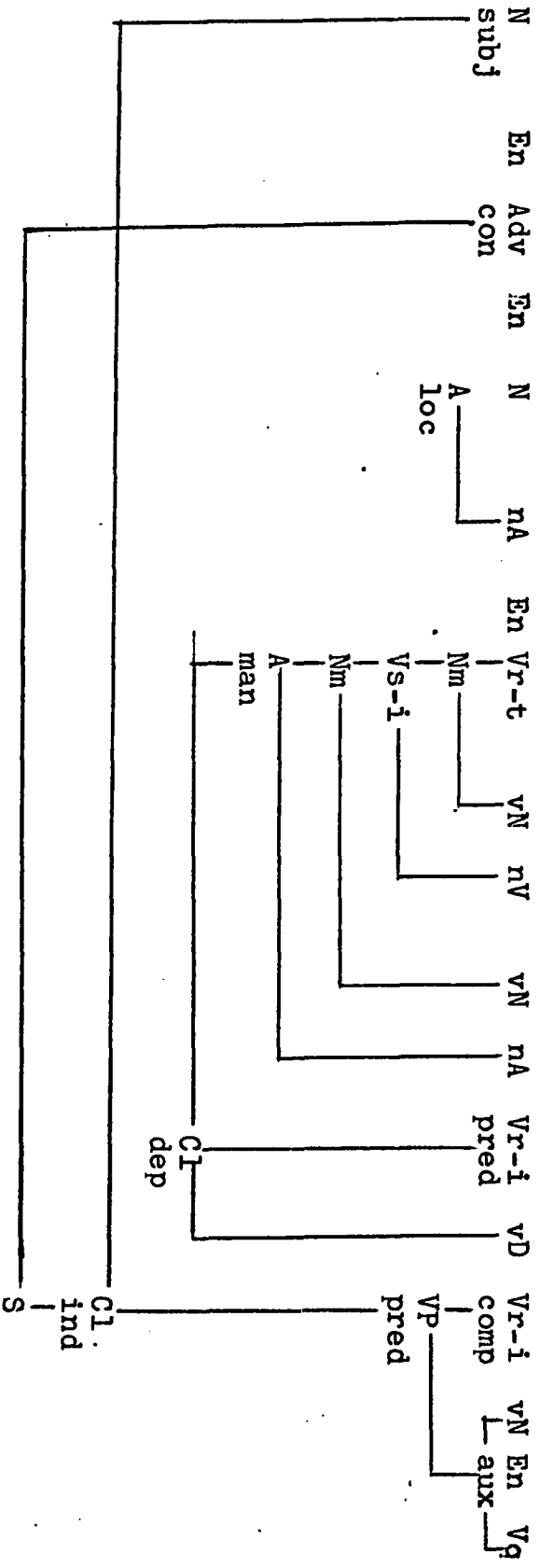
(14) šina siri + ku + kpi - ka
 thus lie Cont Ptc-d Th



'while he was lying like that'

(14) (cont)

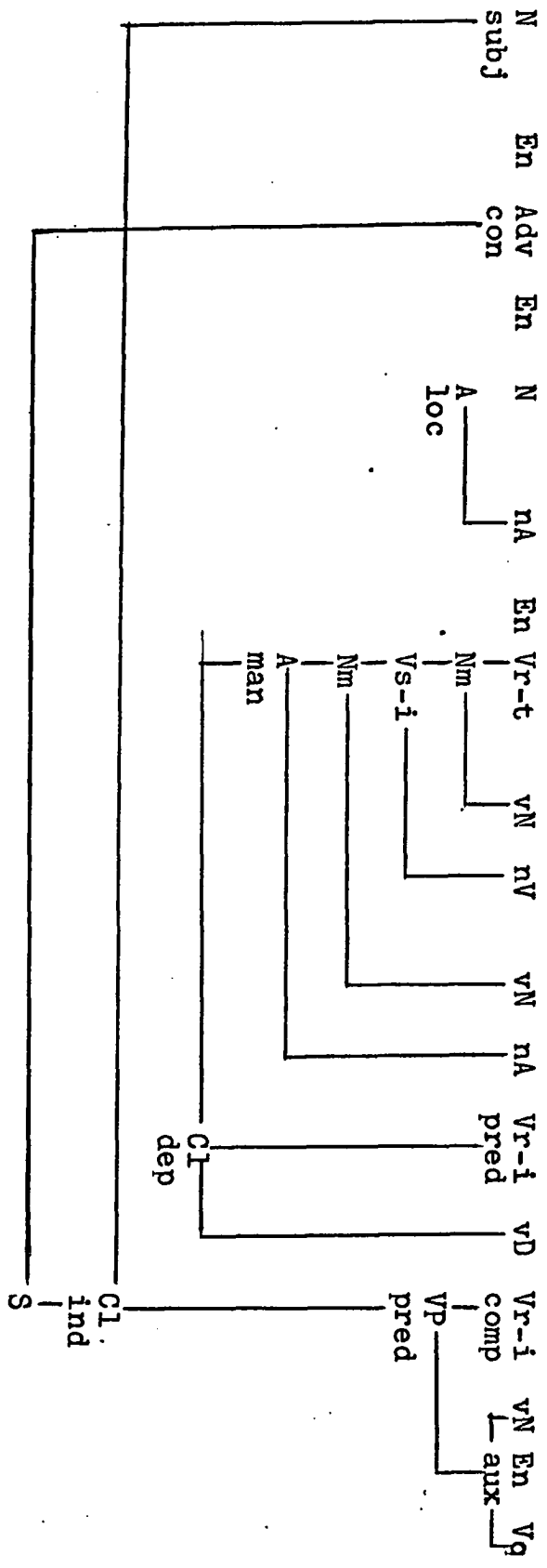
yaku - ka ña - piš harak + ta - ka manca + na + ya + k + ta wakya +špa šamu + k ža nīr
 water Th now Conj up Acc Th fear Subst Mut Agt Acc rush Ptc-e come Agt just say



