A GRAMMAR OF SOUTHERN YAUYOS QUECHUA

DRAFT Aug. 17, 2014

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1This document was prepared with the support of two National Endowment for the Humanities-National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages fellowships (FN-50099-11, FN-50109-12). Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation. Thanks to Willem Adelaar for extremely helpful comments. Thanks, too, to my consultants Eudosia Alvarado, Delfina Chullunkuy, the late Martina Guerra, Esther Madueño, and Hilda Quispe as well as the many others, acknowledged in section 1.3.2, who volunteered recordings and assisted along the way. Any errors remaining are my responsibility alone.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Yauyos (ISO 639-3: [qux]) is a critically endangered Quechuan language spoken in the Province of Yauyos, Department of Lima, Peru. Yauyos manifests a dialectical profusion unparalleled in the Quechua-speaking world (Taylor 1990:2), counting eight dialects; this grammar describes the five southern dialects only.

1.1.1 The Dialects of Yauyos

The province is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken; the "Quechua I" (Torero) or "Quechua B" (Parker) languages are spoken in the north; the "Quechua II" or "Quechua A" languages in the south. For reasons detailed in section 1.2.1, the model that divides the Quechuan family tree into two principal branches doesn’t apply very well to Yauyos (Taylor 1978:171), as its different dialects manifest different characteristics of both. Taylor (2000), Torero (1974), and Ethnologue (Lewis 2011) propose slightly different classifications of the languages of the region. Taylor (2000:105) counts seven varieties of Yauyos Quechua, dividing these into two groups along a north-south axis. In the north are the dialects of Alis/Tomas, Huancaya/Vitis, and Laraos; in the south, those of Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac, Azángaro/Huangáscar, Cacra/Hongos, and Lincha/Tana. Taylor classes four of these dialects – the northern dialects of Alis/Tomas and Huancaya/Vitis and the southern dialects of Azángaro/Huangáscar and Cacra/Hongos – as belonging to the QI branch; he classes the remaining three – Laraos in the north as well as Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana in the south – as belonging to QII. Torero (1974) counted only six dialects, excluding Azángaro/Huangáscar from the catalogue, classing it independently among the QI dialects along with with Chincha's Topará. Ethnologue, like Taylor, includes Azángaro/Huangáscar and adds, even, an eighth dialect, that of San Pedro de Huacarpana, spoken on the Chincha side of the Yauyos-Chincha border. Ethnologue further differs from Taylor in putting Apurí in a group by itself; and it differs from both Taylor and Torero in grouping Chocos with Azángaro/Huangáscar. My research supports Taylor's grouping of Apurí with Madeán and Viñac; it also supports Ethnologue's inclusion of San Pedro de Huacarpana among the dialects of

2 San Pedro is located immediately to the north-east of Madeán and Azángaro, at less than a days' walk's distance. Although formerly counted a part of the Department of Lima and the Province of Yauyos, a redrawing of political boundaries placed San Pedro on the Ica side of the contemporary Ica-Lima border. During the colonial period, the Province of Yauyos was larger and included parts of what are now the Provinces of Chincha and Castroviirreyna (Huancavelica) (Landerman 1991: 1.1.3.2.7). Indeed, even the District of Tana was once counted a part of Castroviirreyna.
Yauyos. Apurí, like its neighbors Viñac and Madeán, uses -ni and -y to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and nominative paradigms; they also use -rqa and -sa to indicate the past tense and perfect. The first pair of characteristics set the Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana dialects apart from the other three; the second pair of characteristics set Madeán/Viñac apart from Lincha/Tana. Chocos, like its neighbors Huangáscar and Azángaro, uses vowel length to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and nominative paradigms.

1.1.2 A Note to Quechuanists and Typologists

Those already familiar with Quechuan languages will likely be interested only in the sections, tables and footnotes listed immediately below. These indicate differences between Southern Yauyos Quechua (hereafter, "SYQ") and other Quechuan languages as well as differences among the various dialects of SYQ. Material in other sections, tables and footnotes largely repeats information which appears in grammars of other Quechus (for a list see section 1.4.1).

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4-9. (On the classification of the different SYQ dialects)

1.2 Language

1.2.1 Classification

Yauyos Quechua was dubbed by Torero (1974) a “supralect” and its most careful student, Gerald Taylor, referred to it as a “mixed” language (1990:2, 2000:105). Indeed, the designation of Yauyos as a language may seem, at first, to be no more than a relic of the first classifications of the Quechuan languages not by strictly linguistic criteria but, rather, by geographic criteria. Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where the languages of the two different branches of the Quechuan language family are spoken. QI is spoken immediately to the north, in the Department of Junín and the north of the Department of Lima; QII, immediately to the south, in the Departments of Huancavelica and Ayacucho. Yauyos manifests characteristics of both branches. Take first-person marking. Three dialects, Azángaro-Chocos³-Huangáscar (ACH), Cacra-Hongos (CH), and San Pedro (SP), use the same marking (vowel length) for the first person in both nominal and verbal paradigms⁴ and mark the first-person object with -ma. These are the two characteristics that define a Quechuan language as belonging to the QI (also called Quechua B or Huaihuash) branch. The other two dialects, Apuri-Madeán-Viñac (AMV) and Lincha-Tana (LT), mark the first person differently in the nominal and verbal paradigms (with -y and -ni, respectively) and mark first-person object with -wa. These two dialects, then, sort with the QII (A/Huampuy) languages. Indeed, the first three are classed as QI (specifically Central-Huancay) and the other

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³ I am very grateful to Peter Landerman for correcting me with regard to the classification of Chocos, which I had originally misclassified with Madeán and Viñac.
⁴ Crucially, vowel length is not distinctive anywhere else in the grammar or lexicon of these dialects. For example, these dialects use the QII -naya, -raya, and -paya, not the QI -na:, -ra:, and -pa: to mark the desiderative, passive, and continuative, respectively. And all districts but Cacra use tiya-, not ta:- 'sit', again sorting with the QII languages.
two, QII (specifically Yunagay-Central) (Cerrón-Palomino 1987:247). Nevertheless, the "QI" dialects, ACH, CH, and SP, manifest few of the other traits that set the QI languages apart from the QII languages. They do use ſuqakuna in place of ſuqayku to form the first person plural exclusive as well as -pa(ḥ)ku to indicate the plural. Crucially, however, so do both the "QII" SYQ dialects. And none of the five manifest any other of the principal traits that generally set the QI languages apart from the rest. None use -naw in place of -Sina to form the comparative, -piqta in place of -manta to form the ablative, or -naq in place of -shqa to form the narrative past; and none except for Cacra uses -r (realized [l]) in place of -shpa to form same-subject subordinate clauses. Now, the two "QII" SYQ dialects manifest several of the traits that set the QIIC (Chínchay Meridional) languages apart from the rest. Like the QIIC languages, the AMV and LT dialects use the diminutive -cha, the emphatic -ari, the assertive -puní, and the alternative conditional -chuwan; the AMV dialect additionally uses the alternative conditional -waq. Crucially, however, the three "QI" SYQ dialects, too, use three of these: -cha, -ari and -chuwan. Further, all five share with Ayacucho Q the unique use of the evidential modifier -ki. None of the five manifest any of the other defining traits of the QIIC languages: none uses -ku to indicate the first-person plural exclusive or the third-person plural; nor does any use -chka to form the progressive or -nka to form the distributive. Further, none suffered the fusion of */tr/ with */ch/ or */sh/ with */s/. (See Cerrón Palomino 1987:226-248 on the defining characteristics of the various Quechuan languages) Rather, the dialects of Southern Yauyos are mutually intelligible, and they together share characteristics that set them apart from all the other Quechuan languages. With the single exception that CH uses the accusative form -Kta in place of -ta, all five dialects employ the same case system, which includes the unique ablative form -paq and unique locative -pi. All dialects use the rare progressive form -ya; all employ the plural -kuna with non-exhaustive meaning; and all employ the same unique system of evidential modification (see section 6.2.11.4). Further, with a single exception, the five dialects are uniform phonologically, all employing perhaps the most conservative of all Quechuan systems (see section 2.2). Table 1, below, summarizes this information.

Table 1. Use of QI, QII and Local Structures in the Five SYQ Dialects

<table>
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<th>CH</th>
<th>ACH</th>
<th>SP</th>
<th>AMV</th>
<th>LT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Singular nominal inflection</td>
<td>-z</td>
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<td>1Singular verbal inflection</td>
<td>-z</td>
<td>-z</td>
<td>-z</td>
<td>-ni</td>
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<tr>
<td>1Singular object inflection</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wa</td>
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</table>

5 The CH dialect is unique in using -traw in alternation with both -pi and -pa for the locative.
6 Although all use -chka, unproductively except in SP, to indicate simultaneous action that persists in time.
7 In the CH dialect, as in neighboring Junín, the protomorphemes */r/, */s/, and */h/ are realized as [l], [h], and [sh], respectively.
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<td>1</td>
<td>with the exception of -pa:kku, where the long vowel distinguishes JTACC from BEN-REFL</td>
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<td>Cacra but not Hongos also uses -r (realized [l])</td>
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<td>also occurs in Junín (QI)</td>
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</table>

Key:  
Green – QI trait.  
Blue – QII/QIIC trait.  
Red – trait shared by all SYQ dialects not characteristic of either QI or QII/QIIC

The case of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar requires particular attention in this context. Torero (1968:293, 1974:28-29) classified Azángaro and Huangáscar as forming an independent group with Topará (Chavin), placing it among the QI Huancay languages. Cerrón-Palomino (1987:236), following Torero, cites five criteria for grouping Huangáscar with Topará. Both dialects, he writes, use -pa:kku and -:ri to indicate the plural; both use -shpa in place of -r to form same-subject subordinate clauses; and both use -tamu to indicate completed action; the two dialects, further, are alike in using unusual locative and ablative case-marking. Only three of these claims are accurate. First, Huangáscar, as Taylor (1984) already indicated, does not use -:ri. Second, Huangáscar and Topará may indeed both use unusual locative and ablative case marking, but,
crucially, they do not use the same unusual case marking: Huangáscar uses -pa to indicate the locative while Topará uses -man; Huangáscar uses -paq to indicate the ablative while Topará uses -pa (C.-P. himself points out these last two facts). Huangáscar does indeed use -shpa to form subordinate clauses and -tamu to indicate irreversible change. Crucially, however, so do all the dialects of southern Yauyos. In sum, there is no basis for grouping Huangáscar with Topará and not with the other dialects of SYQ. Torero's data were never corroborated; indeed, the findings of the only other scholars to ever study Yauyos before now, Taylor and Landerman, contradict those of Torero.

In sum, Southern Yauyos Quechua is not a jumble of dialects that, were it not for geographical accident, would not be classed together; it is, rather, a unique, largely uniform language. I therefore propose the following revisions to the categorization of the Quechua languages: Azángaro, Chocos and Huángascar should be not be categorized with the Huancay (Central QI) languages but with the languages currently grouped under the category Central Yungay (QII); Central should, further, be renamed Southern Yauyos and its members should not be listed individually as separate languages, as they currently are.

1.2.2 Broader Interest

Yauyos should be of particular interest to typologists and formal semanticists as well as to students of language contact.

1.2.2.1 Typology and Semantics - Evidentials

For typologists and semanticists, Yauyos' evidential system should be of interest. Evidentials indicate the type of the speaker's source of information. SYQ, like other Quechuan languages, employs a three-term system, indicating direct, reportative, and inferred evidence (i.e. the speaker has personal-experience evidence for P, the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for P, or the speaker infers P based on either personal- or non-personal-experience evidence). In SYQ, the three evidentials are realized -mi, -shI, and -tri (see Floyd 1999 on Wanka Quechua; Faller 2002 on Cuzco Quechua). The evidential system of SYQ is of particular interest because it employs a second three-term system of evidential modifiers. The evidential system of SYQ thus counts nine members: -mi, -mi; -shi, -shik, and -shiki; and -tri, -trik, and -triki. The -i-ik, and -iki forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations. Section (6.2.11) describes this system in detail.

For further formal analysis, see Shimelman (2012, to appear).
1.2.2.2 Language Contact - Aymara

For students of language contact, it is the contact of Yauyos with Aymara that should be of interest. The northern branch of the Aymara family is situated entirely in the province of Yauyos (Adelaar & Muysken 2004:173): the Aymaran languages Kawki and Jaqaru are spoken in the central Yauyos municipalities of Cachuy, Aysa and Tupe. There are, further, reports dating from the beginning of the 20th century of other Aymaran-speaking communities in the province (174).

1.2.3 Endangerment

The UNESCO classifies Yauyos as “critically endangered” (http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00206), and the Linguist List identifies it as “near extinct” (http://multitree.linguistlist.org/trees/10504@124926). The 1993 Peru census counted 1,600 speakers (Chirinos Rivera 2001:121), 25% of them over 65. At the time of that survey – the most recent – electricity had yet to come to the Andean towns of southern Yauyos and the only physical connection between those towns to the rest of the world were three 40-kilometer dirt paths that wound their perilous way 2,000 meters down the canyon. Since that time, the Peruvian government has installed electricity in the region and widened the perilous dirt paths into perilous dirt roads. TelMex and Claro now offer cable television, and busses come and go on alternate days. In short, the isolation that had previously preserved the Quechua spoken in the region has been broken and the language now counts, according to my estimates, fewer than 450 speakers, most over 65, and all but the very, very oldest fully bilingual in Spanish. The drastic reduction in the number of speakers can also be attributed to the Shining Path. During the 1980's and early 1990's, the period during which the Maoist army terrorized the region, there was a large-scale exodus, particularly of young people, who ran to escape forced conscription. Many never returned, remaining principally in the coastal cities of Cañete and Lima. Theirs was the last generation to learn Quechua to any degree. Currently, there are a few children – those who live with their grandmothers or great-grandmothers in the most isolated hamlets – with a passive knowledge of the

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9 That census did not distinguish between speakers of Yauyos and speakers of other Quechuan languages who resided in the province (Chirinos-Rivera, p.c.). This is crucial in assessing the data on the Quechua-speaking population of the north of the province. Although there are many Quechua-speaking migrants there – principally from Huancayo, the town with which the north has the most commercial contact – I was unable to locate any speakers of the dialects indigenous to the area. Further, population data in the province tend to be exaggerated for several reasons. First, people who emigrated from the region years or even decades ago remain, nevertheless, officially resident there for reasons of convenience. Second, death certificates are often not issued for the deceased, as the personnel at the local health clinics simply refuse to issue them.
10 In the space of just one year, spanning 2012 and 2013, fourteen people died in six separate accidents in the region when their vehicles fell from the road down the canyon.
language. The youngest speakers, however, are in their late thirties.

Quechuan as a language family is not currently endangered, and other Quechuan languages are well-documented. Estimates of the numbers of Quechuan speakers range between 8.5 and 10 million, and, although Quechua is being pushed back by Spanish in many areas, its major varieties – Ancash, Ayacucho, Bolivian, Cuzco, Ecuadorian – are quite viable (Adelaar & Muysken 2004:168). Paradoxically, however, the viability of the major varieties is coming at the expense of the viability of the minor varieties. Adelaar (2008:14) writes: “If Quechua will survive, its speakers will probably be users of four of five of the most successful dialects, most of which belong to Quechua IIB and IIC.” The dialects of southern Yauyos, classified as either QI or QIIA, and other minor Quechuan languages are rapidly disappearing.

1.2.4 Existing Documentation

Echerd (1974) and Brougère (1992) supply some socio-linguistic data on Yauyos. There is also a book of folktales, in Spanish, collected in the region in the 1930’s and 1940’s: Apuntes para el folklor de Yauyos (Varilla Gallardo 1965). Yauyos is mentioned in the context of two dialectological studies of Quechua by Torero (1968, 1974). With these exceptions, all that is known about Yauyos we owe to the French researcher Gerald Taylor. Taylor’s PhD dissertation describes the morphology of Laraos, a northern dialect of Yauyos. This work was republished or excerpted, sometimes with revisions, in (Taylor 1984, 1990, 1994a, 1994b). (Taylor 1987a) supplements the data on Laraos with data on Huancaya, and (Taylor 1990, 2000) provide a comparison of all seven dialects on the basis of eight grammatical elements and fifty lexical items. Finally, (Taylor 1987b, 1987c, 1991) transcribe and translate several folktales into Spanish and French.

1.3 Fieldwork

The fieldwork upon which this document is based was conducted in June and July of 2010; January through April 2011; August through December 2011; April through September 2012; and for a total of 10 months between October 2012 and July 2014. The second of these trips was funded by a faculty development grant from San José State University; the third through sixth, by two National Endowment for the Humanities-National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages fellowships (FN-50099-11 and FN-50109-12). Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation.
1.3.1 Recordings

Over 71 hours of audio and video recordings were made in the seven districts of Southern Yauyos – Apurí, Azángaro, Cacra, Chocos, Hongos, Huangáscar, Lincha, Madeán, and Viñac – as well as in the district of San Pedro de Huacarpapa in Chincha. Recordings include stories, songs, riddles, spontaneous dialogue, personal narrative, and descriptions of traditional activities, crafts and healing practices. Over 28 hours of recordings were transcribed, translated and glossed. The recordings as well as the ELAN time-aligned transcriptions and accompanying videos are archived both at The DoBeS project, housed at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen, The Netherlands and at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America at the University of Texas, Austin. All materials can be accessed via those institutions' websites, [http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/](http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/) and [http://www.aiilla.utexas.org/](http://www.aiilla.utexas.org/). All examples that follow except those noted † were taken from this corpus. It is my hope that these examples will give the reader a sense of the life that supported and was supported by the language.

The table below gives a list of the archived recordings. “v” indicates a video recording that accompanies an audio recording with the same file name; “vv” indicates a video file without accompanying audio file; "C" at the end of the name of an audio file indicates that that recording is a commentary on an associated video (always of the same name); † indicates that, at the participant's request, access to the recording is blocked for 100 years. Recording titles include three elements: the name of the place where the recording was made, the initials of the principal participant, and a word or two recalling the principal theme of the recording. Times are given in the format mm:ss; all times were rounded to the nearest 10 seconds.

Table 2. Lists of Archived Recordings

Phase 1 Audio and Audio-Video Recordings
1-52 with accompanying ELAN Transcriptions and Glosses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recording Title</th>
<th>Total length</th>
<th>Portion transcribed &amp; translated</th>
<th>Portion glossed</th>
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</thead>
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<td>3 Cunyari.ER_Hand</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<td>Marca.DC_MedicinalHerbs.wav</td>
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<td>62v</td>
<td>Marca.DC_MedicinalHerbs.mpg</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Nakarumi.MC_FamilyGov ... .wav</td>
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<td>Ortigal.AB_PersonalHistory_L.wav</td>
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<td>67vv</td>
<td>Tambopata.VV_Herranza11.mp</td>
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<td>Vinac.AR_Grandparents5.wav</td>
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<td>Vinac.AR_MedicinalHerbs1.wav</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>Vinac.CO_Coca.wav</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>Vinac.DA_GetTogether.wav</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>Vinac.DC_BarleyHarvest_C.wav</td>
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Phase 2 Audio and Audio-video Recordings.
1-35 with accompanying transcriptions, glosses and translations
1.3.2 Participants
100 participants contributed recordings. Their names are listed below. Dialects are bolded; municipalities, underlined; towns, italicized; annexes, indented. Alphabetical order is preserved throughout. Three participants requested to remain anonymous. In these cases, I have assigned "pseudo-initials." I lost my metadata on three participants. In these cases, they are identified by their initials (included in the original recording titles) alone.

**Apurí-Madeán-Viñac**

**Apurí**
- AA, DO, Pedro Carrún

**Madeán**
- Victoria Diaz, Gabino Huari, Ernestina Huari, Efrén Yauri
- Isabel Chávez

**Viñac**
- Dona Alvarado; Eudosia Alvarado, Pripodina Auris, Jesus Centeno, Meli Chavez, Delfina Chullukuy, Martina Guerra, Victoria Guerra, Carmen Huari, Aleka Madueño, Acención Madueño, Melania Madueño, Hilda Quispe, Angélica Romero, Saturnina Utcañe

- Margarita Madueño
- Floriana Centeno, Emilia Guerra
- Juana Huari, Leonardo Huari, Neri Huari, Corsinia Javier, Cecilia Quispe

- Octavia Arco, Bautista Cárdenas
- Octavio Sulluchuco

- Cecilia Guerra, Emiliano Rojas,
- María Guerra, Teresa Guerra, Alejandra Quispe,
- Alejandra Centeno, Macedonía Centeno, Soylita Chullunkuy, Hida Evangelista, Soylita Huari

- Urbana Yauri

**Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar**

**Azángaro**
- Anselma Caja, Filipa Postillón
- Genoveva Rodríguez, Lucía Rodríguez,
- Fortunato Gutiérrez, Isak Gutiérrez
- Alcibiada Rodríguez
- Victorina Aguado, Senovia Gutiérrez

**Chocos**
- Honorato B., Bonifacia de la Cruz, Julia Mayta

**Huangáscar**
- Benedicta Lázaro, CW, Luisa Gutiérrez, PP, Victoria Quispe, Teódolo Rodríguez, Natividad Saldaña
- Grutilda Saldaño; Eudisia Vicente

**Cacra-Hongos**

**Cacra**
- Iris Barrosa, Maximina Barrosa, Regina Huamán

**Hongos**
- Archi V., Eduardo Centeno, Dina Huamán, Leona Huamán, SA,
1.3.3 Technical details

Equipment and digitizing technique were chosen in accord with the recommendations of EMELD ([http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/emeld/school/index.html](http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/emeld/school/index.html)) and the DoBeS project ([http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/](http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/)) in order to ensure archive-quality digital audio and video recordings. Unicode was used for character encoding; audio and video recordings were saved in the standard formats – PCM wav 44.1/32 bits, .mpg, and .mpeg; unstructured texts were saved as plain text; structured texts have XML-based underlying schemas. Recording equipment includes a Marantz PMD 660 solid state digital audio recorder (pre-January 2013 recordings); a Roland R-26 solid state audio recorder; an AudioTechnica 831b cardoid condenser microphone (pre-May 2012 recordings); a Sennheiser MKH 8060 cardoid condenser microphone; and a Canon Vixia HF S100 HD flash memory camcorder. Transcriptions, translations and glosses were prepared with ELAN; Audacity was used for editing audio recordings; iMovie for video recordings. All work was done on a MacBook Pro (pre-July 2011 recordings) or MacBook Air (post-July 2011 recordings).

1.4 Presentation

1.4.1 Structure and Conventions

To facilitate comparison with other Quechuan languages, the presentation here follows the structure
of the six Quechua grammars published by the Peruvian government in 1976. Readers familiar with those grammars will note the obvious debt this one owes to those: it follows not just their format, but also, in large part, their analysis. The six 1976 grammars cover the Quechuas of Ancash, Ayacucho, Cajamarca, Cuzco, Huanca and San Martín (Parker, 1976; Soto Ruiz, 1976; Quesada and Castillo, 1976; Cusihuaman, 1976; Cerron-Palomino 1976; Coombs, Coombs and Weber, 1976). Other published grammars of Quechuan languages include Herrero and Sánchez de Lozada (1978) on Bolivian; Catta Q. (1994) on Ecuatorian; Taylor (1996) on Ferreñafe; Weber (1989) on Huallaga (Huanuco); Escibens and Proulx (TK) on Huaylas; Cole (1982) on Imbabura; Adelaar’s (1977) description of Tarma Quechua and his (1986) morphology of Pacaraoas; as well as the surveys and compilations of Cerrón-Palomino (1987), Cerrón-Palomino and Solís (1990), and Cole, Hermon and Martín (1994).

Words and phrases appearing in italics – like this – are in Quechua. English and Spanish interpretations appear in single quotation marks – 'like this'. Interpretations are given in both Spanish – the language of contact – and English. Transformations are indicated with arrows like → like_this. Quechua words are broken into component morphemes, like this: warmi-kuna. It is the morpheme relevant to the topic in focus that is underlined.

1.4.2 Glosses and Morpheme Codes

Each section and major subsection begins with an account of the topic under consideration. Terminal subsections supply more extended discussion and further examples. Most examples are given with morpheme breaks but unglossed. A star (*) indicates that the example is fully glossed immediately below. The glosses are presented in the following format.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ishkayninchik ripukushun.</th>
<th>Southern Yauyos example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ishkay-ni-nchik ri-puku-shun</td>
<td>morpheme breaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two-EUPH-1PL go-MUTBEN-1PL.FUT</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The two of us will go.'</td>
<td>English free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Nos iremos los dos'.</td>
<td>Spanish free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 05:11-13)</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source titles refer to .eaf files archived with DoBeS and AILLA; start times and end times are given in the format mm:ss. File names include three elements: the place in which the recording was made, the initials of the principal participant, and a word or two recalling the principal topic(s). For example, the file Vinac_JC_Cure was made in Viñac, has for its principal participant Jesús
Centeno and for its principal topic a curing ceremony. Because of restrictions on file names, no accents are used. So, Azángaro is rendered “Azángaro” and so on. Where the source is given in the form (TownName, AA) – the example was elicited and no recording was archived. The letters are the initials of the speaker who supplied the example. “DC” is Delfina Chullunkuy; “EA” Eudosia Alvarado; “EM” Esther Madueño; “HQ” Hilda Quispe; and “VR” Vicente Rojas.

Glosses were prepared in accord with the Leipzig glossing rules. For reasons of space, two deviations from the standard abbreviations were made: “proximal demonstrative” is not rendered “DEM.PROX” but “DEM.P”; and “distal demonstrative” is not rendered “DEM.DIST” but “DEM.D”. Table 3 lists the gloss abbreviations employed and the morphemes to which they correspond. Unless otherwise noted, all morphemes are common to all dialects. ACH indicates the Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar dialect; AMV, Apuri-Madeán-Viñac; CH, Cacra-Hongos; LT, Lincha-Tana; SP, San Pedro de Huacarpana. ñ indicates alternation between [á] and an accent shift to the final syllable. H, I, N, R, and S indicate alternations between [ø] and [h], [i], [n], [r], and [s], respectively. U indicates alternation between [u] and [a]. Y indicates alternation between [y], [i] and [ø]. PI indicates an alternation between [pi] and [ø] (unique to the additive enclitic -pis). The first five alternations are conditioned by environment in all dialects. R indicates alternative realizations of */r/* – realized as [r] in all dialects except that of CH, where it is predominantly realized as [l]. Where two morphemes share the same code (as occurs, for example in the case of -pa and -pi, which both indicate both genitive and locative case) the code is subscripted with a number (i.e., GEN₁, GEN₂; LOC₁, LOC₂). Where the same morpheme has two or more functions (as is the case, for example, with -paq, which indicates ablative, benefactive and purposive cases) the morpheme is subscripted (i.e., -paq₁, -paq₂, -paq₃). Unless otherwise noted, a morpheme occurs in all five dialects. Where a morpheme is exclusive to one or more dialects, that is indicated in small caps in parentheses. Tables 3 and 4 list morpheme codes and their corresponding morphemes. The former is sorted by morpheme code; the latter, by morpheme.

Table 3. Morpheme Codes (sorted by code)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>[none]</td>
<td>zero morpheme</td>
<td>nominal or verbal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1₁</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>first person (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>nominal inflection, allocation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1₂</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>first person (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1₃</td>
<td>-:</td>
<td>first person (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
<td>nominal inflection, allocation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1₄</td>
<td>-:</td>
<td>first person (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.FUT</td>
<td>-shaq</td>
<td>first person singular future</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.OBJ</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>1P object (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>1.OBJ</td>
<td>1P object (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>1P object (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1高于2</td>
<td>-yki₂</td>
<td>1P subject 2P object</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1高于2.FUT</td>
<td>-sHQayki</td>
<td>1P subject 2P object future</td>
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<td>-nchik</td>
<td>first person plural</td>
<td>nominal inflection, allocation</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PL₂</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>first person plural</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PL.COND</td>
<td>-chuwan</td>
<td>first person plural conditional</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.FUT</td>
<td>-shun</td>
<td>first person plural future</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>-yki₁</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>2.COND</td>
<td>-waq</td>
<td>second person conditional</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.OBJ</td>
<td>-sHu</td>
<td>second person object</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>2高于1</td>
<td>-wanki</td>
<td>2P subject 1P object</td>
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<td>-n₁</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>nominal inflection, allocation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-N₂</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>3P subject 1P obj (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
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<td>-manchik</td>
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<td>-shunki</td>
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<td>-chi</td>
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<td>-puni</td>
<td>certainty, precision</td>
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<td>-mu</td>
<td>cislocative, translocative</td>
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<td>-man₂</td>
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<td>chay</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>Sub-class</td>
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<td>demonstrative (pron. &amp; det.)</td>
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<td>restrictive nominal affix</td>
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<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>noun</td>
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<td>na-</td>
<td>dummy verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<td>-ARi</td>
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<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>evidential - direct</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>-shI</td>
<td>evidential - reportative</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>nominal, adjectival inflection</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pa:ku</td>
<td>joint action</td>
<td>verbal derivation/inflection, vv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa₁</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pa₂</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pa₃</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-paq₁</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
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<tr>
<td>-paq₂</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>-paq₃</td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-Pls</td>
<td>additive</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>-pti</td>
<td>subordinator different subjects</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pU</td>
<td>benefactive, translocative</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-pUkU</td>
<td>mutual benefit</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-puni</td>
<td>certainty, precision</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pura</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-q</td>
<td>agentive</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qa</td>
<td>topic</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ra</td>
<td>uninterrupted action</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-Raq</td>
<td>continuative</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-Raya</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-rayku</td>
<td>causal</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-ri₁</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-RQa</td>
<td>past tense</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-RU</td>
<td>urgent, personal interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapa</td>
<td>multiple possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sHa₁</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sHa₂</td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>shaq</td>
<td>first person singular future</td>
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<tr>
<td>sh₁</td>
<td>evidential - reportative</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sHi</td>
<td>accompaniment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>shpa</td>
<td>subordinator identical subjects</td>
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<tr>
<td>sHQa</td>
<td>reportative past tense</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sHQayki</td>
<td>1P subject 2P object future</td>
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<tr>
<td>shtin</td>
<td>subordinator - adverbial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sHu</td>
<td>second person object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shun</td>
<td>first person plural future</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>shunki</td>
<td>3P subject 2P object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tamu</td>
<td>irreversible change</td>
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<tr>
<td>taq</td>
<td>sequential</td>
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<tr>
<td>trl</td>
<td>evidential - conjectural</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>simulative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>1P object (AMV, LT)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan₁</td>
<td>3P subject 1P object (AMV, LT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>wan₂</td>
<td>instrumental - comitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>wanchik</td>
<td>3P subject 1PL obj (AMV, LT)</td>
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<tr>
<td>wanki</td>
<td>2P subject 1P object</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>waq</td>
<td>second person conditional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y₁</td>
<td>first person (AMV, LT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y₂</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>y₃</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yá</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya₁</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya₂</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya₃</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
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<tr>
<td>yki₁</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yki₂</td>
<td>1P subject 2P object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YkU</td>
<td>exceptional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuq</td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[none]</td>
<td>zero morpheme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>nominal or verbal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[various]    PHT    phatism    multi
ama        PROH    prohibitive    particle
chay       DEM.D    demonstrative, distal    demonstrative (pron. & det.)
kay        DEM.P    demonstrative, proximal    demonstrative (pron. & det.)
na          DMY₁    dummy noun    noun
na-         DMY₂    dummy verb    verb
wak         DEM.DD   demonstrative, distal removed    demonstrative (pron. & det.)

Further abbreviations:
C     consonant
lit.  Literally
Sp.   Spanish
spkr  Speaker
SYQ   Southern Yauyos Quechua
V     vowel

Notation:
{·}    set
[·]    phonetic form or, in case it appears inside single quotations marks, translator's insertion
//    phoneme or phonemic form
~     alternation
→     transformation
*     illicit form or, in case it appears before slashes, a proto-form
PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

The syllable structure, stress pattern, phonemic inventory, and morphophonemics of SYQ are not extraordinary. Indeed, what is most extraordinary about them is precisely how unextraordinary they are: SYQ is, phonologically, likely the most conservative among the Quechuan languages, with four of its five dialects essentially instantiating the systems proposed for Proto-Quechua in Landerman (1991), Cerrón-Palomino (1987:ch.4), and elsewhere. All SYQ dialects retain contrasts between [ɛ] and [ě]\(^{11}\), [k], [q]\(^{12}\) and [h]\(^{13}\); [l] and [ɔ]\(^{14}\), [n] and [ŋ]\(^{15}\); and [s] and [ʃ]\(^{16}\). None of the dialects includes ejectives or aspirates in its phonemic inventory. Vowel length is contrastive in the grammars but not the lexicons of the dialects of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar, Cacra-Hongos and San Pedro. In these dialects, as in all the QI (QB) languages with the exception of Pacaraos, vowel length marks the first person in both the nominal (possessive) and verbal paradigms (wasí-: 'my house' and puri-: 'I walk'). The Cacra-Hongos dialect is unique among the five in that, there, the protomorpheme */r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l], and word-initial */s/ and */h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h], and [ʃ], respectively.\(^{17}\)

11 In Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Argentina, as well as in the east and south of Peru, */ɛ/ underwent deretroflection.
12 */q/ was neither velarized nor glottalized in SYQ. The language retains, for example, the PQ forms gusa ‘husband’, gasa- ‘freeze’, waga- ‘cry’, agu ‘sand’, ugu- ‘wet’, whaw ‘waist’, wagra ‘horn’, and atág ‘fox’. SYQ thus retains contrasts like those between gira ‘stick’ and kiru ‘tooth’; gilla ‘lazy’ and killa ‘moon’.
13 */h/ appears in SYQ, as in PQ, principally word-initially, as in hapi- ‘grab’, hampi- ‘cure’, and haya- ‘bitter’.
14 Cerrón-Palomino – like Torero (1964), but unlike Parker (1969) – does not include */l/ in his catalogue of proto-phonemes. He admits, however, that the status of */l/ is controversial. While it does occur in a small number of proto-phonemes, he calls it “un elemento marginal y parasitario” (a marginal and parasitic element). He admits, however, that the hypothesis that PQ included palatal lateral (/ll/) but not a alveolar lateral (/l/) runs into the problem that the universal tendency is that the presence of /l/ depends on the presence of /l/, but not vice versa (1987:123).
15 In SYQ, [ŋ] did not undergo depalitization as it did in the Quechus of Central Peru. [ŋ] figures in the first-person personal pronouns (a)nga as well as in lexemes such as (a)kari ‘suffer’, (a)na ‘sister’, (a)tti- ‘crush’, (a)wa- ‘blind’, and (a)na- ‘thin’. Examples of [ŋ] [ʃ] minimal pairs include aŋa ‘mole’ and aŋa- ‘scold’; and na DMY and őna DISC.
16 [ʃ] suffered depalitization throughout the south. SYQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like shimi ‘mouth’, shungu ‘heart’, shipish ‘maiden’, washa ‘back’, ishka- ‘two’, mishki ‘sweet’. [ʃ] neither minimal pairs include suqa ‘gray hair’ and (a)ngu- ‘sip’. One also finds contrasts between the native-borrowed pairs ashta- ‘move’ and asta ‘until’; and asta- ‘yawn’ and asta- ‘anger’.
in common with neighboring Junín. Subsection 2.1 treats syllable structure and stress pattern; subsection 2.2, phonemic inventory and morphophonemics; subsection 2.3, Spanish loan words.

2.1 Syllable Structure and Stress Pattern

SYQ syllable structure is (C)V(C) except in borrowed words. That is, syllables of the form CCV and VCC are prohibited. One vowel does not follow another without an intervening consonant, i.e., sequences of the form VV are prohibited. Only the first syllable of a word may begin with a vowel (apa- 'bring'; achka 'a lot').

Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a word (compare yanápa-n 'he helps' and yanapá-ya-n 'he is helping'; awá-rqa 'he wove' and awa-rqá-ni 'I wove'). The first syllable of a word with more than four syllables generally receives weak stress. There are two exceptions to this rule. First, in all dialects, exclamations often receive stress on the ultimate syllable (Achachák! 'What a fright!' Achachalláw! 'How awful!'). Second, in those dialects where vowel length indicates the first person, stress falls on the ultimate syllable just in case person marking is not followed by any other affix (uyari-yá-: 'I am listening', ri-rá-: 'I went').

2.2 Phonemic Inventory and Morphophonemics

SYQ counts three native vowel phonemes: /a/, /i/, and /u/. In words native to SYQ, the closed vowels /i/ and /u/ have mid and lax allomorphs [e], [ɪ] and [o], [ʊ], respectively. That is, in words native to SYQ, no member of either of the triples {[i], [e], [ɪ]} or {[u], [o], [ʊ]}, is contrastive with any other member of the same triple. The alternations [i] ~ [e] and [u] ~ [o] are conditioned by environment: the second member of each pair appears in a syllable including /q/ (/qilla/ 'lazy' → [qeʎa], /atuq/ 'fox' → [atoq]).

Vowel length is contrastive in the grammars but not the lexicons of the dialects of ACH, CH and SP. In these dialects – as in all the QI (QB) languages with the exception of Pacaraos – vowel length marks the first person in both the nominal (possessive) and verbal paradigms (wasi-Ř 'my house' and puri-Ř 'I walk' (rendered 'wasi-ʏ' and puri-ɲi in the AMV and LT dialects)).

In all dialects, the consonant inventory counts seventeen native and six borrowed phonemes.

development of */s/ to /h/ is found throughout Junin (with the exception of Jauja). These dialects also use shamu-, instead of hamu-. The first form ... is typical for Quechua I, and also for Ecuador and San Martin." shamu- may be older than hamu-, he writes, "but the correspondence is largely unpredictable according to dialects."
The native phonemes include voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /ch/, /tr/, /k/ and /q/; voiceless fricatives /s/, /sh/ and /h/; nasals /m/, /n/ and /ñ/; laterals /l/ and /ll/; tap /r/; and approximants /w/ and /y/. Borrowed from Spanish are voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/; voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/.

In the Cacra-Hongos dialect, the protomorpheme */r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l] (*runa > luna 'person', *li-y > li-y ‘go!’, *hatka- > halka- ‘herd’); and word-initial */s/ and */h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h] and [], respectively (*sapa > hapa ‘alone’, *surqu- > hurqu- ‘take out’, *hamu- > shamu- ‘come’, *hampatu > shampatu ‘frog’). Examples of native and borrowed lexemes that resist these mutations include riqsi- 'become acquainted' and riga- 'irrigate'; siki 'behind' and sapu 'frog'; and hapi- 'grab'.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 give the vowel inventory, consonant inventory, and morphophonemics of SYQ. If the orthographic form differs either from the usual orthographic symbol among Andean linguists or from the IPA symbol, these are noted in square brackets. Parentheses indicate a non-indigenous phoneme.

### Table 5. Vowel Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed (High)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed (Mid)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open (Low)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6. Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr/č[t]</td>
<td>ch/č[c]</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Voiced plosive | (b) | (d) | (g)  
---|---|---|---  
Nasal | m | n | ŋ [ŋ][ŋ]  
Trill | (rr)[r] |  |  
Tap or Flap | r [ɾ] |  |  
Voiceless fricative | (f) | s | sh [ʃ][ɬ] | h  
Voiced fricative | (v) |  |  |  
Approximant | w²² |  | y [j]  
Lateral approximant |  | l | l [ɭ][ʎ]  

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>realized as [m] before /p/; in free alternation with nasalization of the preceding vowel before /m/; (i.e., rinampaq → [rinampaq])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m] is free alternation with [n] before /w/ and /m/ (i.e., qamman → [qamman])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k] is free alternation with [ø] before /k/ and /q/ (i.e., wakaqa → [waqa])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>[q] is in free alternation with [ø] before /q/ (i.e., ruwaqqa → [ruwaqa])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔqa/</td>
<td>[qa] is in free alternation with [aq] after /n/ (i.e., ringa → [ringa])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>realized as [o] or [u] when it figures in a syllable that includes /q/ (i.e., urqu → [orqu])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>realized as [e] or [ɛ] when it figures in a syllable that includes /q/ (i.e., qillu → [qequ])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3 Spanish Loan Words

As detailed in section (1.2.3), SYQ is extremely endangered: all but the very, very oldest speakers are bilingual and, indeed, Spanish-dominant. As a result, individual speakers are not limited by the constraints of Quechuan phonology and generally pronounce loan words with something very close to their original syllable structure and phonemes, even where these do not conform to the constraints of Quechuan phonology. With that said, where restructuring does take place, it does so according to the rules detailed in subsection 2.3.1.

#### 2.3.1 Spanish Loan Word Restructuring

*Syllable structure violations – vowel sequences.* In cases where the loaned word includes the prohibited sequence *VV, SYQ, like other Quechuan languages, generally applies one of three

---
²² Labio-velar
strategies: (a) the elimination of one or the other of the two vowels ('aceite' → asi'ti 'oil'); (b) the replacement of one of the two vowels by a semiconsonant ('cu'erpo' → kwirpu 'body', 'su'ño' → su'nu 'dream'); or (c) the insertion of a semiconsonant between the two vowels ('cu'alquie'ra' → kuwal'kiyera 'any'). In the special case where the sequence 'ue' or 'ua' is preceeded by 'h' – generally silent in Spanish – 'h' and 'u' together are replaced by the semiconsonant [w] ('hu'erfano' → wirfanu 'orphan' (also pronounced firfanu)).

Syllable structure violations – consonant sequences. In case the loaned word includes a syllable of the prohibited form *CCV or *VCC, SYQ, again, like other Quechuan languages, employs one of two strategies: (a) the elimination of one of the two consonants ('gringo' → ringu 'gringo') or (b) the insertion of an epithentic vowel ('groche' → gu'ruchi 'hook', 'crochet').

Stress pattern violations. Speakers vary in the extent to which they restructure borrowed Spanish terms to conform to Quechua stress pattern. Plentiful are examples of both practices:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No restructuring</th>
<th>Restructuring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanásta-wan</td>
<td>Sp. 'canásta' 'basket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fwi'ráta</td>
<td>Sp. 'fu'gra' 'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mú'tu-qa</td>
<td>Sp. 'móto' motorcycle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirruristá-wan</td>
<td>Sp. 'terrorjsta' 'terrorist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kañiti-ta</td>
<td>Sp. 'Cañête' 'Cañete'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaká-qa</td>
<td>Sp. 'váca' 'cow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words of five or more syllables permit the preservation of the original Spanish stress pattern in the interior of a word that still adheres to the Quechua pattern of assigning stress to the penultimate syllable ('timblúr-wan-ráq-trí 'with an earthquake, still, for sure' (Sp. 'temblór' 'earthquake')).

Phonemic inventory – consonants. Spanish loan words often feature consonants foreign to the SYQ inventory: voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/; voiceless fricative //_; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /ɾ/. It might be expected that [b] and [d] would be systematically replaced with their voiceless counterparts, [p] and [t], and that trill [r] would, similarly, be replaced by tap/flap [ɾ]. Speakers of SYQ, even the oldest, do not in fact regularly replace these or other non-native phonemes ('balde' → bal'di 'bucket'; 'doctor' → duk'tur 'doctor'; 'carro' → karru 'car'; 'fiesta' → fiy'sta 'festival'; 'velar → vilaku- 'watch', 'hold vigil').

Phonemic inventory – vowels. The inventory of Spanish vowels includes two foreign to SYQ: /o/ and /e/ ('Digs' 'God'; 'lcheg' 'milk'). As detailed in section 2.2, in words native to SYQ, [o] and [e] are allophones of /u/ and /i/, respectively. It is to be expected, then, that speakers would
systematically replace the [o] and [e] of Spanish loan words with native correlates [u] and [i], respectively ('sapo' → sapu 'frog'; 'cerveza' → sirbiša 'beer'). This does indeed occur. More commonly, however, [o] and [e] are either replaced by the /u/ and /i/ allophones [ʊ] and [ɪ] ('cosa' → [kʊsə] 'thing', 'tele' → [tɪlɪ] 'tv') or, even, not replaced at all. The realization of non-native vowels varies both among speakers and also among words: different speakers render the same word differently and individual speakers render the same phoneme differently in different words.

Special case: 'ado'. Spanish loan words ending in '-ado' – with the non-native /d/ and /o/ – present a special case. '-ado' is generally rendered [aw] in SYQ ('apurado' → apuraw 'quick'; 'lado' → law 'place').

Finally, restructuring to accommodate any of the three – stress pattern, syllable structure or phonemic inventory – does not depend on restructuring to accommodate any of the others. That is, stress pattern can be restructured to eliminate violations of SYQ constraints, while violations of constraints on syllable structure or phonemic inventory are left unrestructured, and similarly for any of the six possible permutations of the three.

2.3.1 Loan Word Orthography

I have chosen an orthography that makes use of all and only the letters appearing in Tables 4 and 5, above. Orthography rather strictly follows pronunciation in the case of consonants in both indigenous and borrowed words; in the case of vowels in borrowed words, it is something of an idealization (i.e., it should not in these cases be mistaken for phonetic transcription).

This alphabet does not include the letters 'c', 'j', 'z', 'e' or 'o', all of which occur in the original Spanish spelling of many borrowed words. Spanish 'c', 'j' and 'z' have been replaced with their SYQ phonetic equivalents: "hard" 'c' is replaced with 'k'; "soft" 'c' with 's'; 'j' with 'h'; and 'z' with 's'. Thus, the borrowed Spanish words 'caja' ('box', 'coffin') and 'cerveza' ('beer') are rendered kaha and sirbisa, with no change in the pronunciation of the relevant consonants in either case. Spanish 'e' and 'o', appearing simply, are replaced with 'i' and 'u' ('compadre' → kumpadri). Spanish vowel sequences including 'e' and 'o' are replaced as follows:

- ea → iya 'solea' → suliya- 'sun'
- au → aw 'autoridad' → awturidad 'official'
- ia → iya 'policia' → pulisiya 'police'
I have deviated from these practices only in the case of proper names, spelling these as they are standarly spelled in Spanish. Thus, Cañete and San Jerónimo, for example, are not rendered, as they would be under the above conventions, Kañiti and San Hirunimu. 'Dios' ('God') is treated as a proper name.
3. SUBSTANTIVES

3.1 Parts of Speech

The parts of speech of SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, are substantives (warmi 'woman'), verbs (hamu- 'come'), ambivalents (para 'rain, to rain'), and particles (mana 'no, not'). Substantives and verbs are subject to different patterns of inflection; ambivalents may inflect either as substantives or verbs; particles do not inflect.

The class of substantives in Quechua is usually defined to include nouns (wasi 'house'); pronouns (ñuqanchik 'we'); interrogative-indefinites (may 'where'); adjectives (sumaq 'pretty'); pre-adjectives (dimas 'too'); and numerals (kimsa 'three'). All substantives with the exception of dependent pronouns (sapa 'alone') may occur as free forms.

The class of verbs in Quechua is usually defined to include transitive (qawa- 'see'), intransitive (tushu- 'dance'), and copulative (ka- 'be') stems. A fourth class can be set apart: onomatopoetic verbs (chuqchuqya- 'squish, make a squishing noise'). All verbs, with the exception of haku! 'let's!', occur only as bound forms.

Ambivalents form a single class.

The class of particles is usually defined to include interjections (achachalláw 'how awful!'); prepositions (asta 'until'); coordinators (icha 'or'); prenumerals (la, las, occurring with expressions of time); negators (mana 'no, not'); assenters and greetings (aw 'yes'); adverbs (ayvis 'sometimes').

The remainder of this section covers substantives; verbs and particles are covered in sections (4) and (5), respectively.

3.2 Substantive classes

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the class of substantives counts six subclasses: nouns, pronouns, interrogative-indefinites, adjectives, pre-adjectives, and numerals. Subsections (3.2.1) – (3.2.6) cover each of these in turn. Multiple-class substantives and the dummy noun na are covered in subsections (3.2.7) and (3.2.8), respectively.
3.2.1 Nouns

The class of nouns may be divided into four sub-classes: regular nouns (wayta 'flower'), time nouns (kanan 'now'), gender nouns (tiya 'aunt'), and locative nouns (qipa 'behind'). Subsections (3.2.1.1)-(3.2.1.4) cover each of these in turn.

3.2.1.1 Regular Nouns

The class of regular nouns includes all nouns not included in the other three classes. (1)-(7) give examples.

(1). Warmi-n-pis qati-pa-ru-n urqu-ta. AMV 'His wife threw him to the hills.'

(2)*. Qari-n-ta-šh wañu-ra-chi-n, masha-n-ta-šh wañu-ra-chi-n. AMV 'She killed her husband, they say; she killed her son-in-law, they say.'

(3). Lata-wan yanyu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-RA. ACH 'They even cooked people in metal pots, they say, and ate them.'

(4). Unay-kuna-qa watu-ta ruwa-q ka-ya-nchik llama-paq-pis alpaka-paq-pis. AMV 'In the old days, we used to make rope from [the wool of] llamas and alpacas.'

(5). Ukucha-pa trupa-lha-n-ta paluma-qa g quiru-n. ACH 'The dove gave them the tail of a mouse.'

(6). Wamanripa puna karu-raq-tri ka-ya-n. Awkichanka-pa-raq-tri qaqa-pa. AMV 'There must be wamanripa [flowers] far in the puna still; there must be some in Awkichanca on the cliffs.'

(7). Wak ukucha-qa puraminti sibada-y-ta puchuka-ru-sa-ø shipra-lha-ta-ña-m saharu-sa-ø AMV 'That mouse had completely finished off my barley and had left just chaff.'

Qarintash wañurachin, mashantash wañurachin.
qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n masha-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n
man-3-ACC-EVR die-URGT-CAUS-3 son.in-law-3-ACC-EVR die-URGT-CAUS-3
'She killed her husband, they say; she killed her son-in-law, they say.'
'Mató a su marido, dicen; mató a su yerno, dicen'.
(Vinac_AR_Grandparents, 37:28-35)

3.2.1.2 Time Nouns

Nouns referring to time form a unique class in that they may occur adverbially without inflection (1)-(6).
1. Tukuy puntraw yatra-mu-na-nchik-paq.AMV 'So we can learn all day.'
2. Kanan vaka-ta pusi-lla-man chawanya-nchik.AMV 'Now we milk a cow into a cup.'
3. Pishipa-ru-lla-niña-m. Kuti-mu-nki paqarin AMV 'I'm tired already. You'll come back tomorrow.'
4. "Kanan huras Dios Tayta-nchik garkwa-muwa-n", ni-n-shi.AMV '"God Our Father is now throwing me out [of heaven]," he said.'
5. Rinri-lla-:-pis upa-ru-ra gayna wata-qa.ACH 'My ears went deaf last year.'
6. Qayna huk wata-hina timblur yapa kay-paka-hti-n-qa.AMV 'About a year ago, when there was an earthquake here again.'

Kanan vakataq pusillaman chawayanchik kabratahina.
now cow-SEQ cup-RSTR-ALL milk-PROG-1PL goat-ACC-COMP
'These days we milk a cow into just a cup, like a goat.'
'Ahora lecheamos a las vacas hacia una tasita como a las cabras'.
(Llanka_MG_Literacy, 01:13-01:17)

3.2.1.3 Gender Nouns

Nouns indigenous to SYQ do not inflect for gender. SYQ indicates biological gender either with distinct noun roots (maqta 'young man', pashña 'young woman') or by modification with qari 'man', warmi 'woman', urqu 'male', or trina 'female' (qari wawa 'boy child', warmi wawa 'girl child'). A few nouns, all borrowed from Spanish, are inflected for gender (masculine /u/ and feminine /a/).

1. ¿Kaylla-ta nisita-nki, aw, tiyu? ¿Llama wira-ta?AMV 'You need only this, uncle, llama fat?'
2. Chay-tri Tiya Alejandra-qa Shutco-lla-paatra-rqa.AMV 'That must be why Aunt Alexandra lived just in Shutco.'
3. Wak karu puri-ku-sha-yta anysyana-ña kasha-yta.LT 'There where I've walked far, an old lady already.'
4. Unay unay blusa-ta-raq-chu hina-m ushtu-raya-chi-n-pis awilita qa. ¡Ve!AMV 'The old lady has on a blouse like the olden ones. Look!'

¿Kayllata nisitanki, aw, tiyu, llama wirata?
Kaylla-ta nisita-nki aw tiyu llama wira-ta
DEM.P-RSTR-ACC need-2 yes uncle llama fat-ACC
'You need only this, uncle, llama fat?'
'¿Vas a necesitar nada más esto, tío? ¿Sebo de llama?'
(Vinac_JC_Cure, 00:54-00:58)
3.2.1.4 Locative Nouns

Locative nouns indicate relative position (chimpa 'front' hawa 'top'). They correspond to prepositions in English and Spanish.

(1)* Qipa-nchik hamu-ya-n runa-hina.AMV
'Behind us it comes like a person.'

(2) Hinashpa-qa hatari-ru-:. Allqu-kuna yata-n-pa ka-ra ... ACH
'Then I got up. His dog was at his side.'

(3) Kalamina hawa-n-ta pasa-ra-chi-sa uku-n-man saqa-ku- yku-sa.AMV
'He made him go on top of the tin roof and he fell inside.'

(4) Planta-cha-qa alfa-pa trawpi-n-pa wiña-n.AMV
'The little plant grows in the middle of alfalfa [fields].'

(5) Kalabira, tullu, wamaq wamaq chay uku-paq ka-ku-ya-n.ACH
'Skeletons, bones – there are a lot there inside.'

(6) Uma nana-y-paq ... trura-ru-nchik huk limun-ta-m trawpi-paq parti-ru-nchik.AMV
'For headaches ... we put a lime – we cut it in the center.'

Qipanchiktaq hamuyan runahina.
qipa-nchik-taq hamu-ya-n runa-hina
behind-1PL-SEQ come-PROG-3 person-COMP
'Behind us, it's coming like a person.'
'Está viniendo detrás de nosotros como una persona'.
(Yuracsayhua_UY_Bull_Riddles_Souls, 01:31-01:33)

3.2.2 Pronouns

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, pronouns may be sorted into four classes: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, dependent pronouns, or interrogative-indefinite pronouns.

The personal pronouns in SYQ are ŋuqa 'I'; qam 'you'; pay 'she/he'; ŋuqanchik 'we'; qamkuna 'you.PL'; and paykuna 'they'. SYQ makes no distinction between subject, object, and possessive pronouns. With all three, case marking attaches to the same stem: ŋuqa-qa (1-TOP) 'I'; ŋuqa-ta (1-ACC) 'me'; ŋuqa-pa (1-GEN) 'my'.

The demonstrative pronouns are kay 'this', chay 'that', and wak 'that (other)'.

The dependent pronouns are kiki 'oneself', Sapa 'only, alone', llapa 'all', and kuska 'together'. These occur only with substantive person inflection, which indicates the person and, in some cases, number of the referent of the pronoun (kiki-y/-: 'I myself'; sapak-yki 'you alone'). One additional
pronoun may appear affixed with substantive person inflection: *wakin* 'some ...', 'the rest of ...'

Subsections (3.2.2.1)-(3.2.2.3) cover the personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and dependent pronouns, respectively. Interrogative-infinite pronouns are covered in subsection (3.2.3).

### 3.2.2.1 Personal Pronouns ānuqa, qam, pay

SYQ counts three pronominal stems – ņuqa, qam, and pay, as in (1), (2) and (3). These correspond to the first, second and third persons. These may but need not inflect for number, as: ņuqakuna, qamkuna, and paykuna (4), (5) and (6). SYQ makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural among ņuqanchik (dual), ņuqanchikkuna (inclusive), and ņuqakuna (exclusive) (7), (8), (9). ņuqakuna is employed in all five dialects (10)-(12). In practice, except in CH, ņuqanchik is employed with dual, inclusive and exclusive interpretations to the virtual complete exclusion of the other two forms. Verbs and substantives appearing with the inclusive ņuqanchikkuna inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default ņuqanchik (13); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive ņuqakuna inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular ņuqa (14), (15). In the verbal and nominal paradigm tables below, I sometimes make abstraction of ņuqanchikkuna and ņuqakuna noting here that the first patterns with ņuqanchik, the second with ņuqa. In practice, where context does not adequately specify the referent, speakers of SYQ make distinctions between the dual, inclusive and exclusive first-person plural exactly as do speakers of English and Spanish, indicating the dual, for example, with *ishkay-ni-nchik* 'the two of us'; the inclusive with *llapa-nchik* 'all of us'; and the exclusive with modifying phrases, as in ņuqanchik Viñac-pa 'we in Viñac'.

1. **Ka-la-**: Cañete-pi chay-pi-m uyari-la-: ņuqa-pis.CH
   'I was in Cañete. I, too, heard it there.'

2. **Mana-m ņuqa-qa Viñaq-ta riqsi-:-chu. ¿Qam riqsi-nki-chu, Min?** CH
   'I don't know Viñac. *Do you* know it, Min?'

3. **Pay-qa hatari-ru-sha-ña-m rika-q.** LT
   'He had already gotten up to see.'

4. **Huk gawa-piti-n-qa, ņuqanchik gawa-nchik- chu.** AMV
   'Although others see it, we don't see it.'

5. **"Qam-kuna ashi-piti-ki-m chinka-ku-n", ni-:CH**
   '"When you were looking for him, he got lost," I said.'

6. **¿Mana-chu pay-kuna wak-pa wasi-n-pi miku-n uqa-ta?** AMV
   'There in her house, don't *they* eat oca?'

7. **Ishkay ka-shpa-lla-m "ńuqanchik" ni-n.** AMV
   'If there are only two people, they say
Table 8. Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ŋuqa</td>
<td>ŋuqanchik (dual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋuqanchikkuna (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋuqakuna (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>qam</td>
<td>qamkuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>paykuna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SYQ makes no distinction between subject (13), (14), object (15), (16), and possessive (17), (18) pronouns. With all three, case marking attaches to the same stem.
(13). \( \text{ñuqa-qa} \) 'I' \( \text{Katra-kyu-ru-sayki ñuqa-qa.AMV} \) 'I'm going to let you free.'

(14). \( \text{pay-qa} \) 'he,' 'she' \( \text{Traya-mu-ra-o punta-ntin punta-ntin pay-qa.SP} \) 'He came from peak to peak.'

(15)*. \( \text{ñuqa-ta} \) 'me' \( \text{Ñuqa-ta miku-mu-wa-na-n-paq kuti-mu-shpa traqna-ru-wa-n.AMV} \) 'To be able to eat me when he comes back, he chained me.'

(16). \( \text{pay-ta} \) 'him,' 'her' \( \text{Tiya-yku-pitn-qa allqu-sh turi-ya-yku-ru-n pay-ta-qa.LT} \) 'When he sat down, they say, the dog was bull-fighting him.'

(17). \( \text{ñuqa-paq} \) 'mine' \( \text{Mana-m ka-n-chu – ñuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n.AMV} \) 'There isn't any. Mine is all gone.'

(18). \( \text{pay-pa} \) 'his,' 'her' \( \text{Mana-ña-m mira-n-ña-chu ganaw-ni-n-qa pay-pa-qa.LT} \) 'His animals didn't multiply any more.'

Chaymi ñuqata mikumuwananpaq kutimushpa traqnaruvan.


'So, in order to be able to eat me when he comes back, he chained me up.' 'Por eso, para poder comerme cuando vuelve, me trincó'.

(Cunyari_ER_Hand, 01:28-01:34)

3.2.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns kay, chay, wak

SYQ counts three demonstrative pronouns: \( \text{kay} \) 'this', \( \text{chay} \) 'that', and \( \text{wak} \) 'that (other)' (1)-(3). \( \text{chay} \) is the default form and may have referents both proximate and distal. \( \text{wak} \) is consistently translated in Spanish as 'ese' 'that', not, perhaps contrary to expectation, as 'aquel'. The demonstrative pronouns may substitute for any phrase or clause (4). They can but need not inflect for number (5). They can appear simultaneously with allocation inflection (6). In complex phrases with demonstrative pronouns, case marking attaches to the final word in the phrase (7). \( \text{chay} \) may be employed without deictic meaning, in particular when it figures in sentence-initial position (8). In this case, it is generally affixed with one of the validators -mi or -shi and indicates that the sentence it heads is closely related to the sentence that precedes it. SYQ demonstrative pronouns are identical in form to the demonstrative determiners (9)-(12).

(1)*. \( \text{kay} \) 'this' \( \text{Kay-qa mana-m bali-n-cho} \)

\( \text{miku-na-nchik-paq.AMV} \) 'This is no good to eat.'

(2). \( \text{chay} \) 'that' \( \text{¿Lliw lliw chay ka-n-cho? AMV} \)

'There is all that?'

(3). \( \text{wak} \) 'that' \( \text{Luku-hina-m wak puri-ya-} \)

'That (one) walks around like
Then she has a lot of babies. She'll suffer, too, a lot from that, from hunger.'

[President] Ollanta Humala is saying, "Now I'll kill those."

'these of ours'

'I spin this thin one, too, myself.'

'So I had him cured with one and with another.'

Anything comes out of this wool.'

'Didn't that dirty kid of yours appear yet?'

'That field of mine is really full.'

'That mule is not tame. He kills people.'

"Este no vale para comer", dije y se lo di al perro'.

'This is not good to eat," I said and I served it to the dog.'

'¿No aparece todavía tu chico sucio?'

'Hasn't that dirty kid of yours appeared yet?'

'These of ours'

'Este no vale para comer", dije y se lo di al perro'.

'This is not good to eat," I said and I served it to the dog.'

'¿No aparece todavía tu chico sucio?'

'Hasn't that dirty kid of yours appeared yet?'

3.2.2.1 Excursis: Determiners

SYQ does not have an independent class of determiners. *huk* 'one', 'once', 'other' can be used to introduce new referents; in this capacity, it can be translated 'a' (1). *kay* 'this', *chay* 'that', and *wak* 'that (other)' can be used to refer to established referents; in this capacity, they can be translated 'the' (2).

'There was a girl, a shepherdess. A man ... walked with the girl.'
Runa chay maqta-ta wañu-ra-chi-n hanay 'People killed the boy up in the hills.' urqu-pa.AMV

Huk pashña-sh karqa ubihira. Chaymanshi trayarushqa huk qari yuraq kurbatayuq.
huk pashña-sh ka-rqa-Ø ubihira chay-man-shi traya-rushqa huk qari one girl-EVR be-PST-3 shepherdess DEM.D-ALL-EVR arrive-URGT-SUBIS one man
Yuraq kurbata-yuq yana tirnuyuq chay pashña-wan purirga.
yuraq kurbata-yuq yana tirnu-yuq chay pashña-wan purirqa.
white tie-POSS black suit-POSS DEM.D girl-INSTR walk-PST³ 'There was a girl, a shepherdess. Then a man came with a white tie. He with a white tie and a black suit walked with the girl'.
'Había una chica pastora. Luego llegó un hombre con corbata blanca. El con corbata blanca y terno negro andaba con la chica'.
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 00:00-00:19)

3.2.2.3 Dependent Pronouns kiki-, Sapa-, llapa-, kuska-

SYQ counts four dependent pronouns: kiki- 'oneself' (1), Sapa- 'alone' (2), llapa- 'all' (3), and kuska- 'together' (4). These pronouns are dependent in the sense that they cannot occur uninflected. The affixes of the allocation (substantive) paradigm attach to dependent pronouns indicating the person and, in the case of the first person, sometimes the number of the referent of the pronoun (llapa-nchik 'all of us'). One additional pronoun may appear inflected with allocation affixes: wakin 'some, the rest of' (5), (17), (18) (not attested in CH). Dependent pronouns function as do personal pronouns: they may refer to any of the participants in an event, subject (6), (7) or object (8), (9); they inflect obligatorily for case (10), (11) and optionally for number; and they may be affixed with enclitics (12). All except kiki may occur as free forms as well; they occur freely not as pronouns, however, but as adjectives (13) or adverbs (14). Sapa is realized hapa in the CH and LT dialects (15), (16); sapa in all others.

(1) kiki 'one's self' Campion ni-shpa kiki-n-pis tuma-ru-n. Kiki-n-pis campiona-ku-ru-n.AMV "'Poison," she said, and she herself took it. They themselves poisoned themselves.'

(2)*. sapa 'only, alone' Pampa-wanchik tardi-qa diha-ra-mu-wanchik sapa-lldame- nchik-ta.AMV 'They bury us in the afternoon then leave us alone.'

(3)*. llapa 'all' Sikya fayna ka-phi-n-mi li-ya-: llapa-: CH 'When there's a community work day, we all go.'

(4). kuska 'together' Chay kuska-n-ta wañu-ra-chis sa chay-pa.ACH 'They killed them together there.'
5. wakin 'some, the rest' Wakin-ni-nchik lluqsini-nchik.†AMV 'The rest of us left.

6. Yatra-rqa-ni sapa-lła-y AMV 'I lived all alone.'

7. Llapa-n-ta apa-ku-nki.CH 'You're going to take along them all.'

8. Miku-y-paq-pis wañu-ya-nki kuska-yki wawa-ntin.AMV 'You're going to be dying of hunger – you together with your children.'

9. Chay kuska-n-ta wañu-ra-chi-sa-ø chay-pa.ACH 'They killed them together there.'

10. Kiki-y-paq ruwa-ni huk-kuna-paq ruwa-ni.AMV 'I make them for myself and for others.'

11. Huk runa-ta kaballu-n – kiki-n-pi kaballu-n – traki-n-ta paki-ru-sa.AMV 'A person's horse – his own horse – broke his foot.'

12. Kiki-n-kama-tr wañu-chi-naku-ra.ACH 'They must have killed each other themselves.'

13. Hinashpa pantyun-man apa-wanchik llapa familia-y-nchik kumpaña-wanchik.AMV 'Then they take us to the cemetery. Our whole family accompanies us.'

14. ¿Imay-hina-m chay lhuqsi-lu-shpa-qa mana kuska li-la-chu?CH 'Why didn't they do together when they went out?'

15. ¿Imayna trankilu puli-n hapa-lła-n?CH 'How does she walk about calmly all alone?'

16. Pi-taq atindi-nqa hapa-lła-y kaya-pti-y-ga.ŁT 'Who's going to take care of him if I'm all alone?'

17. Wakin-taq intindi-ya-:. Piru wakin-taq mana-m.SP 'I'm understanding some of them. But the rest, no.'

18. Mama-n-qaki kawsa-ku-n-mi wakin-ni-n-paq-qa.ACH 'His mother lived from another.'

-Pampawanchik tardiqa diharamuwanchik sapallanchikta. pampa-wanchik tardi-qa diha-ra-mu-wanchik sapa-lła-nchik-ta bury-3>1PL afternoon-TOP leave-URGT-CISL-3>1PL alone-RSTR-1PL-ACC 'They bury us in the afternoon and then they leave us alone.'

'Nos sepultan en la tarde y después nos dejan solos'.
(Vinac_MM_Condenados_Burial_Coca, 06:07-06:13)

-Sikya fayna kaptinmi liya: llapa-. siky fayna ka-pty-n-mi li-ya-: llapa-. canal work.day be-SUBIS-3-EVD go-PROG-1 all-1 'When there's a community work day on the canal, we all go.'

'Cuando hay una faena en la acequia, todos vamos'.
(Hongos_LW_Supper, 05:12-05:14)

3.2.3 Interrogative-Indefinites pi, ima, imay, imayna, mayqin, imapaq, ayka
SYQ counts seven interrogative-indefinite stems: *pi* 'who', *ima* 'what', *imay* 'when', *may* 'where', *imayna* 'how', *mayqin* 'which', *imapaq* 'why', and *ayka* 'how much/many', as shown in Table 9. These form interrogative (1)-(11), indefinite (12)-(22) and negative indefinite pronouns (23)-(31). Interrogative pronouns are formed by affixing the stem – generally but not obligatorily – with any of the enclitics *-taq*, *-raq*, *-mI*, *-shi* or *-trI* (*pi*- *taq* 'who', *ima*- *raq* 'what'); indefinite pronouns are formed by affixing the stem with *-pis* (*pi*- *pis* 'someone', *ima*- *pis* 'something'); negative indefinite pronouns, by prefixing the indefinite pronoun with *mana* 'no' (*mana* *pi*- *pis* 'no one', *mana* *ima*- *pis* 'nothing').

Table 9. Interrogative-Indefinites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>(Negative) indefinite</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pi</em></td>
<td>who</td>
<td><em>(mana) pipis</em></td>
<td>some/anyone (no one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ima</em></td>
<td>what</td>
<td><em>(mana) imapis</em></td>
<td>some/anything (nothing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>imay</em></td>
<td>when</td>
<td><em>(mana) imaypis</em></td>
<td>some/anytime (never)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>may</em></td>
<td>where</td>
<td><em>(mana) maypis</em></td>
<td>some/anywhere (nowhere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>imapaq</em></td>
<td>why</td>
<td><em>(mana) imapaqpis</em></td>
<td>some/any reason (no reason)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>imayna</em></td>
<td>how</td>
<td><em>(mana) imaynapis</em></td>
<td>some/anyhow (no how)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mayqin</em></td>
<td>which</td>
<td><em>(mana) mayqinpis</em></td>
<td>which ever (none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ayka</em></td>
<td>how many</td>
<td><em>(mana) aykapis</em></td>
<td>some/any amount (none)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interrogatives

1. ¿*Pi*-taq willa-ma-n-chik? *ACH
   'Who's going tell us?'

2. "¿*Ima*-ta-n maska-ku-ya-nki?" "Maska-ku-ya-qa antayluma-ta." *SP*
   "What are you looking for?" "I'm looking for antayluma berries."

3. ¿*Imay*-shi ri-ya-n Huancayo-ta? *AMV*
   'When is he going to Huancayo, did he say?'

4. ¿*May*-pa-yá Hilda-pa wakcha-n ka-ya-n? *AMV*
   'Where are Hilda's sheep?'

5. Chay mutu-qa, ¿*may*-pi-taq ka-ya-n? *ACH*
   'Where is that motorbike?'

6. ¿*Imapaq* ... papa-ta apa-mu-wa-raqa-nki? *AMV*
   'Why have you brought me… potatoes?'

7. ¿*Imapaq*-taq chay na walmi-lla kida-lu-n? *CH*
   'Why did just the woman stay?'

8. Llaki-ku-ya-n atuq-qa. "Diha-ru-wa-n kumpadri-y. ¿Kanan *imayna*-taq kutishaq?" *AMV*
   'The fox was sad. "My compadre left me. Now how am I going to get back?"'

9. ¿*Mayqin*-ni-n tuni-ru-n? ¿*Kusina*-n? *AMV*
   'Which of them crumbled? Her kitchen?'

10. ¿*Ayka*-ña-tr awmintu-ru-n kabra-n-qa? *AMV*
    'How much have her goats increased?"
Indefinites

(11). *Chay-pa-qa ¿Ayka-kta-taq paga-ya-?CH*  
'How much am I paying there?'

(12). *Pi-pis fakulta-yku-wa-na-n-paq.LT*  
'So *someone* will help me out.'

(13). *Wak chimpa-ta pasa-shpa-qa – ima-lla-tapis.SP*  
'When you go by there on the opposite side – [it could do] *anything*.'

(14). *Chay muqu-y-kuna imay-pis nana-:pu AMV*  
'Any time my knees hurt'

(15). *Kay qullqi-ta qu-shqayki. ¡Ripu-ku-y may-ta-pis!*AMV  
'I'm going to give you this money. Get going wherever!'

(16). *Kitra-ru-n imayna-pis yayku-ru-n Lluqi-Maki-qa.AMV*  
'Strong Arm opened it *any way* [he could] and entered.'

(17). *Mana-m kay-ta-qa diha-y-ta muna-:-chu. Imayna-paq-pis hina-ta-m ruwa-ku-l-la-:-chu.ACH*  
'I don't want to leave this. Like this I just make whichever way.'

(18). *Imayna-pis yatrea-shaq-mi. Lima-pa-qa buska-q kan-mi-ki.LT*  
'Any way about it, I'm going to find out. In Lima, there are people who read cards.'

(19). *Chay wambra imapaq-pis rabya-ri-ru-n.AMV*  
'That child gets mad for *any reason*.'

(20). *Ayvis dimanda-ku-ru-n tiyra-yuq-kuna trakra-kuna-paq imapaq-pis.SP*  
'Sometimes they denounced landholders for their fields, for *any reason at all*.'

(21). *Apa-rqa mayqin-pis.†AMV*  
'She bought *which ever*.'

(22). *Ranti-rqa ayka-wan-pis.†AMV*  
'She bought with some (unknown) amount.'

Negative indefinites

(23). *Mana pi-pis yatra-n-chu.AMV*  
'No one lives here.'

(24). *Puntraw-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-n-chu.SP*  
'In the day, there's *nothing*.'

(25). *Piru mana imay-pis kay-na-qa.AMV*  
'But *never* like that.'

(26). *Kasa-ra-ku-ra:- kay-lla-pa-m hina-lla-m kay law-pa kawsa-ku:- tukuy wata-n wata-n mana-m may-ta-pis lhuqsi-:-chu.ACH*  
'I got married right here. Just like that, here I live, year in, year out, I don't go anywhere.'

(27). *Mana tali-la-chu may-traw-pis.CH*  
'They haven't found him *anywhere*.'

(28). *Manam imapaq-pis chinka-ru-n.†AMV*  
'She got lost for *no reason*.'

(29). *Ñaka-ri-nchik-mi sapa-lla-nchik-qa mana-m imayna-pis.SP*  
'We suffer alone *without any way* [to make money].'

(30). *Mayqin-ni-ki-pis mana yuya-chi-wa-rqa-nki-cho.AMV*  
'Neither of you reminded me.'

(31). *Ray-qa mana-m ayka-s ka-n-chu.ACH*  
'There isn't even a small number of rows.'

Indefinite pronouns may figure in exclamations (32). Interrogative pronouns are affixed with the case markers corresponding to the questioned element (33). The enclitic generally attaches to
the final word in the interrogative phrase: where the interrogative pronoun completes the phrase, it attaches directly to the interrogative (plus case affixes, if any) (34); where the phrase includes an NP, the enclitic attaches to the NP (pi-paq-taq 'for whom' ima qulqi-tr 'what money') (35), (36).

The interrogative enclitic is not employed in the interior of a subordinate clause but may attach to the final word in the clause (\(Pi\) mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-nki? 'Who did you see trample the cat?' \(Pi\) mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta-taq qawa-rqa-nki? 'Who did you see trample the cat?').

Interrogative phrases generally raise to sentence-initial position (37), although they may sometimes remain in-situ, even in non-echo questions (38). Interrogative indefinites are sometimes employed as relative pronouns (39), (40). Speakers use both ima ura and imay ura 'what hour' and 'when hour' to ask the time (41). Interrogative pronouns may be stressed with diyablu (devil) and like terms (42). Allocation affixes attach to indefinites to yield phrases like 'your things' and 'my people' (43)-(45); and attaching to mayqin 'which', they yield 'which of PRON' (46). Imapaq 'why' is also sometimes realized as imapa in ACH (47). Negative indefinites may be formed with ni 'nor' as well as mana (48); they may sometimes be formed with no negator at all (49), (50). Affixed with the combining verb na-, ima 'what' forms a verb meaning 'do what' or 'what happen' (51)-(53) (see section 4.4.1.1.5). In the CH dialect, imayna alternates with imamish (54).

(32) \(¿Ima\) maldisyaw chay dimunyu! ¿Pudir-niluq!AMV


(34) ¿Imapaq-mi qam puka traki ka-nki?" nishpa.SP

(35) ¿Ukaliptu-ta pi-taq simbra-nqa? ¿Pi-paq-ni-taq?AMV

(36) ¿Ayka wata-ña-taq kanan nubinta i tris-paq?AMV

(37) ¿Pi-wan tuma-shpa-tr pay hamu-n?AMV

(38) ¿Qali-ga li-ku-n may-ta-taq?CH

(39) Pashña-qa pi-wan traya-ra-mu-n†AMV

(40) Familya-n-ga gawa-ru-n imayna wanų-ku-sa-o-n pusta-pa.AMV

(41) ¿Imay ura-taq hunta-nqa kay yaku-qa?LT

(42) ¿Ima diyablu-yá ñuqanchik ka-nchik?AMV

(43)*. Mana ima-yki-pis ka-PTI-n ACH

(44) Yasqa-ya-ru-kwi mana pi-ni-ki-pis kna-CH.ACH

(45) Mana vaka-nchik ima-nchik ka-PTI-n

'How damned is the Devil! He's powerful!'

'Should I rub it with a sack? With what can I rub it?'

"Why are your feet red?" he said, they say.'

'Who's going to plant eucalyptus trees? For whom?'

'How many years is it already since ninety-three?'

'Who did he come drinking with?'

'The man went where?'

'The girl with whom she came'

'Her family saw how she had died in the clinic.'

'What time will this water fill up?'

'What the hell are we?'

'If you don't have anything'

'When you're old, you won't have anyone.'

'Without our cows and our stuff, we could sit
Maytapis pushaway. ¿Imata niwangaraq mamay taytay?
may-ta-pis pusha-wa-y ima ni-wa-nqa-raq mama-y tayta-y
where-ACC-ADD take-1.OBJ-IMP what say-1.OBJ-3.FUT-CONT mother-1 father-1
'Take me where ever. What will my mother and my father possibly say to me?'
'¿Llévame dondequiera? ¿Qué me podrán decir mi mama y mi papa?'
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 00:23-00:28)

Kay quillqita qushqayki. Ripukuy maytapis.
kay qullqi-ta qu-shqayki ripu-ku-y may-ta-pis
dem.P gold-ACC give-2>1.FUT go-REFL-IMP where-ACC-ADD
'I'm going to give you this money. Get going where ever!'
'Te voy a dar este dinero. ¡Ándate a donde sea!'
(Cunyari_ER_Hand, 01:07-01:10)

Familyanga qawarun imayna wañukusen pustapa.
familya-n-qa qawa-ru-n imayna wañu-ku-sa-n pusta-pa
family-3-TOP see-URGT-3 die-REFL-PRF-3 clinic-LOC
'Her family saw how she had died in the clinic.'
'Sus familiares vieron como había muerto en el puesto de salud.'
(Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos, 51:48-51:54)
Mana imaykipis kaptin
mana ima-yki-pis ka-pti-n
no what-2-ADD be-SUBDS-3
'if you don't have anything'
'si no tienes nada'
(Vinac_CQ_TwoBrothers, 00:22-00:23)

3.2.4 Adjectives

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, adjectives may be sorted into three classes: regular adjectives (puka 'red'), adverbial adjectives (sumaq-ta 'nicely'), or gender adjectives (kuntinta 'happy'). All three classes figure towards the end of the stack of potential noun modifiers, all of which precede the noun. Nouns may be modified by demonstratives (chay trakra 'that field'), quantifiers (ashlla trakra 'few fields'), numerals (trunka trakra 'ten fields'), negators (mana trakra-yuq 'person without fields'), pre-adjectives (dimas karu trakra 'field too far away'), adjectives (chaki trakra 'dry field') and other nouns (sara trakra 'corn field'). Where modifiers appear in series, they appear in the order DEM-QUANT-NUM-NEG-preADJ-ADJ-ATR-NUCLEUS (chay trunka mana dimas chaki sara trakra 'these ten not-too-dry corn fields') (analysis and example taken from Parker 1976). Subsections (3.2.4.1)-(3.2.4.4) cover regular adjectives, adverbial adjectives, gender adjectives, and preadjectives. Numeral adjectives are covered in subsection (3.2.5).

3.2.4.1 Regular Adjectives

The class of regular adjectives includes all adjectives not included in the other two classes (1)-(4). Adjectives are often repeated. The effect is augmentative (uchuk 'small' → uchuk-uchuk 'very small'). When adjectives are repeated, the last consonant or the last syllable of the first instance is generally elided (alli-allin 'very good', hat-hatun 'very big') (5).

(1) * gillu 'yellow' gillu wayta 'yellow flowers'
(2)* gatra 'dirty' gatra pishqu 'dirty bird'
(3) * trawa 'raw' trawa aycha 'raw meat'
(4) * putka 'turbid' putka yaku 'turbid water'
(5)* hatun 'big' hat hatun 'really big'

Wak pishqu mikukuyan mikunayta – ¡gatra pishqu!
wak pishqu miku-ku-ya-n miku-na-y-ta qatra pishqu
DEM.DD bird eat-REFL-PROG-3 eat-NMLZ-1-ACC dirty bird
3.2.4.2 Adverbial Adjectives

Adjectives may occur adverbially, in which case they are generally but not necessarily inflected for case with accusative -ta (1)-(6).

1. *wamaq* 'a lot'  
   *Aburi-ku-ru-n sakristan-qa wama wamaq-ta kampana-ta suyna-chi-pti-n*  
   'The deacon got annoyed that [Lluqi Maki] rang the bell so much.'

2. *sumaq* 'pretty'  
   *Pay-ta-tr indika-pu-wa-nki sumaq-ta*  
   'You're going to point him out to me nicely.'

3. *quyu* 'ugly'  
   *Ñuqa-qa quyu quyu-ta waga-ya-:.*  
   'I'm singing awfully.'

4. *rakta* 'thick'  
   *Kay-na rakta-ta-ña-m*  
   '[I spin] like this, thick.'

5. *karu* 'far'  
   *Sirka-lla-ta-m ri-ya-: mana-m karu-ta-chu*  
   'I'm staying close, I don't go far.'

6. *qillu* 'yellow'  
   *Rupa-nychik-ta trura-ku-nychik qillu-ta*  
   'We dress in yellow.'

3.2.4.3 Gender Adjectives

A few adjectives, all borrowed from Spanish, may inflect for gender (masculine /u/ or feminine /a/) in case they modify nouns referring to animate male or female individuals, respectively (1). These borrowed adjectives need not necessarily inflect, however (2), (3). Some nouns indigenous to SYQ
specify the gender of the referent (masha 'son-in-law', llumchuy 'daughter-in-law') (4). Indeed, some names of family relations specify the gender of both members of the relationship (wawqi 'brother of a male', ñaña 'sister of a female') (5)-(7). Where it is necessary to specify the gender of the referent of a noun that does not indicate gender, SYQ modifies that noun with qari 'man' or warmi 'mujer' in the case of people (warmi wawa 'daughter' lit. 'girl child') and urqu 'male' or trina 'female' in the case of animals (8), (9).

(1) kuntintu/a  'happy' Qam-qa kuntinta-chu ka-nki kay-pa? AMV 'Are you happy? Here?'

(2) fiyu/a  'bad', 'ugly' Fiyu fiyu qatra-m warmi ka-sa. AMV 'An ugly. M. ugly. M. dirty woman'

(3) luku/a  'crazy' Luka turu-qa. Chay-kuna-tam mama-cha-:-illa willa-ma-q. 'The crazy. F. bull. My grandmother would tell me those [stories].'

(4) Masha-:-pis gali-pis walmi-pis wawi-:-kuna-paq. CH 'My son-in-law, too, my children's sons and daughters.'

(5) Wañu-ra-chi-n wawqi-n-ña-taq "¡Ama wawqi-:-ta!" ni-pte-n. ACH 'They [the Shining Path] killed his brother when he said, "Don't [kill] my brother!!"'

(6) Ñaña-y-pis turí-y-pis ka-rqa-ø-m piru wañu-ku-n-ña. AMV 'I had a sister and a brother, but they died.'

(7) Chay ubiha-pa wawa-n-ta chay karniru-pa churi-n-ta. AMV 'The baby of that sheep, the baby of that ram'

(8) "Paga-shun-ña-m riga-ru-na-n-paq-mi. Bali-ku-ru-nki", ni-wa-ra-ø ya chay wawi warmi. LT 'We're going to pay already to water. You're going to request someone," my daughter said to me.'

(9) Wak vaka-n-cha-qa watra-ru-sa-ø. ¿Wak urqu-chu wawa-n trina-chu? AMV 'His cow gave birth. Is it a male or a female?'

### 3.2.4.4 Preadjectives

Adjectives admit modification by adverbs (1), (2) and nouns functioning adjectivally. Both precede the adjective and may be case-marked with accusative -ta (3).

(1) Mancha manchay buyna-m pay-qa ka-ra-ø. LT 'He was really good.'

(2) Pasaypaq chanchu sapatu pasaypaq lapi chuku pasaypaq-shi ri-tamu-n pay-pis. LT 'He, too, went with totally old shoes and a completely worn hat, they say.'

(3) Dimas-ta sumaq ka-ya-n. AMV 'She's too pretty.'
3.2.5 Numerals

SYQ employs two sets of cardinal numerals. The first is native to Quechua; the second is borrowed from Spanish. The latter is always used for time and almost always for money. Also borrowed from Spanish are the ordinal numerals, primiru 'first', sigundu 'second', and so on. There is no set of ordinal numerals native to SYQ. Subsections (3.2.5.1)-(3.2.5.3) cover general numerals, ordinal numerals, and time numerals in turn. Subsections (3.2.5.4) and (3.2.5.5) cover numerals inflected for allocation and the special case of huk 'one', respectively.

3.2.5.1 General Numerals

The set of cardinal numerals native to SYQ includes twelve members: huk 'one'; ishka 'two'; kimsa 'three'; tawa 'four'; pichqa 'five'; suqta 'six'; qanchis 'seven'; pusaq 'eight'; isqun 'nine'; trunka 'ten'; patrak 'hundred'; and waranqa 'thousand' (1)-(3). 'twenty', 'thirty' and so on are formed by placing a unit numeral – ishka 'two', kimsa 'three', etc. – in attributive construction with trunka 'ten' (4). 'forty-one' and 'forty-two' and so on are formed by adding another unit numeral – huk 'one', ishka 'two', and so on – using -yuq or, following a consonant, its allomorph, -ni-yuq (5). General numerals are ambivalent, functioning both as adjectives and pronouns (6).

(1)* Ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi. AMV

Ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi. 'Two Wankas rested in a cave.'

(2) Kimsa killa-m kay-paq para-nqa. AMV

Kimsa killa-m kay-paq para-nqa. 'It's going to rain for three months here.'

(3) Inagaña-yku-n. Chay waranqa kwista-sa-n-ta-m ... ACH

Inagaña-yku-n. Chay waranqa kwista-sa-n-ta-m ... 'They cheat them. That which cost one thousand ...'

(4) Riga-nchik chay sara-ta-qa ishka trunka kimsa trunka puntraw-ni-yuq-ta-m-á. AMV

Riga-nchik chay sara-ta-qa ishka trunka kimsa trunka puntraw-ni-yuq-ta-m-á. 'We water the corn that's twenty or thirty days old.'

(5) Trunka ishka-ni-yuq-paq-pis ruwa-nchik. AMV

Trunka ishka-ni-yuq-paq-pis ruwa-nchik. 'We make them out of twelve [strands], too.'

(6) Ishkay-lła-ta api-ku-na-y-paq. Shanti-pa mana ka-sha-chu. LT

Ishkay-lła-ta api-ku-na-y-paq. Shanti-pa mana ka-sha-chu. 'Just two so I can make pudding. Shanti didn't have any.'

Ishkay Wanka samakushqa huk matray-pi.

ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi

two Huancayoan rest-REFL-NPST one cave-LOC

'Two Huancayoans rested in a cave.'

'Dos Huancainos se alojaron en una cueva'.

(Vinac_MG_Wankas, 00:03-00:06)

3.2.5.2 Ordinal Numerals
SYQ has no native system of ordinal numerals. It borrows the Spanish 'primero' 'segundo' and so on (1)-(3). The expression *punta-taq* is sometimes employed for 'first' (4), (5).

(1). "Chay mamakuq-ta siqa-chi-nki primiru yatra-chi-shu-na-yki-paq" ni-n.ACH

"Make the old woman go up first in order to teach you," they said.'

(2). Kay-ta-m primiru qawa-chi-ri-nki traya-shpa.AMV

'You're going to offer this first when you arrive.'

(3)*. Kwartu-lla kintu-lla – mana-m puchuka-chiwa-rqa-pis-chu.AMV

'They had me finish fourth [grade], no more, fifth [grade], no more.'

(4). Qari-n-man sirvi-ru-n punta-taq hinashpa kiki-n-pis miku-ru-n-tri-ki.AMV

'She served her husband [the poisoned tuna] first then she herself must have eaten it.'

(5). Kimsa puntraw tawa puntraw uriya-yka-chi-shpa punta-taq pacha-nchik.CH

'We're there for three days, four days getting it plowed. First you crush it.'

Kwartu nu mas kintu – manam puchukachiwarqapischu.
kwartu nu mas kintu mana-m puchuka-chiwa-rqa-ø-pis-chu
fourth no more fifth no-EVD finish-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-ADD-NEG
'Just fourth grade, they didn't let me finish fifth grade.'
'Quarto grado no más. No me dejaron terminar el quinto grado'.
(Madean_VDE_Various, 06:23-06:29)

3.2.5.3 Time Numerals and Prenumerals

SYQ makes use of the full set of Spanish cardinal numeral: *unu* 'one', *dus* 'two', *tris* 'three', *kwatru* 'four', *sinku* 'five', *sis* 'six', *siyti* 'seven', *uchu* 'eight', *nuybi* 'nine', *dis* 'ten', and so on. It is this set that is used in telling time. As in Spanish, time numerals are preceded by the prenumerals *la* or *las* (1). Time expressions are generally case-marked with accusative -*ta* (2).

(1). Puñu-ku-n tuta a las tris di la mañana-taqq.a.AMV

'He went to sleep at night – at three in the morning.'

(2). Las tris i midya-ta qayku-ru-ni.AMV

'I threw him in the corral at three thirty.'

3.2.5.4 Numerals with Allocation Affixes

Any numeral, NUM, may be affixed with any plural allocation affix – -nchik, -Yki, or -n. These constructions translate 'we/you/they NUM' or 'the NUM of us/you/them' (*kimsanchik* 'we three', 'the three of us' (1). In the case of *ishkay* this translates 'both of' (2). *huknin* translates both 'one of' and 'the other of' (3).
Ishkay-ni-n, kimsa-n ka-shpa-qa miku-nyá. AMV

'If there are two or three of them, they eat.'

Ishkay-ni-nchik ripu-ku-shun. AMV

'Let's go both of us!'

Huk-ni-n pis huk-ni-n pis hinaptin sapa-lla-witrqa-rayati-n. ACH

One of them then the other of them [leaves] and I'm closed in all alone.'

Ishkayninchik ripukushun.

ishkay-ni-nchik ripu-ku-shun
two-EUPH-1PL leave-REFL-1PL.FUT

'Let's go the two of us.'

'Nos iremos los dos'.
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 05:11-05:13)

3.2.5.5 huk

huk 'one' has several functions in addition to its function as a numeral (1) and numeral adjective (2). It may serve both as an indefinite determiner (3), (4) and as a pronoun (5), (6). With 'another' interpretation, huk may be inflected with plural -kuna (7). Affixed with allative/dative -man, it may be interpreted 'different' or 'differently' (8).

(1). Ñuga-kuna-paq pichqa mulla: huk, ishkay, kimsa, tawa, pichqa.CH

'We have five quotas [of water]: one, two, three, four, five.'

(2). Achka ... lluqsin huk pakay-lla-paq. AMV

'A lot [of seeds] come out of just one pacay.'

(3). Huk inhiniyru-sh ri-ku-ra. Chay ubsirva-q hina-shpa-sh ... ACH

'An engineer went. That observer, then, they say ...'

(4). Hinaptin-ña huk atrqay pasa-n, ismu atrqay. 'Huk turu-ta-m paga-sayki'. SP

'Then an eagle passed by, a gray eagle. "I'll pay you a bull," [said the girl].'

(5). Puchka-: paqarin-ni-n-ta huk-ta ruwa:-mincha-n-ta huk-ta. ACH

'I'll spin tomorrow and make one; the day after tomorrow, another.'

(6). Ayvis lliw chinka-ru-n ayvis huk-lla ishkaylla-ta tariru-:. ACH

'Sometimes all get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.'

(7). Kiki-y-paq ruwa-ni huk-kuna-paq ruwa-ni. AMV

'I make them for myself, and I make them for other people.'

(8). Wayta-cha-y-pis huk-man lluqsi-ru-wa-n ishkay traki-yuq-hina lluqsi-ru-n. AMV

'My flower came out differently on me. It came out like with two feet.'

3.2.6 Multiple-Class Substantives
Some substantives are ambivalent. Regular nouns may appear as regular adjectives (1) and
adverbial adjectives (2); interrogative pronouns as indefinite and relative pronouns (3); dependent
pronouns as unit numerals (4); unit numerals as pronouns (5), (6); and dependent pronouns as
adverbs (7) and quantitative (8), (9) adjectives.

(1)  mishi  'a sweet', 'sweet'
(2)  tardi  'afternoon', 'late'
(3)  ima  'thing', 'what', 'that'
(4)  sapa  'each', 'one alone'
(5)  huk  'one', 'I'
(6)  ishay  'two [stones]' 'two [came]'
(7)  kuska  'we/you/they together' 'together'
(8)  llapa  'all of us/you/them' 'all'
(9)  Karitira tuni-ru-n trakra tuni-ru-n yaku-qa  llapa wayqu-ta hunta-ra-mu-n.AMV  'The road collapsed; the fields collapsed.
Water filled all the river beds.'

3.2.7  Dummy na

na is a dummy noun, standing in for any substantive that doesn't make it off the tip of the speaker's
tongue (1), (2). na inflects as does any other substantive – for case (3), number, and allocation (4).
na is ambivalent, serving also as a dummy verb (5).

(1)  Chay-na-sh wak na law-kuna-pa –
Wañupisa. Yanak law-kuna-pa-tr.ACH  'So, they say, there in where-is-it –
Wañupisa. Around Yanak, for sure.'
(2)  Wanga-ku-nchik na-kta papa-kta-pis uqa-kta-pis. Walmi.CH  'We turn the what-do-you-call-them – the
potatoes, the oca. [We] women.'
(3)*  Wak na-ta-tr qawa-nqa hina-shpa-tr rimanqa.AMV  'She's going to look at that thingamajig, then she'll talk.'
(4)  Waqa-ya-n. Uray-law-pa apa-mu-nki chay na-n-ta.AMV  'He's crying. Bring his thingy down there!'
(5)  Chay-kuna rima-nqa-ña na-ru-shpa-qa.AMV  'They'll talk after doing that.'

Wak natatr qawanga hinaashpatr rimanga.

wak  na-ta-tr  qawa-nqa  hina-shpa-tr  rima-nqa
DEM.DD  DMY-ACC-EVC  see-3.FUT  thus-SUBIS-EVC  talk-3.FUT
'She's going to look at that thingamajig, then she'll talk.'
'Va a ver su cosita esa y después va a hablar'.
(Vinac_SH_Puna_Breasts, 00:32-00:37)
3.3 Substantive Inflection

Substantives in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, inflect for person, number and case.

The substantive (“allocation”) person affixes of SYQ are -y (AMV, LT) or -: (ACH, CH, SP) (1P), -Yki (2P), -n (3P), and -nchik (1PL) (mishi-y, mishi-: 'my cat', asnu-yki 'your donkey').

The plural affix of SYQ is -kuna (urqu-kuna 'hills').

SYQ counts ten case affixes: comparative -hina (María-hina 'like Maria'); limitative -kama (marsu-kama 'until March'); allative, dative -man (Cañete-man 'to Cañete'); genitive and locative -pa (María-pa 'María's Lima-pa 'in Lima'); ablative, benefactive, and purposive -paq (Viñac-paq 'from Viñac', María-paq 'for Maria' qawa-na-n-paq 'in order for her to see'); locative -pi (Lima-pi 'in Lima'); exclusive -puRa (amiga-pura 'among friends'); causative -rayku (Maria-rayku 'on account of María'); accusative -ta (Maria-ta 'to Maria'), and comitative and instrumental -wan (Maria-wan 'with María', acha-wan 'with an axe').

All case processes consist in adding an affix to the last word in the nominal phrase. When a stem bears affixes of two or three classes, these appear in the order person-number-case (1), (2).

(1)*. ¡Blusa-lla-y-kuna-ta kaylla-man warku-ra-pu-wa-y!AMV

'Hang just my blouses up right over there for me.'

(2). Kusas-ni-nchik-kuna-lla-ta-tr ñiti-n-man.AMV

'Just our things would crush.'

¡Blusallaykunata kayllaman warkurapuway!

blusa-lla-y-kuna-ta kaylla-man warku-ra-pu-wa-y
blusa-RSTR-1-PL-ACC DEM.P-RSTR-ALL hang-URGT-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP

'Hang just my blouses up just over there for me!'