'and then the water come along above (him), rushing fearfully'
 (note that 'fearfully' is a lexeme, not a nonce form)

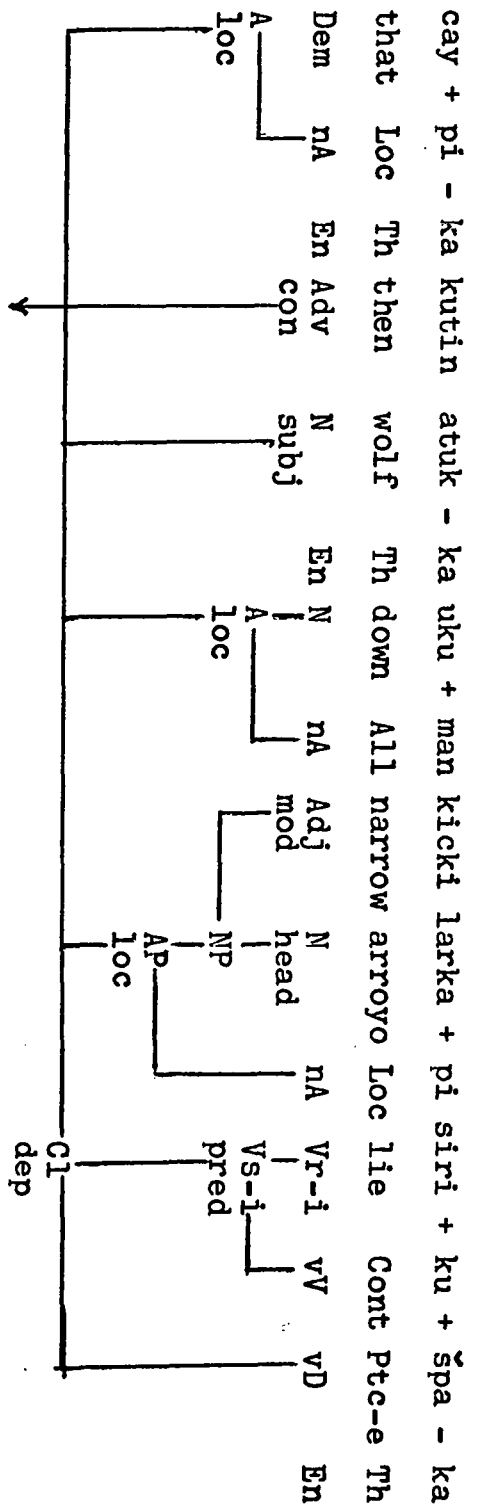
(14) (cont)

yaku - ka ña - piš hanak + ta - ka manca + na + ya + k + ta wakya +špa šamu + k ža nin
 water Th now Conj up Acc Th fear Subst Mut Agt Acc rush Ptc-e come Agt just say



'and then the water come along above (him), rushing fearfully'
 (note that 'fearfully' is a lexeme, not a nonce form)

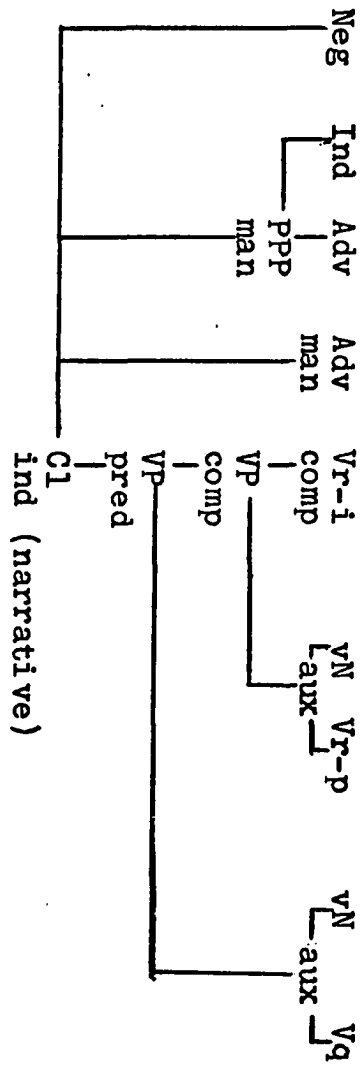
(15)



'since the wolf was lying in that narrow arroyo'

(15) (cont)