¡Cuélgame mis blusas nada más hacia allá!'

(Vinac_JC_Cure, 18:37-18:39)

Subsections (3.3.1)- (3.3.3) cover inflection for allocation, number, and case, respectively. Most case affixes are mutually exclusive; subsection (3.3.3.2) gives some possible combinations.

3.3.1 Allocation (Person)
The allocation (substantive) affixes of SYQ are the same in all dialects for all persons except the first-person singular. Two of the five dialects – AMV and LT – follow the QII pattern, marking the first-person singular with -y; three dialects – ACH, CH, and SP – follow the QI pattern, marking it with -: (vowel length). The SYQ nominal affixes, then, are: -y or -: (1P), -Yki (2P), -n (3P), -nchik (1PL) (1)-(7). Stems of the following substantive classes may be affixed with person affixes: nouns (wambra-yki 'your child') (8), general numerals (kimsa-nchik 'the three of us') (9), dependent pronouns (kiki-n 'she herself') (10), demonstrative pronouns (chay-ni-y 'this of mine') (11) and interrogative-indefinites (12). In the case of words ending in a consonant, -ni – semantically vacuous – precedes the person affix (13). The third person allocation affix, -n, attaching to may 'where' and other expressions of place, forms an idiomatic expression interpretable as 'via' or 'around' (13), (14). In the first person singular, the noun papa 'father' inflects papa-ni-y to refer to one's biological or social father (15). SYQ 'have' constructions are formed SUBSTANTIVE-POSS ka-(16). Finally, allocation affixes attach to the subordinating affix -pti as well as to the nominalizing affixes -na and -sa to form subordinate (17), purposive (18), complement (19) and relative clauses (20), (21).

Table 10. Allocation (Substantive) Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-y (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>-nchik (dual, inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-: (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
<td>-y (exclusive ACH, CH, SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-: (exclusive AMV, LT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Yki</td>
<td>-Yki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1). -y my Wiqaw-ni-y-mi nana-n.AMV 'My lower back hurts.'
(2). -: my Qusa-:-ta lista-man trura-rusa.ACH 'They put my husband on the list.'
(3)*. -yki your ¡Ishkay maki-ki-wan traski-y! AMV 'Accept [coca] with your two hands!'  
(4). -n his/her Duyñu-pa wallqa-ŋ-ta ruwa-n.AMV 'They make the owner his wallqa (garland).'
(5). -nchik our Yanga mancha-ri-n kwirpu-nchik.AMV 'In vain, our body gets scared.'
(6). -yki your Qam-kuna michi-na-yki. AMV 'Where you PL pasture'
(7). -n their pubri-kuna-pa pastilla-n AMV 'the medicine of the poor people'
(8). Hinashpaqa pubri-qa kuti-mu-sa llapa AMV 'Then the poor man returned to his house.'
animal-ni-n-wan wasi-n-man. AMV

"Kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan", nispha ishkay-ni-n aysa-pa:-ku sanqa-man. SP

Pay sapa-lla-n hamu-ya-n kay-lla-ta-qa. AMV

with all his animals.'

"Now we'll pull with this rope," he said and the two of them pulled it toward the ravine.'

She's coming here all alone.'

"Kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan", ni-shpa ishkay-ni-n aysa-pa:-ku sanqa-man. SP

'Now we'll pull with this rope,' he said and the two of them pulled it toward the ravine.'

'She's coming here all alone.'

Chay-ni-ki-ta prista-wa-nki. AMV

'Lend me that of yours.'

'My father.'

"Kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan", ni-shpa ishkay-ni-n aysa-pa:-ku sanqa-man. SP

'Now we'll pull with this rope,' he said and the two of them pulled it toward the ravine.'

'She's coming here all alone.'

Chay-ni-ki-ta prista-wa-nki. AMV

'Lend me that of yours.'

'My father.'

"Kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan", ni-shpa ishkay-ni-n aysa-pa:-ku sanqa-man. SP

'Now we'll pull with this rope,' he said and the two of them pulled it toward the ravine.'

'She's coming here all alone.'
the stem and allocation affix, if any, and precedes the case affix, if any (5). Number-marking in SYQ is optional. Noun phrases introduced by numerals or quantifying adjectives generally are not inflected with -kuna (6). -kuna may receive non-plural interpretations and, like -ntin, may indicate accompaniment or non-exhaustivity (7). Finally, words borrowed from Spanish already inflected for plural – i.e., with Spanish plural "s" – are generally still affixed with -kuna ('cosas' → kusas-ni-nchik-kuna) (8).

1. **Kabra-kuna-ta hapi-shpa miku-ku-ya-n.** AMV 'Taking ahold of the goats [the puma] ate them.'

2. **Awa-n-mi pay-kuna-pis-r-iki.** AMV 'They, too, weave.'

3. **Chay-kuna-pa algunus-qa pampa-rayana.** AMV 'Some people are buried in those.'

4. **¿Ima-kuna-m ubiha-yki-pa sutin?** AMV 'What are your sheep's names?'

5. **Chamis-ni-kuna-ta upiya-ri-n, kuka-n-kuna-ta aku-n.** AMV 'They drink their chamis, they chew their coca.'

6. **Ishkay yatraraqa, ishkay warmi.** AMV 'Two lived [there], two women.'

7. **Chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man.** AMV 'Your body and all can be sick, your head and all can hurt.'

8. **Qaya-shpa waqa-shpa puri-n animalis-nchik-kuna-qa.** AMV 'Our animals walk around screaming, crying.'

**Chay kwirpuyikuna mal kanman umayyikuna nanananman.**

chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man
DEM.D body-2-PL bad be-3-COND head-2-PL hurt-3-COND
'Tu cuerpo todo puede estar mal; tu cabeza todo puede doler'.
(Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos, 24:04-24:09)

**Qayashpa waqashpa purin animalisninchikunaga.**

qaya-shpa waqa-shpa-m puri-n animalis-nchik-kuna-qa
scream-SUBIS cry-SUBIS-EVD walk-3 animals-EUPH-IPL-PL-TOP
'Nuestros animales andan gritando, llorando'.
(Vinac_EA_Earthquakes, 02:35-02:38)

3.3.3 **Case**

A set of ten affixes constitutes the case system of SYQ. These are:-hina (comparative), -kama (limitative), -man (allative, dative), -pa/-pi (genitive, locative), -paq (ablative, benefactive, purposive), -puRa (exclusive), -rayku (causative), -ta (accusative), and -wan (comitative,
instrumental). Genitive, instrumental and allative/dative may specify noun-verb in addition to noun-noun relations. -pa is the default form for the locative, but -pi is often and -paq is sometimes used. The CH dialect uses a fourth form, -trav, common to the QI languages. The CH dialect is also unique among the five in its realization of accusative -ta as -kta after a short vowel. -puRa – attested only in Viñac – and -rayku, are employed only rarely. The genitive and accusative may form adverbs (tuta-pa 'at night', allin-ta 'well'). Instrumental -wan may coordinate NPs (llama-wan alpaka-wan 'the llama and the alpaca'). All case processes consist in adding a affix to the last word in the nominal group. Most case affixes are mutually exclusive. Subsections (3.3.3.01)-(3.3.3.11) cover each of the case affixes in turn.

Table 11. Case Affixes with Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hina</td>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>Runa-hina, uyqa-hina</td>
<td>'like people, like sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kama</td>
<td>limitative</td>
<td>Fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa.</td>
<td>'It will rain still until February or March.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-man</td>
<td>allative, dative</td>
<td>Lima runa-kuna traya-mu- pti-n siyra-n-man</td>
<td>'When people from Lima return to their sierra.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa₁</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>Algunus-pa puchka-n tipi-kuya-n-mi</td>
<td>'Some people's thread breaks on them.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa₂</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>Uruq-lla-pa-m chay-ga wiña-n</td>
<td>'It grows only in the mountains.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>Yana-ya-sa qutra-pa pata-n-pi qutra-pa tuna-n-pi.</td>
<td>'Blackened on the banks of the lake, in the corner of the lake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₁</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>Huangáscar-paq-mi hamu-ra wama-wamaq polisiya-pis.</td>
<td>'Lots of policemen came from Huangáscar.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₂</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>Chay qari-kuna mana ishpa- y-ta atipa-q-paq</td>
<td>'This is for the men who can't urinate.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₃</td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>Qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ... kita-ri-ni.</td>
<td>'In order to see what he died from ... I opened him up.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puRa</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>Qam pay-wan wawqi ñaña-pura ka-nki.</td>
<td>'You and she are going to be true brothers and sisters.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rayku</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>Chawa-shi-q lichi-lla-n-rayku ri-y-man-tri.</td>
<td>'I might go help milk on account of his milk.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>¿Maqta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta?</td>
<td>'Are you going to take the boys or the girl?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan₁</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>¿Imapaq-mi wak kundinaw-wan puri-ya-nki?</td>
<td>'Why are you walking around with that zombie?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan₂</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>Ichu-wan-mi chay-ta ruwa-nchik.</td>
<td>'We make this one with straw.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Cacra-Hongos dialect only:
-Kta replaces -ta to mark accusative
-traw alternates with -pa and -pi to mark the locative

3.3.3.1.1 Simulative -hina

Simulative. -hina indicates resemblance or comparison (1)-(15). It can generally be translated 'like'. In Cacra and sometimes in Hongos, -mish is employed in place of -hina (16), (17).

   'My eyes turned red, totally red. My eyes were like blood.'

(2). Karsil-pa-hina-m. Witrqa-ma-ra-ø wambra-:-kuna istudy-a-q pasa-n.ACH
   'It was like in prison. When my children went to school, they closed me in.'

(3). Traki-n, ishkay-ni-n traki-n ka-ya-n maniya-sha-hina.LT
   'His feet, it's like both are shackled.'

(4). Wak-hina-lla-m puri-ku-ni. Ïma-na-shaq-mi?LT
   'Just like that I go about. What am I going to do?'

(5). Gindon tuna-y-kuna-pa wak-hina puqu-ku-ya-n wak-kuna-ta miku-yku-ku-n.LT
   'My peaches in the corner are ripening like that. Those got eaten.'

(6). Walmi-ña-taq-mi kay-hina alli-cha-nchik allpi-kta.CH
   'The women already fix up the earth like this.'

(7). Pay-pis wak-hina quisha-n. Ñuqa-pa-pis traki-: qunqur-ni-: nana-ya-n.CH
   'She, too, is sick in bed like that. My foot and my knee hurt, too.

   'The man grabbed the rabbit there [in the garden] and caged him like this.'

(9). Huk rumi ka-ya-n warmi-hina. Chay-pi-sh inkanta-ra-ø unay unay.SP
   'There's a stone [in the form of] a woman. A long, long time ago, it bewitched [people] there, they say.'

(10). Rima-y-ta-kaman rima-ku-ya-n mana-m nisa-yki-hina.AMV
   'She talks for the sake of talking. Not like what you say.'

(11). Mana-m unay-hina para-n-ña-chu.AMV
   'It doesn't rain like before.'

(12)*. Tuta-kuna puri-n garga-white-hina.AMV
   'He wanders around at night like a zombie.'

   'People's heads weren't really very big. They were like this – as big as a drinking gourd.'

(14). Kay-hina-kuna-cha-ta-m (=kay-hina-chaka-ta-m) ruwa-ni.AMV
   'I make all of them just like this.'

   'How was Shilli coming? Like he'd been made call.'

(16). Kilu-n paqwa-lu-n. Miku-y-ta atipa-n-chu. Awila-mish.CH
   'His teeth finished off. He can't eat. Like an old lady.'

(17). ¿Ima-mish wawi-paq taki-n?CH
   'What is a baby's song like?'
At night, he walks around like a zombie.'
'De noche anda como condenado'.
(Vinac_DC_Gossip, 32:10-15)

3.3.3.1.2 Limitative -kama

Limitative. -kama – sometimes realized kaman – indicates a limit in space (1), (2) or time (3)-(5). In case time is delimited by an event, the usual structure is STEM-NMLZ-POSS-kama (6)-(8). -kama can appear simultaneously with asta (cf. Spanish, hasta 'up to', 'until') (9). -kama can form distributive expressions: in this case, -kama attaches to the quality or characteristic that is distributed (10)-(13). In case it indicates a limit, -kama can usually be translated as 'up to' or 'until'; in case it indicates distribution, it can usually be translated as 'each.'

(1). Qati-mu-shaq vaka-ta kay-kama AMV
   'I'm going to drive the cows over here.'
(2). Chay wambra-yki-ta katra-ru-nki mayur-ni-kki-kama LT
   'You sent your children over to your older brother, over to your brother.'
(3)*. Fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa AMV
   'It's going to rain until February or March still.'
(4). ¿Imay-kama ka-nki? AMV
   'Until when are you going to be (here) ?'
(5). Kandaw-ni-pis wurku-ra-ya-n altu-pa-m. Mana-m ka-na-n-kama-pis trura-chi-nchu LT
   'My padlock, too, is hung --up there. Until now I haven't had it put on.'
   'We walked while blisters formed on the souls of our feet. I went while blisters came up on my feet.'
(7). Apuraw miku-na-n-kama turu-qa kay-na tuksi-ri-ku-sa SP
   'Until the bull ate quickly, she pricked him like this.'
(8). Sultira, kasa-y-kama puri-ya-nki-ri-ki. ACH
   'Single, you'll wander around until you marry.'
(9). San Jerónimo-paq asta kay-kama AMV
   'From San Jerónino to here'
(10). Ñuga-kuna-man qu-yku-ru-y ishkay-ta-kama AMV
   'Give [each one of] us two.'
(11). Uñacha-yuq-kama ka-ya-n AMV
   'They all [each] have their little young.'
(12)*. Traya-ra-mu-n arma-n gipi-ku-sa-kama LT
   'They arrived each carrying weapons. I got scared.'
(13). Qilla-kama. Tilivisyun-ni-n-ta ranti-ru-n chay tilivisyun asha-ra-ku-n kay-hina CH
   'Lazy, each and every one. They bought them their television and they [watch] that television with their mouths hanging open
"It will rain still until February or March'.
'Lloverá todavía hasta febrero o marzo'.
(LLanka_MG_Literacy 05:23-25)

'Give each one of us two.'
'Dános dos a cada uno'.
(Viñac EM, VR)

3.3.3.1.3 Allative, dative -man

Allative, dative (directional). -man indicates movement toward a point (1)-(5) or the end-point of movement or action more generally (6), (7). It may function as a dative, indicating a non-geographical goal (8)-(11). With verbs of giving, it marks the recipient (12), (13); with verbs of communication, the person receiving the communication (14), (15). It may indicate a very approximate time specification (16). With verbs indicating change of state, quantity or number, it may indicate the result or extent of change (17), (18). It may also indicate the goal in the sense of purpose of movement (19)-(21). It can usually be translated as 'to', 'toward'.

(1) Qiiwal-man traya-ra-chi-pty-ki wañu-ku-n-man. AMV  'If you make her get to the quingual grove, she could die.'
(2) Hinashpa chay-paq witray-man pasa-chi-sa chay Amador ka-g-man-na-taq.ACH  'Then, from there they made them go up high to Don Amador's place.'
(3) Chuno-kuna-man apa-na ka-rqa-o sakur pur saku. AMV  'It had to be brought sack by sack to Chuno and all.'
(4) Kalamina wasi-man traya-ra-chi-n pashna-ta. AMV  'He delivered the girl to a house with a tin roof.'
(5) Ñawi-ki [-ta] chipu-yku-y qipi-ru-sayki altu antayluma-man.SP  'Close your eyes. I'm going to carry you up high to [where there are] antayluma berries.'
(6) Wak wasi-kuna-man-shi yayku-ru-n kundinaw-q.SP  'The zombie entered those houses, they say.'
(7) "¿Kabra-ta qaqa-man imapaq garqu-ranki?" ni-shpa. SP  '"Why did you let the goats loose onto the cliff?" he said.'
(8) Pashna-qa qu-yku-ru-sa-o mushuq-ta wata-" 'The girl gave [the young man] a sash, a new
ku-rusao chumpi-ta wiqaw-ni-n-man. AMV

one, and she tied it around his waist.'

Qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima
trura-ku-nki chay-pis pi-m pi-taq.ACH

'When you earn money, although you put it
in the bank, who, who [will care for you]?

Chay liiw liiw lista-man-shi trura-ra. Chay
lista-man trura-sa-n riku-ra.ACH

'The Shining Path] put everyone on the list.
Those who were put on the list left.'

Kay-na wiqaw-ni-nchik-man kata-wan kay-
na kata-wan wiqaw-ni-nchik-man similla-
ktaka wata-ku-ru-shpa talpu-.

'Like this, [we tie it] to our waists with a
manta, we tie it to our waists and plant
seeds.'

¿Ima-ta-taq qu-nki kay pubri-man?AMV

'What are you going to give to this poor
man?'

¿Urqu-man qapi-shu-hti-ki ima-ta-sh gara-
inki?AMV

'What are you going to give to the hill when
it grabs you?'

Chay-shi mama-n-man willa-ku-n.AMV

'So she told it to her mother.'

Chay-lla-paq willa-ku-ru-sa tirrurista-
man hinapitin chay-ta wahu-raj-e-n.ACH

'So they told it to the terrorists and then they
killed him.'

Traya-nqa sabadu-man.AMV

'Sh'll come on Saturday [or around there].'

Pasaypq ranu-paq kunvirti-ru-n kabra-
man.LT

'Completely, from people they turned into
goats.'

Wiña-ru-n hatun-man.AMV

'She grew tall.'

Aa, karu karu-m Imayna-taq, ima-ta-taq
hamu-ra-nki.AMV

'Ah, from far, far away. How, for what did
you come?'

"¿Ima-man-taq hamu-ra-nki mana wani-
chi-no-y-paq?" ni-n-shi. Chay wañu-ra-chi-
man.ACH

"What have you come for so that I shouldn't
kill?" he said, they say. And he killed him.'

Chay-paq ri-shaq wak animal-ni-y-man wak
infirmu-y-kuna-man.LT

'I'm going to go to [take care of] my animals
and my sick [husband] and all.'

Lima runakuna trayamuptin siyranman.
Lima runa-kuna traya-mu-ptri-n siyra-n-man
'Lima person-PL arrive-CISL-SUBDS-3 mountain-3-ALL
'When people from Lima come back to their mountains.’
'Cuando la gente de Lima llega a su sierra'.
(Vinac_AR_MedicinalHerbs, 01:18-20)

Chayshi mamanman willakun.
chay-shi mama-n-man willa-ku-n
DEM.D-EVR mother-3-ALL tell-REFL-3
'With that, she told her mother.'
'En eso, se lo contó a su mamá'.
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 01:55-58)

3.3.3.1.4 Genitive, Locative -pa₁, -pa₂
Genitive, locative. As a genitive, -\textipa{pa} indicates possession (1), (2); it is often paired with allocation inflection (3)-(6). As a locative, -\textipa{pa} indicates temporal (7), (8) and spatial location (9)-(15). In all dialects, -\textipa{paq} is often used in place of -\textipa{pa} and -\textipa{pi} as both a locative (16) and genitive (17) (see section 3.3.3.1.5); in the CH dialect, -\textipa{traw} is used in addition to -\textipa{pa} and -\textipa{pi} as a locative (18), (19).

As a genitive, -\textipa{pa} can usually be translated 'of' or with a possessive pronoun; as a locative, it can usually translated 'in' or 'on'.

1. \textit{Runa-\textipa{pa} uma-lla-\textipa{n}a traki-lla-\textipa{n}a ka-ya-shqa.} \textit{AMV}
   - 'There was just the head and the foot of a person.'

2. \textit{¿Imayna-taq qam-\textipa{pa} traki-ki-qa ka-ya-n qillu qillu-cha?} \textit{SP}
   - 'How are your feet nice and yellow?'

3. \textit{Algunus-\textipa{pa} puchka-n tipi-ku-ya-n-mi.} \textit{AMV}
   - 'Some people's thread tears.'

4. \textit{Mana-\textipa{n}a-m mira-n-\textipa{n}-cha ganaw-ni-n-qa pay-\textipa{pa}-qa.} \textit{LT}
   - 'His animals of his no longer reproduce.'

5. \textit{Runa-\textipa{pa} shimi-n-ta graba-ya-n.} \textit{ACH}
   - 'She's recording people's language.'

   - 'We spin. Ahh, we herd the cows and behind the cows, behind the cows, we twist [yarn].'

7. \textit{Mana-m biranu-\textipa{pa}-hina-chu.} \textit{AMV}
   - 'Not like in summer.'

8. \textit{Añu-\textipa{pa}-m waranga ishqun pachaq-ni-n kanchis trunka pusaq-ni-uyq-\textipa{pa}.} \textit{AMV}
   - 'In the year one thousand nine-hundred seventy-eight.'

9. \textit{Kay-mi visyu-lla-: ka-n. Trabahu-: may-\textipa{pa}-pis may-\textipa{pa}-pis.} \textit{ACH}
   - 'This is my vice. I work wherever, wherever.'

10. \textit{Fila-\textipa{pa} trura-ku-ru-n – mana huk-lla-chu.} \textit{AMV}
    - 'They put themselves in a line – not just one.'

11. \textit{iskwila-\textipa{pa}-m niytu-:-kuna-qa wawa-:-kuna-qa ri-n-mi ñuqa-lla-m ka-:- analfabitu.} \textit{SP}
    - 'My grandchildren and my children are in school. Just I am illiterate.'

12. \textit{Taklla-wan halu-ya-nchik chay-\textipa{pa}-qa. Uqa trakla.} \textit{AMV}
    - 'We're working with a foot plow in there. The oca fields. Adding water in there.'

13. \textit{Cañete-\textipa{pa} lima-\textipa{pa} montaña-\textipa{pa}.} \textit{ACH}
    - 'In Cañete, in Lima, in the rain forest.'

14. \textit{Pasaypaq runa-\textipa{pa} kunvirti-ru-n kabra-man. Qaqa-\textipa{pa} yatra-n.LT}
    - 'Totally, they turned from people into goats. They live in the cliffs.'

15. \textit{Dimunyu-m chay-qa. Chay ... altu rumi-\textipa{pa}-uku-n-\textipa{pa} yatra-n.} \textit{ACH}
    - 'It was a devil. It ... lives in the stone up inside it.'

16. \textit{¿Ima pay-\textipa{pa} hucha-n? Qayku-ru-hti-n-qa hawka-m saya-ku-n uña-n-kuna-ta fiwara-man diha-ru-hti-nchik.} \textit{AMV}
    - 'What fault is it of hers? When you toss her into the corral, she stands there calmly when we leave her babies outside.'

17. \textit{Pusta-traw-shi chay mutu.} \textit{CH}
    - 'That motorcycle is in the health clinic.'

18. \textit{Ñuqa-kuna-qa fayna-traw-mi ka-ya-:-.} \textit{CH}
    - 'We're in the middle of community work days.'

19. \textit{Chay-ta-m ni-n kichwa-\textipa{pa}, Witray-man qati-shaq.} \textit{AMV}
    - 'They say that in Quechua, "I'll bring it up hill."'
Runapa umallaña trakillaña kayashqa.
runa-pa uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-shqa-ø
person-GEN head-RSTR-DISC leg-RSTR-3-DISC be-PROG-NPST-3
'Nothing but the head and the hand remained of the person'.
'Nada más quedaba la cabeza y el pie de la persona'.
(Vinac_MG_Wanka, 01:43-47)

Manañam miranñachu ganawninqa paypaga.
mana-ña-m mira-n-ña-chu ganaw-ni-n-qa pay-pa-qa
no-DISC-EVD reproduce-3-DISC-NEG cattle-EUPH-3-TOP 3-GEN-TOP
'His animals no longer reproduce.'
'Ya no aumentan sus animales.'
(Lincha_NF_Deer, 06:09-11)

3.3.3.1.5 Ablative, Benefactive, Purposive -paq

Ablative, benefactive, purposive. As an ablative, -paq indicates provenance in space (1)-(5) or time (6), (7); origin or cause (8), (9); or the material of which an item is made (10), (11). As a benefactive, -paq indicates the individual who benefits from – or suffers as a result of – an event (12). As a purposive, -paq indicates the purpose of an event (13)-(15). -paq may also alternate with -pa and -pi to indicate the genitive (16), (17) or locative (18), (19). -paq also figures in a number of fixed expressions (20)-(22). Affixing to the distal demonstrative chay, -paq indicates a close temporal or causal connection between two events, translating 'then' or 'so' (23). In comparative expressions, -paq attaches to the base of comparison (24), (25); it may be combined with the Spanish-origin comparatives mihur (mejor 'better') and piyur (peor 'worse') (26). It can generally be translated 'for'; in its capacity as a purposive, it can generally be translated 'in order to'.

(1). Imay-taq llaqta-yki-paq lluqsi-mu-la-nki?CH
"When did you go out from your country?"

(2). Kusta-paq altu-ta siqa-hti-nchik uma-nchik nana-n.AMV
"When we come up from the coast, our heads hurt."

"From the coast. Chincha, Lunahuaná, Cañete. We bring fruit from there."

"Not a thing. Then they will come back from upstairs. Again, [they heard the same] clanging noise."

(5). "¿May-paq-taq-mi suwa-mu-ra-nki?" ni-shpa.LT
""Where did you rob these from?" he said."

(6). Uchuk-lla ka-sa:-paq.ACH
"From [the time when] I was little."

(7). Kanan-paq riqsi-naku-shun.CH
"From now on, we're going to get to know..."
'When they found the other woman they brought her to the hospital – completely [sick] from hunger and cold, no?'

'an adobe house, a house made out of adobe'

'Mantas, ponchos, blankets – everything, everything I make from this, from this yarn.'

'Sometimes I make them out of twisted sheep's wool.'

'That is good for men who can't urinate.'

'This plant is really warm. It's good for (fighting) the cold.'

'I opened it up so that I could see.'

'There aren't any – mine are all finished up.'

'So they baked his children, the fox's.'

'The fox tied him up really well. He tied him up with a rope on his neck and on his foot.'

'In this town, a zombie is finishing off all the people.'

'My sheep are completely finished off. What will I eat?'

'I have to spin like this – completely thin, too.'

'"The partridge is singing so beautifully! The waychaw and the partridge sing so beautifully!"'

'We ask for each other's services. "Help me tomorrow!" or, "Tomorrow mine then we'll plant yours," we say to each other.'

'It's more than yesterday.'

'She [milks] more than Cynthia.'

'Better than fleece -- this bundles you up.'
Chay allin chay qarikuna mana ishpayta atipanpaq.

'This is good for men who can't urinate.'

'Éso es bueno para los hombres que no pueden orinar'.

(Vinac_AR_MedicinalHerbs, 00:25-29)

Qawanaypaq imawan wañurun nishpa kitrani.

'To see what he died from, I opened him up.'

'Para ver con qué murió, lo abrí'.

(Vinac_HQ_Lamb_NewYear, 01:42-46)

3.3.3.1.6   Locative -pi

Locative. As a locative, -pi indicates temporal (1)-(4) and spatial location (5)-(10). It is used in the expression to speak in a language (11). It can be translated as 'in', 'on', 'at'. -pi has a marginal use as a genitive indicating subordinative relations – including, prominently, relationships of possession – between nouns referring to different items (12). In this capacity it is translated as 'of' or with a possessive.

(1). Allin-ta miku-shpa-m ura-n-pi miku-shpa-m sanu puri-nchik.AMV

'Eating well, eating on time, we walk about healthy..'  


'In order to go in March, weren't they making all the people sign?'

(3). Kanan puntraw-pi ri-shaq.AMV

'I'll go today.'

(4). Uktubri paqwa-y-pi-ña-chu hamu-nki?CH

'Are you coming at the end of October?'

(5)*. Para-pi yanu-ku-na-nchiq-paq.AMV

'To cook in the rain.'

(6). Tuta tuta traya-ru-n kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-g-ta-raq tari-ru-n.LT

'He arrived late at night and found the person still asleep in his bed.'

(7). Ka-la-: Cañete-pi. Chay-pi-m uyari-la-: ñuq-a-pis.CH

'I was in Cañete. I, too, heard it there.'

(8). Chay-pi chaki-ru-sa-Ø wala-ntin vistidun-ntin-shi.ACH

'There she dried out with her skirt and her clothes.'

(9). Chay laguna-pi yatra-q-ña-taq ni-ra-Ø ¿Imayna-m qam ka-ya-nki puka traki?SP

'The ones that live in the lakes said, "How do you have red feet?"'


'The condor bet the fox, "Which of us will die in the snow, in the hills?"'

(11). Kastillanu-pi rima-q chay-lla-man-ña-m shimi-n ri-ya-n mana-yá kay kichwa.AMV

'Those who speak in Spanish, their tongues are going to run just there. Not Quechua.'

(12). Chay planta-pi yata-n. AMV

'The side of that tree.'
**Para que cocinemos en la lluvia**.

(Tambopata_DO_Weaving, 07:52-57)

3.3.3.1.7 **Exclusive -puRa**

Exclusive. -puRa – realized -pula in the CH dialect (1) and -pura in all others – indicates the inclusion of the marked individual among other individuals of the same kind. It can be translated as 'among' or 'between'. -puRa is not commonly employed; more commonly employed is the particle *intrí* 'between', borrowed from Spanish (entre) (2).

1. **Walmi-pula qutu-naku-la-nchik.CH**  
   'The women gathered amongst themselves.'

2. **Intrí warmi-qa ¿Ima-ta-tr ruwa-n-man hapi-naku-shpa?AMV**  
   'Between women, what are they going to do when they grab each other?'

3.3.3.1.8 **Causal -rayku**

Causal. -rayku indicates causality (1)-(5). It generally but not obligatorily follows inflection for allocation (1)-(4). It can generally be translated 'because', 'because of' or 'on account of'. -rayku is not frequently employed: -paq is the default causative (6). -kawsu (from Spanish *causa* 'cause') may be employed in place of -rayku (7).

1. **Chawa-shi-q lichi-lla-n-rayku ri-y-man-tri.AMV**  
   'I could go help milk just on account of his milk.'

2. **Wayna-yki shamu-na-n-rayku.CH**  
   'On account of your lover's coming.'

3. **Papa-lla-yki-rayku-pis awa-paku-ru-y-man.AMV**  
   'Even for your potatoes, I'd weave.'

4. **Miku-na-lla/n-rayku-pis yanu-ku-nqa-tr.AMV**  
   'On account of her food, she'll probably cook.'

5. **Karni-rayku kundur hunta-ku-ya-n.CH**  
   'Because of the meat, the condor is piling it up.'

6. **Qatra vaka-qa wanu-ya-n qutra-n-man. Siki-ntin qayku-sa-n-paq.AMV**  
   'That dirty cow is pissing in the reservoir! For having been let our with her calf.'

7. **Mana-m lichi ka-n-chu. Pastu kawsu.AMV**  
   'There's no milk. Because of the grass.'
I could go help milk on account of her milk.'

'Podría ir a ayudar a lechar a cuenta de su leche'.

(Vinac_DC_Gossip, 07:16-18)

### 3.3.3.1.9 Accusative -Kta and -ta

Accusative. In the CH dialect, the accusative is realized -kta after a short vowel and -ta after a long vowel or consonant (1), (2); in all other dialects it is realized as -ta in all environments. -ta indicates the object or goal of a transitive verb (3)-(5). -ta may occur more than once in a clause, marking multiple objects (6), (7) or both object and goal. In case one noun modifies another, case-marking on the head N is obligatory(8); on the modifying noun, optional (3). Complement clauses are affixed with -ta (9)-(11). -ta always attaches to the last word in a multi-word phrase (12). With -na nominalizations, -ta may be omitted. In many instances, -ta does not indicate accusative case. -ta may indicate the goal of movement of a person (13)-(14), -n-ta may indicate PATH (15). -ta marks substantives – nouns, adjectives, numerals, derived nouns – when they function as adverbs (16)-(19). It may also mark an item directly affected by an event or time period culminating in an event (20). With verbs referring to natural phenomena, -ta may mark a place affected by an event (21), (22). With verbs of communication, it may mark the person receiving the communication (23), (24).

1. *Tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n, pihuta puklla-q-kuna-kta-m.CH* 'They're watching television, ball players.'

2. *"Suti:-ta-m apa-ku-nki", ¡ni-y! "Llapa-n-ta apa-ku-nki."CH* 'Say, "You're going to take along my name. You're going to take along them all."'

3. *Asnu-qa ni-n, "Ñuqa tari-si-sayki suga-ykita-ta-qa. Putriru alfa-ta qu-yka-ma-y.SP* 'The mule said, "I'm going to help you find your rope. Give me a basket-full of alfalfa"'

4. *Hinashpa-ña-taq antayluma-ta tari-ru-shpaqa palla-ku-ya-ra.SP* 'After finding some antayluma berries, she gathed them up.'

5. *Wak Kashapata-pi-ña-m maqa-ru-ra César. Mullida-ta.LT* 'They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.'

6. *¿Magta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta? AMV* 'Are you going to take the boys or the girl?'

7. *¡Vaka-ta lliw-ta qaqu-ru-y! Riku-ru-shaq hanay-pi-m. AMV* 'Toss out the cows, all of them! I'm going to go up hill.'

8. *Sibada-ta trakra-ta kwida-nchik.AMV* 'We take care of the barley field.'

9. *Qaga-pag llugsi-y-ta atipa-n-chu. Qaya-ku-n "¿Imayna-taq kanan llugsi-shaq?"SP* 'She couldn't get off the cliff. She shouted, "Now, how am I going to get down?"'

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23 Thanks to Willem Adelaar for pointing this out to me.
(10). *Chay-paq kabra-ta miku-y-ta qalla-ku-yku-n.* SP

'So, the fox started to eat the goat.'

(11). *Wambra willa-su-ki imayna kuti-ri-musa-n-ta.* LT

When the children told you how they had returned.

(12)*. *Chay-shi yatra-ru-n kundur ka-sha-n-ta.* AMV

'So they found out he was a condor.'

(13)*. *Siqa-shpa-qa chuqa-yka-ra-mu-n uku-ta alma-ta-qa.* AMV

'Going up, he threw the care-taker inside.'

(14). *Qiñwa-l-ta-ri-rqa-ni yanta qipi-ku-q.* AMV

'I went to the quingual grove to carry firewood.'

(15). *Ukunta shamushpa. Qaqunanta shamushpapis.* CH

'Coming via the interior. Coming via Qaquna.'

(16). *Kiki-n-qa allin-ta-raaq-taq gusa-q.* SP

'They themselves enjoyed them well still.'

(17). *Rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik gillu-ta.* AMV

'We dress ourselves in yellow.'

(18). *Ishkay ishkay-ta-m planta-ra-mu-ni.* AMV

'I planted them two by two.'


'"Compadre, why are you crying? How lovely you sing!" he said.'

(20). *Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abril-ta lluqsi-ru-n wawa-y.* AMV

'On that morning, the thirty-first of April, my son left the house [and was kidnapped].'

(21)*. *Yaku-pis tukuy pampa-ta ri-ku-lla-q.* AMV

'The water would run all over the ground.'

(22). *¿Llaqta-yki-ta para-n-chu?* AMV

'Does it rain on your town?'

(23). "Kay swiru-pis allqu-y-paq-pis. Falta-n", ni-ku-ru-n-shi subrinu-n-ta-qa.* LT

'"This whey of mine, too, is for my dog. There isn't enough," he said to his nephew.'


'If we plant it, they won't eat it, I said to my younger brother and to Erminio.'

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Chayshi yatraru n kundur ka-shan-ata
chay-shi yatra-ru-n kundur ka-sha-n-ta
DEM.D-EVR know-URGT-3 condor be-PRF-3-ACC
'That's how they found out he was a condor.'
'En éso supieron que era condor'.
(Florida_HG_Condor_Condenados, 02:54-57)

Siqashpaqa chuqaykaramun ukuta alma-taqa
siqa-shpa-qa chuqa-yka-ra-mu-n uku-ta alma-ta-qa
ascend-SUBIS-TOP throw-EXCEP-URGT-CISL-3 inside-ACC soul-ACC-TOP
'Going up, he threw the ghost inside.'
'Subiendo botó al alma al dentro'.
(Vinac_ER_Hand, 00:36-40)

Yaku-pis tukuy pampata riku-laq
yaku-pis tukuy pampa-ta ri-ku-lla-q
water-ADD all ground-ACC go-REFL-RSTR-AG
### 3.3.3.1.10 Instrumental, Comitative -wan

Instrumental, comitative. -wan indicates means or company. -wan may mark an instrument or item which is essential to the event (1)-(5). -wan marks all means of transportation (6). It may mark illnesses (7). -wan may mark any animate individual who takes part in an event together with the performer (8)-(10); it may also mark the actor in an event referred to by a causative verb (11). -wan may mark coordinate relations between nouns or nominal groups; case matching attaches to all items except the last in a coordinate series (12). It can usually be translated 'with'.

| Number | Sentence 1                                                                 | Sentence 2                                                                 | Sentence 3                                                                 | Sentence 4                                                                 | Sentence 5                                                                 | Sentence 6                                                                 | Sentence 7                                                                 | Sentence 8                                                                 | Sentence 9                                                                 | Sentence 10                                                                 | Sentence 11                                                                 | Sentence 12                                                                 |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | Chay-mi qalatu-yku-shpa kuriya-n-wan alli-alli-ta chikuti-ta qu-ra.LT       | 'Then they stripped him naked and whipped him with his belt.'             |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 2      | Qali-qa takilla-wan-mi halu-n. Qipa-n-ta-ña-taq kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan.CH | 'Men turn the earth with a foot plow. Behind them, we break up the clods with a pick.' |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 3      | Yana millwa-cha-wan, qatra millwa-cha-wan AMV                              | 'With black wool, with dirty wool.'                                      |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 4      | Asta avyun-kuna-wan-pis ashu-yku-la-ø-m, ¿aw?CH                             | 'They even got close with airplanes, no?'                                 |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 5      | Wambra-y-mi mattrka-wan tansha-ru-sa.AMV                                    | 'My grandson choked on toasted cereal meal.'                              |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 6      | Karru-wan-tri kapas traya-mu-n-ña. Mutuwan-shi hamu-la-ø.CH                   | 'Maybe she came on the bus. She came by motorbike, she says.'            |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 7      | ¿Prustata-wan-tri ka-ya-nki?CH                                              | 'Would you have prostate [problems]?'                                     |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 8      | Tayta-cha-lla-:-wan kawsa-ku-ra-:- mamacha-lla-:-wan kawsa-ku-ra-:- Mamama-:-qa huk kumprumis巫wan ri-ku-n huk law-ta.ACH | 'I lived with just my grandfather and my grandmother. My mother went to another place with another commitment.' |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 9      | Ima-paq-mi wak kundinaw-wan puri-ya-nki? AMV                               | 'Why are you wandering around with that zombie?'                        |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 10     | Mana-raq-mi qari-:-pis ka-ra-ø-raq-chu. Sapa-lla-:- wak wasi-pa puñu-ku-ra-:- vaka-:-wan.ACH | 'I still didn't have my husband. I slept alone in my house with my cows.' |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 11     | Maria trabaha-ya-chi-n Pablo-wan.†AMV                                      | 'Maria makes Pablo work.'                                                |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |
| 12     | Mila-wan Alicia-wan Hilda trayaramun.†AMV                                  | 'Hilda arrived with Mila and Alicia.'                                    |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |                                                                           |

Wambra-y-mi mattrka-wan tansha-ru-sa. wambra-y-mi mattrka-wan tansha-ru-sa-ø child-1-EVD barley.meal-INSTR choke-URGT-NPST-ø
'My son choked with machka [toasted cereal meal].'
'Mi hijo se había atorrrado con machka'.
(Vinac_AR_Grandparents, 00:20-26)

¿Imapaqmi wak kundinawwan puriyanki?
imapaq-mi wak kundinaw-wan puri-ya-nki
why-EVD DEM.DD zombie-INST zombie-PROG-2
'Why are you walking around with that zombie?'
¿Por qué estás andando con ese condenado?'
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 05:48-53)

3.3.3.2 Possible Combinations

Combinations of case affixes are rare. They do occur, however, notably with -pa, -wan, and -hina. Where a noun phrase marked with genitive -pa or -paq functions as an anaphor, the phrase may be case marked as its referent would be (1)-(2). In addition to functioning as a case marker, -wan also serves to conjoin noun phrases. In this capacity, -wan may follow other case markers (3)-(5). Elicited examples (6), (7) follow Parker (1976). Comparative -hina may also combine with other case markers (8)-(10)

(1). Paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ñuqa-kta chay-paq talpa-shun gam-pa-kta-ña-taq.CH
   'Help me tomorrow or tomorrow me and then we'll plant yours.'
   'He counted those [the hairs] of that hairless dog, but he couldn't count them.'
(3). Mishki-ta yavar-ni-n-ta-m miku-ru-nychik muti-n-ta-wan papa-n-ta-wan.AMV
   'We eat its blood, [we eat] hominy and potatoes – delicious.'
(4)*. Chay kabra-n-pa-wan vaka-n-pa-wan-tri kisu-cha-n.AMV
   'Her cheese must be [from] her goats' and cows' [milk] both.'
(5). Chay kimsa-n-ta-m pipara-nychik yuraq klavil wayta-cha-ta-wan mancha-ri-sapaq.AMV
   'We prepare all three together with the flowers of white carnations [as a remedy for] fright.'
(6). Qari-pura-wan kambya-shun.†AMV
   'Let's exchange husbands [one for one another].'†
(7). Piliya-na-chin wambra-pura-ta †AMV
   'He made the boys fight among themselves.'
(8). Karsil-pa-hina-m wirqa-ma-ra-o. Wambra-:-kuna istudyu-q pasa-n.ACH
   'They closed me in like in a jail. My children leave to study.'
(9). Kanan vaka-taq pusi-lla-man chawa-ya-nychik kabra-cha-hina.AMV
   'Now we milk a cow into a cup like a goat.'
(10)*. Mana-m biramu-pa-hina-chu.AMV
   'It's not like in summer.'

Chay kabranpawan vakanpawantri kisuchan.
'Her cheese would be from her goats' [milk] and from her cows' [milk].'
'Su quesito será de [la leche] de sus cabras y de sus vacas.'
(Vinac_DC_Milking, 07:52-56)

Manam biranupahinchu.
mana-m biranu-pa-hina-chu
no-EVD summer-LOC-COMP-NEG
'It's not like in summer.'
'No es como en verano'.
(Vinac_EA_Earthquakes, 01:00-02)

3.3.3.3 More Specific Noun-Noun Relations.

Noun-noun relations more specific than the 'in' and 'of', for example, of -pi and -pa are expressed by noun phrases headed by nouns which name relative positions (see section 3.2.1.4 on locative nouns). Such nouns include, for example, qipa 'rear'; hawa 'top'; and trawpi 'center'. The head (relational) noun is inflected for person, agreeing with the noun to which it is related; this noun may be (redundantly) inflected with genitive -pa (pantyun-pa qipa-n 'behind the cemetery' lit. 'of the cemetery its behind').

(1) Wak urqu qipa-n-pa karu karu-ta-m muyumu-n-chik.AMV  'We go around very far behind that hill.'
(2)* Kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki.SP  'The condor must be sitting on top of a rock.'
(3) Hawa-n-pa-qa huk nichu-ta-ṉa ruwa-ru-n familya-n-kuna-paq.AMV  'They made another niche on top for their relatives.'
(4) Waka uku-n-pa-tri-ki runa wañu-ra-o unay.ACH  'Inside the ruins, people must have died before.'
(5) Wak wambra qaqa trawpi-n-ta-m pasa-ya-n mana-m mancha-ku-ya-n.AMV  'That boy passes between the cliffs. He's not afraid.'

Kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki.
kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki condor sit-PROG-3 rock top-3-LOC what-EVC-KI  'The condor must be sitting on top of a rock.'
'El cóndor estará sentado encima de una piedra'.
(Liscay_LP_Various, 04:29-34)

3.4 Substantive Derivation
In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, affixes deriving substantives may be divided into two classes, governing and restrictive. Governing affixes may be further divided into two subclasses: those which derive substantives from verbs (-na, -q, -sHa, -y) and those which derive substantives from other substantives (-ntin, -sapa, -yuq, -masi). SYQ has a single restrictive affix deriving substantives, diminutive -cha. -lla also functions to restrict substantives, but it is treated here not as a derivational morpheme but as an enclitic. Subsections (3.4.1) and (3.4.2) cover the governing affixes deriving substantives from verbs and those deriving substantives from other substantives, respectively.

3.4.1 Substantive Derived from Verbs

Four affixes derive substantives from verbs in SYQ: concretizing -na, agentive -q, perfective -sHa, and infinitive -y. All four form both relative and complement clauses. -na, -q, -sHa, and -y form subjunctive, agentive, indicative, and infinitive clauses, respectively. The nominalizing affixes attach directly to the verb stem, with the exception that the first- and second-person object affixes, -wa/ma and -sHa, may intercede. Subsections (3.4.1)-(3.4.4) cover -na, -q, -sHa, and -y in turn.

3.4.1.1 Concretizing -na

-na concretizes, deriving nouns that refer to (a) the instrument with which the action named by the base is realized (alla-na 'harvesting tool') (1)-(3); (b) the place in which the event referred to occurs (michi-na 'pasture') (4); and (c) the object in which the action named by the base is realized (upiya-na 'drinking water', milla-na 'nausea') (5), (6). Followed by an allocation affix, -na indicates necessity (i.e., it forms a universal deontic/teleological modals) (taqsa-na-yki 'you have to wash') (7), (8). The past tense of necessity is formed by adding ka-RQa, the third person simple past tense form of ka- 'be' (palla-na-y ka-ra 'I had to pick') (9)-(11). In combination with the purposive case affix -paq, -na forms subordinate clauses that indicate the purpose of the action expressed in the main clause (qawa-na-y-paq 'so I can see') (12)-(17). -na forms subjunctive complement clauses with the verb muna- 'want' (tushu-na-n-ta muna-ni 'I want her to dance') (18), (19). -na nominalizations, relative to the event of the main clause, refer to actions still to be completed (20)-(22).

1. Muli-nchik makina-paq kamcha-ri-nchik kalla-na-pa.AMV

'You grind it in a machine and then you toast it in the toasting pan.'
"My knife and all get lost.'

'I make mantas, ponchos, and blankets.'

'Above the corner where you pasture.'

'My mother would come up hill bringing my food carrying it with her donkey.'

'Their food, too, everything, everything, their barley, their wheat, anything, they mixed it with salt.'

'I'm going to winnow my barley – I have to pick my broad beans.'

'I pray like that – when he's there, I have to cook.'

'My daughter had to pick them.'

'My son came back – he was supposed to enter [university] but he couldn't any more.'

'The drunks had to pay [should have paid] attention. The nun must have gotten mad.'

'So I can herd the cows, so I can work in the fields.

'Siringes in order to give us injections.'

'I used to bring it from Tambopata. "Eat it so it can cure you!" I said.'

'So she doesn't hit you again.'

'[Bring] your gray manta so I can show it to her. What I make is like this.'

"'What time is that rabbit going to come back so he can help me?' said [the fox].'

'He wants her to pay, to buy gasoline.'

'Then, they say, they didn't want him to plant.'

'That bull is to be tamed/for taming already.'

'I'm going to slap him on the behind. Kipu [a dog]. It's there to be hit.'

'My daughter had to harvest them.'

'Mi hija tenía que cosecharlos'.

(Tana.IM.Orchard, 13:25-30)
¡Uqi pulluyki qawachinaypaq! Kaynam ruwasay.

[Bring] your gray manta so I can show it to her! What I make like this.'

'¡[Lleva] tu pullo plomo para que yo se lo muestre! Lo que hago es asi'.

(Cunyari_ER_Weaving, 03:39-44)

3.4.1.2 Agentive -q

-q is agentive, deriving nouns that refer to the agent of the verb to which it attaches (ara-q 'plower') (1)-(6). -q nominalizations may form adjectival and relative clauses (chinka-ku-q pashña 'the lost girl,' 'the girl who was lost') (7)-(10). With verbs of movement, -q forms complement clauses indicating the purpose of the displacement (taki-q hamu-nqa 'they will come to sing') (11)-(14). With the verb kay 'be' -q forms the iterative past (asi-ku-q ka-nki 'you used to laugh') (15)-(17) (see section 4.3.2.3.4).