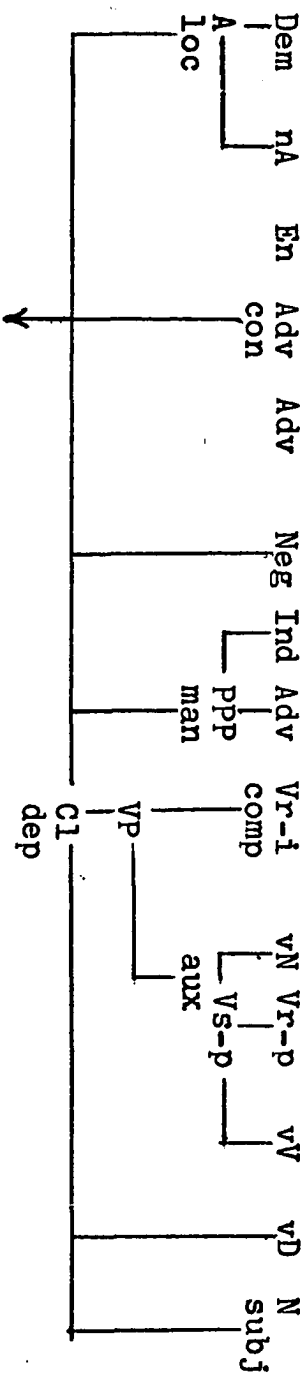
mana ima šina utka hatari + y tuku + ška nin
 not some thus early get up Inf become Res say
 (thing)



'there was no way (for him) to get up quickly'

(18)

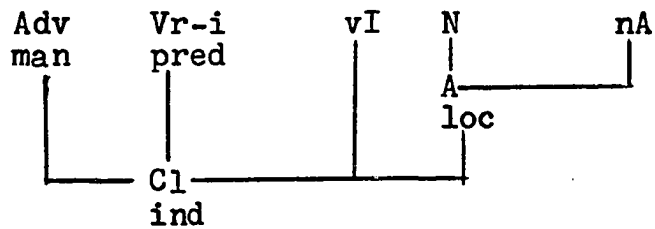
cay + pi - mi kutin kazi mana ima šina žukši + y tuku + ku + špa atuk - ka
 that Loc Aff then almost not what thus get out Inf become Cont wolf Th
 Ptc-e



'so in that place there was almost no way for the wolf to get out'

(18) (cont)

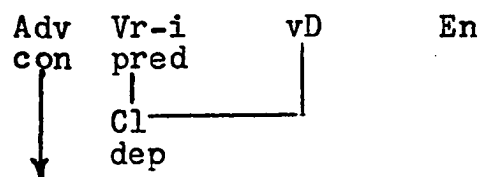
antis žukši + ška ažpa + man

bare- get out 3Pf land All
ly

'he barely got out to dry land'

(19) ňa žukši + špa - ka

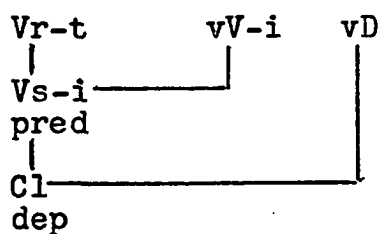
now get out Ptc-e Th



'when he had gotten out'

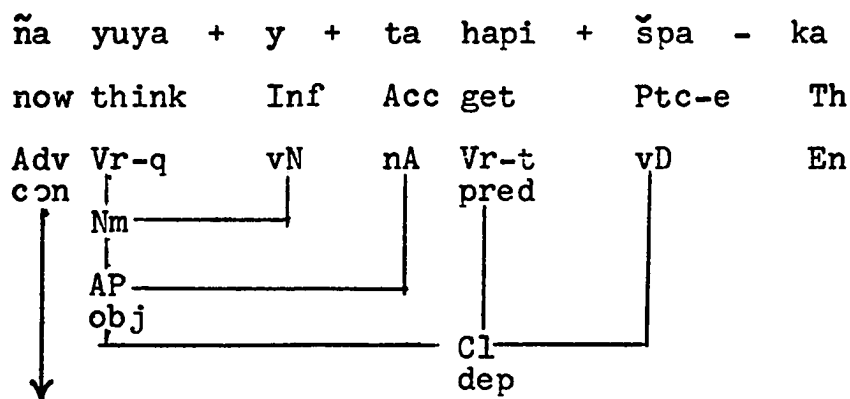
caspi + ri + špa

shake M-p Ptc-e

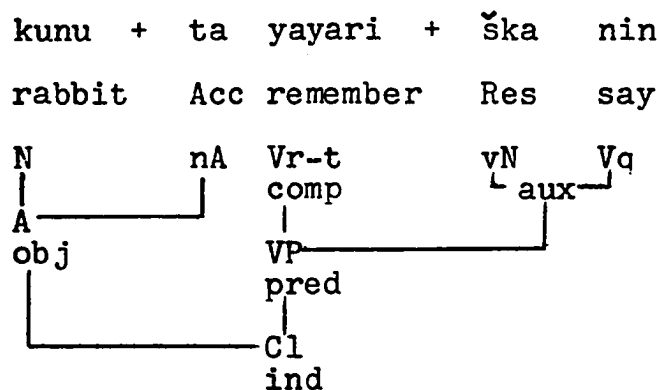


'shaking himself'

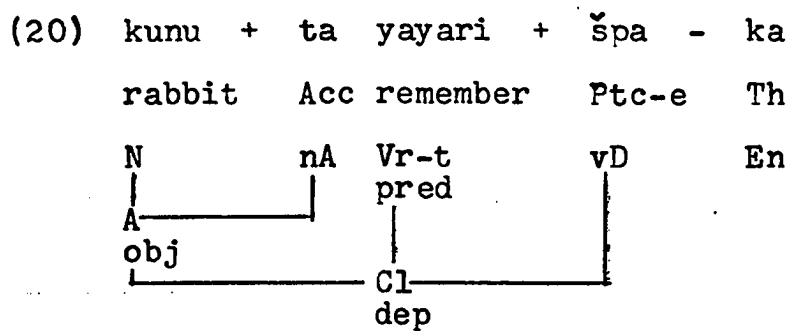
(19) (cont)



'when he had collected his wits'



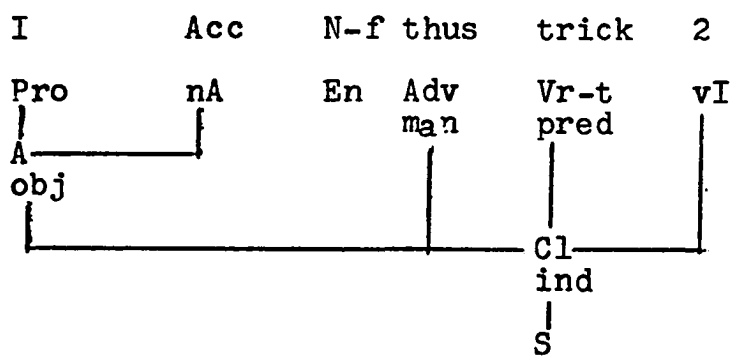
'he remembered the rabbit'



'having remembered the rabbit'

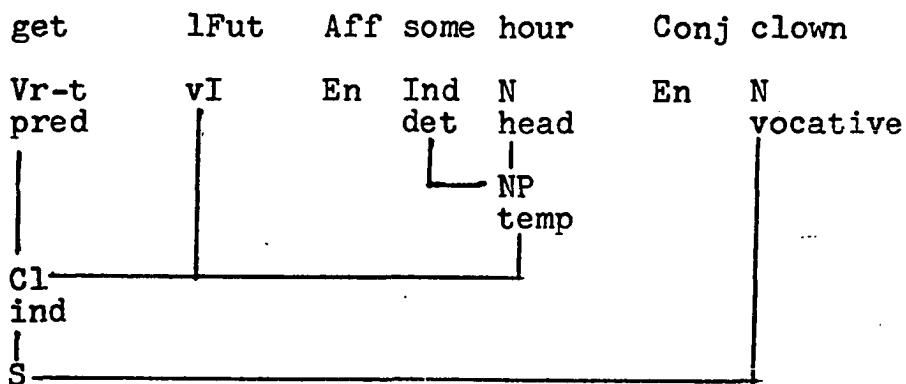
(20) (a) bwinu kunu
well rabbit

(b) ñuka + ta - cu cašna uma + ngi



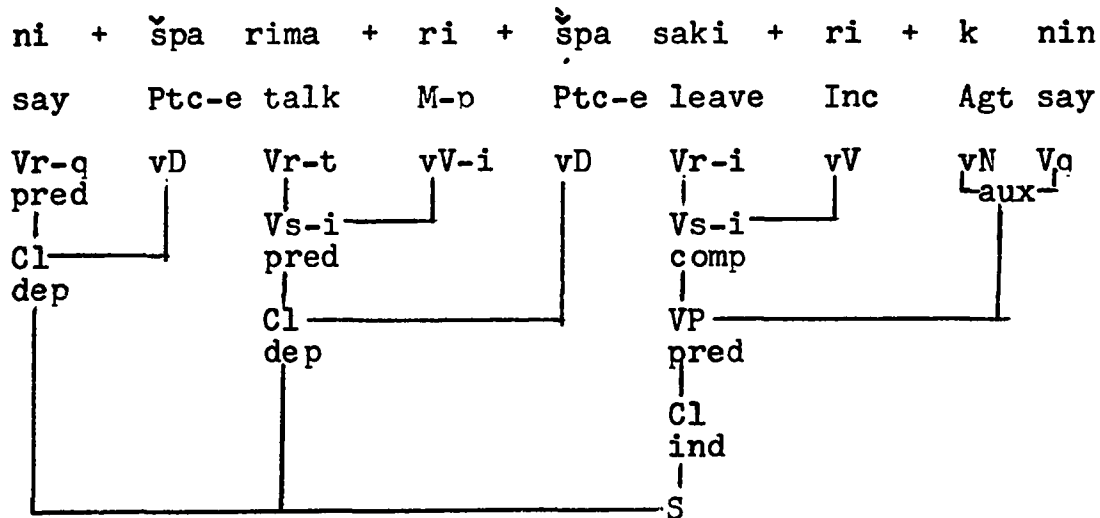
'So you've tricked me, have you?'

(c) hapi + ša - mi ima ora - piš biringu



'I'll get you sometime too, clown.'

(20) (cont)



'saying (a)-(c), talking to himself, he left'

(21) kašna ža - mi kay parlo - ka

thus just Aff this story Th

Adv En En Dem N En

predn det head

VP NP

pred subj

Cl

ind

S

'this is how the story (goes)'

DICTIONARY

Each word is given in morphonic notation. It is then followed by a word class or morphotactic label and a definition.

The alphabetic order is: a, b, c, ch, d, d̄, e, g, h, i, j, k, kh, l, m, n, ñ, o, p, ph, r, s, š, t, th, ts, t̄, u, w, y, z, ž. The vowels e and o are found only in Spanish words.

The dictionary includes all words in the corpus, some of which do not appear in this grammar and text.