(1). Michi-q-mi ka-ya-n ubiha-y-wan.AMV
'A shepherd is with my sheep.'

(2). Qari-pis ka-n-mi wawa-chi-ku-q – wawa-chi-n hapi-shpa.ACH
'There are also men midwives. Holding on, they birth the baby.'

(3). Mana-m muna-q-kuna-kta pusha-ku-ya-n.CH
'They're taking people who don't want to.'

'That bastard didn't want [a woman] with a baby, they say – she remained a single mother, for sure.'

(5). Ayqi-ya-ku-qa-wan-tri tinku-ya-q.AMV
'He must have met the [person who] was escaping.'

(6). Imayna-taq wak miyrda-q gana-ya-wa-n? AMV
'How is that shit-head beating me?'

(7). Trabaha-paku-ya-: llapa-n riga-ku-q luna Trabaha-ya-: CH
'All the people who water are working, we're working.'

(8). Istudya-q wambra-kuna-paq-shi mas mimurya-n-paq.AMV
'For the children who study, they say, so that they have more memory.'

(9). Maqta-wan pashña chinka-ku-q-qa.ACH
'The boy and the girl who were lost'

(10). Mana ri-kcha-ku-q runa-kuna SP
'The people who aren't going'

(11). Maska-ku-q wak vikuña-cha-ta-m wakcha-ku-q ri-tamu-nki.LT
'You left to look for that little vicuña to domesticate.'

(12). Uma-y shimpa-chi-ku-q shamu-ra-ni.LT
'I came to have my hair braided.'

(13). Misa lula-ku-q shamu-n.CH
'They come to hold mass.'

(14). ¡Haku michi-q! Michi-mu-shun chay llama-ta.LT
'Let's [go to] herd! We'll herd those llamas.'
'Before, they used to make tablecloths.'

'On Thursdays and Sundays, I used to bring two cheeses to sell.'

'We used to strain it with just bristles, we used to stir it with just a stick. There used to be a crooked little bottle. Before.'

Formerly, they used to make tablecloths; they used to embroider tablecloths, formerly'.

'Antés ellas hacían manteles; ellas bordaban manteles, antes'.

3.4.1.3 Perfective -sHa

-sHa is perfective, deriving stative participles. It is realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in LT and CH. -sHa nominalizations form adjectives (chaki-sa 'dried') (1)-(2) as well as relative (apa-sa-y 'that I bring') (3)-(10), and complement clauses (atipa-sha-y-ta 'what I can') (11)-(13). -sHa complement clauses are common with the verbs yatra- 'know', qunqa- 'forget', qawa 'see', uyaRi- 'hear' (upiya-sa-n-ta uyari-rqa-ni 'I heard that he drank') (14). As substantives, they are inflected with allocation affixes, not verbal affixes (ranti-sa-yki *ranti-sa-nki 'that you sold'); these may be reinforced with possessive pronouns (qam-pa ranti-sa-yki 'that YOU sold') (15). -sHa may form nouns referring to the place where E (dipurti ka-sha-n 'where there are sports') (16)-(18). -sHa nominalizations, relative to the E of the main clause, refer to actions already completed (19), (20).
qawa-nqa.AMV

(10). *Chay wawqi-n "¡Ama!" ni-sa-n-ta-s wañuchi-sa-taq.* ACH

'they also killed his brother who said “Don't!”'


'Now what am I going to tell you about what I lived in Lutu with my sheep?'


'I'll fight. I'll do what I can.'

(13). *Ñuqa-pa-ta-ga silinsyu ka-hti-n muna-sha-n-ta-ña ruwa-ya-n.* LT

'When it falls silent, they're doing what they want already to my things.'

(14). *Ñuqa-qa wambia-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta gawa-rqa-ni-chu.* AMV

'I didn't see that she carried her baby.'

(15). *Qam-pa rantiku-ra-sa-yi-vá chay shakash.* AMV

'That guinea pig that YOU sold me.'

(16). *Wambia-qa puklla-ya-sa-n-pa tuta-yka-ра-chi-n.* SP

'Night fell where the girls were playing.'

(17). *Tilivisyun-ta lika-ka-y-n – piluta puklla-q-kuna-kta-m may-chu dipurti ka-sha-n-kuanka-ka.* CH

'They're watching television – the ball-players and where there are sports.'

(18). *Ri-y-a-sa-n-pi-qa traya-ru-n, pwinti-man.* AMV

'He arrived where he was going, at a bridge.'

(19). *Yapa kuti-shqa awa-ku-sa-n-man.* AMV

'When she returned again to what/where she had woven.'

(20). *¿Pi yayku-ku-n-tri? Mana ya yatra-ni-chu pi ka-sha-n-ta-pis.*

'Who would have entered? I don't know who it was, either.'

Pampaykuni frutachaykuna apasgyta.
pampa-yku-ni fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta
bury-EXCEP-1 fruit-DIM-1-PL bring-PRF-1-ACC
'I bury the fruit I bring',
'Entierro la fruta que llevo'.
(Vinac_JC_Cure, 23:05-08)

3.4.1.4 Infinitive -y

-y indicates the infinitive or gerund (tushu-y 'to dance, dancing') (1), (2). -y nominalizations may refer to the object or event in which V is realized (ishpa- 'urinate' → ishpa-y 'urine'; nana- 'hurt' → nana-y 'pain'; rupa- 'burn' → rupa-y 'sunshine') (3)-(8). -y nominalizations form adjectival and relative clauses (ranti-y kahun 'bought casket', yanu-ku-y tardi 'the afternoon that we cook') (9)-(11) and infinitive complement clauses (waqa-y-ta qalla-ku-n 'it started to wail' (12). The latter are particularly common with the auxiliary verbs – muna- 'want,' atipa- 'be able,' and yatra- 'know' (iskribi-y-ta muna-ni 'I want to write') (13)-(19). Infinitive complements are case-marked with
accusative -ta (20). In the CH dialect, accusative marking in this structure is sometimes elided (21).

(1) *Ni puñu-y ni miku-y.* AMV

'Neither sleeping nor eating.'

(2) *Paqwa-ya-n-ña-m talpu-ku-y.* CH

'The planting is finishing up.'

(3) *Warmi-n-pa ıshpa-y-ni-ta-sh tuma-n.* AMV

'He drinks his wife's urine, they say.'

(4) *Traki ına-y-yan ka-raqa-ni.* AMV

'I've had foot pain.'

(5) *Tutal suda-y-lla-ña hamu-ku-y.* AMV

'Just a whole lot of sweat is coming on our bodies – “Chak! Chak! Chak!” – your sweat is dripping.'

(6) *Kay-qa awa-paku-y-mi.* AMV

'This one is one woven for someone else.'

(7) *¿Uktubri paqwa-y-pi-ña-chu hamu-nki?* CH

'Are you coming at the end of October?'

(8) *Aligra-ku-ya-n suygra-n wañu-ku-sa-n-ta-tr – mana-yá pampa-ku-y-ni-n-ña ka-raqa-chu, ¿aw?* AMV

'He must be very happy his mother-in-law died – he wasn't at her burial, no?'

(9) *Ranti-y kahun mana yayku-n-chu.* AMV

'Bought coffins won't fit it.'

(10) *Waqta-kuna-ta ltuqsi-shpa runa-s puñu-y.* AMV

'The people, too, asleep, they came out on the hillsides.'

(11) *Chay yanu-ku-y tardi-sh alma-qa traya-mu-n.* AMV

'The souls arrive on the afternoon that we cook, they say.'

(12) *Waqa-y-ta qalla-ku-n, "Oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh!"* SP

'It started to wail, "Oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh!"'

(13) *Mana-ña-m diskuti-y-ta ńuqa muna-ni-chu kay-na.* LT

'I don't want to fight about it like this any more.'

(14) *¿Kuka-ta aku-yku-y-ta muna-nki-chu?* AMV

'Do you want to chew coca?'


'So that he would be cured, they got him drunk and took him. Then he wanted to make an offering.'

(16) *Wak vaka-y-pa ataka-n-mi mal ka-ya-n – puri-y-ta atipa-n-chu.* AMV

'My cow's leg is hurt – she can't walk.'

(17) *Iskribi-y-ta-pis usachi-ni-chu ni firma-y-ta-pis. Total analphabetu.* CH

'I can't write or sign [my name], either. Completely illiterate.'

(18) *Mana-m ńuqa-kuna-qa kay-taq maniha-y yatra-:-chu.* CH

'We here don't know how to drive.'

(19) *Mana risa-ku-y-ta yatra-ra-ø-chu – Satanas-wan yatra-ra-ø.* SP

'They didn't know how to pray. They lived with Satan.'

(20) *Wak-hina mana vininu tuma-y-ta munashpa-tri mana-m yayku-y-ta muna-n-chu ubihaqa.* AMV

'Like that, not wanting to drink poison, the sheep don't want to go in.'

(21) *Mana-m lula-y muna-n-chu.* CH

'He doesn't want to do it.'

### 3.4.2 Substantives Derived from Substantives
Four suffixes derive substantives from substantives in SYQ: -kuna, -ntin, -sapa, and -yuq. The first two of these – -kuna and -ntin – indicate accompaniment, adjacency, or completeness (llama-n-kuna 'with her llama', amiga-ntin 'with her friends'); -sapa indicates multiple possession (llama-sapa 'person with many, many llamas'); and -yuq, simple possession (llama-yuq 'person with llamas'). Subsections (3.4.2.1)-(3.4.2.4) cover -kuna, -ntin, -sapa; and -yuq in turn.

3.4.2.1 Non-exhaustivity -kuna

Non-exhaustivity. -kuna indicates that the referent of its base is accompanied by another entity, generally of the same class (1)-(8).

(1). *Chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man.* AMV 'Your body and all could be sick; your head and all could hurt.'

(2). *Maridu-kuna-kta-pis tali-lu-n.* CH 'She found a husband and all.'

(3). *Wak rikisun-ni-n-kuna-ta na-ru-n warku-ru-n.* AMV 'She did that, she hung up her cheese curd and everything.'

(4). *Silva-kuna-ta-sh riku-lla-n.* ACH 'He went to the rainforest and all.'

(5). "*Pachamanka-kuna ka-ya-n – alli allin miku-shun kanan tardi*, ni-shpa.* SP "There's a barbecue and all – we're going to eat really, really well this afternoon," said [the rabbit]."

(6). *Ispusu-:-ta mama-:-kuna tayta-:-kuna-kta gaya-ku-shpa mana-m ... hiwya-ku-:-chu.* CH "Calling on my husband and on my mother and father, I'm not scared.'

(7). *Chay-man ri-sa-ø Marleni, Ayde, Vilma, Norma-kuna.* AMV 'Marleni went there with Ayde, Vilma and Norma and all.'

(8). *Chay-paq ri-shaq wak animal-ni-y-man wak infirmu-y-kuna-man.* LT 'From there I'll go to my animals and my sick [husband] and all.'

3.4.2.2 Accompaniment, adjacency -ntin

Accompaniment, adjacency. -ntin indicates that the referent of the base accompanies or is adjacent to another entity (1)-(7).

(1). *¿Allqu-ntin-chu traya-mu-ya-n?* AMV 'Are they coming with their dog(s)''

(2). *Vistiga-shpa-qa pasa-ku-n vistiga-q liiw gwardya-ntin huys-ni-ntin.* SP 'After they investigated, the investigators left with the policemen and judges.'

(3). *Hinaptin ri-ku-ra-:- vaka-ntin Cañete-ta.* ACH 'So I went with the cows to Cañete.'

(4). *Chay-pi chaki-ru-sa-ø wala-ntin vistidu-* AMV 'There she dried out with her skirt and her
3.4.2.3 Multiple Possession -sapa

Multiple possession. -sapa derives a nouns referring to the possessor of the referent of the base. It is different from -yuq in that what is possessed is big or multiple.

- **yuya-y** 'memor → yuya-y-sapa' 'person with a very good memory'
- **uma** 'head' → uma-sapa 'person with a big head'

(1) "¡Ña-m tuku-chka-ni-ña!" – puk, puk, puk – siki-sapa sapu. AMV
"'I'm already finishing up!' – puk, puk, puk – [said] the big-butted frog'

(2) Qam-qa wawa-sapa ka-ya-nki pay-pis wawa-sapa-sh churi-sapa-sh. LT
'You have lots of children. He, too, has lots of children, lots of sons, they say.'

(3) Figura alli-allin wagra-sapa – uku-pa iglisya-sh. AMV
'Inside the church, they say, there was a statue with enormous horns.'

3.4.2.4 Possession -yuq

Possession. -yuq derives nouns referring to the possessor of the referent of the base (1)-(6).

Ownership applies to substantives, including interrogative indefinites (7), numerals (8), pronouns (9), and so on. In case the base ends in a consonant, the semantically vacuous particle -ni precedes -yuq (10). [yuq] is in free variation with [qu] following [i] (11). -yuq is used in the expression 'to be N years old' (12) as well as in the construction of compound numerals (13). -yuq nouns may function adverbially without case-marking or other modification (5), (6).

(1) Ayvis dimanda-ku-ru-n tiyra-yuq-kuna. SP
'Sometimes they denounced land-owners.'

(2) Fiybri-yuq ka-sa. AMV
'He had a fever.' lit. 'he was one with a fever'

(3) Mana-m ūqqa-qa ima-na-pis-chu. Kwirpu:-mi hutra-yuq. CH
'I'm not going to do anything to you. My body is guilty.' lit. 'the guilty one is my body'
(4) Wiña-n altu-pam – puka wayta-cha-yuq-mi. AMV
'It grows in the hills – it's got a little red flower.' lit. 'it is one with a little red flower'

(5) Punta-n-ta-m hamu-lqa-ni kuka kintu quqaw-ni-yuq-lla-m. SP
'I've come by the peak with just a picnic of coca leaves.'

(6) Palla-ya-ra-o puka pantalun-ni-yuq gindunta-qani-ni-ni. LT
"She picked peaches in red pants,' I told him.'

(7)* Ima-yuq-pis ka-nki-chu. LT
'You don't have anything,' lit. 'you aren't one with something'

(8) Kimsa-yuq ka-ya-n. AMV
'She has three.' lit. 'she is one with three'

(9) Aa, chay-yuq-tri-ki chay-qa. CH
'Ah, it must have that,' lit. 'that is one with that'

(10)* Palla-ya-ra-o puka pantalun-ni-yuq gindunta-qani-ni-ni. LT
"She picked her peaches in red pants,' I told him.' lit. 'one with red pants picked her peaches'

(11) Huk-ni-n ka-sa ka-q-ni-qu huk-ni-n mana ka-q-ni-qu. AMV
'One was wealthy, one had nothing.'

(12) ¿Ayka wata-yuq ni-shu-ra-nki-taq-qa? AMV
'How old did she tell you she was?'

(13) Chay trunka pichqa-yuq puntraw-ni-n-ta-qaña-m trakra-n-ta-ña-m tapa-mu-n. AMV
'At fifteen days we cover the field.'

Imayuqpis kankichu chay wambraykita katrarunki mayurnikikama.

'You don't have anything and you sent your son to your older brother.'

'No tienes nada y mandaste a tu hijo donde tu hermano mayor'.
(Lincha_NF_Deer, 00:36-41)

Huknin kasa kaqniq q huknin mana kaqniqy.
huk-ni-n ka-sa-o ka-q-ni-qu huk-ni-n mana ka-q-ni-qu one-EUPH-3 be-NPST-3 be-AG-EUPH-POSS one-EUPH-3 no be-AG-EUPH-POSS
'One had much, the other did not have much.'
'Uno tenia muchas cosas el otro era pobre'.
(Vinac_CQ_TwoBrothers 00:06-10)

3.4.2.5 Partnership -masi

Partnership. -masi indicates partnership. It attaches to N's to derive N's generally translated 'N-mate' (1), 'fellow N' (3), (4), or 'co-N'. -masi is not very widely employed.

(1) punu-q-masi† 'bed mate'
(2) niraq-masi† 'family, blood, peeps, posse'
(3)* ¡Runa-masi-ncik-ta miku-ru-ncik, wawqi! 'We ate our fellow people, brother!'
3.4.2.6 Restrictive Affix: -cha

Diminutive, limitative. -cha attaches to N's to derive N's with the meaning 'little-N' (1)-(4). It may also express an affectionate attitude toward the referent of N (5). (6) is taken from a song in which a girl addresses her lover. Applied to other substantives -cha may function as a limitative – 'just S', 'only S' (7). Mama-cha (mother-DIM) and tayta-cha (father-DIM) are lexicalized, meaning 'grandmother' and 'grandfather' respectively (8). In addition to -cha, speakers sometimes employ the borrowed Spanish diminutive affix, -itu/a (9).

(1) yatra-pti-y chay vikuña-chawawa-chal-lakarqa.AMV

'When I lived there, the little vicuña was just a little baby.'

(2) Wambra, uch-uchuk wambra. Kay-na – wambra-chakunallal.LT

'Little, little children, like this, just small children'

(3) Santu-pa ka-rqa kuruna-chana-kunA.AMV

'The saints had their little crowns.'

(4) Turnu-cha-wan ñuqa-kuna-qa trabaha--CH

'We work by short turns.'

(5) Katra-ramu-y indika-na-n-paq, Hilda-chA.AMV

'Send him so that he shows him, Hilda, dear.'

(6) Pulvu-cha-paq tapayu-llasa, wayra-cha-paq apayu-llasa, kay sityu-cha-man traya-yaka-munki.SP

'Covered with dust, carried by the wind, you're going to come to this place.'

(7) Chay-cha-pam ka-ku-llaya-n.AMV

'It's just right there.'

(8) Tiyu--pa sirvinti-n mama-cha--pis sirvinti-n ñuqa ka-ra--.

'I was my uncles's and my grandmother's servant.'

(9) Chay urunguy-s-itu lluqsi-ra-mu-shqa chay kaha-paq.AMV

'That little fly came out of the coffin.'
'When I lived there the little vicuña was just a little baby.'
'Cuando yo vivía allí la vicuña era bebé no más'.
(Vinac_VG_Vicuna, 00:16-20)
4 VERBS

Subsections (4.1)-(4.4) cover verb stems, verb types, verbal inflection and verbal derivation, in turn.

4.1 Verb Stems

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, verb stems always end in a vowel (yanapa- 'help'). Verb stems are bound forms: with the single exception of haku 'let's!' they never appear in isolation. They are subject to both inflectional and derivational processes, both affixing (wañu-n, die-3, 'they die'; wañu-chi-n, die-CAUS-3, 'they kill'). The order of inflectional affixes is fixed; the order of derivational affixes is highly regular but admits exception. Inflection for person is obligatory (*qawa-katra-ya see-FREQ-PROG); derivational processes are optional (qawa-n see-3). The different person affixes are mutually exclusive (*qawa-nki-ni see-2-1); different derivational affixes may attach in series (qipi-ra-chi-ku-sa-ø carry-URGT-CAUS-REFL-NPST-3 'she got herself carried').

4.2 Types of Verbs

Quechua verb stems are usually classed as (di-)transitive (qu- 'give', riku- 'see'), intransitive (puñu- 'sleep'), or copulative (ka- 'be'). A fourth class can be set apart: onomatopoetic verbs (chuqchuqya- 'squish, make a squishing noise'). Special cases include the deictic verb hina-; the dummy verb na-; the combining verbs (-naya 'give desire' (section 4.4.1.1.6)); and the interrogative verbs (-na- 'do what; matter; happen' (section 4.4.1.1.5)). Subsections (4.2.1)-(4.2.4) cover transitive, intransitive, equational, and onomatopoetic verbs, in turn.

4.2.1 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs are standardly defined for Quechuan languages as those that can take regular-noun direct objects case-marked accusative (llama-ta maqa-ra 'They hit the llama') (1). In addition to regular transitives, verbs of motion (lluqsi- 'leave') (2) and impersonal (“weather”) verbs (riti- 'snow') (3), (4) may appear in clauses with regular nouns case-marked -ta. In these instances, however, -ta does not indicate accusative case.

(1) *Wak Kashapata-pi-ña-m maqa-ru-ra César Mullida-ta LT They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.*
4.2.2 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs are those, like puñu- 'sleep' and wiña- 'grow', that cannot occur in clauses including a regular noun case-marked accusative (*puñu-ni kama-ta target meaning: 'I sleep the bed'). Also included among the intransitives are the impersonal weather verbs, like para- 'rain' and qasa- 'freeze', which do not take subjects (para-ya-n 'it's raining'). Verbs of motion (hamu- 'come'; lluqsi- 'exit') form a subclass of intransitive verbs. These often have adverbial complements marked with the directional affixes -ta (accusative), -man (allative, dative), -paq (ablative) and -kama (limitative) (1), (2). They may occur in clauses that include a nominalization with the agentive affix -q indicating the purpose of movement (3), (4).

(1) Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abril-ta. **lluqsi-ru-n** wawa-y. **AMV**
   'On that morning, the thirty-first of April, my son left the house [and was kidnapped].'

(2) Hinashpa chay-**paq** witray-man pasa-chi-sa chay Amador ka-q-man-ña-taq. **ACH**
   'Then, from there they made them march [to] up high to Don Amador's place.'

(3) Llama-n *gu-tuq ri-sa, mayu-ta pawá-yasha-sh saqa-ka-ru-sa. **AMV**
   'She went to gather her llamas and when she jumped the river, she fell.'

(4) Kabra-yki-wan gati-shi-q hamu-sa ni-nki-mi-ki. **AMV**
   'He had come to help bring your goats, you said.'

4.2.3 Copulative/Equational Verbs

SYQ counts a single copulative verb, ka-. Like the English verb be, ka- has both copulative ('I am a llama') (1), (2) and existential ('There are llamas') (3), (4) interpretations. Combined with the progressive ya- it may but need not have a stative interpretation as well (equivalent to the Spanish estar) (5), (6). ka- presents the single irregularity in the SYQ verbal system: its third person singular present tense form, ka-n never appears in equational statements, but only in existential statements. The evidentials (-mI, -shI and -trI) complete the predicate in the absence of ka- in equational statements (7), (8). SYQ employs a second strategy for filling this gap: the use of the continuous form ka-ya-n (9), (10).

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24 The weather verbs admit only their corresponding weather nouns for subjects. Para para-ya-n. 'The rain is raining.'
(1) Ŧuqa-nchik fwtiri ka-nchik patachi-ta, matrka-ta, trakra-nchik luqsi-q-ta miku-shpa-m. AMV

'We are strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and machka.'

(2) Qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y ka-nka. AMV

'You are my salvation.'

(3) Ka-n-ña piña turu. AMV

'There are mean bulls.'

(4) Ranti-q-pis ka-naq-mi. AMV

'There are also buyers.'

(5) ¿Cañete, maypa-hina-ña-tr ka-ya-nchik? Karru, mutu -- ¡Asu machu! AMV

'Cañete, like we were where already? Cars, motorcycles – My Lord!'

(6) Qam sumaq sumaq warmi-m ka-la-ña. ACH

'You are a very pretty woman.'

(7) Wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa, allin pastu-ta miku-shpa-m. AMV

'Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow is really fat.'

(8) Llutan-shi-ki. LT

'They are deformed, they say.'

(9) Watu-n-qa fiyu fiyu wiqa-m ka-ya-n. AMV

'Her rope is really horrid twisted wool.'

(10) ¿Alpaka-chu wak ka-ya-n? AMV

'Is that alpaca [wool]?'

**4.2.4 Onomatopoetic Verbs**

Onomatopoetic verbs can be distinguished from other verbs by the shape of their stem. The majority involve the repetition – two to four times – of a syllable or syllable group, most often with the affixation of -ya. Four patterns dominate:

**Pattern 1:** \( [C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}(-ya)(-ku) \)

Pattern 1 involves the repetition of a single syllable twice or three times, generally with -ya or, more rarely, -ku or -ya-ku, i.e., \((S_1)S_1S_1(-ya)(-ku)\). Example: qurqurya- 'snore', luqluqluqya- 'boil'.

(1) taqtaqya- knock, make the sound of knocking on wood
(2) qurqurya- snore, make the sound of snoring
(3) kurkururya- ribbit (make the sound of a frog)
(4) punpunya- flub-dub, beat (make the sound of the heart)
(5) qasqasya- make the sound of dry leaves
(6) katkatya- tremble, shake (intrans.)
(7) chuqchuqya- squish, make a squishing noise
(8) pakpakyaku- make the sound of a guinea pig
(9) qullqullqullya- gurgle, make the sound of a stomach
(10) luqluqluqya- boil, make the sound of water boiling

**Pattern 2:** \( [C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}[C_3V_1]_{S2}[C_3V_1]_{S2}[-(ya)(-ku)] \)
Pattern 2, like pattern 1, involves the repetition of a single syllable generally with -ya or, more rarely, -ku or -ya-ku. Pattern 2 differs from Pattern 1, however, in that the repeated syllable is (1) always repeated three times; (2) never includes a coda; and (3) is preceded by a non-cognate syllable which generally if not always includes the same vowel as does the repeated syllable, i.e., S₁S₂S₃S₄(-ya)(-ku). Example: bunrururu- 'thunder'.

(1). taqlalala- clang, make the sound of a can knocking against something
(2). bunrururu- thunder, make the sound of thunder
(3). challallalla- drip, make the sound of water dripping
(4). lapapapaya- make the sound of a billy goat chasing a female goat

Pattern 3: ([S₁V₁(C₂)]S₁[CC₂][S₁V₁(C₂)]S₁[S₁V₁(C₂)]S₁[S₁V₁(C₂)]S₁)[S₁V₁(C₂)]U₁(-ya)(-ku)

Pattern 3 replaces the single syllable of Pattern 1 with a two-syllable unit, i.e., ([S₁S₂]U₁)[S₁S₂]U₁-(ya)(-ku). Example: chiplichipli- 'sparkle'.

(1). chiplichipli- shine, sparkle
(2). piiittichyupiiiichyu- make the sound of a pichusa
(3). iraniriraniranyaku- moo (make the sound of a cow)
(4). wilwichwilwichyaku- make the sound of a pheasant

Pattern 4, like Patterns 1 and 3, involves the repetition of a single syllable or two-syllable unit two or three times, generally with -ya or -ku. Pattern 4 differs from Patterns 1 and 3, however, in that the final consonant in the final iteration is eliminated or changed. Examples: waqwaqwaya- 'guffaw', chalaqchalanya- 'clang'.

(1). chalaqchalanya- clang, make the sound of metal things coming into contact with each other
(2). waqwaqwaya- laugh heartily, guffaw
(3). chiwachiwachyaku- make the sound of a chivillo bird

There are further, less-common variations. For example, kurutukutu- 'make the sound of a male guinea pig chasing a female guinea pig' involves the repetition of a three-syllable unit with the elimination of the second syllable in the final iteration.
(1). *Fwira-pa-pis katkatyaku-ya-nchik* ACH "Outside, too, we're trembling.'

(2). *Tuta-ña killa-pa sumaq sumaq kaballiryayam hu-mu-ku-ya-sa-ø pampa-ta chiplichiplishpa* AMV 'At night, under the moon, a beautiful horse was coming across the ground, sparkling.'

(3). *Unay-qa wamaq wamaq rayu ka-ku-lla-q. "¡Qangran! ¡Qangran!" taqlaq-ya-ku-q* AMV 'Before, there was a whole lot of thunder. "Bbrra-boom! Bbrra-boom!" it rumbled.'

(4). *Chitchityaku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa* LT 'Chit-chitting, the goats left.'

### 4.3 Verb Inflection

Verbs in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, inflect for person, number, tense, conditionality, imperativity, aspect, and subordination (sections (4.3.1)-(4.37)). In practice, SYQ counts three persons: first, second, and third (*ńuqa, qam, and pay*). SYQ verbs inflect for plurality in the first person (-*nchik*); singular and plural affixes are identical in the second and third persons (-*nki, -n*).

Although SYQ makes available a three-way distinction between dual, inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural (*ńuqanchik, ńuqanchikkuna, nuqakuna*), in practice, in all but the CH dialect, the dual form is employed in all three cases. Transitive verbs with non-reflexive first or second person objects inflect for actor-object reference (*1>2-yki, etc.*) Verbal inflection in SYQ marks three tenses, present, past (-*Rqa*), and future (portmanteau); the perfect (-*sHa*); the progressive (-*ya*); the present and past conditional (-*man (karga)*); and the second-person and first person plural imperative (-*y, -shun*) and third-person injunctive (-*chun*). In practice, SYQ counts two subordinating affixes, one employed when the subjects of the main and subordinated clauses are different (-*pti*); the other when they are the identical (-*shpa*). A third subordinating affix (-*shtin*), also employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical, is recognized, if not frequently used. Inflectional affixes (IA) follow derivational affixes (DA), if any; derivational affixes attach to the verb stem (VS).

Thus, a SYQ verb is built: VS – (DA) – IA (see also sections 7.01 and 7.12 on constituent order and sentences).

The dialects of SYQ differ in the affixes they employ in the first person. One set – AMV and LT – follow the pattern of the QII languages, employing -ni to mark the first-person singular nominative and -wa to mark the accusative/dative; another set – ACH, SP, CH – follow the QI pattern, employing - (vowel length) for the first-person singular nominative and -ma for the accusative/dative. The person-number affixes are: -ni or - (1P), -nki (2P), -n (3P), and -nchik or -nil- (1PL). SYQ verbs also inflect for actor-object reference. The subject-object affixes are: -yki (1>2),
-wanki or -manki (2>1), -wan or -man (3>1), -shunki (3>2), -wanchik or -manchik (3>1PL), and
-sHQayki (1>2.FUT). Examples: ni-nki 'You say'; qawa-yki 'I see you' (section 4.3.1).

The simple present tense is unspecified for time. It generally indicates temporally
unrestricted or habitual action. The simple present tense is indicated by the affixation of person-
number affixes alone, i.e., unaccompanied by any other inflectional markers. Example: yanu-ni
(sapa puntraw) 'I cook (every day)' (section 4.3.2.1).

Future affixes simultaneously indicate person, number and tense. The future affixes are:
-shaq (1P), -nki (2P), -nqa (3P), and -shun (1PL). Note that the second person future affix is identical
to the second person simple present affix. Examples: chawa-shaq 'I will milk'; pawa-nki 'you will
jump'; picha-nqa 'they will sweep' (section 4.3.2.2).

The simple past tense generally receives a completive interpretation but may also be
interpreted as present perfect or a past imperfect. The simple past tense is indicated by the affix
-RQa, realized as -rqa in AMV, -ra in ACH, LT, SP, and -la in CH. These are immediately followed by
person-number affixes. These are identical to the present tense person-number affixes with the
single exception that the third person is realized not as -n but as -ø. Examples: qawa-rqa-ni 'I have seen'; patrya-la-ø 'it/they exploded' 'it/they has/have exploded' (section 4.3.2.3.1).

The quotative simple past tense can replace the simple past tense in story-telling. The simple
quotative past is indicated by the affix -sHQa (realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and -sha in CH
and LT). It is sometimes realized in all dialects as -shqa in the first and sometimes last line of a
story. Examples: ri-shqa 'he went' hamu-sa-ø 'they came' (section 4.3.2.3.2)

The perfective – if there is indeed a true perfective in SYQ – would be indicated by the affix
-sHa (realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and -sha in CH and LT). -sHa is immediately followed by
the same person-number affixes as in simple past (i.e., the third person is realized as -ø). Example:
ri-sa-nki 'you have gone' (section 4.3.2.3.3).

The iterative past is indicated by the combination – as independent words – of the agentive
verb form (V-q) and – in the first and second persons – the corresponding present tense form of the
verb -ka 'to be'. Examples: ri-q 'she used to go'; ri-q ka-nchik 'we used to go' (section 4.3.2.3.4).

The conditional (also called “potential” or “irrealis”) covers more territory than does the
conditional in English. It corresponds to the existential and universal ability, circumstantial, deontic, epistemic, and teleological modals of English. The regular conditional is indicated by the affix -man. -man is immediately preceded by person-number affixes: -y in the AMV and LT dialects and -: in the ACH, CH, and SP dialects. Alternative conditional forms are attested in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect and first person plural in all dialects. -waq indicates the second person conditional; -chuwan, the first person plural conditional. Both these morphemes simultaneously indicate person and conditionality and are in complementary distribution both with tense and inflectional morphemes. The past conditional is formed by the addition of ka-RQa – the third person simple past tense form of ka-'be' to either the regular or alternative present-tense conditional form (section 4.3.3).

Imperative affixes simultaneously indicate person, number and imperativity. The imperative affixes are: -y (2P) and -shun (1PL); the injunctive affix is -chun (1PL). Examples: ¡Ri-y! 'Go!', ¡Ruwa-shun! 'Let's do it!', and ¡Lluqsi-chun! 'Let him leave!' (section 4.3.4)

Progressive aspect is indicated by the affix -ya. -ya immediately precedes person-number affixes and time affixes, if any. Example: ri-ya-n 'she/he/they are going'; ri-ya-ra-ø 'she/he/they was/were going' (section 4.3.5).

Subordination is not entirely at home with verbal inflection. Subordinating affixes are different from inflectional affixes in that, first, they cannot combine with time, imperativity, or conditionality affixes, and, second, the case of the AMV and LT dialects, they combine not with -ni in the first person but with -y. SYQ makes use of three subordinating affixes: -pti, -shpa and -shtin: -pti is used when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different; -shpa and -shtin, when the subjects are identical. Cacra, following the pattern of the QI languages, uses -r (realized [l]) in place of -shpa. -pti is generally translated 'when', but also occasionally receives the translations 'if', 'because', or 'although'. -shpa may receive any of these translations, but is most often translated with a gerund. -shtin is employed exclusively adverbially and is generally translated with a gerund. All three inherit time, conditionality, and aspect specification from the main-clause verb. -pti always inflects for person-number; -shpa and -shtin never do. Person-number affixes are those of the substantive paradigm: -y or -: (1P), -Yki (2P), -n (3P), and -nchik (1PL). Examples: Hamu-pti-ki lluqsi-rqa-ø 'when/because you came, she left'; Kustumbra-ku-shpa hawka-m yatra-ku-nchik 'When/if we adjust, we live peacefully' (section 4.3.6).

The table below summarizes this information. In this and the tables that follow, for reasons of
space, unless otherwise specified, all dialects employ the same forms. The following abbreviations
are employed.

'you'  'you.S/you.PL';
'he'  'he/she/it/they';
'can …'  'can/could/will/would/shall/should/may/might'
'could …'  'could/would/should/might'
'when …'  'when/if/because/although/not until' or V-ing

A verb appearing inside angled brackets <like this> indicates a root without tense,
conditionality or aspect specified. Dialects differ only in (1) their treatment of the first person
singular and the first person plural exclusive; (2) their realization of the simple past tense
morpheme -RQA; (3) their realization of the perfect morpheme -sHa and (4) their realization of */r/.

Table 12 displays the differences among the dialects that are relevant to verbal inflection.
Table 13 summarizes the verbal inflection paradigm of SYQ. All processes are affixing, i.e., a verb
root precedes all inflectional morphemes. Translations are given as if for the verb ni- 'say.' Details
of form and use as well as extensive examples follow in subsections (4.3.1)-(4.3.6).

Table 12. Verbal Inflectional Affixes with Different Realizations in SYQ Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>First person singular</th>
<th>Past tense affix -RQA</th>
<th>Perfect -sHa</th>
<th>Second-person alternative conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMV</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-rqa</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACH</td>
<td>-:</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH</td>
<td>-:</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-sha</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-:</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LT</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-sha</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13. Verbal Inflection Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1P and 1PL incl.</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3P</th>
<th>1PL dual and excl.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-n1AMV,LT</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;-ACH,CH,SP</td>
<td>you say</td>
<td>he says</td>
<td>we say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-shaq</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-nqa</td>
<td>-shun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will say</td>
<td>you will say</td>
<td>he will say</td>
<td>we will say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-rqa-niAMV</td>
<td>-rqa-nkiAMV</td>
<td>-rqa-oAMV</td>
<td>-rqa-nchikAMV</td>
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### Person and Number

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<tr>
<td>-ra-ni&lt;sub&gt;LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ni&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-qa-k&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-n&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-pti-y&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-shpa</td>
<td>-shtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra-&lt;sub&gt;ACh,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sh-n&lt;sub&gt;LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;ACh,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;ACh,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>-la-&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;ACh,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I (have) said</td>
<td>you have said</td>
<td>you used to say</td>
<td>I am saying</td>
<td>I can...say</td>
<td>you could... say</td>
<td>you could...have sai</td>
<td>you could...have said</td>
<td>you could...have said</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>Say!</td>
<td>saying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra-nki&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-nki&lt;sub&gt;ACh,CH,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-n&lt;sub&gt;ki&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-n-&lt;sub&gt;man&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-n-&lt;sub&gt;ki&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>you (have) said</td>
<td>he has said</td>
<td>he used to say</td>
<td>you are saying</td>
<td>you can...say</td>
<td>you could... say</td>
<td>you could...have said</td>
<td>you could...have said</td>
<td>you could...have said</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-shun</td>
<td>saying</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-ra-ø&lt;sub&gt;LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>he (has) said</td>
<td>he said</td>
<td>we used to say</td>
<td>we are saying</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-ra-nchik&lt;sub&gt;ACh,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-nchik&lt;sub&gt;ACh,AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-n-&lt;sub&gt;chik&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-n-chik&lt;sub&gt;man&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-n-&lt;sub&gt;chik&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>we (have) said</td>
<td>we have said</td>
<td>we used to say</td>
<td>we are saying</td>
<td>we can...say</td>
<td>we could... say</td>
<td>we could...have said</td>
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<td>-la-nki&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-la-ø&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-la-nchik&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>-la-nchik&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;ACh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-waq&lt;sub&gt;ka&lt;/sub&gt;-&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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</table>

4.3.1
SYQ non-subordinate verbs inflect for actor and object reference; substantives inflect for allocation. The presentation in the following subsection is after Parker (1964:19-22); unlike Parker, however, I don't treat -s, -n, -p, and -r as aspectual processes.

4.3.1.1 Subject and Allocation

-NIY refers to the speaker. -NIY has the allomorphs -ACH,CH,SP, -ni AMV,LT, and -y AMV,LT. -: and -ni attach to verb stems (plus derivational or inflectional affixes, if any, with the single exception that -ni cannot precede the conditional affix -man) (puri-ni, puri- 'I walk'). -: and -y attach to the subordinating affix -pti (qawa-pti-, qawa-pti- 'when … I see'), to the verb stem in the conditional (lluqi-y-man, llluqi- -man 'I could leave'), and to noun stems ending in vowels (mishi- 'my cat'). When they affix to noun stems ending in consonants, -y and -: are prefixed by the semantically vacuous particle, -ni (hampi-q-ni- 'my healer').

-Yki refers to the addressee. -Yki has the allomorphs -nki, -yki, -ki and -k. -nki attaches to verb stems (plus derivational or inflectional affixes, if any, except -man) (puri-nki 'you walk'); -yki attaches to substantives ending in a or u (wawa-yki 'your baby'); -ki attaches to the subordinator -pti and to substantives ending in i (qawa-pti-ki 'when … you see'; mishi-ki 'your cat'). When it follows a substantive ending in a consonant, -ki is prefixed by the semantically vacuous particle -ni (hampi-q-ni-ki 'your cat'). It appears that in Cacra, -Yki may be realized -k in case the second person is the object of action by the first person in the present tense (qu-k 'I give you').

-n refers to a person other than the speaker; -nchik refers to a group that includes the speaker and the addressee and, potentially, others. -n and -nchik attach to verb stems (plus derivational and inflectional affixes, if any) (puri-n 'he/they walk/s'; puri-nchik 'we walk'); the subordinating affix -pti (qawa-pti-n 'when … you see' qawa-pti-nchik 'when … you see'); and substantives ending in vowels (mishi-n 'his/their cat' mishi-nchik 'our cat'). Following a substantive ending in a consonant, -n and -nchik are prefixed by the semantically vacuous particle, -ni (hampiq-ni-n 'his/their healer'); hampiq-ni-nchik (our healer). This information is summarized in Table 14.

Table 14. Person Affixes by Environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>verb stem + affixes</th>
<th>subordinator -shpa</th>
<th>subordinator -pti</th>
<th>substantive (short) i final</th>
<th>substantive (short) a, u final</th>
<th>substantive C (or long V) final</th>
<th>conditional V stem + affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ni AMV,LT</td>
<td>-y AMV,LT</td>
<td>-y AMV,LT</td>
<td>-y AMV,LT</td>
<td>-y AMV,LT</td>
<td>-ni-y AMV,LT</td>
<td>-y AMV,LT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.3.1.2 Actor and Object Reference

-wa\_AMVLT and -ma\_ACH\_CH\_SP indicate a first person object. Followed by the second person verbal affix (-nki) -wa and -ma indicate that the speaker is the object of action by the addressee (qu-wa-nki, qu-ma-nki 'you give me') (1), (2); followed by third person verbal affix (-n), they indicate that the speaker is the object of action by a third person (qu-wa-n, qu-ma-n 'he/she/they give/s me') (3), (4). -nchik pluralizes a first-person object (qu-wa-nchik, qu-ma-nchik 'he/she/they give/s us') (5)-(7).

Followed by second person imperative affix (-y), -wa/-ma indicates that the speaker is the object of action by the addressee (¡Qu-wa-y!, ¡Qu-ma-y! 'Give me!') (8), (9).

-shu, followed by a second person verbal affix (-nki), indicates that the addressee is the object of action by a third person (qu-shu-nki 'he/she/they give/s you') (10). -sHQa, followed by the second person nominal affix, YkI, it indicates that the addressee is the object of future action by the speaker (qu-sa-yki 'I give you') (11)-(14).

The object affixes -- -wa/-ma, -shu and -sHQa -- succeed aspect affixes (15)-(17) and precede tense (18)-(20) and subordinating affixes (21)-(27), as well as the nominalizing affix -na (28), (29) (qu-wa-wa-nki 'you are giving me'; qu-wa-nga-o 'you gave me'; qu-su-\_pti-ki 'when he/she/they gave you'; qu-wa-na-n-paq 'so he/she/they give/s me'). Both object and subject affixes -- -wa/-ma, -shu and -sHQa, as well as -nki, -YkI, and -n -- preceed the conditional affix -man (qu-wa-nki-man 'you could give me') (30)-(32).

Exceptions to these rules arise in case the object is 1PL. First, the first-person object pluralizer, -nchik, does not precede aspect, tense, subordinating, nominalizing and conditional affixes, as it would if it behaved regularly, but, rather, succeeds them (ñiti-ru-wa-n-man-chik 'it could crush us') (33)-(35). Second, 3>1PL future is not indicated by *-wa/ma-nqa-nchik, as it would be were it regular, but rather by -wa/ma-shun (44), (45). Finally, third, just as the 1PL conditional may be indicated by either of two forms, one regular (-nchik-man) one alternative/portmanteau (-chuwan), the 3>1PL conditional, too, may be indicated by either a regular (-wa/ma-n-man-chik) or a portmanteau form (-wa/ma-chuwan) (chuka-ru-wa-chuwan 'it can make us sick') (37), (38). In all other cases, subject-object affixes combine with standard morphology (41)-(43).
A typological note. Number is expressed in spontaneously-occurring examples only in those cases in which there is a first-person plural object (36). In these cases all SYQ dialects follow the Southern QII pattern ordering affixes: OBJ-TNS-SBJ-NUM. Note, though, that while in the Southern QII languages -chik pluralizes the subject, in SYQ -chik pluralizes the object. There are no spontaneous examples following the Central QI pattern NUM-OBJ-TNS-SUBJ.

There are no special forms for third-person objects. A third-person object is indicated by the case-marking of the third-person pronoun pay with either accusative -ta or allative/dative -man (pay-ta qawa-nchik 'we see him/her,' pay-kuna-man qu-nki 'you give them') (39). First-and second-person object affixes may be reinforced with similarly case-marked pronouns (40).

There are no special forms for actors acting on themselves or any group that includes them: reflexive action is indicated with the derivational affix -ku (see section 4.4.2.3.04). 'I see myself' is ñuqa qawa-ku-ni/-: and 'I see us' is 'ñuqa ñuqanchik-ta qawa-ni/-:.

Actor-object affixes are employed both with transitive and ditransitive verbs (Miku-ru-shunki 'He's going to eat you'; Kay qullqi-ta qu-sgayki 'I'm going to give you this money'). Actor-object affixes may be reinforced – but not replaced – by accusative- and dative-marked personal pronouns (Ñuqa-ta-s harqu-ru-wa-ra-ø 'He tossed me out, too').

Except in the two cases 2>1PL and 3>1PL, where -chik indicates a plural object, when either the actor or the object is plural, the verb optionally takes the joint action affix -paku (3PL>2 Pay-kuna qu-paku-shunki tanta-ta qam-man. 'They give you.s bread'; 1>2PL Ñuqa qu-paku-yki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man 'I give you.PL bread').

This information is summarized in Table 15. Naturally-occurring examples of the five principal subject-object reference processes (1>2, 2>1, 3>1, 3>2, 3>1PL) are presented immediately below (1)-(45). Elicited examples of plural subject and plural object processes follow. In practice, the plural forms, although recognized, are not spontaneously invoked.

Table 15. Actor-Object Inflectional Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 OBJ</th>
<th>2 OBJ</th>
<th>1PL OBJ</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SBJ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SBJ</td>
<td>-wa-nki&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ma-nki\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>-wa-N\textsubscript{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>-ma-N\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>¿Dios Tayta! ¿Ima-ta willa-ya-\textit{wa-nki}? AMV</td>
<td>'My God! What are you telling me?'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Qam ni-ma-ra-\textit{nki}, &quot;¿Kuyu-ra-ya-nchu?&quot; SP</td>
<td>'You asked me,&quot;Was it moving?&quot;'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kay-wan pampa-\textit{chi-wa-n AMV}</td>
<td>'He'll bury me with this.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Hapi-ra-\textit{ma-n AMV}</td>
<td>'It took hold of me'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lliw liw mushuq kambya-\textit{chi-wa-nchik rupa-nchik-ta-m hinashpa-m kahun-man wina-wa-nchik AMV}</td>
<td>'They change us into brand new clothes. Then they toss us into a coffin.'</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Mancha-ri-\textit{chi-ma-nchik tuta.ACH}</td>
<td>'It scares us at night.'</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Mita-mi-k. Trura-\textit{ma-nchik kwadirnu-man sutin-nchik-ta.CH}</td>
<td>'A water quota. They put us, our names, in a notebook.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>¡Qawa-yka-\textit{chi-wa-y chay kundinawa-pa wasi-n-ta! AMV}</td>
<td>'Show me the zombie's house!'</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>&quot;¡Ama-yá diha-ra-ma-y-chu!&quot; ni-shpa luku-ya-\textit{ku-ya-n.ACH}</td>
<td>'Saying, &quot;Don't leave me!&quot; he was going crazy.'</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Maki-nchik-\textit{qa tusku ka-\textit{pti-n-qa vaka-pa nana-chi-nqa chichi-n-ta sayta-rushpa diha-ru-shunki AMV}</td>
<td>'When your hands are rough, they make the cow's teats hurt and she kicks and leaves you.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wira-ya-\textit{chi-sayki ACH}</td>
<td>'I'm going to fatten you up.'</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Kanallan shuya-ka-ra-mu-\textit{sayki.SP}</td>
<td>'Right now, I'm going to wait for you.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kay quillqi-\textit{ta qu-sayki.AMV}</td>
<td>'I'm going to give you this money.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ñuqa qipi-\textit{ru-shaayki llaqtaayta.AMV}</td>
<td>'I'm going to carry you to my town.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Muna-sha-n-ta-\textit{ña-m ruwa-n runa-qa tantiya-ya-wa-n-tri-ki.LT}</td>
<td>'People do what they want already. They must be sizing me up, for sure.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kwirpu-m nana-ya-n. Kay-\textit{mi kay runa-m aysa-ya-n-ña.ACH}</td>
<td>'My body is hurting. These people are pulling me over here.'</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Huk-\textit{tri-ki apa-yu-shunki. ¿Kiki-lla-yki-\textit{chu puri-ya-nki mutu-wan}?AMV}</td>
<td>'Someone else must be bringing you. Or are you yourself wandering around with a motorbike?'</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Chay-\textit{na-m kundur qipi-\textit{wa-rqa matray-ta}} AMV</td>
<td>'Like that, the condor carried me to his cave.'</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>&quot;¿Imapaq aysa-\textit{pa-ma-ra-\textit{nki ñuqa hawka puñu-\textit{ku-\textit{pti-\textit{a-?}}} ni-shpa-sh.SP}</td>
<td>&quot;Why did you tug at me when I was sleeping peacefully?&quot; said [the zombie].</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Ni-\textit{ra-yki.SP}</td>
<td>'I said to you.'</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Hamu-\textit{lla-\textit{rta-ni chikchik para-l}a tapa-\textit{lla-\textit{wa-\textit{pti-n yana puuyu-\textit{lla ñiti-lla-\textit{wa-\textit{pti-n AMV}}}</td>
<td>'I came when the freezing rain was covering me, when the black fog was crushing me.'</td>
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</table>
| 22 | ¡Kay pampa-man qati-mu-chun! Wak- | 'Let him bring it toward that plain -- over there he..."
pa ñiti-ru-wa-pta-n-qa.AMV would crush me.'