A

- abono N fertilizer (Sp)
 aci Vr-i shine
 acka Q much
 ackata Adv very
 akca N hair
 alaja Adj pretty, nice (Sp)
 alájata Adv carefully
 aliri Adj visible
 alwajanu N master of ceremonies at a feast
 ama Proh don't
 amsa Adj dark
 amuži amuži Adv to eat or drink in large gulps
 ancu Vr-t separate
 ancuri Vs-i to depart
 ancuci Vs-d to take away

anga N sparrow hawk
 angu N tendon; vine
 apa Vr-t to carry
 apari Vs-t to carry on top of oneself
 apura Vr-i to hurry (Sp)
 ari yes
 arik used before a person's name when asking a favor
 arma Vr-t to wash, bathe (?)
 asadón N large hoe with axe-like handle (Sp)
 asi Vr-i to laugh
 aspi Vr-t to scratch
 aswa N chicha, home-made beer
 aša Q few
 ašna Vr-i to stink
 ašta Adj well done
 aštawan/astawan Pre-Adj more
 atižpa N chicken
 awa Vr-t to weave
 ayca N meat, flesh
 aža Vr-t to dig
 ažagman Adv lying down face up
 aži Adj good, fine
 ažici Vs-t to mend
 ažiyaci Vs-t to heal
 ažku N dog
 ažpa N land

B

- barbica Vr-t to plow (Sp)
 bafuk N lamb
 birdikla/birdikža Adj green
 biringu N childish person, practical joker
 biži N calf
 botonaška Nm knot (Sp)
 brujo N witch (Sp)
 bwelta Vr-i to turn (around)

C

- cagra N field
 cagru Vr-t to mix different things
 caka N bridge
 caki N foot
 caki Vr-i to be dry
 cakiciška Nm dried out things (used as an adjective)
 calwa N fish
 canga N leg
 mama canga N thigh
 capa Vr-i to wait
 capak Nm spy
 capu Vr-t to mix a solid with a liquid
 cari Vr-t to have
 caspi Vr-t to shake
 cašna Adv like that, in that way
 cašna Vr-i to do something in that way
 cawpi N middle

cay Dem there
 caya Vr-i to arrive, approach
 cibo N goat (Sp)
 cicu Vr-i to be pregnant
 cimba PP on the other side
 cinga Vr-i to be lost
 ciri N cold
 ciri Vr-i to be cold
 ciši N afternoon
 cugri Vr-i to be wounded
 cugža N hut
 cugža Vr-i to build a hut
 cukcu Vr-i to tremble
 cumbi N belt
 cumbiži Vr-t to tie with a belt
 cunga Num ten
 cunžuži N intestines
 cupa N tail
 cupu N lard
 cura Vr-t to put
 curana Nm clothing
 curi N son
 cuša Vr-i to be empty
 cuta Vr-t to pull
 cuzu Adj thin

Ch

chikan Adj separate
 chimba N braid

chuka N saliva

chuka Vr-i to spit

D

dedo N finger (Sp)

Đ

đosolopagi thanks (Sp. God will pay you)

đos N God

E

espelma N candle (Sp)

G

gacu N horn

garwa N rain

giñi N twilight (whether morning or night)

giñiya Vr-i to become dusk

grano N grain (Sp)

guzu N swamp, bog

H

haca N hatchet (sp)

haku let's go!

hala hail, hey

- halažon N jaw
- hambi N medicine
- han hán bow-wow
- hanak N north
- hantsi afrecho
- hapi Vr-t to get, take
- hapiri Vs-t to touch (start to take)
- harka N club, stick
- harka Vr-t to criticize; detain; used also of weeds choking
out the good plants
- hatari Vr-i to get up
- hatun Adj large, great
- hawa N up
- hawan Adj above
- hawa Vr-i to go up
- hayta Vr-t to kick
- hažma Vr-i to weed (there are three weedingings for most
crops: wawa hažmay 'baby weeding', malta hažmay
'adolescent weeding', ultimo hažmay 'last weeding')
- hica Vr-t to spill, pour; to sow broadcast
- hila Vr- to make a line (Sp fila)
- hinti N person (Sp gente)
- huca N sin
- humbi N sweat
- hukuyaška Nm wet
- hunda Vr-i to be full

hundaci Vs-t to fill
 hutku N cave
 hutku Vr-t to perforate, make a hole
 hwersa N force (Sp)
 hwersa Vr-i to be forceful

I

icu Adj right-hand, right side
 ima Ind something, what
 inti N sun
 intirra Vr-t to bury (Sp)
 intun N chin
 irki Adj skinny
 iskun Num nine
 ismu Vr-i to decay
 iški Num two
 iža Vr-i to be lacking

K

kaca Vr-t to send
 kacariri Vs-i to jump
 kaci N salt
 kamiza N shirt (Sp)
 kan Pro you
 ka Vr-i to be
 kanasta N basket (Sp)
 kanta Vr-t to sing (Sp)

kant̃is	Num	seven
kanža	Adj	out-of-doors
kapari	Vr-i	to yell, cry out
kapulis	N	tree with red grape-like fruit (Sp)
kara	N	skin
karro	N	bus or car (Sp)
karu	Adj	distant
kaspi	N	pole
kašna	Adv	like this, in this way
kašna	Vr-i	to do like this
kati	Vr-t	to follow
kawsa	Vr-i	to live
kay	Dem	this
kaya	N	morning
kaya	Vr-t	to call, summon
kayna	N	yesterday
kazu	Vr-t	to respect, obey
kažari	Vr-i	to begin (used as an auxiliary)
kažpa	Vr-i	to run
kicki	Adj	narrow
kicu	Vr-t	to take away
kijados	N	cheek (Sp)
kikin	Adj	own (one's own)
kimsa	Num	three
kingu	N	twistedness
kinri	N	hill, slope of a hill

kiru N tooth
 kiša N sheep
 kišpi Vr-i to be safe
 kiža N moon
 kižka N to write
 kižu Adj yellow
 krespo N dawn (Sp)
 kri Vr-t to believe (Sp)
 kruza Vr-t to plow lightly just for putting in the seed,
 ie. to open up furrows (Sp)
 ku Vr-d to give
 kuca N lake
 kuci N pig
 kucu Adj close
 kucuya Vs-i to approach, get close to
 kucu Vr-t to cut, reap
 kukayu N travelling food
 kumbida Vr-t to invite (Sp)
 kumbida Vr-d to give as a gift (Sp)
 kumuri Vr-i to bow down
 kunan Adv now
 kunga N neck; voice
 kunga Vr-t to forget
 kungari Vs-t to forget
 kunguri Vr-i to kneel
 kunguri N knee
 kunu N warm time in the afternoon with no wind

kura N priest (Sp)
 kuri N gold
 kusa N husband
 kuša Vr-t to fry
 kušiku Vs-i to be happy
 kušni N smoke
 kušnikuna ni VP to make smoke
 kuštal N large bag or sack (Sp)
 kuta Vr-t to grind (grain) coarsely
 kutin Adv times
 kutin con then, next
 kutin kutin Adv again and again
 kutici Vr-t to return
 kuyu Vr-i to move
 kužki N money, silver
 kwidara Vr-t to guard (Sp)

Kh

khami Vr-i to talk slanderously
 khankan Adj windy, dusty
 khari N man
 khari khari N strong man, he-man
 khata Vr-t to cover
 khata N bed-clothes
 khatu Vr-t to sell
 khažu N tongue
 khipa N after
 khipu N foreman, mayordomo

khiwa N grass
 khiwa Vr-i to cut grass
 khiža N pitcher
 khiža Adj lazy
 khižin N sandstone
 khoral N corral (Sp)
 khucu Adj near, close
 khuru Vr-i to become wormy
 khuru N worm
 khuya Vr-t to love

L

ladra Vr-i to bark (Sp)
 larka N river, bed, quebrada
 laya PP like
 libre Pre-adj completely
 limšu Adj clean
 lino N linen (Sp)
 linso N handkerchief (Sp)
 lutu N shroud (Sp)
 luzero N star (Sp)

M

maca Vr-i to be drunk
 macka N flour
 majadata manure fertilizer (Sp)
 maki N hand
 maki šungu N palm of the hand (lit. heart of the hand)

mama N mother
 mana Neg no, not
 manca Vr-i to be afraid
 mancanayak Nm fearful, causer of fear
 manda Vr-t to send (Sp)
 mandak Nm official
 manga N pot
 maniža N bracelet (Sp)
 maña Vr-t to pray to
 maña Vr-d to ask for
 mapa Adj dirty
 maška Vr-t to seek
 mašya Vr-t to heat with a flame
 mate N round calabash plate
 mafu ProN Matthew
 may Ind somewhere, where
 mayjan Ind someone, who
 maytu Vr-t to swaddle
 mayža Vr-t to wash
 medyo Q half (Sp)
 mici Vr-t to pastor
 miku Vr-t to eat
 mikuna Nm food
 minga Vr- to entrust someone with something
 ministiri Vr- to need
 mira Vr-i to increase in size
 mirga N piece
 miša Vr-t to pass, beat in a race

miški Adj sweet
 mitiku Vr-i to be hiding
 mitsa Vr-i to be selfish, stingy
 miža Vr-t to hate
 mižga Vr-t to carry something in one's skirt
 mižay Adj bad
 mižma N wool
 mono N monkey (Sp)
 montón N mound (Sp)
 muca Vr-t to kiss
 mucila N sack (manufactured) (Sp)
 mujun N landmark, boundary
 muna Vr-t to want
 mušuk Adj new
 mutsu Vr-i to suffer
 mutki Vr-t to smell
 muyu Vr-i to go around
 muyu N seed; spere

N

nacú Int right?
 nanay Nm pain
 ni Vr-q to say
 ni Vr-t to want

nina N fire

Ñ

ñā Adv at this time, now, by now, already

ñaja Adv a while ago

ñaka Vr-t to torment (?)

ñakca N comb

ñāñu Adj thin (not used for people)

ñan N road, path

ñawi N face; eye

ñawpa Adv before, earlier

ñawpa Vr-t to precede, go before

ñitka Vr-i to trip, stumble

ñuka Pro I

ñuku N garbage

ñutku/ñuktu N brain

ñutu Vr-t to pulverize

P

paca N place, time, domain, area

pakari Vr-i to dawn

pakari N dawn

pakaža Adj secret, hidden

pakta Vr-t to measure up to, reach (time or place), suffice

pamba N floor, plain; grave

pamba Vr-t to bury

papa N potato

parba Vr-t to stack hay
 pargati N sandle
 parla Vr-d to tell or talk (Sp)
 parlo N story (Sp)
 paska Vr-t to open, untie
 pata N boundary, wall, lake shore
 patari Vr-t to fold, double over
 patsak Num one hundred
 pay Pro he, she
 pega Vr-t to hit (Sp)
 pegari Vr-i to get stuck on (Sp)
 pela Vr-t to skin (Sp)
 pi Ind someone, who
 picka Num five
 piki N louse
 pilci N plate
 pilis N boil
 pišku N bird; testicles
 piŕafaw N grasshopper
 piŕiža N a little bit, small amount
 piyula N string (Sp)
 pižu Vr-t to envelope
 pozada N room for the night
 pucka Vr-i to freeze
 pugiw N well (of water)
 pugža Vr-i to play

puka Adj red
 pungi Vr-i to swell
 pungu N door
 punta Adj first
 punta Vr-i to go in front
 puntasapa PPP sharp, pointed
 punža N day
 puñu Vr-i to sleep
 pura PP among
 puri Vr-i to walk
 pusak Num eight
 puša Vr-t to guide, direct, take to
 puzun N stomach