(23) Mana yaku-kta qu-ma-pta-n. ¿Imaynataq putiru:-pis planta:-pis ka-nqa? CH 'If they don't give me water, how will I have alfalfa and plants?'

(24) Wambra willa-su-pta-ki LT 'When the children told you'

(25) Suda-ra-chi-pta-ki kapas-mi surqu-ru-n-man.AMV 'When it makes you sweat, it's possible he could remove it.'

(26) Aa, tantiya-wa-shpa chay-ta ruwa-n.LT 'Ah, sizing me up, they do that.'

(27) Wasa-ri-ma-shpa-m nuchi-pis kwinta-ku-q.SP 'At night, they would wake me up and tell stories.'

(28) Pi-pis fakulta-yku-wa-na-n-paq.LT 'So someone can help me out.'

(29) Raki-shu-na-pta-paq.AMV 'So he sets some aside for you.'

(30) Saru-ru-lla-wanki-man. Mana-m saruwa-na-n-taq muna-niña-chu.AMV 'You could trample me. I don't want him to trample me any more.'

(31) Mana chi-chi-yuq ka-pta-ki-qa chay-na lluqa-ri-shunki-man-tri.AMV 'She doesn't want to drink now. Earlier, they had got us drunk.'

(32) ¡Kwidadu! Chay-pta-taq qalqali miku-llu-shunki-man.CH 'Be careful! A demon could eat you there.'

(33) Mana kanan tuma-y-ta-m muna-n-chu- qanin-paq shinka-ra-chi-wa-rga-nchik.AMV 'People who haven't gone, what am I going to say to you? We don't know.'

(34) Chiri pasa-wa-pta-nchik-pis, wiksa nana-y-kuna-paq.AMV 'There are only for rich people. Where can people give us things for free?'

(35) Ñiti-ru-wan-man-chik.AMV 'It could crush us.'

(36) Mana ri-q-kuna. ¿Ima-ta-m rima-sayki? Yatra-nchik-chu.AMV 'People who haven't gone, what am I going to say to you? We don't know.'

(37) Ka-ya-n-mi uniku qullqi-yuq-paq. ¿May-pa-m rigala-wa-chuwan runaq-qa?AMV 'There are only for rich people. Where can people give us things for free?'

(38) Miku-ru-ma-chuwan-tri.ACH 'He could eat us.'

(39) Kay swiru-pis allgu-paq-pis ... niku-ru-n-shi subrinu-n-ta-qa.LT 'This whey also for my dog also ... he said, they say, to his nephew.'

(40) Ñuqa-ta uwwa-ma-ra-ø mama-chay:- tiyu:- tiya-:-.SP 'My grandmother and my uncle and aunt raised me.'

(41) Qam-pis kuntista-mu-wa-nkį-m-ą.AMV 'You, too, are going to answer me.'

(42) ¿Alli-chu-wa-nga-chu mana-chu? Yatra-ru-nqą-ńa kuka-n-ta-qa qawa-yku-shpa.AMV 'Is he going to heal us or not? He'll find out by looking at his coca.'

(43) Tirrurista-m hamu-ya-n. Wak turu-tatr pagya-yku-shaq-qa mana-m wañu-chi-ma-ngq-чу.ACH 'The terrorists are coming. I'll pay them a bull and they won't kill me.'

(44) Mundu-m ñiti-ra-ma-shun. Kay-ta-m sustini-nki-qa.SP 'The world is going to crush us. Hold this one.'
They got baked, they say. Like that, we're going to get baked, us, too.'

'I'll carry you to my town.'
'Te cargaré a mi pueblo'.

(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 00:31-35)

'He's going to bury me with this … anything and everything of mine that is left is for you.'
'Me va a hacer enterrar con ésto… todo lo mío te va a quedar a ti'.
(Vinac_ER_Hand, 03:08-13)

'We give you.'
'We will give you.'
'You.PL give me bread.'
'They give me bread.'
'They give you.'

'I give you.PL bread.'
'I will give you.PL bread.'
'You.S give us bread.'
'He gives us bread.'
'He gives you.PL bread.'

'We give you.PL bread.'
'We will give you.PL bread.'
'You.PL give us bread.'
'They give us bread.'
'They give you.PL bread.'
SYQ counts three tenses: present, past, and future (maska-nchik 'we look for'; maska-rqa-nchik 'we looked for'; maska-shun 'we will look for'). With the exception of the first person plural, person affixes in SYQ are unmarked for number. -nki corresponds to the second person singular and plural (yanapa-nki 'you.S/PL help; maylla-nki 'you.S/PL wash'). -N corresponds to the third person singular and plural (taki-n 'she/he/it/they sing(s)'). The availability of the plural suffix in the first person gives rise to the conventional implicature that the unmarked first person affixes, -ni / -: , are singular. Subsections (4.3.2.1)-(4.3.2.3) cover the simple present, future and past tenses, in turn.

4.3.2.1 Simple Present

The present tense affixes in SYQ are -ni and -: (1P), -nki (2P), -n (3P), and -nchik (1PL) (atrqay-tuku-ni / -: 'I pretend to be an eagle'; kundur-tuku-nki 'you pretend to be a condor'; rutu-tuku-n 'he pretends to be a rutu' (small mountain bird); qari-tuku-nchik 'we pretend to be men') (1)-(8).

Although it generally indicates temporally unrestricted or habitual action, the simple present is unmarked for time. Present tense forms may receive past and future tense interpretations in different contexts (qawa-chi-n 'he showed/shows/will show') (9).

SYQ makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural, between ſuqanchik (dual), ſuqanchikkuna (inclusive), and ſuqakuna (exclusive) (see section 3.2.1.5.1 on personal pronouns). In practice, ſuqanchik is employed with dual, inclusive and exclusive interpretations to the virtual complete exclusion of the other two forms, except in the CH dialect. Verbs and substantives appearing with the inclusive ſuqanchikkuna inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default ſuqanchik (10); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive ſuqakuna inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular ſuqa (11). Although ſuqa is generally interpreted as singular – likely an implicature attributable to the availability of plural forms in the first person – it is, in fact, unspecified for number and may receive plural interpretations (12).

Table 16. Present Tense Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-niAMV,LT</td>
<td>-nchik (dual, incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-:ACH,CH,SP</td>
<td>-niAMV,LT (excl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-:ACH,CH,SP (excl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Wasi-y-ta ſuqa-qa picha-ku-ni talla-wan- 'I sweep my house with straw.'
4.3.2.2 Future

The future tense affixes in SYQ are -shaq (1S), -nki (2), -nqa (3), and -shun (1P) (1)-(6). The second person affix is ambiguous between present and future tense. (1)-(9) provide examples.

Table 17. Future Tense Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-shaq</td>
<td>-shun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nqa</td>
<td>-nqa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ubiha-:-ta michi-mu-shaq vaka-:-ta chawa-ru-shaq kisu-ta ruwa-ru-shaq SP
'I'm going to herd my sheep; I'm going to milk my cows; I'm going to make cheese.'

Vaka-ta-sh harka-ndki vaka-ta chawanki AMV
'You'll herd the cows, you'll milk the cows.'

Rupa-ri-nqa-tr AMV
'It will be warm [tomorrow].'

Shimi-ki-ta sira-ru-shun SP
'We're going to sew your mouth shut.'

Kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun AMV
'We'll wash this.'

Qam-kuna-lla-m parla-ndki CH
'Just you.PL are going to talk.'

Qam-pa mana-yi-s taya-eki-s wañu-ku-nqa turi-ki-pis ūña-uki-pis ACH
'Your mother and father will die, your brother and your sister, too.'

Mana-laq yaku-kta qu-ma-nda-chu CH
'They still aren't going to give me water.'

**Manam iskapangachu wañurachishaqmi.**

mana-m iskapanqachu wañura-chichaqmi
no-EVD escape-3.FUT-NEG die-URGT-CAUS-1.FUT-EVD
'She's not going to escape. I'll kill her.'

'No va a escapar. La voy a matar'.
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 03:48-52)

**Vakatash harka-nki vakata chawanki kisuta ruwanki.**

vaka-ta-sh harka-ndki vaka-ta chawanki keso-ta ruwanki
cow-ACC-EVR herd-2 cow-ACC milk-2 cheese-ACC make-2
'You'll tie up the cows, [she said], you'll milk the cows, you'll make cheese.'

'Vas a atajar las vacas, [dijo], vas a lechear, vas a hacer quesos'.
(Vinac_SH_Puna_Breasts, 06:52-56)

4.3.2.3 Past

SYQ distinguishes between the simple past, the perfect, and the iterative past. The simple past is indicated by the past tense morpheme-RQa as well as by the modal affix -ru (rima-ru/rqa/ra-nchik 'we spoke'). The quotative simple past (-sHQa) can replace the simple past tense in story-telling and in conversation in the same circumstances in which a speaker employs the reportative evidential affix, -shI (apa-mu-qa-ø 'she brought it'). The perfect is indicated by the affix -sHa (uyari-qa-ni 'I have heard'). The iterative past is indicated by the agentive noun – formed by the affixation of -q to the verb stem – in combination with the relevant present-tense form of ka- 'be' (taki-q ka-nki 'you used to sing'). In practice -RQa receives simple past (completive), present perfect, and past imperfect interpretations. Subsections (4.3.2.3.1)-(4.3.2.3.1) cover the simple past, the narrative past, the perfect, and the iterative past, in turn. The past conditional is covered in section (4.3.3.3).
4.3.2.3.1 Simple Past\textsuperscript{25} -RQ\textsubscript{a}

-RQ\textsubscript{a} indicates the past tense. The morpheme is realized -rqa in AMV (1), (2); -ra in ACH (3), LT (4), (5) and SP (6); and -la in CH (7), (8). In all five dialects, person-number inflection in the past tense is as in the present tense, with the exception that in the third person, -n is replaced by -ø (9)-(10). In all five dialects, -RQ\textsubscript{a} indicates tense but not aspect and is thus consistent with both perfective (11) and imperfective aspect (12)-(15). Perfective aspect is, rather, indicated by the modal affix -RU (16)-(22). The two differ in their distribution. -RQ\textsubscript{a}, but not -Ru, is used in the construction of the iterative past (23), (24) and the past conditional (2), (25); while -Ru, but not -RQ\textsubscript{a}, may be used, first, in combination with perfect marker -sHa (26), (27), with which it forms the past perfect (action by definition complete in relation to speech – but, of course, not event – time), as well as, second, in combination with the subordinators -shpa (6), (22) and -pti (3), (28), (29), in which case it indicates the precedence of the subordinated event to the main-clause event.

Table 18. Past Tense Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-rqa-ni\textsubscript{AMV}</td>
<td>-rqa-nchik\textsubscript{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-ni\textsubscript{LT}</td>
<td>-ra-nchik\textsubscript{ACH,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-\textsubscript{ACH,SP}</td>
<td>-la-nchik\textsubscript{CH}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-la-\textsubscript{CH}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-rqa-nki\textsubscript{AMV}</td>
<td>-rqa-nki\textsubscript{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-nki\textsubscript{ACH,SP}</td>
<td>-ra-nki\textsubscript{ACH,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-la-nki\textsubscript{CH}</td>
<td>-la-nki\textsubscript{CH}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-rqa-ø\textsubscript{AMV}</td>
<td>-rqa-ø\textsubscript{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-ø\textsubscript{ACH,SP}</td>
<td>-ra-ø\textsubscript{ACH,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-la-ø\textsubscript{CH}</td>
<td>-la-ø\textsubscript{CH}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. \textit{Iskwila-n-ta lliw-ta ya wambra-y-ta puchuka-chi-rqa-ni. AMV} ‘I made all my children finish their schooling.’
2. \textit{¿Ima-paq-taq ni-wa-rqa-nki? ¡Paga-ru-lla-wa-n-man-tri ka-rqa! AMV} ‘Why did you say that to me? He would have sacrificed me!’
3. \textit{Kuti-ka-mu-ra-: lliw ganaw-ni-ntin wambra-: lliw listu hishpi-ru-pty-n-ña. ACH} ‘I came back with all my cattle when my children had been educated.’

\textsuperscript{25} -RQ\textsubscript{a} signals the preterite in all Quechuan languages; -RU, according to Cerrón Palomino (1987), is a later evolution in some Quechuan languages from the modal affix -RQu (outward direction). In Tarma Q and Pacaraos Q -RQu is now a perfective aspect marker; in Southern Conchucos Q, it was formerly a perfect aspect marker and is currently a past-tense marker (Adelaar 1988:18-29).
You surely went to look for our God.'

'When she found the antayluma berries, she picked them then.'

'They left eloping.'

'You didn't bring any medicine?'

'Did [the earthquake] go through your town?'

'The Shining Path walked about like that. They approached the officials. They wanted to kill them.'

'We fought really well when they took that out.'

'We haven't planted.'

'I fed them only goat milk and cheese. Gloria, milk for sale, didn't exist here in Viñac.'

'But it was completely silent here sometimes.'

'We wanted to run away.'

'When we got married, we finished with the sheep.'

'The people buried their son wrapping him in his blanket.'

'He almost died.'

'I fell towards the reservoir. From here down hill.'

'They distributed it to those who don't raise cattle.'

'They disappeared already. I don't hear them [anymore].'

'When they found the woman they took her to the hospital.'

'On Sundays, I would bring two cheeses.'

'When she came, she would scare them.'

'She would have condemned herself if that were money.'

'I escaped to Cañete. They had put my husband on the list.'

'That's why they had told on him.'
4.3.2.3.2 Quotative Simple Past Tense -sHQa

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, when speakers have only second-hand knowledge of the events they report, they will recur to a another past tense form, -sHQa, often referred to as the “narrative past” because it is used systematically in story-telling. In SYQ, -sHQa – realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in CH and LT – is used predominantly in story-telling (1), (2), historical narrative (3)-(5), and, generally, in relating information one has received from others (6)-(10). It may also be used in dream reports (11). The morpheme is realized as -shqa, it seems, only in the first or culminating line of a story, and rarely even there (12). The standard past-tense forms -RQa and -Ru, may also be employed in the same contexts as is -sHQa, even in combination with the reportative evidential, -shI (13), (14). Inside quotations in story-telling RQa and -Ru are generally employed (15), (16).

(1). Huk-lla atuq-shi ka-sa-ø.SP  
   [Once upon a time] there was a fox, they say.'

(2). Chay ukucha ka-sa-ø maqta-tuku-shpa.AMV  
   'It was a rat pretending to be a man.'

(3). Hinashpa galay galay Chavin miniru-wan-shi parti-sa.ACH  
   'Then they divided everything up with the Chavin miners.'

(4). Chay intanada-n-ta ayqi-ku-sa.ACH  
   'His step-daughter escaped.'

(5). Tari-ra-mu-sha-ø arma-ta.LT  
   'They found firearms.'

(6). "¡Mátalo!" ni-sha-shi-ki.CH  
   '"Kill him!' she said, they say.'
'When she killed him, they say, she carried him far, so they wouldn't suspect.'

'That woman went to gather up her llamas. Jumping the river, she fell and [the river] took her far.'

'When they were coming to the festival they fell [into the canyon].'

'Those people brought a lot of meat: llama meat, they say to exchange for barley.'

'All, like pigs, entered the mud.'

'Two Huancayoans were resting in a cave, in some tarucas' place. There was a whole lot of manure.'

'A rutu-bird, too, deceived a girl by making himself out to be a young man, they say.'

'His twin, the other one, died, they say.'

'The condor arrived, they say, [and said], "Where is my wife?"'

"That condor carried me like that to a cave and I gave birth there."

4.3.2.3.3  Perfect

-sHa – realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in CH and LT – might be argued to mark the perfect, indicating events beginning in the past and either continuing into the present or with effects continuing into the present (1)-(3). That said, the non-nominalizing instances of -sHa in the corpus, almost without exception, have more readily-available interpretations as narrative pasts (see section 4.3.2.3.2) (4). Indeed, speakers offer only simple past translations for verbs affixed with -sHa; perfect translations are offered, rather, for the simple past, -Rqa, the perfective -RU, or the present (5)-(7) (see section 4.3.2.3.1). Speakers do consistently translate the combination of -RU and -sHa with the Spanish past perfect (8)-(10). Given, however, the restrictions on the distribution of -RU-

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26 The corpus counts 1157 instances of -sHa (including all those where it designates the "present perfect" or, in combination with -Ru, the "past perfect" or where it serves to nominalize a verb); a sample of 50 turned up no translation to the Spanish perfect.

27 In other Quechus, cognates of the SYQ modal affix -ri indicate perfect aspect. In elicitation sessions, speakers of SYQ do interpret -ri as indicating the present perfect; in a sample of 50 of the 353 instances of -Ri in the corpus, however, only once did the speakers assign it a perfect interpretation (Spkr 1: Yapa-mi-k cuti-nqa, ¿aw? Spkr 2: Puchuka-rj-n-chu. 'She's going to go back again, no?' 'She hasn't finished yet.')

28 The translations in (1)-(3) were proposed only to suggest possible perfect interpretations of sentences that, I argued, are better interpreted as narrative pasts.

29 This construction generally can only awkwardly be translated as a past perfect in English, however.
sHa – it inflects only for third person³⁰ and it is not contentful either with stative verbs or with the copulative, ka– it is improbable that it that would constitute the language’s principal strategy for rendering the past perfect. Rather, to indicate the sequence of two completed events, speakers of SYQ generally employ ether the subordinator -pti (11), (12) (see section 4.3.7.1) or a connective like hinashpa or hinaptin (13).³¹

Table 19. Inflection of -sHa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-sa-niampil</td>
<td>-sa-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sha-niambil</td>
<td>-sha-nchik</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sa:amiach</td>
<td>-sha:amiach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sha:ach</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-sa-ñiambil</td>
<td>-sa-ñiambil</td>
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<td>-sa-øamiach</td>
<td>-sa-øamiach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sha-øach</td>
<td>-sha-øach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1). Chay alkul-ta mana tapa-sa-ni-chu AMV
(2). Grasyusu ka-sa-nki AMV
(3). Miku-sha-o-y-ari. Miku-sha-o-y-ari LT
(5). ¿May-paq-tag suwa-mu-ra-nki? ni-shpa LT
(6). Kanan-qa shimi:-lla qacha-ru hatu-hatun SP
(7). Ni pi gawa-n-chu; ni pi tari-n-chu. AMV
(8). ¿Wak suwi liywa-n-qa ubiha-y-ta tumba-ru-sa-ø AMV
(9). Trakra-y-mi tuñi-ru-n. Yaku-ta-m katra-yku-ru-sa-o AMV
(10). Aa payilla-ta-ñi wañu-ri-chi-ra runa ... hapi-ru-sa karrupi AMV
(11). Li-lu-pti-ñ-qa, li-: CH
(12). Hinaptin-shi iskina-pa ka-yapa-çi-baliya-

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30 The corpus counts 330 instances of -RU (-ø/-chi/-mu) -sHa, only two inflected for any other than third person.
31 It has been suggested to me that an additional function of -sHa might be to indicate "sudden discovery" (Adelaar 1977) or surprise. That is, -sHa might indicate the mirative, as do the perfect marker -shka in Ecuadorian Q (Muyskens 1977) and "non-experienced" past tense marker -sqa in Cuzco Q (Faller 2003) (as cited in Peterson 2014:22-23). This is a hypothesis I am currently investigating.
ru-n.ACH

(13). Suya-ru-sa-o hinashpa maqa-ru-sa-o. Chay-shi ni-rqa-o-mi-k tuma-ru-n.AMV

They shot him.'

'She had waited for her then she had hit her. That's why he took [the poison], they say.'

### 4.3.2.3.4 Iterative Past -q ka-

The iterative past (past habitual) is indicated by the combination of the agentive noun – formed by the addition of -q to the verb stem – and the relevant present-tense form of ka- 'be' (zero in the third person) (1)-(7). Generally translated in Spanish with the imperfect, the structure can be translated in English as 'used to V' or 'would V'. Object affixes precede -q (8), (9).

#### Table 20. Iterative Past Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-q ka-ni</td>
<td>-q ka-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AMV,LT</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-q ka-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>;ACH,CH,SP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-q ka-nki</td>
<td>-q ka-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-q</td>
<td>-q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1)*. Wak Marcopukyo-pa, trigu-ta hurqu-pa-ka-mu-q ka-ni.AMV

'There in Marcopukyo, I used to harvest wheat.'

(2). Ñuqa-qa hubi-ya-chi-ku-q ka-ni Tiya Nati-lia-wan.AMV

'I used to have just Aunt Natividad massage me.'

(3). Chay-wan-mi ri-pa-ku-q ka-: una-unay-qa.SP

'Long before, I used to go with those.'

(4)*. Chay-hina puri̇g̈ ka-nchik ayvis fusfurpu puchuka-ru-q.AMV

'We would walk around like that; sometimes the matches would run out.'

(5). Avturidad-kuna-qa paka-ku-q huk law li-ku-g.CH

'The officials would hide, they would go other places.'

(6). Chirimuya-n-ta apa-mu-q. Igsu-kuna-ta apamu-g kay-pi tapa-pi-y durasnu-n-ta.LT

'He used to bring his chirimoyas. He used to bring figs here when I covered his peaches.'

(7). Chay tirrurista-wan kay Azángaro-paq riku-yay-a-q. Wama wamaq piliya-ku-Ya-q.ACH

'They would be going from Azángaro with the terrorists. They would be fighting a lot.'

(8). Wasi-y-ta hamu-ru-pi-ti-y uqu-chi-wa-q. Huk vida-ta-m wakwanqa pukllarirqani.AMV

'When I would come home, they would get me wet. I played around with them a lot.'

(9). Tayta-cha-: willa-ma-q chay-hina-m antiguwo viyhu-kuna puri-ra-o ni-shpa.SP

'My grandfather used to tell me [stories]. The ancients walked about like that, he said.'

Wak Marcopukyo nisanpa trigu-ta qurqupakumq kani -- ishkay, kimsa klasita.

wak  Markupukyu  ni-sa-n-pa  trigu-ta  qurqu-pa-ku-mu-q  ka-ni
There in Marcopukyo, as they call it, I used to harvest wheat – two or three kinds.'

'Allá en Marcopukyo, que le dicen, cosechaba trigo – dos o tres variedades'.

We walked around like that; sometimes matches would run out.'

'Así caminábamos. Aveces se nos terminaban los fósforos'.

4.3.3 Conditional

SYQ verbs inflect for conditionality, present and past. Two different forms indicate the conditional in SYQ. The first, the regular conditional, is attested in all persons, singular and plural, in all dialects. Alternative conditional forms are attested in the first person plural in all dialects and in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect. Both the regular and alternative conditional may be interpreted as ability, circumstantial, deontological, epistemological, and teleological modals, both existential and universal. For more extensive discussion of SYQ modals see section (4.3.3.1.1); for more extensive discussion of the interpretation of the conditional under the scope of the various evidential enclitics and their modifiers, see section (6.2.11).

4.3.3.1 Regular Conditional (Potential) -man

All SYQ dialects indicate the conditional with the affix -man. In the first person, it is the person-number affixes of the nominal (possessive) paradigm that are used in combination with -man (i.e., -y and not -ni is used for the first-person singular in the "QII" dialects) (1), (33). -man follows all other inflectional affixes (ri-nki-man *ri-man-ni-nki) (32); -man is in complementary distribution with tense morphemes (*ri-rqa-nki-man) (the examples cited are given in the section immediately below, 4.3.3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-y-man&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-nchik-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i:-man&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki-man</td>
<td>-nki-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-man</td>
<td>-n-man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21. Regular Conditional Inflection
4.3.3.2  Excursis: Modality

The SYQ conditional covers far more territory than does the conditional in Spanish or English, receiving ability (2)-(6), circumstantial (7), (8), (29), deontic (10), (11), (26), (33), teleological (12), (28), and epistemological (9), (30), (31) modal readings, both existential and universal. As detailed in section (6.2.11), SYQ modals are themselves unspecified for force: modal force is determined by context and is generally specified by the evidential modifiers. Weak modal readings result when the modal is under the scope of either of no evidential or of an evidential modified by the evidential modifier ø; strong universal readings result when the evidential is modified by the evidential modifier -ki (siqa-yku-n-man-tri-ø 'it might fall', siqa-yku-n-man-tri-ki 'it will most likely fall'; istudiya-nki-man-mi-ø 'you should study', istudiya-nki-man-mi-ki 'you must study'); moderately strong modal readings result when the modifier -k takes scope over the modal. Ability modals also result from the combination of the infinitive and the verb atipa- 'be able' (15)-(16). The verbs usHachi- and puydi-, both translated 'be able,' as well as yatra- 'know' sometimes replace atipa- in this construction (18)-(20). atipa-, usHachi-, and puydi- appear in verbal constructions only when negated; they appear non-negated only in nominalizations (21), (22). Universal deontic readings additionally follow from the combination of the nominalizer, -na with nominal (possessive) person inflection (23); they are available, too, with the simple present tense. The adverb hawka 'tranquil' modifying a future tense verb receives an existential deontic modal reading (24). As detailed in section (6.2.11.3), under the scope of the conjectural evidential, -trI, conditionals are generally restricted to epistemic interpretations; under the scope of the direct evidential -ml, they receive all but conjectural interpretations. This information is summarized in Table 22 below (examples are given for the third person with the verb qawa- 'see').

(1). Ruwa-y-man lliw lliw: AMV  'I can do everything.
(2). Kanan chay-ta ri-n-man LT  'Now, he could go there.
(3). ¿Mana-chu kuska li-n-man? CH  'Can't they go together?'
(4). Ulvida-ru-:-yá mana-yá yuyari-:-man-chu SP  'I've already forgotten. I can't remember any more.'
(6). Mana-ña-ŋ kawsa-:-man-chu CH  'I can't live any more.'
(7). Mana-tr wak law-pa pastu ka-n-man-  'There can't be any pasture on that side.'
(8)*. Saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man AMV

'She could trample me.'

(9). Wasi-kuna-pis saqa-youtu-n-tri fiwirti kapti-n-qa AMV

'The houses, also, could fall if there were a strong one [earthquake].'

(10). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'

(11). Yata-ru-eki-man-taq AMV

'Be careful not to catch it.'


'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(13). Chay-nya-nki-man-taq AMV

'She could trample me.'

(14). Wasi-kuna-pis saqa-yku-n-tri fwirti kapti-n-qa AMV

'The houses, also, could fall if there were a strong one [earthquake].'

(15). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'


'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(17). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'


'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(19). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'

(20). Allin nuta-ta surqu-na-yki-paq istudy-a-nki-man-mi-ki AMV

'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(21). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'

(22). Allin nuta-ta surqu-na-yki-paq istudy-a-nki-man-mi-ki AMV

'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(23). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'


'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(25). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'


'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(27). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'


'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(29). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'

(30). Allin nuta-ta surqu-na-yki-paq istudy-a-nki-man-mi-ki AMV

'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'

(31). Wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s AMV

'You should have at least one child.'
"If you don't have breasts they might climb on top of you."

(33). *Ishcha-lalla-ta-ña shutu-yka-chi-y-man, ¿aw?*  
"I should make it drip just a little, right?"

*Sarurrulawanman* manam saruwanantaq munanchu.

trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND no-EVD trample-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-SEQ want-1-NEG

'She might trample me. I don't want her to trample me.'

'Me podría pisotear. Ya no quiero que me pisotee'.

(Llanka_BC_LostCow_Milking, 02:59-03:03)

Table 22. Modal System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Existential</th>
<th>Universal**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ability</strong></td>
<td>V-COND-EVD</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manam V-INF-ACC *atipa-*chu *EV Manam qawa-y-ta atipa-nchu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Circumstantial</strong></td>
<td>V-COND-EVD</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiña-n-man-mi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deontic</strong></td>
<td>V-COND-EVD</td>
<td>V-COND-EVD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawka V-FUT-EVD</td>
<td>Qawa-n-man-mi</td>
<td>Qawa-n-man-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawka qawa-nda-m</td>
<td>V-NMLZ-POSS-EVD (be-PST)</td>
<td>Qawa-na-n-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epistemic</strong></td>
<td>V-COND-EVC</td>
<td>V-COND-EVC (be-PST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawa-n-man-tri</td>
<td>Qawa-n-man-tri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teleological</strong></td>
<td>V-COND-EVD</td>
<td>V-COND-EVD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawa-n-man-mi</td>
<td>Qawa-n-man-mi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-PRES-EVD</td>
<td>Qawa-n-mi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The verbs *usHachi* 'be able', *puydi* 'be able', and *yatra* 'know' can replace *atipa-*.

4.3.3.3 Alternative Conditional *-waq* and *-chuwan*

Alternative conditional forms are attested in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect and first person plural in all dialects. *-waq* indicates the second person conditional (1)-(3); *-chuwan* indicates the first person plural conditional (4)-(7); *-waq* may be explicitly pluralized with *-pa(:)ku* (8). Both morphemes simultaneously indicate person and conditionality and are in complementary distribution both with tense and inflectional morphemes. *w/ma- chuwan* is used with a first-person plural object (9)-(12). Ability (13), (14), circumstantial (15), deontic (16), (19)
epistemic (17) and teleological (18) readings are all available. In case a word ends with – *chuwan*,
stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable (19).

(1)* ¿Ima-lla-ta-pis miku-cha-yku-waq-chu mama-y? AMV

(2) Wak tina-pa alcha-waq AMV

(3) ¡Ama! Huk law-man hitra-yku-ru-lla-waq AMV

(4) Ratu ratu-m chay-wan-qa shinka-ru-chuwan ACH

(5) Huk qu-pty-n-qa miku-ru-chuwan-mi ACH

(6) Manaña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-ná-chu LT

(7) Tuta-ya-q-paq mana-m ima-ta-pis ruwa-chuwan AMV

(8) Yanapa-paku-waq AMV

(9) Vinina-machuwan-tri ACH

(10) Sapa-lla-nchik-ta-qa miku-ru-machuwan-tri ACH

(11) Dibil ka-pty-nchik chuka-ru-wachuwan-yá AMV

(12) Midiku hudi-ru-wachuwan-mi AMV

(13) ¿Vaka-tyu-qa-mu-waq-chu? AMV

(14) Yaku usu-n chay-mi llaqta-qa ri-shaq. Mana-m riga-chuwan-chu LT

(15) Ka-ya-n-mi uniku gullq-ya-paq-ya ¿May-pa-rigala-wachuwan runaq? AMV

(16) Chikutu llama-cha-ta apa-ku-waq AMV

(17) Wáituy-paq-pis ka-yu-chuwan-tri AMV

(18) Trabaha-waq-mi miku-y-ta muna-shpa-qa AMV

(19) Pulichuwan kuska-nchik. AMV

¿Ima-lla-ta-pis miku-cha-yku-waq-chu mama-y? AMV

¿Qualquier cosita puedes comer, señorita?

(Llanka_BC_LostCow_Milking, 04:56-58)
night-INCH-AG-LOC no-EVD what-ACC-ADD do-1PL-COND

'In the darkness, we couldn't do anything.'
'En la oscuridad, no podríamos hacer nada'.
(Vinac_EA_Earthquakes, 03:35-38)

### 4.3.3.4 Past Conditional (Irrealis)

The past conditional is indicated by the combination – as distinct words – of the conditional with *ka-RQa*, the third person past tense form of *ka- 'be' (1)-(4). The regular conditional form may be used in all dialects (5)-(8); the alternative conditional forms may be used in those dialects in which they are available in the present tense (9)-(10).

#### Table 23. Past Conditional Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-y-man karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
<td>-nchik-man karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-y-man kara-ø_{LT}</td>
<td>-nchik-man kara-ø_{ACH,LT,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--man kara-ø_{ACH,SP}</td>
<td>-nchik-man kala-ø_{CH}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>--man kala-ø_{CH}</td>
<td>-chuwan karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-chuwan kara-ø_{ACH,LT}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki-man karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
<td>-nki-man karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nki-man kara-ø_{ACH,LT,SP}</td>
<td>-nki-man kara-ø_{ACH,LT,SP}</td>
</tr>
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<td>-nki-man kala-ø_{CH}</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-waq karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
<td>-waq karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-man karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
<td>-n-man karqa-ø_{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n-man kara-ø_{ACH,SP,LT}</td>
<td>-n-man kara-ø_{ACH,SP,LT}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n-man kala-ø_{CH}</td>
<td>-n-man kala-ø_{CH}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1)*. *Ri-ru-y-man ka-raqa ŋuqa-pis yanga hanay-paq.AMV*  
'I, too, would have gone, in vain up there.'

(2). *Chay pacha-lla ... ruwa-shi-nki-man ka-raqa. AMV*  
'That time you could have helped make it.'

(3). *Mas-ta-m katra-yku-ru-n-man ka-raqa.AMV*  
'She should have let more out.'

(4). ¿Ima-pis mas piyur-tri ka-nchik-man ka-raqa? AMV  
'What worse thing could we have been?'

'That was the devil. He could have eaten me or he could have taken me away.'

(6). *Aa, kundina-ku-ru-n-man-tri ka-ra-ø qulliqi chay kasa-ø.SP*  
'Ah, she would have condemned herself [to being a zombie]. That was money.'

(7). *Lus-ta paga-nki-man-tri ka-raqa-ø lus-ni-n-ta ni-ni-yá.AMV*  
"You should have paid the electric bill, his electric bill," I said then.'

(8). *Chay-ta pusha-ka-ru-nki-man ka-ra-ø.1T*  
'You should have taken her.'
(9) Mas-ta-m chawa-ru-waq ka-rqa AMV 'You could have milked more.'
(10) ¿Chay rikisun ka-ya-ra-chu? Riku-shpa-tr miku-chuwan ka-ra. 'Was there the cheese curd? We could have gone and eaten it.'

Riruyman karga ŋuqapis yanga hanaypaq.
ri-ru-y-man ka-rqa-o ŋuqa-pis yanga hanay-paq
'lie up-LOC
'I, too, would have gone, in vain up there.'
'Yo también hubiera ido en vano hacia arriba'.
(Llanka_BC_LostCow_Milking, 08:44-47)

4.3.4 Imperative and Injunctive

4.3.4.1 Imperative -y

-y indicates the second-person singular imperative (1). -y is affixed to the verb stem, plus derivational affixes, if any (2). In case the verb has a first-person singular direct or indirect object, -y attaches to the 2>1 actor-object affix -ma/wa (3), (4). The second-person plural imperative may be indicated by the mutual benefit derivational affix, -pUkU, immediately preceding -y, and -ma/wa, if present (5), (6). The first-person plural imperative is identical to the first person plural future: it is indicated by the affix -shun (7), (8). Prohibitions are formed by affixing the imperative with -chu and preceding it with ama (9)-(12). ¡Haku! 'Let's!' is irregular: it cannot be negated or inflected (13), (14). The second-person future tense, too, is often interpreted as an imperative (15) and prohibitions can be formed by prefixing this with ama (16).

(1) ¡Chay kullar-ni-ki-ta-qa surqu-ru-y!AMV 'That necklace of yours, take it out!'
(2) ¡Wañu-ra-chi-γ wak-ta!ACH 'Kill that one!'
(3) ¡Ñuqa-man-pis qatra-ma-y!SP 'Rip it for me, too!'
(4) ¡Sama-yka-chi-lla-wa-y, awilita!AMV 'Just make (have/let) me rest, grandmother!'
(5) ¡Lluqsi-paku-y (llapa-yki)!†AMV 'Leave.PL!'
(6) ¡Taki-paku-y!†ACH 'Sing PL!'
(7) ¡Tushu-shun!AMV 'Let's dance!'
(8) ¡Kuska-lla-m wañu-ku-shun!LT 'Let's die together!'
(9) "¡Ama-yá diha-ra-ma-y-chu" nishpa luku-ya-ya-n.ACH "Don't leave me!" he said, going crazy.'
(10) ¡Ama ñuqa-kti-ta imana-ma-y-pis-chu!CH 'Don't do anything to me!'
(11) ¡Ama manchari-γ-chu! ¡Ama qawa-γ-chu! AMV 'Don't be scared! Don't look!'
(12). ¡Ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun-chu! LT
'Let's never leave each other!'°

(13)*. ¡Haku-ña, tayta-y, paka-na-n-paq chay aycha-ta! AMV
'Let's go, man, to hide this meat!'°

(14). Ama ri-shun-chu (*haku)! AMV
'Let's not go!' 'We shouldn't go.'°

(15)*. Dios-ni-nchik-qa ni-n, 'Iha, apa-nki pukatraki-ta, wamanripa-ta!' LT
'Our God said, “Daughter, bring pukatraki plants and wamanripa plants!”'

(16). ¡Ama kuti-mu-nki-chu! Qam-qa isturbu-m ka-ya-nki.CH
'Don't come back! You're being a pain in the ass.'°

Chayshi Wankaqa, "Hakuña, taytay, pakananpaq chay aychata!"
chay-shi Wanka-qa haku-ña tayta-y paka-na-m-paq chay aycha-ta
DEM.D-EVR Wanka-TOP let's-go-DISC father-1 hide-NMLZ-3-PURP DEM.D meat-ACC
'With that, they say, the man from Huancayo (said), “Let's go, man, to hide this meat!”'

'En éso, dice, el Huankayino (dijo), ‘Vámos, papito, para esconder esta carne'.
(Vinac_MG_Wankas, 01:38-43)

Diosninchikqa nin, "Iha", nin ... "¡Apanki pukatrakita, wamanripata!"
dios-ni-nchik-qa ni-n iqa ni-n apa-nki pukatraki-ta wamanripa-ta
dios-EUPH-IPL-TOP say-3 daughter say-3 bring-2 pukatraki-ACC wamanripa-ACC
'Our God said, "Daughter," he said ... "You will bring pukatraki plants and wamanripa plants.'

'Nuestro Dios dijo, “Hija”, dijo … "Levarás pukatraki y wamanripa".'
(Linchka_NF_Deer, 02:44-54)

4.3.4.2 Injunctive -chun

-chun indicates the third person injunctive (1), (2), the suggestion on the part of the speaker as to the advisability of action by a third party. There are no first or second person injunctive affixes. -chun attaches to the verb stem, plus derivational affixes, if any (3)-(5). It simultaneously indicates injunctivity and person, and is in complementary distribution with other inflectional affixes. The negative injunctive is formed by affixing -chu to the injunctive and preceding it with ama (6), (7). The third-person future tense can sometimes be interpreted as an injunctive (8).

(1)*. ¡Kuka-n-ta-raq aku-yku-chun! AMV
'Let her take her coca still!'

(2). ¡Uqu-sa-kuna hina-llo ka-chun! AMV
'Let the wet ones be like that!'

(3). ¡Kuti-mu-chun! Wañu-chi-na-:-paq. ACH
'Have him come back – so I can kill him!'

'Let him die; let his child live, my father said, they say. When they made me take those [cures], I lived.'

(5). ¡Hina-llo-ña ka-ya-chun! LT
'Let it be just like that!'

(6). ¡Ama lluqsi-chun-chu tukuy puntraw! CH
'Don't let him leave all day!'
(7). Ishkay paluma-qa ni-n, "¡Ama yanta-ta-qa apa-ya-chun-chu!" ACH
'The two doves said, "Don't let them bring the firewood!"

(8). Wañu-chi-pti-n "¡Ama-m pampa-nki-chu! ¡Hina-m ismu-nga!" ninshi. ACH
'When they killed him, “Don't bury him! Let him rot like that!” he said.'

Ah, kukantaraq akuykuchun.
ahh kuka-n-ta-raq aku-yku-chun
'Let her take her coca still!'
¡Que chacche su coca todavía!'
(Vinac_JC_Cure, 00:58-01:03)

4.3.5 Aspect

SYQ counts two aspectual morphemes: progressive -ya and perfective -ri. The two are in complementary distribution with each other (*siri-ya-ri-n target meaning: 'she has been sewing'). Both exist in a kind of purgatory between verbal inflection and verbal derivation. Unlike inflectional morphemes, -ya can appear in subordinate clauses and nominalizations (puñu-ya-phi-n 'when he is sleeping'; ruwa-ya-q 'one who is making'). And both -ya and -ri can – and, indeed, sometimes must – precede some derivational suffixes (maska-ri-chi-n 'she has made her look'; mikuyu-chi-phi-n 'he is making him eat'). Additionally, reflexive -ku may receive a completive/perfective interpretation. Subsections (4.3.5.1)-(4.3.5.3) cover the progressive -ya and the perfects -ri and -ku, in turn.

4.3.5.1 Progressive -ya

All dialects of SYQ indicate continuous aspect with -ya. -ya marks both the progressive (1)-(9) and durative components (10), (11) of the continuous; that is, it indicates both actions and states continuing in time. -ya may be used with (1988:example 39) or in place of -q to mark habitual action (12)-(15) when such action is customary. -ya can appear in subordinate clauses (15), (16). -ya preceeds -mu and -chi (17), (18) and precedes all inflectional affixes. It forms the present (19), past (20)-(22) and future (23), (24) progressive.

1. Lliw-man-tri-ki invita-ya-n pay-qa. AMV
'She must be inviting everyone, for sure, her.'

2. Kumunidad-lla-ña-m na-pa:ku-ya-:
trabaha-pa:ku-ya-::CH
'Just the community, we're doing it, we're working.'

3. Walmi-kuna-qa talpu-ya-: alli-cha-ya-:
kulpa-kta maqa-ya-::CH
'The women are planting, improving, hitting big clumps of earth.'
When it clanged [they asked], "What happened? What is that woman doing? What is it?"

On the radio they're talking for the sake of talking. "Terrorists are coming out. Terrorists are appearing," they say.

'What is he doing? He must be working.'

'She's recording people's language.'

'Then Our God said, "What are you searching for?"

'The chiles completely dried out; the chiles are dried out.'

'No one. I'm busy.'

'I want to fall.'

'When [the oca] hasn't been sunned, we sun it.'

'We spin sheep's wool here.'

'With effort, we give birth.'

'Then when he was in the corner, they shot him.'

'That man, turning jealous, killed his wife, when he was beating her.'

'Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!'

'Where did she fall? She, too, was limping.'

'After finding some antayluma berries, she gathering them up. Then ...'

'He was dancing for three hours, they say.'

'My washing is going to be getting wet already, for sure.'

'The cows are going to be giving orders.'

4.3.5.2 Durative -chka
-chka is very rarely employed, occurring spontaneously in a non-quotative context only seven times in the corpus. Indeed, it is probably best qualified as non-productive in all but SP. -chka is in complementary distribution with progressive -ya, but has a more restricted semantics than does -ya. A -chka action or state is necessarily simultaneous with some other action or state, either explicit in the dialogue (1), (2) or supplied by context (3).

(1). Kay-lla-pa-m kwida-chka-nki ŋuqa-qa apa-ra-mu-ː. ACH

'You'll go on taking care of this here [while] I bring it.'


"The world is going to crush us. Hold this! You go on holding this one. I, too – another is falling in over there."

(3). Aviva, tiya-chka-nki chay-lla-pa. AMV

'Aviva, you're going to sit just right there [while the others go looking].'

(4). ¡Taqsachkay! † CH

'You go on washing [while I play].'

4.3.5.3  Perfective -(Ra)-ri

-ri indicates the perfect (1). Prefixed with -ra, -ri receives a plural interpretation (2)-(3). -ri precedes the derivational affixes -ku and -chi (4), (5). It is in complementary distribution with the past-tense affix -RQa as well as with the modal affix -RU in those cases in which -RU receives a completive interpretation (6). In practice, -ri is rarely employed: speakers generally indicate the present perfect with the simple past or present tense (see section 4.3.2.3.1). All the examples below were elicited.

(1). Qawa-ra-ri-n.

'He has seen him.'

(2). Qawa-ra-ri-n.

'They have seen him.'


'We have had him sit down.'


'She has looked.'

(5). Tiya-ra-ri-chi-n.

'They have made him sit.'


'She has looked.'

4.3.5.4  Perfective -ku

32 It has been suggested to me that if -ri and -RU are in complementary distribution with each other, they are likely to form a system, perhaps indicating two types of perfective aspect. This is a hypothesis I am currently investigating.

33 In other Quechuas, cognates of the SYQ modal affix -ri indicate perfect aspect. In elicitation sessions, speakers of SYQ do indeed interpret -ri as indicating the present perfect. That said, in a sample of 50 of the 353 instances of -ri in the corpus, in only one was assigned a perfect interpretation from speakers (Spkr 1: Yapa-mi-k kuti-qwa, ¿aw? Spkr 2: Puchuka-ri-n-chu. 'She's going to go back again, no?' 'She hasn't finished yet.')
-ku may indicate the perfect. This is frequently the case with ri- 'go' and other verbs of motion (1)-(3), as well as with wañu- 'die' (4), (5). Adelaar (2006:135) writes of Tarma Quechua: “This -ku-, probably the result of a functional split of the ‘reflexive’ marker -ku-, has acquired a marginal aspectual function and indicates the completion of a change of position. Since -ku- is aspectual, it cannot be combined with the perfective aspect marker -ru-.”

(1).  
_Qullqi-ta qu-yku-pty-n ... pasa-ku-n.AMV_  
'When he gave him the money, he went away.'

(2).  
_Ripu-ku-n paqwash llapa wawa-n tudu ripu-ku-n.LT_  
'Then, he left for good – all his children – all left.'

(3).  
_Pashna-lla kida-lu-n. ¿Qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq?CH_  
'Just the girl stayed. The man went where?'

(4).  
_Baliya-pty-n-qa wañu-ku-n.ACH_  
'When they shot him, he died.'

(5).  
_¿Ima-na-ru-nya-tr? Wañu-ku-n-tri. ACH_  
'What could have happened? He died, I guess.'

### 4.3.6 Subordination

SYQ counts three subordinating affixes -- _-pty_, _-shpa_, and _-shtin_ -- and one subordinating structure -- _-na-POSS-kama_. In addition, the nominalizing affixes, _-na_, _-q_, _-sa_, and _-y_ form subordinate relative and complement clauses (see section 3.4.1).

_-pty_ is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different (huk qawa-_pty-n-ga_, ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu 'Although others see, we don't see); _shpa_ and _-shtin_ are employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical (tushu-_shpa_/-_shtin_ wasi-ta kuti-mu-n 'Dancing they return home'). Cacra, but not Hongos, follows the QI pattern, employing _-r_ (realized [l]) in place of _-shpa_ (traqna-[l] pusha-la-mu-n 'binding his hands and feet, they took him along'). _-pty_ generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause began prior to that of the main clause but may also be employed in the case the events of the two clauses are simultaneous (urkista-qa traya-mu-_pty-n_ tushu-rqa-nchik 'When the band arrived, we danced'). _-shpa_ generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause (Sapu-qa kurrkurrya-_shpa_ kurri-ya-n 'The frog is running going kurr-kurr!') but may also be employed in case the event of the subordinated event precedes that of the main-clause. _-shtin_ is employed only when the main and subordinate clause events are simultaneous (awa-_shtin_ miku-chi-ni wambra-y-ta '(By) weaving, I feed my children'). _-pty_ subordinates are suffixed with allocation affixes (tarpu-_pty-nchik_ 'when we plant'); _-shpa_ and _-shtin_ subordinates do not inflect for person or number (*tarpu-
Subordinate verbs are never affixed with any other inflectional morphemes, with the exception of *ya (*tarpu-*sha postponed; *tarpu-*sha postponed). The evidentials, -ml, shI, and -trI cannot appear on the interior of subordinate clauses, and the negative particle -chu can neither appear on the interior nor affix to subordinate clauses (*manama rima-tpi-ki (*chu) 'if you don't talk'). Subordinate verbs inherit tense, aspect and conditionality specification from the main clause verb (*ri-*sha postponed If I would have gone, I would have seen'). Depending on the context, -tpi and -sha can be translated by 'when', 'if', 'because', 'although', or with a gerund; -shtin can be translated by a gerund only. This information is summarized in the table below.

Table 24. Subordinating Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subordinate-clause event begins before main-clause event</th>
<th>Subordinate-clause event simultaneous with main-clause event.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identical Subjects</td>
<td>-sha, -shtin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Subjects</td>
<td>-tpi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-na-ALLO-kama is limitative. It forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to either (1) is simultaneous with or (2) limits the event referred to in the main clause (*puñu-*na-y-kama 'while I was sleeping'; *wañu- *n-kama 'until she died').

4.3.6.1 Different Subjects -tpi

-tpi is employed when the subjects in the main and subordinated clauses are different (1), (2) and the event of the subordinated clause begins before (3) or is simultaneous with (4) the event of the main clause. -tpi subordinates always inflect for person with allocation affixes (5), (6). The structure is usually be translated in English by 'when' (7), (8) or, less often, 'if' (9), (10), 'because' (11)-(13), or 'although' (14). Topic marking with -qa does not generally disambiguate these readings. With -raq, -tpi subordinates generally receive a 'not until' interpretation (15), (16). The first-person and second-person object affixes, -wa/ma and -sHu precede -tpi (17).

Table 25. -tpi Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-tpi-yAMVLT</td>
<td>-tpi-nchik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34 *sha* appears 1432 times in the corpus; in three instances it is inflected for person. In elicitation, speakers very adamantly reject the use of personal affixes after *sha.*
1. *Arus-cha-ta kumbida-pto-nchik miku-n-manchu?* AMV
   "If we share the rice, will she eat it?"

2. *Qusa-ː tinjynti alkaldi ka-pto-n, 'Kumpañira, ¿may-pi-m qusa-yki?'* ni-ma-ː n CH
   "'When my husband was vice-mayor they asked me, "Compañera, where is your husband?'''"

3. *Chay kundur-qa qipi-ːpto-n huk turu-ta paga-yku-n.* SP
   "After the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.
   'One moment you're walking and something presents itself to you.'

4. *Huk mumintu puri-ya-pto-ki ima-pis prisinta-ku-ru-shunki.* AMV
   "When my husband was vice-mayor they asked me, "Compañera, where is your husband?''"

   "If you don't pay me, your son isn't going to get better.'

   Spkr 1: 'I might have died.' Spkr 2: 'If they hadn't cured [her].'

*Pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pto-ːn. AMV
   'He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.'

8. *Priykupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n mal ka-pto-ːn in.* AMV
   'Certainly, he'd be wandering around worried because his wife is sick.'

   'Because I don't have a husband. I'm working because I don't have a husband.'

10. *Huk qawa-pto-ːn-qa, ŋuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu.* AMV
    'Although others see (it), we don't see (it).'

11. *Hamu-pto-y-raaq ŋuqa-qa mana-m lluqui-raqa-chu.* AMV
    'Not until I came did she leave.' (= 'Until I came, she didn't leave.')

    'Until it's day time, my cow won't let herself be milked.'

    'When you have it passed over you, when it makes you sweat, it's possible it could remove it.'

*Payqa rikunñash warmin saqiruptin rikunshi.
He left, they say, because his wife abandoned him, left, they say.

'El ya se fue, dice, por lo que su mujer lo dejó, se fue, dice'.

(Madean_7Fields, 04:27-32)

4.3.6.2 Same-Subjects -shpa

-shpa is employed when the subjects in the main and subordinated clauses are identical and the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with the event of the main clause (1); the event of the subordinated clause may, however, precede that of the main clause (2). -shpa subordinates do not inflect for person.35 -shpa can generally be translated with a gerund (3), as 'when' (4) or, less often, 'if' (5). Negated, V-shpa can be translated 'without' (6), 'although' (7) or 'despite'. -shpa may attach to coordinated verbs (8), (9). Only Cacra uses the QI -r in place of the QII -shpa (10)-(15).

(1). Chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa.LT
"Chit-chitting," the goats just left.'

(2). Familya-nchik-ta wañu-ri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n.SP
"After they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.'

(3)*. Tragu-wan, kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni.AMV
"With liquor and coca, making them dance, I harvest.'

(4). Kustumbraviu-shpa hawka-m yatra-ku-nchik kay-pa-hina.AMV
"When we adjust, we live peacefully, like here.'

(5)*. Kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta.AMV
"If I come back, I'll come back in two or three years.'

(6). Mana yanu-shpa-lla-m likwa-ru-nchik.AMV
"Without boiling it, we liquify it.'

(7). Qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki.ACH
"Although you earn money and save it in the bank'

(8). Kulur-cha-kuna-ta kay-na trura-shpa gawa-shpa ŋaka-ri-ni.AMV
"Looking, putting the colors like this, I suffer.'

"Chewing coca, smoking cigarettes, you go on until the night.'

(10). Vaka-ta harka-nchik puchka-shpa millwa-ta puchka-puchka-shpa AMV
"We herd the cows spinning – spinning and spinning wool.'

(11). Kuti-mu-shpa-qa kay-na baldi-lla-wan apaku-shqa ni-wa-n.LT
"When I come back, I'll bring them like this, with just a bucket," he said to me.'

(12). Hinashpa maska-shpa puri-ya-:.ACH
"Then I’m walking around looking for them.'

(13). Wirta-man yaayu-ru-shpa klavil-ta lliw usha-ru-sa-ø.SP
"Entering the garden, he left all the carnations discarded on the ground.'

35 shpa appears 1432 times in the corpus; in three instances it is inflected for person. In elicitation, speakers very adamantly reject the use of personal affixes after -shpa.
Like this, tying it to our waists with a manta we plant seeds.'

'Like this, tying it to our waists with a manta we plant seeds.'

'Crying, the fox went to the countryside.'

'We live however we can, although we're crying … laughing … however we can.'

'Gathering wood, burning ash, we lived up [in the mountains].'

'Those poor sheep are giving birth even as the walk.'

'Bringing the boys [home], their hands tied, she sent them for firewood.'

'His child [came out] of school eating.'

"A zombie is behind me!" he was coming crying.

'Crying, they are bringing flowers.'
Waqa-ku-shtin tristi-m ñuqa-nchik-qa kida-ra-nchik ñuqa mama-:-.SP
','Crying, sad, we stayed, my mother and I.'

4.3.6.4 Limitative -kama

Limitative. In combination with the nominalizer -na and allocation inflection, kama forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to either is either simultaneous with (1) or limits (2)-(9) the event referred to in the main clause.

(1)*. Mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kama-m. AMV
'I didn't keep watch while I was sleeping.'

(2). Taksa-lla taksa-lla-pi-ta-qa tarpu-ku-ni, mana hatu hatun-pi-chu. Yaku ka-na-n-kama-lla. AMV
'I plant in just small, small [fields], not in really big ones. While/as long as there's water.'

(3). Wak wambra-kuna wawa-ru-na-n-kama-m maqta-ta qati-katra-n. AMV
'Until they they have babies, those girls chase after men.'

(4)*. Chay-tri wañu-q qari-n wañu-na-n-kama-m maqa-rqa. AMV
'That's why her late husband beat her until she died.'

(5). Traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama-puri-nchik. AMV
'We walked until blisters formed on the souls of our feet.'

(6). Apuraw miku-na-n-kama turu-qa kay-na tuksi-ri-ku-sa-o-SP
'Until the bull ate quickly, she pricked him like this.'

(7). Alma-qa wañu-na-n-kama pampa-man saqa-ru-n. AMV
'The ghost fell to the floor, to his death.'

(8). Chay-traw wata-sha asta watra-chi-na-n-kaman. CH
'[She was] tied up there until she had a baby.'

(9). Traya-na-y-kama ya hina-lla ka-ku-n. LT
'He's like that until I arrive.'

Mana vilakuranichu puñunaykamam.
mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kama-m
no guard-REFL-PST-1-NEG sleep-NMLZ-1-LIM-EVD
'I didn't keep watch while I was sleeping.'
'No he velado mientras me quedé dormido'.
(Vinac_MG_Wanka, 02:00-02)

Chaytri wañuq gariñ wañunankamam maqarqa.
chay-tri wañu-q qari-n wañu-na-n-kama-m maqa-rqa-Ø
DEM.D-EVC die-AG man-3 die-NMLZ-3-LIM-EVD beat-PST-3
'That's why her late husband beat her until she died'.
'Por eso su1 esposo finado la2 pegaba hasta que muera2'.
(Llanka_BC_LostCow_Milking, 01:40-43)
4.4 Verb Derivation

Five affixes derive verbs from substantives: factive -cha, reflexive -ku, simulative -tuku, inchoative -ya. Additionally, two verbs can affix to nouns to derive verbs: -na 'do, act' and naya- 'give desire'.

Table 26. Affixes Deriving Verbs from Substantives, with Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cha</td>
<td>factive</td>
<td>Mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa.</td>
<td>'Now his mother is going to dirty it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>Qishta-ku-ru-n.</td>
<td>'They made a nest.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tuku</td>
<td>simulative</td>
<td>Atrqray-shi huvin-tuku-sa.</td>
<td>'The eagle disguised himself as a young man.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
<td>Puntraw-ya-ru-n.</td>
<td>'It dawned.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>'do'</td>
<td>Ima-na-ku-shaq-taq mana kay pacha muna-wa-na-n-paq?</td>
<td>'What am I going to do so that this earth won't want me?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naya-</td>
<td>'give desire'</td>
<td>Pashña-naya-shunki.</td>
<td>'You want a girl.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A set of eighteen affixes derives verbs from verbs. These are: -cha (diminutive); -chi (causative); -ka (passive, accidental); -katra (frequentive); -kU (reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive, completive); -lla (restrictive, limitative); -mu (cislocative, translocative); -na (reciprocal); -naya (sensual or psychological necessity); -pa (repetitive); -pU (benefactive); -pUkU (mutual benefit, pluralizer); -ra (uninterrupted action); -Ri (inceptive); -RU (action with urgency or personal interest, completive); -shi (accompaniment); -ya (intensifying); and -YkU (exceptional performance).

Subsections (4.4.1) and (4.4.2) cover affixes deriving verbs from substantives and from other verbs, respectively.

4.4.1 Affixes Deriving Verbs from Substantives

The affixes deriving verbs from substantives are: factive -cha, reflexive -ku, simulative -tuku, and inchoative -ya. Subsections (4.4.1.1)-(4.4.1.4) cover each of these in turn.

4.4.1.1 Factive -cha

Factive. -cha affixes to adjectives and nouns, deriving verbs with the meanings 'to make A' (qatra-
cha- 'to make dirty') (1)-(5), 'to make N' or 'to make into N' (siru-cha- 'form a hill') (6)-(8), 'to locate something in N' (kustal-cha- 'to put into sacks') (9), 'to locate N in/on something' (10), 'to remove N' (usa-cha 'to remove lice', qiwa-cha 'to remove weeds').

(1). *Mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa pawakatra-shpa.* AMV 'Now his mother is going to make it dirty jumping.'

(2). *Hatun-cha-nqa-tri kay.* AMV 'This one is going to make it big.'

(3). *Qali paqwa-lu-n alli-cha-lu-.* CH 'The men finished and we fixed it up.'

(4). *Cañete-man alli-cha-ra-choru-nki kay-pi-tr sigura-na-y-paq-qa.* LT 'You're going to have that fixed in Cañete to be able to insure yourself here.'

(5). *Tristi-cha-ya-n niraq kurusun-ni-qa.* SP 'It's forming a hill like that.'

(6). *Chay-na siru-cha-ru-n.* AMV 'They put llampu on his yoke.'

(7). *Utrku-cha-sa watu-cha-yuq.* AMV 'A hole bored in it, with its rope.'

(8). *Parti-cha-yu-qa-chakki.* AMV 'When she breaks it into parts – dry, dry!'

(9). *Kustal-cha-ya-n papa-ta-m.* AMV 'She's bagging potatoes.'

(10). *Chay turu-qa-llampu-cha-yu-qa-man.* AMV 'They put llampu on his yoke.'

Maman kanan qatraccharunga pawakattrashpa.
mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa pawakatra-shpa mother-3 now dirty-FACT-URGT-3.FUT jump-FREQ-SUBIS 'Now his mother is going to dirty it jumping and jumping.'

'Su madre ahora lo va a ensuciar saltando y saltando'.

(Llanka_BC_LostCow_Milking, 02:27-30)

4.4.1.2 Reflexive -ku

Reflexive. Affixing to nouns referring to objects, -ku may derive verbs with the meaning 'to make/prepare N' (qisha-ku- 'to make a nest') (1)-(3); affixing specifically to nouns referring to clothing and other items that can be placed on a person's body, -ku derives verbs with the meaning 'to put on N' (kata-ku 'put on a manta') (4)-(6); affixing to adjectives referring to human states – angry, guilty, envious – A-ku has the meaning 'to become A' (piña-ku- 'to become angry') (7), (8). -ku derivation is very productive and can be idiosyncratic (llulla-ku 'tell a lie', midida-ku 'measure') (9), (10).

(1). *Idad-ni-ki-paq wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huklla-ita-s.* ACH 'You should make [have] a baby, at least one, for your old age.'

(2). *Misa-ku-n. Mana-m kasu-n-chu misata.* AMV 'She's making [holding] mass. They don't pay attention to mass.'
(3). Qanipnas ... hira-ku-ru-n. ACH

'The last time, they made [held] an herranza.'

(4). Wala-ku-yku-ru-shaq. AMV

'I'm going to put on my skirt'.

(5). Mana-sh wayta-ku-nchik-AMV

'You don't put flowers on your hat [on All Saints' Day], they say.'

(6). Kundinaw-kuna puri-ra kadina-ku-sa. Unay-qaa. SP

'Zombies wandered around with chains on. Before.'

(7). Kumuda-ku-ru-n. AMV

'He's made himself comfortable.'

(8). ¡Kurri! Qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari. LT

'Run! You must be getting lazy.'

(9). Mana-m mansu-chu – yatran waqra-ku-yta-AMV

'He's not tame – he can horn [gore] people.'

(10). Karru-wan ... silla-ku-yku-shpa-m ri-ya-nchik. SP

'In a car ... [it's like] we're riding horseback in a saddle.'

4.4.1.3 Simulative -tuku

Simulative. Affixing to nouns, -tuku derives verbs with the meaning 'to pretend to be N' or 'to become N' (maqta-tuku- 'pretend to be a young man) (1)-(4).

(1). Atrqray-shi huvin-tuku-sa. AMV

'The eagle, they say, disguised himself as a young man.'

(2)*. Chay ukucha ka-sa – maqta-tuku-shpa. AMV

'It was a rat pretending to be a man.'

(3). ¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Qam ingaña-ma-la-nki qali-tuku-shpa!"CH

'"Shameless bastard! You fooled me pretending to be a man!"'

(4). Wak wañu-q wañu-ru-n. Pursabir asnu-qa wañu-q-tuku-ru-n. AMV

'That "dead" one died. Out of curiosity, the donkey had pretended to be dead.'

Chay ukucha kasa maqta-tukushpa.

chay ukucha ka-sa-o maqta-tuku-shpa
DEM.D mouse be-NPST-3 young.man-COMP-SUBIS
'It was a rat pretending to be a man.'

'Era un ratón vistiéndose de hombre'.
(Shutco_MG_Frog_Dog_Mouse_Bird, 00:47-49)

4.4.1.4 Inchoative -ya

Inchoative. -ya affixes to nouns and adjectives to derive verbs meaning 'to become N' (rumi-ya 'petrify') (1), (2), 'to become A' (alli-ya 'get well') (3)-(10), and 'to perform a characteristic action with N' (kwahu-ya 'add curdling agent').
1. *Puntraw-ya-ru-pti-n-qa.LT*  
When it becomes day [dawns].

2. *Huk-ya-ru-ni.LT*  
'I joined them.'

3. *Siyrumpi-mi-k chay rumi-kuna-mi-k yana-ya-sa ka-ya-n. AMV*  
'It's true – even the stones turn black there.'

4. *Vaka-m qillu-ya-ra-chi-n shimi-lla-n-taraq. AMV*  
The cows turned their mouths yellow.

5. *Chay-kuna-wan-tri alli-ya-ru-rqa.AMV*  
'With those, it would have got better.'

6. *Mana-m wambra-yki-qa alli-ya-nqa-chu ni-ni.LT*  
"Your son isn't going to get better," I said.

'It's already hard. When it gets hard, we put it in the mold.'

'When you die, who's going to see to you? Or when you get old?'

9. *Huk-vida-ta-m luku-ya-ru-n runa-la:- mana-m puñu-y-ta atipa-ra-ø-chu.ACH*  
'My husband went really crazy – he couldn't sleep.'

10. *Havlq-lla-pa-m qam-taq wira-ya-chi-sayki ni-ni.ACH*  
'I'm going to fatten you up in a cage!' she said.

Chaykunawantri alliyarurqa.  
chay-kuna-wan-tri alli-ya-ru-rqa-o  
DEM.D-PL-INSTR-EVC good-INCH-URGT-PST-3  
'With those, for sure, it would have got better.'  
'Con eso todo, seguro, habrá aliviado'.  
(Vinac _JC_Cure, 14:03-06)

4.4.1.5 'To do' *na-*

na- – 'to do', 'to act', 'to keep doing', 'to keep acting' – following a demonstrative pronoun yields a transitive verb meaning 'to be thus' (1), (2) or 'to do thus' (3). Following the interrogative indefinite *ima* 'what' it yields a transitive verb, *imana-*, meaning 'to do something' (4)-(7), 'to happen to' (8).

1. *Mana hampi-chi-pti-ki-qa chay-na-nqa-m. AMV*  
If you don't have her cured, it's going to be like that.'

2. *Qayna puntraw chay-na-n para-ru-n tardi usya-ri-ru-n. AMV*  
'Yesterday it was like that – it rained and in the afternoon it cleared up.'

3. *Mana apuraw alli-ya-na-n-chik-paq-mi, qatra shakash chay-na-n. AMV*  
'So that you don't get better quickly, the filthy guinea pig goes like that.'

'The old woman touched [their arms]. What are they going to do? They let her touch their arms.'

What am I going to do so that this earth won't want me?

¿Qué voy a hacer para que no me quiera esta tierra?

(Vinac_JC_Cure, 22:43-47)

4.4.1.6 Sensual and psychological necessity naya-

Sensual or psychological necessity. naya- – 'to give desire' – affixing to a noun derives a verb meaning 'to give the desire for N' (1)-(4).

(1)*. Pashña-naya-shunki. †AMV

'You want a girl.'

(2). Yaku-naya:-ma-n. †ACH, CH

'I want water', 'I'm thirsty.'

(3). Mishki-naya-ru-wa-n. AMV

'I want to eat fruit.'

(4). "Yaku-naya-wa-n-mi", ni-n runa-qa. Chayshi wambra-n-ta ni-n, "¡Yaku-ta apamu-y!

'The person said, "I'm thirsty." So he said to his child, "Bring water!"

Pashña-naya-shunki.

girl-DESR-3>2

'You want a girl.'

'Se te está antojando una chica'.

(Viñac, DC)

4.4.2 Verbs Derived from Verbs

A set of twenty affixes derives verbs from verbs. In the literature on Quechuan languages the members of this set are generally referred to as the "modal" affixes. They are: -cha (diminutive); -chi (causative); -ka (passive, accidental); -katra (frequentive); -kU (reflexive, middle, medio-
passive, passive); -lla (restrictive, limitative), -mu (cislocative, translocative); -na (reciprocal); -naya (sensual or psychological necessity); -pa (repetitive); -pa(;)kU (joint action); -pU (benefactive); -pUKU (mutual benefit); -Ra (uninterrupted action); -Ri (inceptive); -RU (action with urgency or personal interest, completive); -shi (accompaniment); -tamu (irreversible); -ya (intensifier); and -YkU (exceptional performance). "Modal" seems to be a grab-bag category, referring to any affix that succeeds the root and preceeds inflection for tense and person. Of the twenty, arguably only four – causative -chi, reflexive -ku, reciprocal -na, and sensual/psychological necessity -naya – actually change the root's theta structure and derive new lexical items. The rest either function adverbally or specify aspect. In the former class are diminutive -cha, passive/accidental -ka, restrictive -lla, cislocative -mu, joint action -pa(;)ku, benefactive -pUKU, urgent -RU, intensifying -ya, and exceptional performance -YkU; in the latter class are frequentive -katra, repetitive -pa, uninterrupted -Ra, inceptive -Ri, completive -Ru, and terminative -tamu.

-cha (diminutive) indicates action performed by a child or in the manner of a child or action of little importance (puklla-cha- 'play (like a child)'). It may also indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker (not attested in the CH dialect).

-chi (causative) derives verbs with the meaning 'cause V' or 'permit V' (wañu-chi- 'kill' (lit. 'make die')). Compounded with reflexive -ku, -chi derives verbs with the meaning 'cause one's self to V' or 'cause one's self to be V-ed' (yanapa-chi-ku- 'get one's self helped').

-ka (passive/accidental) indicates that the event referred to is not under the control either of a participant in that event or of the speaker (puñu-ka- 'fall asleep').

-katra (frequentive) indicates slow, extended, or repetitive action (kurri-katra- 'to run around and around').

-kU (reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive, completive) derives verbs with the meanings 'V one's self' (mancha-ku- 'get scared'), 'be V-ed' (pampa-ku- 'be buried'), and 'V-ed' (ri-ku- 'went').

-lla (restrictive, limitative) indicates that the event referred to remains limited to itself and is not accompanied by other events (lluqsi-lla- 'just leave').

-mu (cislocative, translocative). In the case of verbs involving motion, -mu indicates motion toward the speaker or toward a place which is indicated by the speaker (apa-mu- 'bring here'). In the case of
verbs that do not involve motion, -mu indicates that the event referred to occurs at a place being described by the speaker (para-mu 'rain (there)').

-na, -nakU, -chinakU (reciprocal) derives verbs with the meaning 'V each other' and 'cause each other to V' (willa-naku- 'tell each other', willa-chi-naku- 'cause each other to tell').

-naya (sensual or psychological necessity). naya- is an intransitive verb meaning 'to give desire'. In combination with a verb stem, it yields a compound verb meaning 'to give the desire to V' (miku-naya-wa-n 'I'm hungry' (lit. it gives me desire to eat')).

-pa (repetitive) derives verbs with the meaning 're-V' or 'repeatedly V' (tarpu-pa- 're-seed').

-pa(:)kU (joint action) indicates joint action by a plurality of individuals.

-pU (benefactive) indicates that an action is performed on behalf – or to the detriment – of someone other than the subject (pripara-pu- 'prepare (for s.o. else)').

-pUkU (mutual benefit). -pUkU indicates action performed to the mutual benefit of the participants in the event referred to (aku-paku- 'chew coca (in company with others)'). -pUkU also frequently indicate actions performed as a means or preparation for something else more important (including all remunerated labor) (awa-paku- 'weave (for others to make money)').

-Ra (uninterrupted action) derives verbs with the meaning 'continue to V' (qawa-ra- 'look at persistently').

-Ri (inceptive) derives verbs meaning 'begin to V' (shinka-ri- 'begin to get drunk'). It may also have a perfective interpretation (see section 4.3.5.2).

-RU (action with urgency or personal interest (ri-ru- 'go (right away)'). Very frequently used completive interpretation (kani-ru-n 'bit').

-shi (accompaniment) derives verbs meaning 'accompany in V-ing' or 'help V' (harka-shi- 'help herd').

-tamu (irreversible) indicates an irreversible change of state (wañu-tamu- 'die').
-ya (intensive). -ya is dependent, never occurring independent of -ra or -pa.

-raya derives passive from transitive verbs; that is, -raya derives verbs meaning 'be V-ed' (wata-raya- 'be tied').

-paya derives verbs meaning 'continue to V' (trabaha-paya- 'continue to work').

-YkU (exceptional). -YkU indicates action performed in some way different from usual. -YkU has a broad range of meanings.

Table 27. "Modal" (Verb-Verb Derivational) Affixes, with Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cha</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
<td>Wilka-y-ta puklla-cha-ya-n qawa-yku-ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>passive/accidental</td>
<td>Puñu-ka-ru-n-mi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-katra</td>
<td>frequentive</td>
<td>Pawa-katra-shpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kU</td>
<td>reflexive,passive</td>
<td>Mancha-ku-nchik runa wanu-y-paq ka-pi-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lla</td>
<td>restrictive</td>
<td>Wak runa-qa wamaq-ta piliya-kulla-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>cislocative</td>
<td>Qati-mu-shaq kay-man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naku</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>Kay visinu-kuna-qa dinunsiya-naku-n maga-naku-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chinaku</td>
<td>causal-reciprocal</td>
<td>Kuka-n-kuna-qa muyu-yka-chinaku-shpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naya</td>
<td>sensual/psych necessity</td>
<td>Ishpa-naya-wa-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>Qawa-pa- yku-pii-n-ña-taq-shi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa(:)ku</td>
<td>joint action</td>
<td>Tari-pa:ku-n-man-pis ka-raqa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pU</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>Chay-lla-pa pripara-pu-nki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pUkU</td>
<td>mutual benefit</td>
<td>Aa, kuka-n-kuna-qa aku-paku-nchik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ra</td>
<td>uninterrupted</td>
<td>¿Ima-ta-m qawa-ra-ya-nki?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
<td>Warmi-kuna-qa shinka-ri-shpa ... waqa-n.AMV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-RU</td>
<td>urgency,completive</td>
<td>Miku-ru-shunki wak kundinaw-qa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I looked at my grandson playing.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I made him drink urine.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'She has fallen asleep.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'jumping and jumping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'We get scared when people die.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Those people fight too much, they just fight.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I'm going to bring it over here.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The neighbors denounce each other, they hit each other.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Making their coca circulate among themselves.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'I want to urinate.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'If he's looking every second.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'They might have found him.'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Just there prepare it for me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'Ah, we chew coca together.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'What are you looking at (persistently)?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'When the women [start to] get drunk ... they cry.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'(Careful!) that zombie will eat you.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Harka-shi-sa-oki-m", ni-n.  "I'm going to help you pasture," he said.'

Wañu-tamu-sha qari-qa.  'The man died.'

Wak vaka wata-rama-n.  'That cow is tied up.'

Miku-paya-chi-ram-n.  'She continues feeding me.'

Kay-lila-pi, Señor, tiya-yku-ram.  'Right here, Sir, please have a seat.'

Subsections (4.4.2.3.01)-(4.4.2.3.19) cover each of these affixes in turn. -kama (limitative) and -ya (progressive) are, in grammars of other Quechuas, often included in the list of VV derivational affixes. There are good arguments for not including these affixes among the derivational affixes. -kama attaches not to verbs but to nominalized verbs, and, further, the derived structure does not inflect as a verb but functions as a subordinator. For these reasons, here, -kama is classed as a subordinator (see section 4.3.7.4). -ya is progressive. Here, it is treated as an aspectual morpheme and classed with the inflectional affixes (see section 4.3.5.1).

**4.4.2.1 Distribution of Modal affixes**

The default order of modal affixes is given in Table 28 below. Although this order is generally rigid, some affixes show optional order when appearing consecutively. Causative -chi is likely the most mobile of the modal affixes; change in its placement results in a change in verb meaning (wañu-chi-naya-wa-n 'it makes me want to kill' wañu-naya-chi-wa-n 'it makes me feel like I want to die' (example from Albó 1964, as cited in Cerrón-Palomino 1987:284). -chi and progressive -ya regularly commute (1), (2), as do exceptional -ykU and reflexive -kU (3), (4). Some combinations are not possible. Although some combinations are, arguably, precluded for pragmatic reasons (i.e., they would denote highly unlikely or even impossible states or events), the exclusion of others seems arbitrary and begs other accounts (5).

Table 28. Default Order of Modal Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka</th>
<th>pa</th>
<th>Ra</th>
<th>ya</th>
<th>katra</th>
<th>cha</th>
<th>Ri</th>
<th>ykU</th>
<th>RU</th>
<th>chi</th>
<th>shi</th>
<th>pU</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>kU</th>
<th>(ya)</th>
<th>mu</th>
<th>lla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1). *Llampu-ta yá. Llampu-ta miku-yka-ya-chi-n shakash-ta.* AMV 'Llampu. He's making the guinea pig eat the llampu.'

(2). *Mana suliya-sa ka-pti-n-qa wak-ta suliya-chi-ya-nchik.* AMV 'A little. When it hasn't been sunned, we sun it.'

(3). *Ima kuchilla-wan-pis ima-wan-pis apunta-yku-ku-shpa kay-hina kuri-ya-mu-n.* ACH 'With a knife or whatever. Taking aim [at us] they're running like this.'
4.4.2.2 Morphophonemics

Table 29. Modal Affixes – Morphophonemics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>morpheme</th>
<th>realized as</th>
<th>before</th>
<th>Elsewhere as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kU</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ma₁OBJ -mu</td>
<td>-chi -ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pU</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-ma₁OBJ -mu -kU</td>
<td>-pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-RU</td>
<td>-Ra</td>
<td>-ma₁OBJ -mu -kU -pU</td>
<td>-chi -Ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ykU</td>
<td>-yka</td>
<td>-ma₁OBJ -mu</td>
<td>-pU -chi -yku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the first-person-object affix -ma (1) and the cislocative affix -mu (2) trigger the lowering of a preceding vowel -U- to -a-; causative affix -chi does so as well in case it precedes -kU, -RU, or -ykU (3). Additionally, in SYQ, both -pU and -kU trigger vowel lowering, the first with -RU (4) and -ykU (5); the second with -RU (6) and -pU (7).

(1)*. Chay gwardya paqarin-ni-n-taq kay-paq traya-ra-mu-n.SP
'The next day the judge arrived here.'

(2). Maki-y-ta ŋuqa-qa paqa-ka-ra-mu-ni-ña-m.AMV
'I've already washed my hands.'

(3). Wirya-ya-yka-chi-shpa-m qam-ta-qa miku-shunki.ACH
'After she's fattened you up, she's going to eat you.'

(4). Tapu-mu-piti-n traski-ra-pa-mu-wa-y hinashpa all÷-cha-ra-pu-wa-y.AMV
'When he asks, receive it for me then put it in order it for me.'

(5). Chay-ta-tri-k indika-yka-pu-wa-nki.AMV
'You're going to point that out to me.'

(6). Kasa-qa-ka-: kay-lla-pa-m.ACH
'I got married right here.'

(7). Wak warmi-qa wawa-pa-ku-ru-sa-ø-m.AMV
"That woman gave birth to an illegitimate child."

W. Adelaar (p.c.) points out that that “the morphophonemic vowel lowering presented [here] is not locally restricted.” In miku-yka-y-a-chi-n, for example, he writes, -ykU- is apparently modified to -yka- under the influence of a non-adjacent suffix -chi-; and in ushtichi-ka-la-mu-y, -kU is apparently modified to -ka under the influence of the non-adjacent -mu. In these and similar cases, SYQ patterns with the Central Peruvian Quechua I, writes Adelaar. He suggests that this non-local
vowel lowering may be an archaic feature since Southern Peruvian Quechua does not have it.

### 4.4.2.3 Individual Derivational and Complementary Affixes

#### 4.4.2.3.01 Diminutive -cha

Diminutive. -cha indicates action performed by a child or in the manner of a child (1) or action of little importance. May also indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker (2), (3). Not attested in the CH dialect.

1. *Chay willka-y-ta uchuk-lla puklla-cha-ya-n qawa-yku-ni.AMV*  "I looked at my little grandson playing.'
2. *¿Ima-ta-taq ruwa-ya-n pay? Graba-cha-ya-n.AMV*  "What is she doing? Recording.'
3. *Kanan nasi-cha-ra-mu-n-ña.AMV*  'She's already born now.'

*(Vinac_DC_ShiningPath_Disappeared, 03:29-32)*

#### 4.4.2.3.02 Causative -chi, -chiku

Causative. -chi indicates that the subject causes or permits an action on the part of another participant; that is, -chi derives verbs with the meaning 'cause to V' (1)-(11). Compounded with reflexive -ku, -chi indicates that the actor causes him/herself to act or causes or permits another to act on him/her; that is, -chiku derives verbs with the meaning 'cause one's self to V', or 'cause or permit one's self to be V-ed' (12)-(16).

1. *Chay ta Madri-ta anuta-chi-ku-ni.AMV*  "I had the nun write that down.'
2. *Ishpay-cha-ta tuma-ra-chi-rqa-ni.AMV*  'I made/had him drink urine.'
3. *¿Ima-sh waqa-chi-shunki? ¿Ayvis waqa-nkichi?ACH*  'What makes you cry, she asks? Do you cry sometimes?'
4. *Kichwa-ta uyari-y kumprindi-chi-na-yki-paq.SP*  'Hear Quechua – so you can make them understand.'
5. *Ishcha-lla-ta-ña shutu-yka-chi-y-man ¿aw?*  'I have to make it drip just a little, right?"
(6). Kay-pa witra-yka-chi-mu-nki. AMV

(7). Ńaka-y-ya-chi-wa-n-mi. AMV

(8). Chay-mi hishpi-chi-ma-ra-ø. SP

(9). Chay-mi diskuti-ru-ra-: Ńuqa kay uray. Ishkay-ta wahu-ra-chi-ra-ø. SP

(10). Chay-tri-k Humbala-kta rispita-n – wañu-la-chi-nqa. CH

(11). Pipu-ku-n pay-qa urqu-ta maska-ku-q vikuña-cha-ta wakcha-ku-q wambra-n-ta-m miku-chi-ku-na-n-paq kashñi-ta. LT

(12). Chawa-chi-ku-n-chu mana-yá vaka. AMV

(13). Chiri-ru-shpa-qa mana-ña-m llushti-chi-ku-n-chu. AMV

(14)*. Qipi-ra-chi-ku-sa chay pashña-qa. AMV

(15). Yanapa-chi-ku-nki. AMV

(16). Wak alfaris-kuka-n-ta-ñu-m muyu-ya-chi-ku-n. AMV

Ishpaychata tumarachirqani.

ishpa-y-cha-ta tuma-ra-chi-rqa-ni

'u made him drink urine.'

'Le hice tomar orines'.

(Vinac_HQ_Lamb_NewYear, 00:46-49)

Hinaptinñataqshi qipirachikusa chay pashñaqa.

hinaptin-ña-taq-shi qipi-ra-chi-ku-sa-ø chay pashña-qa

'then, they say, the girl got herself carried.'

'Despúes, dicen, la chica se hizo cargar'.

(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 00:35-39)

4.4.2.3.03 Passive/Accidental -ka

Passive, accidental. -ka indicates that the event referred to is not under the control either of a participant in that event or of the speaker (1)-(9).

(1). Puñu-ka-ru-n-mi.

'She has fallen asleep.'

(2)*. Pasaypaq punki-sa puri-rqa. Qapari-ka-shtin ri-n ni-n-mi. AMV

'He was walking totally swollen. He was shouting [despite himself].'
Suyñu-ka-ya-nchik runa-lla-ta fiyu-lla-ta-ña.

'Estamos soñando feo a la gente'.

We're having terrible dreams about the people.'

4.4.2.3.04 Frequentive -katra

Frequentive. -katra indicates slow, extended (1)-(3), or repetitive (4)-(10) action.

(1). Qawa-katra-ya-n AMV

'She's staring', 'She's looking around.'

(2). Mana wayra-ku-na-yki-paq kay-na-cha-m apa-katra-ku-nki. AMV

'So that you don't get bad air [sick], you'll carry along some just like this.'

(3). Yaku-ta puri-pa-katra-na-n-paq wak-qa bali-ya-n.LT

'That's only good so that the water will flow.'

(4). Killa-ntin killa-ntin maska-ni tapu-katra-shpa. AMV

'I looked for him for months and months, asking and asking.'

(5). Runa suyñu-ni-nchik-pa qati-katra-ya-

'In our dreams, a person is chasing us.'
"Carry me! I want to get down!" she shouted again and again.

'When I had your late uncle passed over wasn't the guinea pig was screaming and screaming, "Wichikwichikwichik"?'

'It must have heated him up. He shouted and shouted. He started to throw up, they say.'

'Then he called several times. "Grandfather Prudencio! Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!"

'I looked for him for months and months, asking and asking.'

'Meses y meses estaba buscando, preguntando y preguntando'.

Reflexive, Middle, Medio-Passive, Passive -kU

Reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive. -kU indicates that the subject acts on him/herself or that the subject of the verb is the object of the event referred to; that is, -kU derives verbs with the meanings 'V one's self' (1)-(3), and 'be V-ed' (4)-(5). -kU often functions as a dative of interest, indicating that the subject has some particular interest in the event referred to (6), (7). -kU is used with impersonal weather verbs (8); it can indicate completed action (a completed or more or less irreversible change of state) (9) (see section 4.3.5.3 on perfective -ku); and excess of action (10)-(12). -ku appears in reflexive verbs borrowed from Spanish, translating the Spanish pronouns me, te, se, and nos (13), (14). Preceding any of the derivational affixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional affix -ma, -kU is realized as -ka (3), (6).

(1)* Kiki-n-pis Campiona-ku-ru-n.AMV

'They themselves Campioned themselves [took Campión rat poison].

(2) Kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta traya-ra-mu-n.AMV

'Condemning himself [becoming a zombie], he arrived at the girl's place at night.'

(3) ¡Ushtichi-ka-la-mu-y haku-yki-kta!CH

'Go put your jacket on [yourself]!'

(4) Mana-m huya-ku-:-chu. Mana-m ima-pis mancha-chi-ma-n-chu.CH

'I wasn't scared. Nothing makes me scared.'
(5).  *Pampa-ku-ru-n chay-shi-AmV*  

'He was buried, they say.'

(6)*.  *Kay inbidyusu wawqin, "¡Suwa-ka-mu-ranki tuta!" ni-shpa.LT*  

'His jealous brother said, "You stole those at night!"'

(7).  *Mashwa-kuna ulluku-kuna-kta-m ayvis talpu-ku-nchik.CH*  

'Sometimes we plant mashua and olluca and all.'

(8).  *Wayra-ku-yan-m-ari. Wayra-ku-ya-n, qasa-ku-ya-n, rupa-ku-ya-n. AMV*  

'(The wind) is wind-ing'  

'It's windy, it's freezing, it's hot.'

(9).  *Trapu-ta-qa apa-ri-ku-shpa pasa-ku-n.SP*  

'Taking along the rag, she left.'

(10).  *Kashtu-ku-ya-n.AMV*  

'He's chewing a lot.'

(11).  *Tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n. Mana-m ſuqa-kuna-qa gusta-ma-n-chu chay-qa tantu.CH*  

'They're watching television [a lot]... We don't like that too much.'

(12).  *Shunqu nana-y-ta waqa-ku-ya-n.†AMV*  

'She is weeping with grief' 'She is weeping her heart out.'

(13).  *Mana-ña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-ña-chu.LT*  

'We can no longer realize it'  

Sp: 'Ya no podemos darnos cuenta.'

(14).  *Iskapa-ku-shaq may-man-pis.CH*  

'"I'm going escape to where ever.'  

Sp.: 'me voy a escapar'

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**Kiki-n-pis Campiona-ku-ru-n.**  

kiki-n-pis  Campiona-ku-ru-n  

self-3-ADD  take.Campión.rat.poison-REFL-URGT-3  

'They themselves Campioned themselves' [took Campión rat poison].  

'Ellos mismos se Campionaron'. [tomaron el veneno Campion]  

(Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos, 55:13-16)

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**Kay inbidyusu wawqin, "¡Suwakamuranki tuta!" nishpa.**  

kay inbidyusu wawqin  suwa-ka-mu-ra-nki  tuta  ni-shpa  

DEM.P  jealous  brother-3  steal-REFL-CISL-PST-2  night  say-SUBIS  

'The jealous brother said, "You stole those at night!"'  

'Su hermano invidioso dijo, "¡Los robaste de noche!"'  

(Lincha_NF_Deer 04:41-46)

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**4.4.2.3.06  Restrictive, Limitative -lla**

Restrictive, limitative. -lla indicates that the event referred to remains limited to itself and is not accompanied by other events (1)-(3). It may also express (a) an affectionate or familiar attitude toward the event (4), (5) or event participants (6); (b) regret with regard to the event (7), (8); or (c) pity for event participants (9)-(11). Or some combination of any of these.

(1).  *Wak runa-qa wama waqa-ta-m piliya-ku-lla-n.AMV*  

'Those people fight too much, do nothing but fight.'
Alkansa-hti-n, "¡Suya-yku-lla-wa-y!" ni-shpa.AMV

"When he caught up to her, he said, "Just wait for me!"

Hinaptin-ña huk atrgay pasa-n ismo atrgay. "¡Qipi-ra-ma-lla-y!" "¡Mana-m tiympu ka-n-chu!" SP

"Then a hawk passed by, a dark brown hawk. "Just carry me!" [the girl pleaded]. [The hawk replied.] "There's no time."

Fiysta-pa tushu-ku-nki. Kanan irransa ka-ku-lla-naq-try-ki.AMV

"You'll dance at the festival. Now there's going to be an herranza, for sure."

Aspirina-kuna-ta qayna puntraw apa-mu-lla-wa-n qaqu-wa-n traki-y-ta.AMV

"She brought me aspirin and everything yesterday and she rubbed my foot."

Tiya-y Shatu asi-ku-lla-qi. Wama wamaq ka-ku-lla-rqa!AMV

"My Aunt Shatu would just laugh. She was too much!"

Shunqu-y hunta llaki-yuq-ta-m saqi-lla-sqayki; ñawi-y hunta wiqi-yuq-ta-m diha-lla-sqayki.AMV

"My heart full of sadness I'm going to abandon you; my eye full of tears, I'm going to leave you."

Chay pubri-kuna-qa mana ima-ta-s yatra-n-chu. Qullqi-ta-pis falsu-ta-pis traski-lla-n.ACH

"Those poor people don't know anything. They accept counterfeit money [poor things]."

Chay wawa-kuna kida-n hukvida tristi sapa-n. Runa-pa-m maki-n-pa-ña yatra-ku-lla-n.ACH

"Those children remain really sad, alone. They live out of other people's hands."

Chitchityaku-shpa riku-lla-n kabara-kuna-qa.LT

"'Chit-chitting,' [the children] left [having turned into] goats."

Qari-gari-lla-raq-chu qari-gari-lla-raq-mi ni-ya-taq ni-ya-lla-n hinashpa wañu-ku-n.SP

"'Still brave and strong?' "Yes, still brave and strong!' he said for the sake of saying and died.'
Ishkay killanta papaniy kartata pachimunwan wañukusanña.

ishkay killa-n-ta papa-ni-y karta-ta pachi-mu-wa-n wañu-ku-sa-nña
Two month-3-ACC father-EUPH-1 karta-ACC send-CISL-1.OBJ-3 die-REFL-PRF-3-DISC
'Two months later, my father sent me a letter that [the vicuña] had died.'
'Dos meses después, mi papá me mandó una carta que [la vicuña] había muerto'.
(Vinac_VG_Vicuna, 01:36-41)

Yuraq kaballuqa yuraq vakata arrastra-musa.

yuraq kaballu-qa yuraq vaka-ta arrastra-mu-sa-∅
white horse-TOP white cow-ACC drag-CISL-NPST-3
'A white horse was dragging along a white cow.'
'Un caballo blanco arrastraba una vaca blanca'.
(Vinac_MG_Wankas, 00:26-28)

4.4.2.3.08 Reciprocal -na, -nakU, -chinakU

Reciprocal. -na indicates that two or more actors act reciprocally on each other; that is, -na derives verbs with the meaning 'V each other' (1)-(6). -na is dependent, never appearing independent of -kU. -chinakU derives verbs with the meaning 'cause each other to V' (7)-(10). Preceding either of the derivational affixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional affix -ma, -(chi)nakU is realized as -(chi)naka.

(1)*. Unay-qa chay ni-shpa willa-na-ku-n ka-qta.AMV

'Formerly, we said that, we told each other what was.'

(2). Wak-paq pantyun-pa pampa-na-ku-n-man? AMV

'Can people there bury each other in the
AMV

(3) *Vali-na-ku-:. "Paqarin yanapa-ma-y u pagaqarin ñuqa-kiq chay-paq talpa-shun qam-pa-kiq-ña-ñaq", ni-na-ku-:.mi.CH

'We ask each other, "Help me tomorrow," or, "Tomorrow me and then we'll plant yours," we say to each other.'

(4) Kay-paq-m-á kay visinu-kuna piliya-ku-lla-n huk vida-ta dinunsiya-na-ku-n maqqa-na-ku-n.ACH

'Around here, all my neighbors fight. They denounce each other, they hit each other.'

(5) Kiki-n-kuna-tri-k ruwa-ku-na-ku-n wak pastu-ta kita-na-ku-shpa.LT

'They themselves do that to each other, take pasture grass from each other.'

(6) Kuchilla-wan-pis ... parti-na-ku-shun.SP

'Even with a knife ... we'll split it between us.'

(7) Yuya-ri-chi-na-ku-ya-n.AMV

'They're making each other remember.'

(8)* Kuka-n-kuna-ta tragu-n-kuna-ta muyu-ylka-chi-na-ku-shpa.AMV

'Making their coca and liquor circulate among themselves.'


'They must have killed each other themselves' (lit. caused e.o. to die)

(10) Ishkay kimsa-m. Yatra-ya-chi-na-ku-yku-shpa misi-ta wata-ru-n kunqa-n-man.ACH

'Two or three. Teaching each other, they tied cats to their necks.' (lit. cause e.o. to know)

Unayqa chay nishpa willanakun kaqta.

unay-qa chay ni-shpa willa-na-ku-n ka-q-ta

'Formerly, saying that, they told each other what was.'

'Antes, así hablando, se avisaban lo que es'. (Llanka_MG_Literacy 05:33-34)

Kukankunata tragunkunata muyuykahinakushpa.

kuka-n-kuna-ta tragu-n-kuna-ta muyu-ylka-nku-shpa
coca-3-PL-ACC drink-3-PL-ACC circulate-EXCEP-CAUS-RECP-SUBIS

'Making their coca and liquor circulate among themselves.'

'Dando vuelta a su coca y su trago ardiente entre todos'. (ViñacBurial, 02:00-03)

4.4.2.3.09 Sensual or Psychological Necessity -naya

Sensual or psychological necessity. *naya* is an intransitive verb meaning 'to give desire'. In combination with a verb stem, V, it yields a compound verb meaning 'to give the desire to V' (1)-(5). Particularly with weather verbs, -naya may indicate that E is imminent (6), (7).

(1) Prindi-naya-n. AMV

'It makes you want to light candles.'

(2) Tuta-ku-ylka-n-ña miku-naya-n lliw-ña.SP

'Night fell and he was hungry and everything already.'
Mashwa-ta miku-pto-nchik ishpa-naya-wanchik. Chay riñun-ni-nchik-ta limpiya-n-shi. AMV

'Mashwa-ta miku-pto-nchik ishpa-naya-wanchik. Chay riñun-ni-nchik-ta limpiya-n-shi. AMV

'When we eat mashua, it makes us want to urinate. It cleans our kidneys, they say.'

Chay-ta siguru-ta wata-nki Hilda icha tiranaya-shpa iskaparu-n-man. AMV

Tie it up tight, Hilda, or else, wanting to pull, it could escape.'

Hilda-pa turi-n maqta kay hanay-paq uray-pa-qa ariti-ta ushtu-naya-ra-chi-n. AMV

'Hilda's brother from up here, down [on the coast] wanted to have an earring put in.'

Para-naya-mu-n. ACH

'It's about to rain.'

Shakash-qa wani-namuy-n-ña. AMV

'The guinea pig is about to die already.'

4.4.2.3.10 Repetitive -pa

Repetitive. -pa indicates repetitive action; that is, it derives verbs with the meaning 're-V' or 'V again' (1)-(3) or 'repeatedly V' (4)-(11) (yata 'touch' → yata-pa 'fondle'). Unattested in the CH dialect.

1. Maska-pa-q ri-ya-ni. AMV
   'I'm going in order to search again.'

2. Aa, kumunidad ya diha-ya-n. Aa, kumunidad ya diha-ka-ku-ya-n. LTVER
   'The community is leaving him. Ah, the community is leaving him again.'