Ph

phanga N leaf (either of a tree or of paper)
 phatsak ni Vr-i to make the sound of splashing
 phaza N anything rough
 phica Vr- to sweep
 phicu afrecho
 phiña Vr-t to be angry with someone, to dislike
 phiti Vr-t to cut
 phuku Vr-i to blow
 phuku Vr-i to mature
 phundu N clay jar
 phuyu N cloud

R

- raki Vr-t to divide, distribute
 raku Adj thick
 randi Vr-t to buy
 rasu N snow
 rawa N furrow
 relampa N lightning (Sp)
 ri Vr-i to go
 rigra N arm
 rikcari Vr-i to wake up
 riksi Vr-t to know
 riku Vr-t to see
 rikuk Nm ruler, overseer
 rikuri Vs-i to appear, to be seen
 rima Vr-t to speak
 rinrin N ear
 rugari Vr-i to beg, plead
 ruku Adj old
 rumi N stone
 runa N man
 rupa Vr-i to burn
 rupagža Adj hot
 rura Vr-t to do, make
 rura Vr-d to play a trick on someone (both objects take
 ta nA 'Accusative')
 rutu Vr-t to shear

S

- saca N wild woods
- sagma Vr-t to butt with the head
- saki Vr-t to leave
- sakiri Vr-p to be left
- saksa Vr-i to eat to satisfaction
- samari Vr-i to rest
- samay Nm breathing; spirit
- sampi N shin
- sanja N fence of any material but not a wall
- sapi N root
- sapo N frog (Sp)
- sara N corn
- sarsižo N earring (Sp)
- saru Vr-t to step on
- sarun Adv earlier
- sebada N barley (Sp)
- siki N buttocks
- siksik N hand spinner for making thread
- sindi Vr-t to light a fire (Sp)
- singa N nose
- singu Vr-i to tumble
- sinži Adj hard
- siri Vr-i to lie down
- sisā N flower
- sortijas N ring (Sp)
- sucu N paralytic
- sukta Num six

sukus N cheek; small cart
 sumak Adj beautiful
 sumiru N hat (Sp)
 suni Adj large
 supay N devil
 surku Vr-t to take out
 sustu N fright, worry (Sp)
 swedro N father-in-law (Sp)

š

šamu Vr-i to come
 šaya Vr-i to stand
 šayku Vr-i to become tired
 šigra N woven purse
 šiksi Vr-i to itch
 šimi N word; mouth
 šimi kara N lips
 šimi sapa N big mouth, talker
 šina Adv thus
 šinažatak Adv in just the same way, likewise
 šita Vr-t to throw out
 šižu N fingernail
 šuk Num one; a, some
 šuktak Adj another, a different one
 šungu N heart
 šuti N name
 šutu Vr-i to drip
 šuwa N thief

T

- takša Vr- to wash
 tamyā N rain
 tamy Vr-i to rain
 tanda N bread
 tandanaku Vs-i to gather together
 tapa Vr-t to tamp down soil (Sp)
 tapu Vr-t to question
 tari Vr-t to find
 tarpu Vr-t to sow
 tawka Q enough, a lot
 tawkukuna Q quite a few
 tawna N wooden pole
 tayta N father
 tazin N nest
 tigra Vr-i to turn
 tini Vr- to dye
 tiya Vr-i to exist
 tozba Vr-t to tamp down the soil (Sp)
 trago N whiskey (Sp)
 tranka Vr-t to dam up (Sp)
 trigo N wheat (Sp)
 tuku Vr-i to take place
 tuku Vr-p to become
 tukuy Q all
 tumbiku Vr-i to nod, stumble with sleep or exhaustion

tunguri N stomach
 tupa Vr-t to find
 tuta N night
 tutura N reeds (Sp)
 tužu N bone

Th

thanga Vr-t to push
 thiw N sand

Ts

tsagma Vr-t cultivate with a hoe
 tsagna Vr-t to tie the hands
 tsambuk ni Vr-i to make splashing noises
 tsanga/tsanka Vr-t to grind coarsely
 tsawar N cabuya plant
 tsigni Vr-t to dislike, hate
 tsirapa Vr-i to bristle
 tsiya N louse
 tsupa Vr-t to absorb, suck