3. Aa, qawa-pa-yka-ra-mu-shpa-m. LT
   'Ah, I'm going to go look at it again.'

4. ¡Wak-ta parla-pa-shpa yatra-chi-cha-y!
   'Go on talking with her and teaching her.'

5. Liyun miku-sa. Tuqa-pa-yku-n. "¿Wañu-sachu ka-ya-n?" ni-shpa.AMV
   'The puma [began to] eat it. He spit repeatedly. "Is it dead?" he said.'

6. Muski-pa-shpa muski-pa-shpa hinaptingqa ... traya-n chay rumi qipa-n-man. AMV
   'Sniffing around and sniffing around, [the dog] arrived there behind the rock.'

7. Mas antis ri-pa-q ri-pa-q-mi ka-ni misakuna-man, prusisyun-kuna-man. AMV
   'Long ago, I would always go to the mass and to the processions.'

8. Warmi ka-pto-n-qa yata-pa-shpa-tr qaqu-ya-n. AMV
   'If it's a woman he'll be fondling her while he massages.'

9. Huk puntraw huk tutana-pa-shunki. ACH
   'One day and one night it's hurting and hurting you [to give birth].'

10. "¿Imapaq-taq wak yawar yawar ka-ya-n?" Qawa-pa-yku-n. AMV
    "Why is there this blood, all this blood?" they said and stared at her.'
When you tugged repeatedly [at the rag] at night, [the zombie] would appear.

If it's a woman he'll be fondling her while he massages.'
'Si es una mujer, la estará manoseando mientras soba'.

"Imapaq-taq wak yawar yawar kayan?" diciendo dice gawapaykun.

"¿Por qué hay esta sangre?" dijeron y quedaron mirándolo.

Benefactive, translocative. -pU Indicates that an action is performed on behalf (1)-(4) – or to the detriment (5) – of someone other than the subject. Preceding either of the derivational affixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional affix -ma, -pU is realized as -pa (5)-(7).

(1)*. Chaylla-pa pripara-pu-nki.AMV  
'Just there prepare it [for her].'

(2). Chay alkul-ni-y mana tapa-sa-ni-chu. ¡Tapa-yka-ra-pu-wa-y!AMV  
'I haven't capped that alcohol of mine. Do me a favor and cap it.'

(3). Tapu-mu-hti-traski-ra-pu-mu-wa-y hinashpa alcha-ra-pu-wa-y!AMV  
'When he asks, receive it for me then put it in order it for me.'

(4). "¡Hina-ta risa-ra-pu-wa-y! Paga-shayki-m", ni-wa-n.LT  
"Pray for me like that! I'll pay you," he said to me.'

(5). ¿Imapaq aysa-pa-ma-ra-nki ñuqa hawka puñu-ka-pu-ti-?: ¡Mancha-chi-ma-n!SP  
'Why did you tug at me when I was sleeping peacefully? It scared me.'

(6). "¡Gwarda-pa-ma-nki! ¡Gwarda-pa-ma-nki!" niman.CH  
"Save it for me! Save it for me!" he said to me.'

(7). Sigaru ranti-pu-mu-wa-nki, Hilda, fuma-kushin kuti-ka-mu-na-n-paq. AMV  
'Hilda, go and buy me a cigarette so he can smoke while he's coming back.'

Just there prepare it [for her].

'En allí no más préparaselos.'
4.4.2.3.12 Joint action -pa(\cdot)kU

(1)*. Kutira-mu-shpa-qa kapas-tri tari-pa:ku-n-man-pis kar-qa. \textsc{AMV}

(2). Chay nña-n-tri ka-rqa piru mama-n-pa-qa huk ka-pa:ku-rqa. \textsc{AMV}

(3). ¿Imay ura-taq hamu-pa:ku-rqa-nki? \textsc{AMV}

(4). Tiya-pa:ku-ya-n-tri pay-kuna-qa. \textsc{AMV}

(5). Kaña-pa:ku-rqa-ni rupa-n-ta. Comp. Kiña-paku-rqa-nchik. \textsc{AMV}

(6). Uqa-kta-m talpu-pa:ku-ya-::ch

(7). Hawka-ña-m yatra-ka-pa:ku-ya-::sp

(8). Pasa-n. Lliw lliw ri-pa:ku-ya-n. Sapa-lla-::lla-m ka-shaq. \textsc{sp}

'If they had returned they maybe they would have found him.'

'She would have been her sister but others were her mother's.'

'What time did you come?'

'They must be sitting down.'

'We've been burning her clothes'.

'We have burned [for someone else]'.

'We're planting oca.'

'They're leaving. All [of them] are going. I'm going to be all alone.'

\textit{Kutiramushpaqa kapastri taripa:kunman karga.}

kuti-ra-mu-shpa-qa kapas-tri tari-pa:ku-n-man ka-rqa

return-\textsc{urgt-cisl-subis-top} perhaps-\textsc{evc} find-\textsc{jtact-3-cond} be-\textsc{pst-ø}

'If they had returned maybe they would have found him.'

'Volviendo, tal vez lo hubieron encontrado.'.

(Vinac\_JC\_Cure, 07:13-15)

4.4.2.3.13 Mutual Benefit -pUkU

Mutual benefit. -pUkU indicates action performed to the mutual benefit of the participants in the event referred to (1)-(3). -pUkU can also indicate: actions performed outside the scope of original planning (4)-(6); actions performed as a means or preparation for something else more important (including all remunerated labor) (7)-(10); and sensations of suffering from an event not in control of the subject (11). Preceding either of the derivational affixes -\textit{mu} or -\textit{chi} or the inflectional affix -\textit{ma}, -pUkU is realized as -pUka (12). Because -pU is realized as -pa before -kU, -pUkU is never realized either as -puku or -puka, but only as -paku or -paka.

(1). Chay-shi-k chay susiyu-kuna ruwa-paku-rqa-ø chay nchu-ta-n-ta. \textsc{AMV}

'That's why, they say, before, the members made the small berths [together].'

(2). Kuska-m trabaha-paku-::ch

'We all work together.'

(3)*. Kuka-kuna-ta aku-paku-nchik. \textsc{Kustumbri-}

'We chew coca together. It's our custom.'
nchik-mi. AMV

(4). Sakristan-ta-m wañu-chi-paku-ru-ni. AMV

'I killed the deacon [by accident].'

(5). Wak chutchu-kana-qa ri-ya-n uray-ta mishki apa-q. May-pi puñu-paku-shtin-tri ri-n? AMV

'The mountain people are going down hill to bring fruit. Where, going, will they sleep?'

(6). Wak warmi-qa wawa-paku-ru-sa-m. Wawa-paku-q-tri-ki kida-rqa. AMV

'Ve just weaving [for pay], she's raising her son.'

(7). Kayna hapi-paku-nchik. ACH

'Like this. We hold on [to the woman to help her give birth].'

(8)*. Tihi-paku-shpa-lla wambra-n uywa-n. AMV

Just weaving (for others), she's raising her son.

(9). Kay siyra-pa-qa pasiya-paku-: michich-paku-:. SP

'In these mountains, I pasture, I herd [for others].'

(10). Karru-wan-n-an kanan ima-ta-pis ranti-paku-ya-n chay llama-yuq-kuna alpaka-yuq-kuna. ACH

'Now the people with llamas and the people with alpacas are buying everything [in order to sell it] with a car.'

(11). Urqu-pa-qa puchuka-paku-nchik-mi-ki. AMV

'In the hills, [matches] always run out on us.'

(12). Sibada-ta taka-paka-ra-mu-shaq wawa-y machka miku-na-n-paq. AMV

'I'm going to thresh barley [for someone else] so my children can eat toasted barley.'

Kukakunata akupakunchik ... aa, kustumbrichikini.

koka-kuna-ta aku-paku-nchik kustumbri-nchik-mi coca-PL-ACC chew-MUTBEN-1PL custom-1PL-EVD

'Ve chew coca together. It's our custom'.

'Chakchamos coca (acompañándonos). Es nuestra costumbre'.

(Vinac_MM_Condenados_Burial_Coca, 06:28-32)

Tihipakushpalla wambran uywa-n.
tihi-paku-shpa-lla wambra-n uywa-n weave-MUTBEN-SUBIS-RSTR child-3 raise-3

'Just weaving (for others), she's raising her son.'

'Tejiendo (para otros) no más cría a su hijo'.

(Vinac_AR_Grandparents, 04:01-05)

4.4.2.3.14 Uninterrupted Action -Ra

Uninterrupted action. -Ra – realized as -la in the CH dialect and as -ra in all others – indicates that the event referred to persists in time; that is, it derives verbs with the meaning 'continue to V' (1)-(3). In combination with -ya, -Ra derives passive from active verbs (4)-(9).

(1). Ri-nki qaga-man tiya-ri-chi-shunki. SP

'You'll go to the cliff and he'll make you sit and sit [stay] there.'
(2) Qawa-ra-ku-ya-n miku-ku-q-ta-tri-ki.AMV 'He'd be staring at what's eaten, for sure.'
(3) Ima trura-ra-sa-y-ta-pis qunqa-ru-ni-m.AMV 'What I saved, too, I forgot.'
(4) Durasnu ...llulu mashta-ra-ku-ya-n.LT 'Peaches ... They're spread out unripe.'
(5) Warmi-kuna-pa uma-sh pampa-pa trura-ra-ya-n.ACH 'A woman's head is buried in the ground.'
(6) Anku-yki-man wiqaw-ni-ki-man wata-ra-ya-n.AMV 'It's tied up to your tendon and to your waist.'
(7) Kay-paq ranti-q ka-n-chu mashwa-nchiktaq. Qutu-ra-ya-n.AMV 'There are no buyers here for our mashua. It's piled up.'
(8) Chay pampa-ra-ya-q-ta surqu-n hinashpa qawa-n.AMV 'So they take out the buried person and then look.'
(9) Qaqa-pa ismu kundur-lla warku-ra-ya-n.AMV 'A rotting condor is hanging from a cliff, they say.'

4.4.2.3.15 Inceptive -Ri

Inceptive. -Ri, realized -li in Carcra (8), indicates that the event referred to is in its initial stage, that it has not yet concluded; that is, -Ri derives verbs meaning 'begin to V' (1)-(7). -ri is common in apologetic statements and supplicatory commands (8), (9). -li is attested in Carcra but not in Hongos.

(1) Para-ri-ru-nqa-ña-m.AMV 'It's going to rain already.'
(2) Chay-pa kalabasu-y chinka-ri-ya-n-ña-m.LT 'My squash there are getting lost.'
(3) Las dusita ŋuqa-qa pasa-ri-ya-as vaka-ta yaku tuma-chi-ŋ qa-ACH 'At twelve I'll bring the cows by to have them drink water.'
(4) Para usya-ri-pti-n-qa kuti-ki-n-ri-k.AMV 'When the rain clears, he'll return.'
(5) Warmi-kuna-qa shinka-rí-shpa taki-shpa-m waqa-n.AMV 'When the women get drunk and sing, they cry.'
(6) ¿Ni una hoja? ¡Anda kara! Kuka-paq ŋuqa-qa wañu-rí-yan-tri.AMV 'Not a single leaf? Damn! I could die for coca!'
(7) Nina-:-qa mana-laq lupa-li-ya-n-chu. Mana-laq shansha-:- ka-n-chu.CH 'My fire isn't burning. I don't have any embers.'
(8)* ¡Pasa-ka-mu-y! ¡Tiya-ri-ku-y!AMV 'Come in! Please sit down.'
(9) Kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun.AMV 'We're going to wash this.'

Warmikunaqa shinkaríshpa takishpam waqan.
warmi-kuna-qa shinka-ri-shpa taki-shpa-m waqa-n
woman-PL-TOP get.drunk-INCEP-SUBIS sing-SUBIS-EVD cry-3
'When the women start to get drunk and sing and cry.'
'Cuando las mujeres empiezan a emborracharse, lloran cantando'.
(Vinac_VV_DespachoAlmas, 04:18-25)

4.4.2.3.16 Urgency, Personal Interest -RU

Action with urgency or personal interest (1)-(4). -RU is realized as -lU in the CH dialect (5) and as -rU in all others (1)-(4). It very often marks perfective aspect (5)-(10) (see section 4.3.2.3.1 on past-tense marker -RQa).37 Preceding any of the derivational affixes -mu, -pU, -kU, -chi or the inflectional affix -ma, -RU is realized as -Ra (11).

(1) "Mana virdi-ta miku-shpa-qa luki-ya-ru-shaq" ni-n.AMV  'They say, "If I don't eat green [pasture grass], I'm going to go batso-crazy."'
(2) Chay mana rantiku-pts-n-qa ... chaki-ru-nqa.AMV  'If she doesn't sell it [right away], it's going to dry out [and be worthless].'
(3)* "¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Ñuqa-qa willa-ku-ru-shaq-mi gwardyan-man tirruru ka-sa-yki-ta!"AMV  "Shameless bastard! I'm going to tell the police that you were a terrorist!"
(4) Puyu-pa-m wambra-y chinka-ru-sa-o. Karu karu-ta-m ri-pu-ru-sa-o-AMV  'My son got lost in the fog. He wandered very far.'
(5) Qali-qa paqwa-lyu-shpa-qa alli-cha-ya-nchik. Qali paqwa-lyu-n alli-cha-lyu-...CH  'When the men finish, we're fixing it up. The men finished and we fixed it up.'
(6) Chinka-ru-n. Ni may ri-sa-n yatra-ku-nchu.ACH  'They got lost. We don't know where they went.'
(7) Mana chichi-na-n-paq tardi wata-ru-n mama-n-ta wawa-n-ta kapacha-ru-n.AMV  'So that he wouldn't nurse, she tied up his mother and put a muzzle on her baby'.
(8)* Campion-cha-ta wina-ru-n aytri-ku-ru-n qari-n-ta miku-ra-chi-n.AMV  'She threw in the poison, stirred it, and made her husband eat it.'
(9) ",¡Imapaq-mi uywa-nki ganaw-ta?" ni-shpa-m kita-ma-ru-n.SP  'Why are you raising cattle?' [the Shining Path] said, and they took it away from us.'
(10) Pasaypaq runa-paq kunvirti-ru-n kbra-man.LT  'Completely, from people they turned into goats.'
(11) Chay-mi, ",¡Kay-paq hurqa-ra-ma-nki kay hawla-paq."SP  'So, [he said,] "Take me out of this! [Let me out] of this cage here!"'

"¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Ñuqa-qa willakurushaqmi gwardyanman tirruru kasaykita!"
ñuqa-qa willa-ku-ru-shaq-mi gwardya-man tirruru ka-sa-yki-ta 1-TOP tell-REFL-URGT-1.FUT-EVC police-ALL terrorist be-PRF-2-ACC

37 It has been suggested to me that, given that -RU and -ri are mutually exclusive, they may, together, form a system, perhaps indicating different types of perfective aspect. This is a matter I am currently investigating. My impression at the moment is that, given that speakers do not spontaneously employ -ri, -RU has effectively replaced it as the default indicator of perfective aspect of all types in SYQ. My hypothesis is that -RU is ambiguous: it may either signal (a) one of the normal “modal” functions of URGT or (b) temporal ordering (perfective aspect). In case it co-occurs with any tense morpheme, it behaves standardly; absent any tense morpheme, it may be interpreted PRFV in main clauses and as indicating temporal priority in subordinate clauses (Yanu-lyu-shpa-m miku-lyu-nki. ¡Ama trawa-kta-q miku-y-chu!'Cooking it (first), you'll eat it. You're not going to eat it raw!).
"Shameless! I'm going to tell the police that you were a terrorist!"
"¡Sinverguenza! Voy a avisar a la policia que tú eras terruco!"
(Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos 1:00:24-28)

Campionchata wina run aytriku run qari nta mikurachi n.
Campion rat poison DIM ACC add in URGT 3 stir REFL URGT 3 man 3 ACC eat URGT CAUS 3
'She threw in the rat poison, stirred it, and made her husband eat it.'
¡Le echó Campioncito, lo movió, y se lo hizo comer a su esposo'.
(Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos, 55:30-37)

4.4.2.3.17 Accompaniment -sHi

Accompaniment. Realized as -si in the SP dialect (1) and as -shi in all others. -sHi indicates accompaniment for the purpose of aiding or protecting; that is, -sHi derives verbs meaning 'accompany in V-ing' (2) or 'help V' (3)-(6).

1. Asnu qa ni n, "Ñuqa tari si sayki suga ykita qa. ¡Putriru alfa ta qu yka ma y!"SP
   'The mule said, "I'm going to help you find your rope. Give me a bin-full of alfalfa!"
2. Mana m hamu rqa a chu tiya shi q AMV
   'She didn't come to accompany us sitting.'
3. "Harka shi saykim", nin AMV
   "I'm going to help you pasture," he said.'
4. Hampi shi rqa a tri k. Ima taq kuti chi rqa?AMV
   'She must have helped cure. What did she offer?'
5. Pay qa r iki ni ya n tri "Patrun Santiago, ¡hampi shi wa y!"AMV
   'For sure he's saying, "Patron Saint Santiago, help me heal!"
6. Kwida shi ma n chu. Hapa lla kwa ku hapa lla CH
   'He didn't help take care [of the animals]. Alone, I took care of them. Alone.'

Manam hamurgachu tiyashiq.
mana m hamu rqa o chu tiya shi q
no PST 3 NEG sit ACMP AG
'She didn't come to help sit.'
'No vino a acompañar a sentar'.
(Vinac JC Cure, 04:19-23)

Harkashi saykim nin huvin.
harka shi sayki m ni n huvin
herd ACMP 1 2 FUT PST say 3 young man
"I'm going to help you pasture," the young man said.'
"Te voy a ayudar a pastear", le dijo el joven.'
(Madean GH FourStories, 02:43-46)
4.4.2.3.18 Irreversible Change -*tamu*

Irreversible. -*tamu* indicates an irreversible change. Very frequently used in the CH dialect; not often spontaneously attested in other dialects.

(1). *Kama-n masta-ku-ya-shpa kama-n-pa tiya-ku-yku-shpa-qa wañu-*

'When she was making the bed, when she sat on the bed, she died.'

(2). *Wañu-*

'The man died; the woman remained.'

(3). *Puchuka-*

'It finished off.'

(4). *Atuq-ta-qa ŋiti-*

'They crushed the fox's head.'

4.4.2.3.19 Intensive -*ya*, -*raya*, -*paya*

Intensive. -*ya* is dependent; it never occurs independent of -*ra* or -*pa*. (see sections 4.4.2.3.09) and (4.4.2.3.12).

- *raya* is a detransitivizer, deriving passive from transitive verbs; that is, -*raya* derives verbs meaning 'be V-ed' (1)-(4). -*raya* may also indicate persistent or repetitive action (5). (see section 4.4.2.3.12 for further examples).

- *paya* indicates uninterrupted action; that is, -*paya* derives verbs meaning 'continue to V' (6). (see section 4.4.2.3.09 for further examples)

(1)*. *Witrqa-ru-pty-n-shi hawla-pa-sh-a witrqa-*

'When she closed them up in the cage, they say, [the boys stayed there], locked up.'

(2). *pwinti-kama traya-ru-pty-n huk mamaku-*

'When he arrived at the bridge, an old woman was chained to the bridge.'

(3). "*Qala tulla-ta-m apa-ru-n". "¿May-paq-taq chay apa-ra-sa?" "Uklu-pa-m trura-ra-ya-*

"The dog took a bone." "Where was it taken from?" "It was stored in the storehouse."

(4). *Kama-lla-pa-ña sapa-lla-: hita-*

'When I was layed out in bed all alone, a person came.'

(5). *Qawa-*

'The girl kept checking the time.'


'Is it keeping on playing? Or does it want to bite?'

*Witrqaruptinsi* hawlapasha witrqaryyan.

witrqa-ru-pty-n-shi hawla-pa-sh-a witrqa-ya-n

close-URGT-SUBDS-3-EVR cage-LOC-EVR-EMPH close-UNINT-INTENS-3

'When she closed them up in the cage, they say, [the boys stayed there], locked up.'
4.4.2.3.20  Exceptional -YkU

Exceptional. -YkU has a broad range of meanings; in grammars of other Quechuan languages -YkU is said to indicate "action performed in some way different from usual" (1)-(7). -YkU is common in polite imperatives (8), (9). -YkU also occurs with nouns referring to a time of day; the resulting form indicates the arrival of that time of day (10). Preceding any of the derivational affixes -mu, -pU, -chi, -RU or the inflectional affix -ma, -ykU is realized as -yka (1), (5), (6).

(1)*.  Pilata-yka-chi-shpa-sh baliya-sa. Baliya-ya-ta muna-sa.ACH

'They made them lie face-down on the ground and shot them. They wanted to shoot.'

(2).  Chay-pa-sh alma traya-n hinashpa-sh kurasun-ni-n-ta tapa-ku-yku-n.AMV

'The souls arrive there, they say, then they knock their hearts.'

(3).  Hinashpa chay-pa lliw lliw qutu-naku-yku-shpa alma-ta dispachashun.AMV

'Then, when we are all grouped together, we'll bid farewell to the souls.'

(4).  'Kay karru-wan traya-mu-tpi-n-qa silla-ku-yku-shpa-m ri-ya-nchik.SP

'When they arrive with the car, we're going galloping in a saddle.'

(5).  Qalawi-ya-nchik kimsa puntraw tawa puntraw uriya-yka-chi-shpa.CH

'We're working there for three days, four days getting it plowed.'

(6).  Chay tirimutu-kuna-mi-k kahun saqa-yka-ra-mu-n chay-kuna-wan.AMV

'In that earthquake the coffins fell down with those.'

(7).  Pilu-y-ta yupa-yku-shpa-qa wak duyun-y-ta-qa miku-ru-nki-tr-iki.AMV

'If you count my hairs,' [said the hairless dog to the zombie] you can eat my mistress.'

(8).  ¡Lava-yku-nki, Bauti!AMV

'You're going to wash, Bauti.'

(9).  Kay-lla-pi, Señor. ¡Tiya-yku-y!AMV

'Right here, Sir, please have a seat.'

(10)*.  Chay-paq tuta-yku-ru-n. Tuta-yku-ru-tpi-n vila-ta prindi-ru-n.AMV

'Later, night fell. When it got dark, he lit a candle.'

Pilataykachishpash baliyasa. Baliyata munasa.

pilata-yka-chi-shpa-sh baliya-sa-ø baliya-y-ta muna-sa-ø
lie.face.down-EXCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-EVR shoot-NPST-3 shoot-INF-ACC want-NPST-3
'They made them lie face-down on the ground and shot them ... they wanted to shoot.'

'Los hicieron echarse de barriga y los dispararon ... querían dispararlos.'

(Colcas_LR_Shining_Path, 20:13-18)
'Later, night fell. When it got dark, he lit a candle.'
'Luego llegó la noche y cuando oscureció, prendió una vela'.
(Viñac_ER_Hand, 01:55-59)
5. **PARTICLES**

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the class of particles can be sorted into seven sub-classes: interjections (*achachalláw* 'how awful!'); assenters and greetings (*aw* 'yes'); prepositions (*asta* 'until'); adverbs (*ayvis* 'sometimes'); coordinators (*icha* 'or'); negators (*mana* 'no, not'); and prenumerals (*la, las*, occurring with expressions of time). Interjections, assenters and greetings, prepositions, and adverbs are covered in subsections (5.1)-(5.4), respectively. Coordinators are discussed in section (7.03) on coordination; negators, in section (7.05) on negation; and prenumerals, in section (3.2.3.3) on time numerals and prenumerals.

5.1 **Interjections**

All spontaneously attested indigenous exclamations share a common pattern: they begin with *a* and end in *w* or, less commonly, in *k* or *y* (1)-(8); with the exception of the final *w*, they feature almost exclusively the alveolar and palatal consonants *ch, ll, l, n, ñ, t*, and *y* (which accounts for the entire catalogue of SYQ alveolars and palatales with the exception of voiceless fricatives *s, sh*, and retroflex *tr*); they include no vowels except for *a*; they consist, with few exceptions, of three of four syllables; and they bear stress on the final syllable. Syllable repetition is not uncommon. Non-exclamatory interjections do not follow this pattern (9)-(10). Curse words are freely borrowed from Spanish (11)-(13). (14)-(19) give a few spontaneously-occurring examples.

1. ¡Achacháw!  'Yikes!' 'What a fright!'
2. ¡Achachalláw!  'How awful!' 'How ugly!'
3. ¡Achalláw!  'How beautiful!'
4. ¡Alaláw!  'How cold!'
5. ¡Atatacháw!  'How beautiful!'
6. ¡Ananáw!  'Ouch!'
7. ¡Añalláw!  'How delicious!'
8. ¡Acháchák!  'Yikes!' 'What a fright!'
9. ¡Hinata!  'So be it!'
10. ¡Pay!  'Enough!' 'Thanks!'
11. ¡Karay!  'Darn!'
12. ¡Karahu!  'Damn!'
13. ¡Miyrda!  'Shit!'
(13). ¡Asu machu! 'Wow!'

(14). Primay Amaciatapis chayhinashiki intrigaykururqa [Diyabluman]. ¡Achachalláw!AMV 'They delivered my cousin Amacia, too [to the Devil], they say. How awful!'

(15). Fiyu fiyu qatram warmi kasa chay warmi. ¡Atatává!AMV 'That woman was a horrible, filthy woman. How disgusting!'

(16). ¡Ayayáw! ¡Asu machu! Aa, yo me asusté. AMV 'Yikes! Ah, I got scared.'

(17). Hinaptin-shi chay kata-ta-qa tiya-yku-n uku-man ¡"Achachá!" qaya-ku-n. AMV 'Then he sat on the manta and [fell] in [the boiling water]. "It's burning!" he shouted.'


(20). ¡Achacháw! Apurí-man lapcha-ru-n kichka-ta. AMV 'Ouch! She grabbed onto a thorn bush [going to] Apuri.'

5.2 Assenters and greetings

The list of assenters includes three members: arí, aw, and alal (1), (2). The first and second are used in all dialects; the third, only in CH. arí is often affixed with the emphatic enclitic -yá (3). aw is used to check for agreement from interlocutors and in the formulation of tag questions (4), (5). Speakers of SYQ make heavy use of the borrowed Spanish greetings, buynus diyas 'good day', buynas tardis 'good afternoon' and buynas muchis 'good evening', 'good night' (6). ¡Rimallasayki! And ¡Saludallasayki! 'I greet you!' are the most common of the greetings indigenous to SYQ.

(1). Puka-pis ka-sa vaka-hina. Arí, wak sint-a-ku-sa ka-ya-n. AMV Spkr 1: 'The colored one was like a cow.' Spkr 2: 'Yes, it has [its ears pierced with] ribbons.'

(2). Aw, lavashuntriki, kaypis qatra qatra kayan. AMV 'Yes, we'll wash. It's really dirty here.'

(3). "Kuti-mu-shaq", ni-shpa-sh chay pindi-hu-qa mana-m warmi-n-man traya-chi-n-chu. ¡Ari-yá warmi-yuq! AMV 'Although the bastard [had] said, "I'm going to return," he never made it back to his wife. Yes! He had a wife!'

(4). Chay chaqla kinray-ta-tr pasa-ru-rqa, ¿aw? AMV 'He must have come by around that cliff, no?'

(5). Yapa-mi-k kuti-nqa, ¿aw? AMV 'She's going to come back, isn't she?'

(6). Mana ganaw-ni-ki ka-n-chu ni "Buynus diyas" ni "Buynus diyas, prima-cha", nada ni-shunki-chu. AMV 'When you don't have cattle, they don't even say "Good morning," "Good morning, cousin," to you – nothing.'
5.3 Prepositions

SYQ makes use of some prepositions borrowed from Spanish. The preposition most frequently employed is *asta* ('up to', 'until', 'even', from Spanish 'hasta' 'up to', 'until', 'even') (1). *asta* is usually employed redundantly, in combination with the indigenous case affix *-kama* with the same semantics (*asta aka-kama* 'until until here') (2), (3).

(1)*. *Asta avyun-kuna-wan-pis ashu-yku-la-m, ¿aw?CH*  
'They even approached with airplanes, no?'

(2). *Asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-*kama-tri-*ki chay-na puri-shaq. LT*  
'Until the day I die, I'm going to walk around like that.'

(3). *Tinku-ya-ni ubitha-y-wan ñuqa disdi uchuy-cha-llya-*paq kani. AMV*  
'I've found myself with my sheep *since* I was very small'.

Asta avyunkunawanpis ashuykulam, aw?
asta avyun-kuna-wan pis ashu-yku-la-m aw
until airplane-PL-INSTR-ADD approach-ECEP-PST-EVD yes
'They even approached with airplanes, no?'
'Hasta se acercaron con aviones, ¿no?'
(Hongos_LW_Supper, 14:47-52)

5.4 Adverbs

The class of adverbs native to SYQ is rather small (1)-(5). Verbal modification in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, is accomplished primarily by the modal and enclitic affixes (*i.e.*, *-pa* 'repeatedly', *-ña* 'already') (see sections 4.4.2.3 and 6.2). SYQ makes heavy use of the adopted/adapted Spanish adverbs *apuraw* 'quick', *pasaypaq* 'completely', *siympri* 'always' and *ayvis* 'sometimes' (6)-(10). Additionally, adverbs can sometimes be derived from adjectives with the affixation of *-lla* (11), (12); and adjectives may sometimes occur adverbially, in which case they are usually inflected for case with accusative *-ta* (13)-(15). Some nouns referring to time may occur adverbally without inflection, others are inflected with *-ta* (see section 3.2.1.2) (16), (17).

(1). *Chafli-wan pika-ru-n, yapa hapi-n, yapa pika-ru-n, yapa pika-ru-n. AMV*  
'He struck with a pick. *Again*, [the zombie] grabbed him. *Again* he struck with the pick. *Again* he grabbed. *Again* he struck.'

(2). *Yaga wañu-rqa-ni chay-shi tiya-y. AMV*  
'I *almost* died, then, says my aunt.'

(3). *Kumpadri yanga yanga shimi-:-ta sira-rachi-nki. SP*  
'Compadre, you had my mouth sewed up *in vain*.'
"¡Kanallan intriga-wa-y!" ni-shpa-sh chay kundur traya-ru-n AMV
"Hand her over to me right now!" said the condor when he arrived.

'Just like that, before, they took that firewood.'

"¡Entrégamela ahorita!" dijo el cóndor cuando llegó.'

'My chiles completely dried out. My chiles, too, are dried out.'

'I'm crying. I'm always remembering.'

'So sometimes I think I'm going to roll around in thorns.'

'Sometimes all of them get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.'

'I don't criticise anyone. When they do harm, I take it up with them nicely.'

'Have him come here! It's being carried already. Add it in nicely!'

'Last night I dreamed horribly. What's going to happen to me?'

'Can't you have Alicia pray for her? Alicia prays really nicely.'

'When I would dance, he would stick himself [to me] really well.'

'My ears went deaf last year.'

'Then I came at nighfall. Then a zombie came behind me.'

"¡Kanallan intriga-wa-y!" nishpash chay kundur trayarun.
"¡Entrégamela ahorita!" dijo el cóndor cuando llegó.

'Matraypaq siympri trayaqshi. '

'Matray-paq siympri traya-q-sh-iki cave-LOC always arrive-AG-EVR-iki

'Siempre llegaba a la cueva, dicen'.

(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 02:30-34)

5.5. Particles Covered Elsewhere

(matray-paq siympri traya-q-sh-iki cave-LOC always arrive-AG-EVR-iki

'Siempre llegaba a la cueva, dicen'.

(Madean_GH_FourStories, 03:26-29)
Coordinators are discussed in section (7.03) on coordination; negators, in section (7.05) on negation; and prenumerals, in section (3.2.3.3) on time numerals and prenumerals.
6. **ENCLITICS**

Enclitic affixes attach to both nouns and verbs as well as to adverbs and negators. Enclitics all follow all inflectional affixes, verbal and substantive; and, with the exception of restrictive -lla, all follow all case affixes, as well. SYQ counts sixteen enclitics:

-**-Yà**(emphatic) indicates emphasis. Consistently translated in Spanish by 'pues'.

-**-chu**(interrogation, negation, disjunction) indicates absolute and disjunctive questions; negation; and disjunction.

-**-lla**(restrictive) generally indicates exclusivity or limitation in number. Translated as 'just' or 'only'. -lla may express an affective or familiar attitude.

-**-ña**(discontinuitive) indicates transition, change of state or quality. In affirmative statements, translated as 'already'; in negative statements, as 'no more' or 'no longer'; in questions, as 'yet'.

-**-pis**(inclusion) indicates the inclusion of an item or event into a series of similar items or events. Translated as 'too' or 'also' or, when negated, 'neither'.

-**-puní**(certainty, precision). Translated 'necessarily', 'definitely', 'precisely'. Attested only in the "QI" dialects, where it is infrequently employed.

-**-qa**(topic marker) indicates the topic of the clause. Generally left untranslated.

-**-raq**(continuitive) indicates continuity of action, state or quality. Translated 'still' or, negated, 'yet'.

-**-taq**(sequential) indicates the sequence of events. In this capacity, translated 'then' or 'so'.

-**-mi**(evidential – direct experience) indicates that the speaker has personal-experience evidence for the proposition under the scope of the evidential. Usually left untranslated.

-**-shI**(evidential – reportative/quotative) indicates that the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for the proposition under the scope of the evidential. -shI appears systematically in stories.
Translated as 'they say' or, more frequently, left untranslated.

-trI (evidential – conjectural) indicates that the speaker is making a conjecture to the proposition under the scope of the evidential from a set of propositions for which she has either direct or not-direct evidence. Generally translated in Spanish as 'seguro' 'for sure' but probably better translated in English as 'possibly' or 'probably'.

-ari (assertive force) indicates conviction on the part of the speaker. Translated as 'certainly' or 'of course'.

-ik, -iki (evidential modifiers) indicate increasing evidence strength (and increased assertive force or conjectural certainty, in the case of the direct and conjectural modifiers, -mI and -trI, respectively). Generally translated in Spanish as 'pues' and 'seguro', respectively.

Table 30. Enclitic Affixes, with Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Yá</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
<td>Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu! ¡Ari-yá!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chu₁</td>
<td>interrogation</td>
<td>¿Iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu mama-yki?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chu₂</td>
<td>negation</td>
<td>Chay-tri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chu₃</td>
<td>disjunction</td>
<td>¿Qari-chu ka-nki warmi-chu ka-nki?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lla</td>
<td>restriction</td>
<td>Uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ña</td>
<td>discontinuity</td>
<td>Chay-shi ni-n kundinadaw-ña-m wak-qa ka-ya-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pis</td>
<td>inclusion</td>
<td>Tukuy tuta tusha-n qaynintintap-is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puni</td>
<td>certainty</td>
<td>Mana-puni-m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qa</td>
<td>topic</td>
<td>Mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raq</td>
<td>continuity</td>
<td>Kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-ptri-n-raq tari-ru-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-taq</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>hinaptin-ña-taq-shi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mI</td>
<td>evidential-direct</td>
<td>Yanga-ña-m qipi-ku-sa puri-ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shI</td>
<td>evidential-reportative</td>
<td>Qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-trI</td>
<td>evidential</td>
<td>Awa-ya-n-tr-iki kama-ta.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 'We do **NOT** set on fire!'
- 'Yes, indeed!'
- 'Did your mother put you in school?'
- 'That must be why she wouldn't have waited for me.'
- 'Are you a man or a or a woman?'
- 'Nothing *but* the head and the hand remained.'
- 'That one, they say, is **already** condemned.'
- 'They dance all night and the next day, too.'
- 'By no means', 'Not on your life'
- 'Those of them who didn't know'
- 'He found him **still** sleeping in his bed.'
- 'then' 'so'
- 'In vain, I walk around carrying it.'
- 'She killed her husband, they say.'
- 'He **must** be weaving a blanket.'
conjecture

-ari assertive force Chay-sha-ri kanan avansa-ru-nqa. 'That one definitely will advance now, they say.'

-ikI evidential modification Kay-na-lla-m-i-ki kay urqu-pa-qa yatra-nchik. 'Just like this we live on this mountain.'

6.1 Sequence

Combinations of individual enclitics generally occur in the order indicated in the table below. In complementary distribution are: -raq with -ña; the evidentials with each other as well as with -qa; -ari with -ikI; and -Yá with -ikI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-lla</th>
<th>-puni</th>
<th>-pis</th>
<th>-ña</th>
<th>-taq</th>
<th>-chu</th>
<th>-trI</th>
<th>-Yá</th>
<th>-aRi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Raq</td>
<td>-qa</td>
<td>-ml</td>
<td>-shI</td>
<td>-trI</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Individual Enclitics

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the enclitics can be divided into two classes: (a) those which position the utterance with regard to others salient in the discourse (restrictive/limitative -lla, discontinuative -ña, additive -pis, topic marking -qa, continuative -Raq, sequential -taq, and interrogative/negative/disjunctive -chu); and (b) those that position the speaker with regard to the utterance (emphatic -Yá, certainty marker -puni, and the evidentials -mi, -shi, and -tri along with their modifiers -ik, -iki, and -aRi). Subsections (6.2.01)-(6.2.10) cover all enclitics but the evidentials and their modifiers, in alphabetical order. The evidentials and their modifiers are the subject of subsection (6.2.11).

6.2.01 Emphatic -Yá

Emphatic. Realized as -yá in all environments (1)-(5) except following an evidential, in which case both the I of the evidential and the Y of the emphatic are elided and Yá is realized as á (6)-(9).

(1). Ari-ýá!AMV 'Yes' ('That's it', 'Yes, indeed')

(2)*. ¡Mana-ýá rupa-chi-nchik-chu! AMV 'We do NOT set on fire!'

(3). Pantyun-pa-ýá. ¡Ima wasi-y-pi-tr pampa-mu-shaq!AMV 'In the cemetery! I doubt I'm going to bury someone in my house.'
6.2.02 Interrogation, Negation, Disjunction -chu

Interrogation, negation, disjunction. -chu indicates absolute (1) and disjunctive questions (2), (3), negation (4), and disjunction (5). Where it functions to indicate interrogation or negation, -chu attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of the interrogator or negation (6). Where it functions to indicate disjunction – in either disjunctive questions or disjunctive statements – -chu generally attaches to each of the disjuncts (7). Questions that anticipate a negative answer are indicated by mana-chu (8). mana-chu may also "soften" questions (9). It may also be used, like aw 'yes', in the formation of tag questions (10). In negative sentences, -chu generally co-occurs with mana 'not' (11); -chu is also licensed by additive enclitic -pis (12), (13) and ni 'nor' (14), (15). In prohibitions, -chu co-occurs with ama 'don't' (16). -chu does not appear in subordinate clauses, where negation is indicated with a negative particle alone (17), (18). In negative sentences, -chu never occurs on the same segment as does an evidential enclitic (20). Interrogative -chu does not appear in questions using interrogative pronouns (21). 38

(1). ¿Iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu mama-yki?AMV

'Did your mother put you in school?'

(2). ¿Qari-chu ka-nki warmi-chu ka-nki?AMV

'Are you a man or a woman?'

(3). ¿Don Juan-chu icha alma-n-chu hamu-ya-n?AMV

'Is it Don Juan, or is his spirit coming?'

(4). Chay-tri mana sua-wa-rqa-chu AMV

'That's why she wouldn't have waited for me.'

(5). Kandilarya-pa-chu binti-sinku-pa-chu AMV

'Either on Candelaria or on the twenty-fifth.'

(6). ¿Chay-pa-chu tuma-rqa-nki?AMV

'Did you take pictures there?'

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38 *Pi-taq hamu-n-chu? *Pi-taq-chu hamu-n? 'Who is coming?'
(7) Mario-\(chu\) ka-rqa Julian-\(chu\) ka-rqa.\(AMV\) 'It was \textit{either} Maurio \textit{or} Julián.'

(8) ¿\(Mana-\(chu\)\) kuska li-n-man?\(CH\) '\textit{Couldn't} they go together?'

(9) Paysanu, ¿\(mana-\(chu\)\) vaka-ta ranti-y-ta mun-a-nki?\(AMV\) 'My countryman, \textit{do you not} want to \textit{buy} a cow?'

(10) Lliw lliw-tri-ki wañu-ku-shun, puchuka-shun entones, ¿mana-\(chu\)?\(ACH\) 'We'll \textit{all} have to die, \textit{to finish off} then, \textit{isn't} that \textit{so}?'

(11) Aa, \textit{mana-\(yá\) ka-n-\(chu\)}. \textit{Mana-\(yá\) bula ka-n-chu}.\(LT\) '\textit{Ah, there aren't} any. \textit{No one} has any balls.'

(12) Kaspi-\(n-pis\) ka-n-\(chu\).\(AMV\) 'She \textit{doesn't} have a stick.'

(13) Mancha-ku-shpa tuta-\(q\) puñu-:-\(chu\).\(ACH\) '\textit{Being scared, I didn't} sleep at night.'

(14) Apuraw wañu-ru-rqa-\(a\)-rki. \textit{Ni apa-n-\(ña\)-\(chu\)}.\(AMV\) 'He died quickly. \textit{They didn't even bring} him \textit{to the hospital}.'

(15) Manam wayta-\(chu\) ni pishqu-\(chu\).\(AMV\) '\textit{Neither} a flower \textit{nor} a bird.'

(16) "A\(ma\) wawqi-ta-qa wañu-\(chi\)-y-\(chu\)!" ni-piti-n-shi wañu-ra-\(chi\)-n pay-wan-ta-pis.\(ACH\) 'When he said, "\textit{Don't} kill my brother!" they killed him with him, too.'

(17) Mana gali ka-\(pti\)-n-\(qa\) ñuganchik-pis taglla-kta hapi-shpa qaluwa-\(n\)-\(chik\).\(CH\) '\textit{When there are no} men, we grab the plow \textit{and turn} the earth.'

(18) Mana qatra-\(cha\)-\(ku\)-\(na\)-\(n-paq\) mandil-\(cha\)-\(n\)-\(ta\) wata-\(cha\)-\(ku\)-\(n\).\(AMV\) 'She's tying on an apron \textit{so} she \textit{doesn't get} dirty.'

(19) Manam lluqsi-\(pti\)-yki-\(qa\) *\(chu\)*, waqa-\(shaq\)-mi.\(AMV\) '\textit{If you don't} go, I'll \textit{cry}.'

(20) Mana lluqsi-rqa-nki-\(\ast\)\(mi\)-\(chu\). \(\textit{You didn't leave}.'

(21) *¿\(Pi\) hamu-rqa-\(chu\)? \(\textit{Who came}?'

\textit{Iskwilaman trurashurqanki \(chu\) mamayki?} \(\textit{Did your mother put you in school}?'

iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-\(chu\) mama-yki school-ALL place-3>2-PST-3>2-Q mother-2
'Did your mother put you in school?'
'¿\textit{Te puso en la escuela tu mamá}?'
(Madean _VDE_Various, 06:16-18)

\textit{\(Qari\)\(chu\) kanki warmichu kanki?} \(\textit{Are you a man or a or a woman}?'

qari-\(chu\) ka-\(nk\)i warmi-\(chu\) ka-\(nk\)i man-Q be-2 woman-Q be-2
'Are you a man or a or a woman?'
'¿\textit{Eres hombre o mujer}?'
(Florida, JH)

\textit{Paysanu, \(\textit{manachu\)} vaka-ta ranti-yta munanki?} \(\textit{My countryman, do you not want to \textit{buy} a cow}?'

paysanu mana-\(chu\) vaka-ta ranti-y-ta mun-a-nki countryman no-\(NEG\) cow-ACC buy-INF-ACC want-2
'\textit{Paysano, ¿no quieres comprar una vaca}?'
Restrictive, limitative. -lla indicates exclusivity or limitation in number: the individual (1)-(4) or event/event type (5), (6) remains limited to itself and is accompanied by no other. -lla can generally be translated as 'just' (7), (8) or 'only' (9); it sometimes has an 'exactly' interpretation (10), (11). It is very, very widely employed (12)-(14).

1. Iskwila-pa-m niytu-:-kuna-qa wawa-:-kuna-qa ri-n-mi ñuqa-lla-m ka-:- analfabitu.SP
   'My grandchildren are in school. My children went. I'm the only illiterate one.'

2. Runa-pi uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-sa.AMV
   'Just the head and the hand remained of the person.'

3. Ri-tpi-n-qa millwa-lla gutu-ra-ya-sa-ö ni maqta-qa ka-sa-chu.AMV
   'When she went there was just wool piling up. There was no young man.'

4. Kichwa-lla-kta-m lima-ku-ya-:- kay-traw-laq mana-m ka-stillanu-kta lima-:-chu.CH
   'I'm talking just Quechua. Here, still, we don't speak Spanish.'

5. Fwirti ka-shpa-lla-м-á li-ñchik pustaman.CH
   'Only if it's bad will we go to the health clinic.'

6. Lliw lliw-ta-m ranti-shpa-lla-ña-m kana-ka-ta-pis chay polart-kuna-ta-pis.ACH
   'Now they just buy everything – blankets, fleece.'

7. Chay-na-lla-m miku-chi-n ... pacha-chi-n.AMV
   'Just like that, she feeds him, she clothes him.'

8. Sirka-lla-ta-m ri-ya-:- mana-m karu-ta-chu.SP
   'I just go close; I don't go far.'

9. Chay-lla-ta-m yatra-ni. Mas-taq yatra-ni-chu.AMV
   'I only know that. I don't know more.'

10. Inti saqa-yku-ya-tpi-n-lla-mi vaka qaya-ku-ya-n.AMV
    'Just when the sun sets, the cow is mooing.'

11. Iskina-n-pi sikya tuna-lla-n-pi wallpa-y watra-ku-n-raq.LT
    'My hen lays eggs in the corner, right in the corner of the canal.'

12. Lliw-ta abas-kuna albirha-kuna ayvis-lla ranti-ku-ni – apa-ni llaqta-ta-m.AMV
    'Everything – broad beans, peas – once in while I sell stuff – I bring it into town.'

13. Chay-na-lla-m. Chay-lla-m kwintu-qa. Mas ka-n-chu mana-m.SP
    'That's the way it goes. That's all there is to the story. There's no more.'

14. Chay-ta-m aysa-shpa-lla pasa-chi-wa-q.AMV
    'They had me cross the river pulling [me by the hand].'

Discontinuitive. -ña indicates transition – change of state or quality. In affirmative statements, it can
generally be translated as 'already' (1)-(3); in negative statements, as 'no more' or 'no longer' (4)-(7); and in questions, as 'yet' (8), (9). It can appear freely but never unaccompanied, redundantly, by ña (10), (11).

(1)*. Kündinda-wñ animation-wak qa ka-ya-n. AMV 'That one is already condemned.'
(2) Nuqa qa kuka-y-wan-ñam qawa-ru-ni. AMV 'I saw it with my coca already.'
(3) Paqwa-ña-nchik-ñam talpu-y-ta, ñaw? Papa-kta-pis talpu-la-lu:-ñam kanan hala-kta, ñaw? CH 'We're finishing the planting already, no? We've already planted the potatoes, now the corn, no?'
(4) Unay-tri-k. Kanan qa ka-nñangered-chu imapis. SP 'That would be a long time ago. Now there isn't anything any more.'
(5) Unay wambra ka-shpa traki-wna-puri-ru:. Kanan qa viyha qa mana-ñam a puri:-ñachu, SP 'Before, when I was a child, I walked about on foot. Now, old, I don't walk any more.'
(6) Mana-ñam ni santu ni imapis. AMV 'There are no longer saints or anything.'
(7) Kanan-ñam mana puri-n-chu. Hamu-ya-q kay-ni-ta kuti-ya-q. AMV 'Now he no longer walks about. He used to come around here, used to come back.'
(8) ¿Pasa-rui-ñachu? Ma, tapu-shun. AMV 'Did she go by yet? Let's ask.'
(9) ¿Aa, rima-ña-ñachu kanan wak-pil? LT 'Are they talking yet there now?'
(10) "ñam tuku-chka-ni-ñam!" Puk! Puk! Puk! siki-sapa sapu. AMV "I'm already finishing up!" Puk! Puk! Puk! said the big-butted frog.'
(11) Ñam riqsi-ya-n-ñam huk-ya yaykun. LT 'They're getting to know it already and another comes in.'