Ƨ

Ƨaski Vr-t to receive, accept
 Ƨimu ProN Timothy
 Ƨubi ProN Torribio
 Ƨugža Vr-t to make a lasso
 Ƨuma ProN Thomas
 Ƨusku Num Ƨ four

fuspi N fly

U

ubya Vr-t to drink

uciža Adj small, little

ucpa N ashes

ugžari Vr-t to hug, hatch, brood over

uka N Oca plant

ukša N straw

uku Adv inside, under

uku Vr-i to go down

ukukta Adv deep

uma N head

uma Vr-t to outsmart, trick, deceive

ungu Vr-i to be ill

unipi Adv for a long time

upa Adj silent

uri N border of a field

uri N downgrade

uri Vr-i to go down

urku N hill

urma Vr-i to fall

urpi N dove

ušuta N sandal

utka Adv early, soon

utku Vr-t to dig

uya Vr-t to listen

uyun N elbow

W

waca Vr-t to give birth

wacu N furrows

wagra N bull, ox

wagži Vr-t to damage

wakca Adj poor

waki Vr-i to be safe

wakin N someone

wakta Vr-t to hit

wakya Vr-i to make a rushing sound

wambu Vr-i to float, swim

wamra N child, youth

wangu N apparatus for spinning thread

wañu Vr-i to die; of a flame - to go out

wañuci Vs-t to kill

wañuri Vs-i to be killed

waranga Num 1000

warmi N woman; wife

wasi N house

waska N cord, rope

waša N shoulder

waša Adv after, behind

- wata N year
- wata Vr-t to tie (probably related to 'year' by the
quipu tradition)
- wawa N baby, child
- wawki N man's brother
- wayku N lower area, valley
- wayna N adulteress
- wayra N wind
- wiciya Vr-i to climb
- wicka Vr-t to close (the door)
- wiksa N womb, intestines
- wingu N calabash plate
- wiña Vr-i to grow
- wiñay Nm forever, a long time
- wira N fat
- wiši Vr-t to draw liquid with a vessel
- wiža Vr-d to tell, preach; time the watch says

Y

- yaca Vr-t to know
- yaku N water
- yana Adj black
- yanga
- yanu Vr-t to cook
- yapu Vr-t to plow
- yarika Vr-i to feel hunger
- yawar N blood
- yaya N father

yayari Vr-t to remember
 yayku Vr-i to enter
 yaži Comp more; enough
 yunta N ox yoke
 yupa Vr-t to count
 yura N tree, bush
 yurak Adj white
 yuya Vr-q to think

Z

zuyu N dawn (earlier than pakari)

Ž

žaki Vr-i to feel sad, to suffer
 žakta N country, region
 žambu Vr-i to quake (earthquake)
 žanu Vr-i to be smooth
 žiki Vr-t to break
 žucka N mud
 žucu Vr-t to peel
 žuki N left (hand)
 žušti Vr-t to peel potatoes
 žukši Vr-i to go out
 žuža N lie
 žuža Vr-i to tell a lie

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[]	Phonetic notation
/ /	Phonemic notation
	Morphonic notation
‡	Phonological word boundary
+	Morpheme boundary
-	Enclitic boundary
\$	Syllable boundary
ˈ	Contrastive stress
ˆ	Primary stress
˘	Secondary stress
˙	Weak stress

Phonology:

Al	Alveolar
Cl	Closed
D	Dental
Fr	Front
G	Glottal
Gl	Glide
L	Lateral
Lb	Labial
N	Nasal
R	Retroflex
Sp	Spirant
Vd	Voiced
Ve	Velar
Vo	Vowel

Morphology:

vV, vD, vI, vN (212a)

nN, nV, nA (212b)

d	Ditransitive
i	Intransitive
t	Transitive
p	Predicative
q	Quotative
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Accp	Accompaniment
Adj	Adjective
AdjP	Adjective phrase
Adv	Adverb
Aff	Affirmative
Agt	Agentive
AP	Adverb phrase
B-p	Benefactive-purposive
Caus	Causative
Cisl	Cislocative
Cns-d	Consequential - different subject
Cns-e	Consequential - same subject
Comp	Comparative
Conf	Confirmed opinion
Conj	Conjunction

Cont	Continuative
Dat	Dative
Diff	Differential
Emph	Emphatic of opinion
En	Enclitic
F	Future
Form	Formative
Hon	Honorific
Imp	Imperative
Impf	Imperfective
Inc	Inceptive
Ind	Indefinite
Inf	Infinitive
Int	Intensive
Lim	Limitative
Loc	Locative
M-p	Medio-passive
N	Noun
Neg	Negative
N-f	Non-factual
NmP	Nominal phrase
NP	Noun phrase
Num	Numeral
P	Past
Pf	Perfect
Pi	Plural
Poss	Possessive

PP	Postposition
PPP	Postpositional phrase
Pro	Pronoun
Prop	Propensitive
Ptc-d	Participle - different subject
Ptc-e	Participle - equivalent subject
Q	Quantifier
Rec	Receptive
Recip	Reciprocal
Rep	Repetitive
Res	Resultative
Sg	Singular
Spec	Speculative
Subs	Substantive
Th	Theme
Transf	Transformative
Unc	Unconfirmed opinion
VP	Verb phrase
Vr	Verb root
Vs	Verb stem

Syntax:

a	Adverb
accp	Accompaniment
aux	Auxiliary
ben	Benefactive
comp	Comparative
con	Connective
dep	Dependent

det	Determiner
dq	Direct quotation
ind	Independent
ind obj	Indirect object
loc	Locative
man	Manner
mod	Modifier
mot	Motivational
obj	Object
poss	Possessive
pre-adj	Pre-adjective
pred	Predicate
predn	Predication
predr	Predicator
q	Quantifier
quot	Quotative verb
subj	Subject
temp	Temporal

Bibliography

Only two of the entries below are cited in the text. These are listed, however, because they have been of great value in my general study of the language and should be given due recognition. Furthermore, the student of Quechua will find here a good introduction to the study of Quechua.

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