Chay-shi nin kündinda-wñam wakqa kayan.
chay-shi niñ animation-wak qa ka-ya-n
DEM.D-EVR say-3 zombie-DISC-EVD DEM.DD-TOP be-PROG-3
'That one, they say, is already condemned.'
'Ese, dicen, ya está condenado'.
(Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados, 04:51-57)

6.2.05  Inclusion -pis

Inclusion. -pis indicates the inclusion of an item or event into a series of similar items or events. Translated as 'and', 'too', 'also', and 'even' (1)-(6) or, when negated, 'neither' or 'not even' (7)-(9). -pis may imply contrast with some preceding element. Where it scopes over subordinate clauses, it can often be translated 'although' or 'even' (10)-(12). Attaching to interrogative-indefinite stems, it forms indefinites and, with mana, negative indefinites (13)-(15) (see section 3.2.16). In free variation with -pas, and, after a vowel, with -s (16)-(19), the latter particularly common in the ACH dialect.
(1) *Turnu-cha-wan ſuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-: walmi-pis qali-pis CH*  
'We work in turns, the women and the men.'
"We turn over the ummm, the potatoes and the oca, too.'

'They dance all night and the next day, too.'

'He, too, when his nephew died, took [poison].'

'She also took [pictures] of the people selling fried chicken.'

'Even when his mother died, he didn't cry.'

'Why am I going to cry?' he said. "I didn't cry for my wife, either.'

'Neither did they see us.'

'Neither did they see us.'

'I did not cry for my wife, either.'

'Later, at home, even when they hit it with a rock, it couldn't.'

'That way he brings a little something to his house.'

'Nothing can be lacking for a good worker.'

'Go rest in your house," he said to me and he, himself, too, went to rest.'

'"Then, when the partridge jumped, he [cried], "Aaaap-ship-ship-ship!" The partridge, too, [cried] "Wwaaaayyy!""

'They threw me out, too, and I went to Kashapata.'

'There are smaller and bigger boards. The kawpus are bigger.'
mana-m trabaha-shpa-pis achka-ta-m miku-n
no-EVD work-SUBIS-ADD a.lot-ACC-EVD eat-3
'Although he doesn't work, he eats a lot. Although I plant a lot, I don't harvest.'
'Aunque no trabaje, come mucho. Aunque yo siembre mucho, no cosecho'.
(Viñac, HQ)

6.2.06 Precision, Certainty -puni

Certainty. -puni indicates certainty or precision. It can be translated as 'necessarily', 'definitely', 'precisely'. It is attested only in the AMV dialect, where, still, it is not widely employed.

(1). Paqarin-puni-m ri-shaq.†AMV
'I'm going to go precisely tomorrow.'
(2). Mana-puni-m.†AMV
'By no means.' 'Not on your life.'
(3)*. Chay wiqaw-ni-nchik-man-puni chiri yaku-ta trura-nchik.†AMV
'We put cold water right on our lower backs.'

Chay wiqaw-ni-nchik-man-puni chiri yakuta trura-nchik.
chay wiqaw-ni-nchik-man-puni chiri yaku-ta trura-nchik.
DEM.D waist-EUPH-1PL-ALL-PREC cold water-ACC put-1PL
'We put cold water right on our lower backs.'
'Ponemos agua fría precisamente en la cintura'.
(Vinac_AR_MedicinalHerbs, 07:36-40)

6.2.07 Topic-marking -qa

Topic marker. -qa generally indicates the grammatical subject of a clause (1)-(6), (13) or, in case the subject is left implicit, it may be employed for other purposes, including topic-making (7)-(11). -qa often marks subordinate clauses (12), (13).

(1). 'Madri sultira-m ka-ya-: ňuqa-lla-qa. CH
'I'm a single mother.'
(2). "Ñuqa-pis ri-shaq intunsis", ni-n invidyusu wawqi-n-qq.LT
"'Ah, then I, too, am going to go," said the jealous brother.'
(3). Ganaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqqa.LT
'Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.'
(4). Qam-qq waqa-ku-nki sumaq-lla-ta-m. ňuqa-qq quyuy-ta waqa-ya-ni.SP
"'You sing nicely. I'm singing awfully.'"
(5). Kay-qq kurasun nana-y-qq paq allin. AMV
'This [plant] is good for heart pain.'
(6)*. Yatra-q-ni-n-qq: mana yatra-q-n-in-qq mana-yá. AMV
'Those of them who knew; not those of them who didn't know.'
(7). Chay-na-m unay-qq mana-m ima-pis ka-pty-n-qq. AMV
'That's how it was before when there wasn't anything.'
Now we eat whatever we want when there's money.'

'In your town, do you plant barley?'

'I would walk down hill just on foot until our feet hurt.'

'It protects us against curses.'

'They went out for a walk but when they went in, they couldn't.'

'When he carried her, after the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.'

'I'm just talking Quechua. Here, still, we don't speak Spanish.'

'You're still skinny. I'm going to fatten you up in a cage.'

"I can't die," said [the fox]. "Still brave and
Hinaptin-shi, "¿Qari-qari-lla-raq-chu?" "Aa, si, qari-qari-lla-raq-mi", ni-n.SP

(4) Taqsa-na-raq-tri. Millwa-ta taqsa-shun.AMV

'It has to be cleaned still. We have to clean the wool.'

(5) Kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-pto-n-raq tari-ru-n.LT

'He found him when he was sleeping still in his bed.'

(6) Runtu-wan-mi qagu-ya-n-mi chay-pa – mana-raq-mi shakash-wan.AMV

'He's massaging with an egg – not yet with the guinea pig.'

(7)* Mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu.AMV

'None of us has died yet.'

(8) ¿Yawar-ni-n-ta-chu? ¿Ima-ta-raq hurqu-ra chay dimunyu-kuna?ACH

'His blood? What in the world did the devil suck out of him?'


'The gringos go to the heights, they say. How on earth could they kill those people?'

(10) Kisu-ta ruwa-shpa-raq traya-mu-ya-yi-AMV

'Once she makes the cheese, she's coming.'

(11) Hamu-pti-n-raq ñuqa-qa mana-m lluqsi-raq-chi-ni-chu.† AMV

'He's just now going to cap it. I'm just now going to start.'

(12) Chay-raq-mi tapa-ya-n. Qalla-yku-ya-ni chay-raq.AMV

'I'm just now coming.'

Qamqa flakururqami kayanki. ¡Kanan hawlallapam qamtaqa wirayachisayki!

No-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG

'None of us has died yet.'

Mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu.

No-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG

'Ninguno de nosotros no ha muerto todavía.'

(Madean_VDE_Various, 04:38-43)

6.2.09 Sequential -taq

Sequential. -taq indicates the sequence of events (1)-(6). Adelaar (p.c.) points out that in Ayacucho Quechua -ña-taq is a fixed combination. It appears that that may be the case here too (7)-(10). In these examples -taq seems to continue to indicate a sequence of events. In a question introduced by an interrogative (pi-, ima- ...) -taq attaches to the interrogative in case it is the only word in the phrase or, in case the phrase includes two or more words, to the final word in the phrase (10)-(12).
In this capacity, -taq is unmarked, the most transparent of the enclitics attaching to q-phrases. In a clause with a conditional or in a subordinate clause, -taq can indicate a warning (13)-(14). -taq also functions as a conjunction (15) (see section 7.3).

   'Lots and lots of policemen came then from Huangáscar. They, too, also then shot a lot.'

(2). Punta-taq pacha-nchik.CH
   'First we crush it.'

(3). Yapa-taq kuyu-ru-n wak-hina-ta baha-ra-chi-n.SP
   'Once again, it moved. [Once again, the girl] lowered it like that.

(4)*. Tardi-qa yapa listu suya-n; yapa-taq-shi traya-ru-n.AMV
   'In the afternoon, again, ready, he waits. Then, again, [the zombie] arrived.'

   'When I have all these sorted, then I gather everything here and then store it there.'

(6). Qali-taq takilla-wan-mi halu-n. Qipa-na-ña-taq kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan.CH
   'Men turn over the earth with a foot plow. Behind them, then, we break up the clods with a pick.'

(7). Hinaptin-ña-taq-shi kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta traya-ru-mu-n tuta. AMV
   'Then when he turned into a zombie he arrived at the girl's house at night.'

   'He's stirring it with my hand. Now, the foot. Now with the other hand.'

   'Others, Shining Path soldiers. The Sinchis then killed them.'

(10). ¡Ishpa-yku-ru-wa-n! ¿Imapaq-taq isha-pa-n? AMV
   'It urinated on me! Why does it urinate?'

(11). ¿Ima riku-q-taq ka-rqa sapatilla-yki?AMV
   'What color were your shoes?'

   'What am I going to do? It's in God's hands already.'

(13). ¡Waskillu-y-ta-ña-taq katra-yku-waq!AMV
   '"Be careful you don't let go of my rope!"'

   'He's putting the guinea pig over my heart. I'm saying, "Be careful it doesn't bite me!"'

(15). Warmi-ña-taq puchka-wan qari-ña-taq tihidu-wan. AMV
   'Women with spinning and men with weaving'.

In the afternoon again he was waiting ready; once again, then, [the zombie] came, they say.'
'En la tarde vuelta espera listo; luego, otra vez, dicen, llegó [el condenado]'.
(Vinac_ER_Hand, 02:46-49)
'When I have all of them sorted, I gather everything over here already and then store it over there.'
'Cuando los tengo todos picados, los recojo hacia acá y luego los guardo hacia allá'.
(Vinac_ER_Weaving, 02:04-11)

6.2.10   **Emotive -ya**

Emotive. -ya indicates regret or resignation. It can be translated 'alas' or 'regretfully' or with a sigh.
Not very widely employed.

(1)*. Hinashpaqa-ya wañu-ra-chi-shaq-ña wakcha-cha-y-ta-qa dimas-lla-m sufri-ya-n.AMV

Then, alas, "I'm going to kill my little lamb already – he's suffering too much," [I said].'
(2)*. Unay runa-kuna-qa yatraya-ya-n mas-ta, masta-yá, lliw-ta ... aaaa.AMV

'In the old days, people knew more, more, everything, ahhh.'

Hinashpaqay qa wáñu-ra-chi-shaqña wakcha-chá-y-ta-qa dimas-lá-m sufri-ya-n. AMV

Then, TOP-EMO die-URGT-CAUS-1.FUT-DISC ram-DIM-1-ACC-TOP suffer-PROG-3
'Then, alas, "I'm going to kill my little lamb already – he's suffering too much," [I said].'
'Después, "Voy a matar ya a mi wachito – está sufriendo demasiado", [dije].'
(Vinac_HQ_Lamb_NewYear, 01:29-34)

Unay runakunqa yatrayan mastayamastiaylla lliwta ... aaaa.

unay runa-kuna-qa yatraya-ya-n mas-ta mas-ta-yá lliw-ta before person-PL-TOP know-PROG-3 more-ACC more-ACC-EMO all-ACC

'In the old days, people knew more, more, everything ... ahhh.'
'En los antiguos tiempos, la gente sabía más, más ya, todo ... ahhh'.
(Vinac_JC_Cure, 02:28-34)

6.2.11   **Evidence**

Evidentials indicate the type of the speaker’s source of information. SYQ, like other Quechuan languages, counts three evidential affixes: direct -mi (1)-(3), reportative -shi (4)-(6), and conjectural -tri (7)-(9) (i.e. the speaker has her own evidence for P (generally visual); the speaker learned P from someone else; or the speaker infers P based on some other evidence). Following a short vowel, these are realized as -m, sh, and -tr, respectively (3), (6), (9). The evidential system of SYQ is unusual among Quechuan languages, however, in that it overlays the three-way distinction standard
to Quechua with a second three-way distinction. The set of evidentials in SYQ thus counts nine members: -mI, -m-ik, and -m-iki; -shI, -sh-ik, and -sh-iki; and -trl, -tr-ik, and -tr-iki. The -I, -ik, and -iki forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations, generally indicating increasing degrees of evidence strength or, in the case of modalized verbs, increasing modal force. Section (6.2.11) describes this system in some detail. For further formal analysis, see Shimelman (2012).

In addition to indicating the speaker's information type, evidentials also function to indicate focus or comment and to complete copular predicates (for further discussion and examples, see sections (7.11) and (7.8) on emphasis and equatives).

Evidential are subject to the following distributional restrictions. They never attach to the topic or subject; these are, rather, marked with -qa. In content questions, the evidential attaches to the question word or to the last word of the questioned phrase (10) (see section 7.06 on interrogation). Evidentials do not appear in commands or injunctions (11); finally, only one evidential may occur per clause.

(1) Tayta-cha José irransa-ku-rqa chay-pa-m. AMV
   'My grandfather José held herranzas there.'

(2)* Trura-wa-rqa-ya huk ratu. Mana-yá puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-chu. Trura-wa-rqa-m. AMV
   'They put me in [school] a short while. They didn't have me finish, but they did put me in.'

(3) Qayna puntraw qanin puntraw-lla-m traya-mu-ra-chu. AMV
   'I arrived yesterday, just the day before yesterday.'

(4) Radyu-kuna-pa rima-y-ta rima-y-a-n. Lluysiya-mu-n-shi tira. AMV
   'On the radio they talk for the sake of talking. Terrorists are coming out, they say. Terrorists are appearing, they say.'

(5) Chay utrku-lla-pa pashña-taq uywa-ku-piti-nña-taq-shi maqta-qaputkamuna-n-ta. AMV
   'When he raised the girl in that cave, the man brought her his food, they say.'

(6) Qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n, masha-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n. AMV
   'She killed her husband, they say; she killed son-in-law, they say.'

(7) Qiñwal-man traya-ra-chi-piti-ki wañu-kun-man-tri. AMV
   'If you make her go all the way to the quingual grove, she might die.'

(8) Suwa-wa-n-tri durasnu-y ka-ra-ø mansana-y ka-ra-ø qanin puntraw birnis. LT
   'They may have robbed me. The day before yesterday, Friday, I had peaches and apples.'

   'My house is cracked. It's going to fall down.'

(10) ¿May-mi chay warmi? AMV
    'Where is that woman?'

(11) ¡Ruwa-ru-chun-*mI/shI/trI!
    'Let him do it!'
Trurawqaya huk ratu. Manaya puchukachiwarqachu. 

"Yes, they put me in [school] a short while, they didn't have me finish, but they did put me in."

'Me pusieron [a estudiar] un rato. No me dejaron terminar, pero me pusieron.'

(Madean_VDE_Various, 06:18-23)

Qiqwal-man traya-ra-chi-pi-ki wañu-ku-n-man-tri.

"If you make her go to the quingual grove, she might die."

'Le le haces llegar al quingual, podría morir'.

(Tambopata_AB_Comadres, 01:51-54)

All three evidentials are interpreted as assertions. The first, -mI, is generally left untranslated in Spanish; the second, -shI, is often rendered dice 'they say'; the third is reflected in a change in verb tense or mode (see section 6.2.11.3). The difference between the three is a matter, first, of whether or not evidence is from personal experience, and, second, whether that evidence supports the proposition, \( p \), immediately under the scope of the evidential or another set of propositions, \( P' \), that are evidence for \( p \), as represented in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidence Type</th>
<th>Supports scope proposition ( p )</th>
<th>Supports ( P' ) evidence for ( p )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct (personal experience) evidence</td>
<td>DIRECT -mI</td>
<td>CONJECTURAL -trI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reportative (non-personal experience) evidence</td>
<td>REPORTATIVE -shI</td>
<td>CONJECTURAL -trI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So, employing -mI(p), the speaker asserts predicate \( p \) and represents that she has personal-experience evidence for \( p \); employing -shI(p), the speaker asserts \( p \) and refers the hearer to another source for evidence for \( p \); and employing -trI(p), the speaker asserts \( p \) and represents that \( p \) is a conjecture from \( P' \), propositions for which she has either -mI-type or -shI-type evidence or both.

That is, although SYQ counts three evidential affixes, it counts only two evidence types, direct and reportative; these two are jointly exhaustive.

Subsections (6.2.11.1)-(6.2.11.3) cover -mI, -shI, and -trI, in turn. Subsection (6.2.11.4) covers the evidential modifiers, -ari and -ik/iki

6.2.11.1 Direct -mI
Evidential – direct. -mI indicates that the speaker speaks from direct experience. Unlike -shI and -trl, it is generally left untranslated. Note that in the examples below, with the exception of (3) and (4), the speaker's knowledge is not the product of visual experience.

(1). *Piñi-y-mi paka-ra-ya-n wasi-y-pa wak ichuy-pa uku-n-pa.* AMV
'My necklace is hidden in my house under the straw.'

(2). *Chay-wan-mi pwirta-ta ruwa-ya-ni.*
*Mana-m achika-taq ruwa-ni-chu.* AMV
'I make doors with this.'
'I don't make a lot.'

(3). *Vaka-qa kay-pa waqara-yuq-m-i ki-ya-n.* AMV
'The cows from here have horns.'

(4). *Mana-m mansana-yki-qa ka-n-chu.* LT
'You don't have any apples.'

(5). *Mana-m turu-ta-qa muna-:-chu.* SP
'I don't want a bull.'

(6). ¡Ama kuti-mu-nki-chu qam-qa! Isturbu-m ka-ya-nki. CH
'Don't you come back! You're being a pain in the ass.'

(7)*. *Kanan mana-m-iki chay-ta-qa riqsi-nchik-ña-chu.* AMV
'Now, we don't, of course, know any of that.'

(8). *Karru-pis ashna-ku-ya-n-mi.* ACH
'The buses, too, stink.'

'It warms you up. It warms us up.'

---

6.2.11.2 Reportative -shI

Evidential – reportative. -shI indicates that the speaker's evidence does not come from personal experience (1)-(5). It is used systematically in stories (6), (7).

'In the hill Okichanka, there is a spirit, they say – a car was lost in a reservoir.'

(2). *Pay-kuna-paq subtiranyu-ña-sh ka-ya-n, wasi-n.* CH
'Theirs are underground, they say, their houses.'

(3). *Mashwa-qa prustata-paq-shi allin.* CH
'Mashua is good for the prostate, they say.'

(4). *Chay-pa-sh runtu-ta miku-chi-shunki.* AMV
'They'll feed you eggs there, they say.'

(5). *Lata-wan yanu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra.* ACH
'They [the Shining Path] even cooked people in metal pots and ate them, they say.'

---

Now no-EVD-IKI DEM.D-ACC-TOP know-1PL-DISC-NEG
'Ahora ya no conocemos éso'.
(Yuracsayhua_UY_Bull_Riddles_Souls, 01:08-15)
6.2.11.3 Conjectural -trI

Evidential – conjectural. -trI indicates that the speaker does not have evidence for the proposition directly under the scope of the evidential, but is, rather, conjecturing to that proposition from others for which she does have evidence (1)-(8).

1. Awa-ya-n-tr-iki kama-ta.AMV 'He must be weaving a blanket.'
2. Wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuhan-tr-iki.AMV 'We could be also about to die.'
3. Kuka-cha-n-kuna-ta apa-ru-pti-y-qa tiya-pa-ru-wa-nqa-tr-ik.AMV 'If I bring them their coca, they'll accompany me sitting.'
4. Chaki-ku-nqa-tr-iki mana-ya kwuwa-y-ta qu-mu-wa-pti-n-qa.LT 'It will dry out if they don't give me my quota, for sure.'
5. Chay-man-tr-ik aya-ri-ku-ra.ACH 'She must have become a cadaver.'
6. Upya-chi-n-ma-n-tri.CH 'She might make me drink.'
7. Yaku-ña-tr ri-ku-ya-n pampa-n-ta-qa.ACH 'Water should already be running along the ground.'

Ayvis kumpañaw hamuyan – wañuypaqpis kayachuwantriki.
ayvis kumpañaw hamu-ya-n wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuhan-tr-iki sometimes accompanied come-PROG-3 die-1-PURP-ADD be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC-IKI
6.2.11.4 Evidential Modification

SYQ counts four evidential modifiers, -ari and the set ø, -ik and -iki. Subsections (6.2.11.4.1) and (6.2.11.4.1) cover -ari and -ø/-ik/iki, respectively. The latter section largely repeats Shimelman (2012a, 2012b).

6.2.11.4.1 Assertive Force -aRi

Assertive force. -aRi – realized -ali in CH (1) and -ari in all other dialects – indicates conviction on the part of the speaker. It can often be translated as 'surely' or 'certainly' or 'of course'. -aRi generally occurs only in combination with -mI (2), (3), -shI (4), (5) and -Yá (6)-(10). It is far less often employed than -ik and -iki. It is, however, prevalent in the LT dialect, which supplied the single instance of tr-ari in the corpus (11).

(1). Viñac-paq-sh-ali.CH

'From Viñac, she says, then.'

(2)*. Mana-m-ari llapa ruwa-ya-q-hina ka-ya-ni.AMV

'No, of course, it seems like I'm making it all up.'

(3). Wayra-ku-ya-n-m-ari.AMV

'It's windy.'

(4). Ripu-n-sh-ari uma-qa kunka-n-man.AMV

'His head went [flying back] towards his neck [trying to recover its lost place], they say.'

(5)*. Chay-sh-ari kanan avansa-ru-n.AMV

'That one definitely will advance now, they say.'

(6). Kida-ku-shun kay-pa-y-ari.ACH

'We're going to stay here.'


'They made me sign, too. But they didn't make my daughter sign yet, they say.'

(8). Yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana-y-ari.AMV

'The ones who knew how. The ones who didn't know how, no, of course.'

39 The Quechuas of (at least) Ancash-Huailas (Parker 1976:151), Cajamarca-Canaris (Quesada 1976:158) and Junin-Huanca (Cerrón Palomino 1976:238-9) have affixes -rI, -rl and -ari, respectively, which, like the SYQ -k succeed evidentials and are most often translated 'pues' 'then'. It seems unlikely that the AHQ, CCQ and JHQ forms correspond to the -k or -ki of SYQ. First, unlike -ik or -iki, -rl and -ari may appear independent of any evidential and they may function as general emphatics. Second, SYQ, too, has an affix -ari which, like -rI and -ari, functions as a general emphatic, also translating as 'pues'. Third, the SYQ -ari is in complementary distribution with -k and -ki. Finally, unlike the AHQ, CCQ and JHQ forms, the SYQ -ari cannot appear independently of the evidentials -mI or -shI or else of -y, and, further, always forms an independent word with these.
6.2.11.4.2 Evidence Strength -ik and -iki

SYQ is unusual in that each of its three evidentials counts three variants, formed by the affixation of -ø, -k or -ki. The resulting nine forms are direct -mI-ø, -m-ik and -m-iki (1)-(3); reportative -shI-ø, -sh-ik and -sh-iki (4)-(6); and conjectural -trI-ø, -tr-ik and -tr-iki (7)-(9). Evidentials obligatorily take EM arguments; EM's are clitic and attach exclusively to evidentials. So, for example, *mishi-m [cat-EVD] and *mishi-ki [cat-KI] are both ungrammatical. The corresponding grammatical forms would be mishi-m-ø [cat-EVD-ø] and *mishi-mi-ki [cat-EVD-KI], respectively. With all three sets of evidentials, the -ik form is associated with some variety of increase over the -ø form; the -iki form, with greater increase still. With all three evidentials, -ik and -iki – except in those cases in which they take scope over universal-deontic-modal or future-tense verbs – indicate an increase in strength of evidence. With the direct -mI, -ik and -iki generally also affect the interpretation of strength of assertion; with the conjectural -trI, the interpretation of certainty of conjecture. In the case of universal-deontic modal and future-tense verbs, with both -mI and trI, -ik and -iki indicate increasingly strong obligation and increasingly imminent/certain futures, respectively. Subsections (6.2.11.4.2.1) and (6.2.11.4.2.1) cover the effects of the EM's on the interpretation of -mI and -trI, respectively.

40 Ayacucho Q also makes use of -ki.
41 In Lincha, -iki may modify both -mI and -shI but not -trI; in Tana, -iki may modify all three evidentials.

(9) Kwinta-n-paq-ña-y-ari ka-ya-n kwinta-n-paq. 'It's on its own already, abandoned.'

(10) Chay wayra itana piru rimidyu-m Hilda. ¡Piru wachi-ku-n-y-ari! AMV 'The wind thorns are medicinal, Hilda. But do they ever sting!

(11) Kurriy ama ña-qa kay-chu qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari. 'Run! Don't ... already ... be like that! You must be being lazy.'

Manamari llapa ruwayaghina kayani.
mana-m-ari llapa ruwa-ya-q-hina ka-ya-ni no-EVD-ARI all make-ya-AG-COMP be-PROG-1 'No, of course, it seems like I'm making it all up.'
'No, pues, parece que estoy haciendo mentira'. (Vinac_JC_Cure, 02:35-38)

(1) Mana-m traya-mu-n-chu mana-m-ik rikarin-chu.ACH 'He hasn't arrived. He hasn't showed up.'

(2)* Lima-ta-m ris-haq. Lima-pa-qa buska-q ka-n-m-iki. Suti-n-ta-pis rima-ya-n-m-iki. ¿Ichu manachu?LT 'I'm going to go to Lima. In Lima, there are people who read cards, then. They're saying his name, then, yes or no?'
3. *Wañu-chi-naku-n ima-m-iki chay-ta-qa muna-:-chu.SP*  
'They kill each other and what-not, then. I don't want that.'

'That's why, they say, before, the members made each other the small berths, to bury each other when they died.'

5. *Llutan-sh-ik. Llutan runa-sh-ik ka-n.LT*  
'They're messed up, they say. There are messed up people, they say.'

6. *"Mátalo!" ni-sha-sh-ik CH*  
'"Kill him!" she's said, they say.'

'What did they do that to him for? They must have killed him just for the sake of it.'

'They talk, they say, for sure. "Pay me liquor, wine," they must be saying, talking.'

'She's making the sheep and the goats come back. She must make [the stones] reach with the sling, for sure. The goats obey her. They must know their master, for sure.'

**6.2.11.4.2.1 The EM’s and the Interpretation of Propositions under Direct -mI**

In the case of the direct -mI, all three forms, -mI-ø, -m-ik, and m-iki, indicate that the speaker has evidence from personal experience for the proposition immediately under the scope of the evidential. The -ik and -iki forms then indicate increases in the strength of that evidence, generally that it is increasingly immediate or definitive. For example, consultants explain, with *wañu-rqa-ø* [die-PST-3] 'died', a speaker might use -mI-ø if she had seen the corpse, while she would use -m-iki if she had actually been present when the person died. Or with *para-ya-n* [rain-PROG-3] 'it's raining', a speaker might use -mI-ø if she were observing the rain from inside through a window, while she would use -m-iki if she were actually standing under the rain. (1) and (2) give naturally-occurring -m-iki examples. In (1) the speaker reports her girlhood experience working as a shepherdess in the puna (high, cold, wet pasture grounds). What would run out on her was her matches. In (2) the speaker reports her experience with the Shining a Path, an armed Maoist group that terrorized the region in the 1980’s with its robberies, kidnappings and public executions. The fight she refers to is the battle between the Shining Path and the government *Sinchis* (commandos). In both examples, the speakers are reporting events they experienced with painful immediacy and with regard to which there are no more authoritative sources than themselves.

1. *Ari-yá urqu-pa-qa puchuka-paku-nchik-m-iki AMV*  
'Yes, in the hills they ran out on us.'

2. *Huk visis-lla piliya-ra chay-paq chinka-ku-ra-ña-m-iki.ACH*  
'They fought just once and then they disappeared.'
In addition to indicating increases in evidence strength, -ik and -iki, in combination with -ml, generally correspond to increases in strength of assertion. A -m-ik assertion is interpreted as stronger than a -ml-ø assertion; a -m-iki assertion as stronger still. In Spanish, -ml-ø generally has no reflex in translation. More than anything else, it serves to mark comment or focus (see section 7.11) or else to stand in for the copular verb ka, defective in the third-person present tense (see section 4.2.3). In contrast, -m-iki does have a reflex in Spanish: it translates with an emphatic, either 'pues' 'then' or 'sí' 'yes'. So, quni-m-ø [warm-EVD-ø] receives the Spanish translation 'es caliente' 'it's warm'; in contrast, quni-m-iki [warm-EVD-KI] receives the translations, 'es caliente, pues' 'it's warm, then' or 'sí, es caliente' 'yes, it's warm'. Example (3) is taken from a story. An old lady has sent two boys for wood – “so I can cook you a nice supper,” she said. Two doves appear at the wood pile to warn the boys. Miku-shunki-m-iki 'she's going to eat you', they warn. Using the -iki form, the birds make the strongest assertion they can. They need to convince the boys that they are indeed in trouble – their very lives are in danger.

(3) Kanan-qa wira-ya-yka-chi-shunki miki-shunki-mik-ki. ACH 'Now sh'e going to fatten you up and eat you!'  

In those cases in which -ml takes scope over universal-deontic-modal or future-tense verbs, -k and -ki do not generally indicate an increase in evidence strength; rather, they indicate increasingly strong obligations and increasingly immediate futures, respectively. So, for example, under the scope of -ml-ø, yanapa-na-y [help-NMLZ-1] receives a weak universal deontic interpretation, 'I ought to help'. In contrast, under the scope of -m-ik or -m-iki, the same phrase receives increasingly strong universal interpretations, on the order of 'I have to help' and 'I must help', respectively. Under the scope of -ml-ø, the phrase is understood as something like a strong suggestion, while under -m-iki, it is understood as a more urgent obligation. That is, here, -ik and -iki seem to do something like increase the degree of modal force, turning a weak universal modal into a strong one. This is the case, too, where -ml takes scope over future-tense verbs. For example, explain consultants, in the case of the future-tense ri-shaq [go-1.FUT] 'I will go', a speaker might use -ml-ø if she were going to go at some unspecified, possibly very distant future time. In contrast, she might use -m-ik if her going were imminent, and -m-iki if she were already on her way. The speaker of (4), for example, urgently needed to water her garden and had been on her way to do just that when she got caught up in the conversation. When she uttered (4) she was, in fact, already in motion.

(4) Ri-shaq yaku-ta-mi-ki qawa-mu-shaq. 'I'm going to go. I'm going to take care of the water now.'
6.2.11.4.2.2 The EM's and the Interpretation of Propositions under Conjectural -\textit{trI}

In the case of the conjectural \textit{-trI}, all three forms, \textit{-trI-ø}, \textit{-tri-k}, and \textit{-tri-ki}, indicate that the speaker has either direct or reportative evidence for a set of propositions, \(P\), and that the speaker is conjecturing from \(P\) to \(p\), the proposition immediately under the scope of the evidential. The \textit{-ik} and \textit{-iki} forms then indicate increases in the strength of the speaker's evidence and generally correspond to increases in certainty of conjecture.

In case a verb under its scope is not already modalized or not already specified for modal force or conversational base by virtue of its morphology, \textit{-trI} assigns the values [universal] and [epistemic], for force and base, respectively. So, for example, the progressive present-tense \textit{kama-ta awa-ya-n} [blanket-ACC weave-PROG-3] 'is weaving a blanket' and the simple past-tense \textit{wañu-rqa-ø} [die-PST-3] 'died', both unmodalized and therefore necessarily not specified for either modal force or conversational base, receive universal epistemic interpretations under the scope of \textit{-trI}: 'he would/must be weaving a blanket' and 'he would/must have died', respectively. Speakers bilingual in Yauyos and Spanish consistently translate and simple-present- and simple-past-tense verbs under the scope of \textit{-trI} with the future and future perfect, respectively. The \textit{awa-ya-n} 'is weaving' and \textit{wañu-rqa-ø} 'died' of the examples immediately above are translated 'estará tejiendo' and 'habrá muerto', respectively. In English, 'would' and 'must' will have to do the job.

Present-tense conditional verbs in SYQ may receive at least existential ability, circumstantial, deontic, epistemic and teleological interpretations. Past-tense conditional verbs may, in addition to these, also receive universal deontic and epistemic interpretations. That is, present-tense conditionals are specified for modal force [existential], but not modal base, while past-tense conditionals are specified for neither force nor base. \textit{-trI} restricts the interpretation of conditionals, generally excluding all but epistemic readings. In the case of past-tense conditionals, it generally excludes all but universal readings, as well. For example, although the present-tense conditional of (1), \textit{saya-ru-chiwan} 'we could stand around', is normally five-ways ambiguous, under the scope of \textit{-trI}, only the existential epistemic reading available: 'it could happen that we stand around'. Similarly, although the past-tense conditional of (2), \textit{miku-ra-ma-n-man ka-rqa-ø} 'could/would/should/might have eaten me', is normally seven-ways ambiguous, under the scope of \textit{-trI}, only the universal epistemic reading is available: 'the Devil would necessarily have eaten me'.

The context for (1) – a discussion of women and alcohol – supports the epistemic reading. The speaker, a woman who in her eighty-odd years had never taken alcohol, was speculating on what would happen if women were to drink. Her conclusion: it's possible we would stand around naked, going crazy.

(1) \textit{Qala-pis saya-ru-chiwan-tri luku-ya-ri-shpa-qa.ACH} 'We could also stand around naked, going crazy.'
'If not for that, the devil might have eaten me.'

If it is the case, as Copley (2002) and Matthewson et al. (2005) argue, that the future tense is a modal specified for both force, [universal], and base, [metaphysical] or [circumstantial], -trI should have no effect on the interpretation of mode in the case of future-tense verbs. This is indeed the case. For example, both the tiya-pa-ru-wanga of (3) and ashna-ku-lla-shaq of (4) receive exactly the interpretations they would have were they not under the scope of -trI: 'they will accompany me sitting' and 'I'm going to stink', respectively. This does not mean that -trI-Ø/ik/iki has no effect on the interpretation of future-tense verbs, however. Although it leaves TAM interpretation unaffected, -trI continues to indicate that the proposition under its scope is a conjecture. And -ik and -iki, as they do in conjunction with -ml, indicate increasingly immediate or certain futures. So, although the TAM interpretations of (3)'s tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga 'will accompany me sitting' and (4)'s ashna-ku-lla-shaq 'I'm going to stink' are unchanged under the scope of -trI, the -ik of the first and the -iki of the second signal immediate and certain futures, respectively. In (3), that future was about an hour away: it was 6 o'clock and the coca-consuming accompaniers were expected at 7:00 for a healing ceremony. The context for (4), too, was a healing ceremony. The speaker was referring to the upcoming part of the ceremony in which she would have to wash with putrid urine – certain to make anyone stink!

(3). Kuka-cha-n-kuna-ta apa-ru-pyi-qa tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga-tri-k, AMV

'When I bring them their coca, they will accompany me sitting.'

(4). ¡Ashna-ku-lla-shaq-tri-ki! AMV

'I'm going to stink!'

In those cases in which -ik and -iki modify -trI, they generally correspond to increases in certainty of conjecture: a -tr-ik conjecture is interpreted as more certain than a -trI-Ø conjecture; and a -tr-iki conjecture is interpreted as more certain still. Recall that under the scope of -trI, present-tense conditional verbs generally receive existential epistemic interpretations while past-tense-conditional as well as simple-present- and simple-past-tense verbs generally receive universal epistemic interpretations. In the case of the first, -k and -ki yield increasingly strong possibility readings; in the case of the second, third and fourth, increasingly strong necessity readings. So, under the scope of trI-Ø, the present-tense conditional wañu-ru-n-man [die-URGT:3-COND] 'could die' receives something like a weak possibility reading; under -tr-iki, in contrast, the same phrase receives something like a strong possibility reading. Consultants explain that the -Ø form might be used in a situation where the person was sick but it remained to be seen whether he would die; the -iki form, in contrast, might be used in a situation where the person was gravely ill and far more likely to die. Similarly, under the scope of trI-Ø, the simple past tense wañu-rqa-Ø [die-PST-3] 'died' would receive something like a weak necessity reading: it is highly probable but not completely certain that the person died. In contrast, under the scope of -tr-iki, the same phrase would receive something like a strong necessity reading: it is very highly probable, indeed, virtually certain, that
the person died. Consultants explain that a speaker might use -Ø form if she knew, say, that the person, who had been very sick, still had not returned two months after having been transported down the mountain to a hospital in Lima. In contrast, that same speaker might use the -iki form if she had, additionally, say, heard funeral bells ringing and seen two of person's daughters crying in the church. (5) and (6) give naturally-occurring examples. In (5), the speaker, makes a present-tense conditional -tri-Ø conjecture: She could possibly be with a soul (i.e., accompanied by the spirit of a recently deceased relative). The speaker made this conjecture after hearing the report of a single piece of evidence – that a calf had spooked when she came near. Surely, whether or not a person is walking around with the spirit of a recently dead relative hovering somewhere close by is a hard thing to judge, even with an accumulation of evidence. In this case, only the weak -Ø form is licensed. In (6), in contrast, the speaker makes a simple-present-tense -tri-iki conjecture: A certain calf (a friend's) must be being weaned. The speaker, having spent all but a half dozen of her 70-odd years raising goats, sheep, cows and alpacas, would not just be making an educated guess as to whether a calf was being weaned. She knows the signs. In this situation, the strong -iki form is licensed.

(5) Alma-yuq-pis ka-ya-n-man-tri. AMV 'She might be accompanied by a soul.'
(6) Anu-ya-n-ña-tri-ki. AMV 'She must be weaning him already, for sure.'

In sum, Yauyos' three evidentials, -mI, shI, and -tri, each has three variants, formed by the affixation of three evidential modifiers, -Ø, -ik, and -iki. The EM's are ordered on a cline of strength, with the -ik and -iki forms generally indicating progressively stronger evidence. With the direct -mI, this then generally corresponds to progressively stronger assertions; with the conjectural -tri, to progressively more certain conjectures. In the case of verbs receiving universal-deontic-modal or future-tense interpretations, -k and -ki indicate stronger obligations and more imminent futures, respectively. -tri has the prior effect of changing the modal interpretation of the verbs under its scope. In case a verb under its scope is not already already specified for modal force or conversational base by virtue of its morphology, -tri assigns the default values [universal] and [epistemic] for force and base, respectively.

6.2.11.4.3 A sociolinguistic note

In a dialogue, -Ø(φ) will often be answered with -ik(φ) or -iki(φ), where φ is a proposition-evidential pair. Thus, Karu-m-ø 'it's far' may be answered with Ave, karu-mi-ki 'Yes, you got it/that's right/you bet you/ummhunn/, it's far'. In (1), the first speaker makes a -tri-Ø conjecture, 'They must have left drunk'. The second answers with -tri-ik, echoing the judgement of the first, 'Indeed, they must have gotten drunk.'
6.2.11.5 Evidentials in Questions

In questions, the evidentials generally indicate that the speaker expects a response with the same evidential (i.e., an answer based on direct evidence, reportative evidence or conjecture, in the cases of -mI, -shI, and -trI, respectively) (1)-(3). The use of -trI in a question may, additionally, indicate that the speaker doesn't actually expect any response at all (4). And the use of -shI may indicate not that the speaker is expecting an answer based on reported evidence, but that the speaker is reporting the question (5).

(1) ¿Amador Garay-chu? ¿Ima-m suti-n ka-ra? ACH
    Amador Garay? What was his name?

(2) ¿May-pi-sh wasi-n-ta lula-ya-n? CH
    Where did she say she's making her house?

(3) ¿Kutira-mu-n-man-chu-tr? ¿Ima-tr-ik pasan? ACH
    Could he come back? What would have happened?

(4) ¿Kawsa-n-chu-tr mana-chu-tr? No se sabe. ACH
    Would he be alive or dead? We don't know.

(5) ¿Kabra-yki ka-rqa-chu-sh? ¿Mana-chu-sh? AMV
    Did you have goats or not, she asks.'
7. SYNTAX

This section counts fourteen subsections covering constituent order, sentences, coordination, comparison, negation, interrogation, reflexives and reciprocals, equatives, possession, topic, emphasis, complementization, relativization and subordination, in that order.

7.1 Constituent order

The unmarked constituent order in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, is SOV (Mila-qa vikuña-n-kuna-ta riku-ra 'Melanie saw her vicuñas'). That said, as constituents are obligatorily marked for case, they may appear in any order without necessarily varying the sense of the utterance (Mila-qa riku-ra vikuña-n-kuna-ta 'Melanie saw her vicuñas'). Change in constituent order does not necessarily change the interpretation of topic or focus, as these are generally signaled by the affixation, in the case of the former, of the topic marker -qa and, the case of the latter, of the evidentials -ml, -shI, and -trI (Carmen-qa llama-n-kuna-ta-sh wañu-chi-nqa 'Carmen will butcher her llamas, they say' Carmen-qa llama-n-kuna-ta wañu-chi-nqa-sh 'Carmen will butcher her llamas, they say'). In the first case, the focus is on the direct object: she will butcher her llamas and not, say, her goats; in the second case, focus is on the verb: she will butcher her llamas and not, say, pet them. That said, verb and object cannot commute in subordinate clauses: there, only the order OV is grammatical (fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta 'the fruit I bring' *apa-sa-y-ta fruta-cha-y-kuna-ta).

Modifiers generally precede the elements they modify: adjectives precede the nouns they modify (yuraq wayta 'white flower'), possessors precede the thing possessed (pay-pa pupu-n 'her navel'), and relative clauses precede their heads (trabaha-sa-yki wasi-pa 'in the house where you worked'). In case an NP includes multiple modifiers, these appear in the order: DEM-QUANT-NUM-NEG-PreADJ-ADJ-ATR-NUCLEUS

7.2 Sentences

With the exceptions of (a) utterances in which evidentials serve a copular function (sasa-m 'It's hard'), (b) abbreviated questions and responses to questions (May-pi? 'Where?' Chay-pi-(m) 'There'), and (c) exclamations (¡Achacháw! 'How awful!') no SYQ sentence is grammatical without a verb (*Sasa. 'hard'). As it is unnecessary in SYQ to specify either the subject or the object, a verb alone inflected for person is sufficient for grammaticality (Apa-n '[She] brings [it]'). First- and
second-person objects are indicated in verbal inflection: -\textit{wa/-ma} indicates a first-person object, and -\textit{yki}, -\textit{HQayki} and -\textit{shunki}, indicate second-person objects (\textit{suya-wa-nki} 'you wait for me' \textit{suya-shunki} 'She'll wait for you') (see section 4.3.1.2 on actor-object reference).

7.3 Coordination

The enclitics -\textit{pis}, -\textit{taq}, and -\textit{raq} can all be used to coordinate NPs (1)-(2), AdvPs and VPs (3); the case affix -\textit{wan} can be used with the first two of these three (4). -\textit{pis}, -\textit{taq}, and -\textit{raq} generally imply relations of inclusion, contrast, or contradiction, respectively. Thus, -\textit{pis} (inclusion) can generally be translated 'and' or 'also' (1), (2). -\textit{taq} and -\textit{raq} (contrast and contradiction) can both be translated 'but', 'while', 'whereas' and so on (5). -\textit{wan} is unmarked and can generally translated 'and' (4).

Additional strategies employed for coordination in SYQ include (a) the employment of the indigenous coordinating particle \textit{icha} 'or' (6) or any of the borrowed Spanish coordinators \textit{i} 'and' (7), \textit{u} 'or' (8), \textit{piru} 'but' (9), or \textit{ni} 'nor' (10) (from Spanish \textit{y}, \textit{o}, \textit{pero}, and \textit{ni}) and (b) juxtaposition. Juxtaposition consists in the placement of the coordinated elements in sequence (11), (12). When -\textit{kuna} signals inclusion, it can be used to coordinate NP's (13) (see section 3.4.2.1). The Spanish coordinators are widely employed. Coordinators indigenous to SYQ generally attach to both coordinated elements (14). The coordinators are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

1. \textit{Walmi-pis, qali-pis CH} 'Women \textbf{and} men.'
2. \textit{Uyqa-paq-pis ka-n-mi alpaka-paq-pis ka-n-mi llama-paq-pis ka-n-mi ACH} 'Out of sheep [wool] \textbf{and} out of alpaca [wool] \textbf{and} out of llama [wool].'
3. \textit{Ishpa-ni-pis-chu puqu-chi-ni-pis-chu AMV} 'I \textbf{neither} urinate \textbf{nor} ferment [urine].'
4. \textit{Mila-wan Alicia-wan Hilda trayaramarun} \textsuperscript{†} \textit{AMV} 'Hilda arrived with Mila \textbf{and} Alicia.'
5. \textit{Wawa-nchik-ta iduka-nchik qilla-kuna-qa mana-taq-mi} \textit{ACH} 'We're educating our children; \textbf{whereas} the lazy ones aren't.'
6. \textit{Miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra icha apa-ra-ma-n-man-tri} \textit{ACH} 'It would have eaten me \textbf{or} it would have taken me away.'
7. \textit{Tushu-nchik i imaqin-ta-m kriyi-nchik ŋua-kuna-qa piru chay ivanhilyu-kuna sabadista-kuna-qa mana kriyinchu CH} 'We dance and believe in the saints \textbf{but} those Evangelists and Seventh Day Adventists don't believe.'
8. \textit{Kay-taq ishkay puntraw u huk puntraw-lla-m ruwa--} \textit{ACH} 'I make this one in two days \textbf{or} just one day.'
9. \textit{'Naña-y-pis, turi-y-pis ka-rqa-m piru wañuku-n-nia' ni-shpa rima-y! AMV} 'Say, "I had a sister and a brother, \textbf{but} they died." Talk!'
10. \textit{Ni alpaka ni llama. Kanan mana-m trayamaru-n-chu AMV} 'Neither alpacas \textbf{nor} llamas. They don't come here now.'
They walked about, carrying barley and selling wheat and selling corn.'

'We women plant and fix up [the soil].'

'Marleni went there with Ayde, Vilma and Norma.'

'There are ullqush flowers, too, no? Chuqlluqupa flowers, too – white and red.'

7.4 Comparison

Comparisons of inequality are formed in SYQ with the borrowed particle mas ('more') in construction with the indigenous ablative case affix, -paq; paq attaches to the base of comparison (1), (2). mas and minus 'less', also borrowed from Spanish, may function as pronouns (3) and adjectives (3), and, when inflected with accusative -ta, as adverbs (5), as well. Also borrowed from Spanish are the irregular mihur 'better' (6) and piyur 'worse' (7), (8). Comparisons of equality are formed with the borrowed particle igwal 'equal', 'same' in construction with the indigenous instrumental/comitative case affix, -wan, which attaches to the base of comparison (9).

In Huancayo, mashua costs more than potatoes.'

'It's more than yesterday.'

'Grenades and weapons and all, too – they're buying more.'

'Last year there was little [rain]. So there was less pasture grass.'

'It's spreading out more.'

'It's much better than fleece – it keeps you warm.'

'Ah, before, they didn't have schools. Before, they were just illiterate. Worse [for the] women.'

'Every day it's worse, I'm worse. More yesterday. I couldn't walk or take out my sheep.'

'Cows are the same as people: [they gestate for] nine months.'

7.5 Negation

This section partially repeats section (6.2.02) on -chu; consult that section for further discussion and
glossed examples. In SYQ, negation is indicated by the enclitic -chu in combination with any of the particles mana, ama, or ni or with the enclitic affix -pis. -chu attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of negation. In negative sentences, -chu generally co-occurs with mana 'not' (1), (2); -chu is also licensed by additive -pis (3), (4) as well as by ni 'nor' (5), (6). -chu co-occurs with ama in prohibitions (7), imperatives (8), (9), and injunctions (10). -chu does not appear in subordinate clauses, where negation is indicated with a negative particle alone (11)-(12).

(1)  Chaytri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu AMV  'That's why she wouldn't have waited for me.'
(2)  Aa, mana-ya ka-n-chu. Mana-ya bula-yuq ka-n-chu LT  'Ah, there aren't any. No one has any balls.'
(3)  Kaspi-n-pis ka-n-chu AMV  'She doesn't have a stick.'
(4)  Mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu-:-chu ACH  'Being scared, I didn't sleep at night.'
(5)  Apuraw wañu-ru-rqa riki. Ni apa-n-ña-chu AMV  'He died quickly. They didn't even bring him [to the hospital].'
(6)  Manam wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu AMV  'Neither a flower nor a bird.'
(7)  ¡Ama manchari-y-chu! ¡Ama qawa-y-chu! AMV  'Don't be scared! Don't look!'
(8)  ¡Ama kuti-mu-nki-:-chu! Qam-qa isturbu-m ka-ya-nki.  'Don't you come back! You're getting in the way.'
(9)  ¡Ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun:-chu! LT  'Let's never leave each other!'
(10)  ¡Ama wañu-chun-chu!†AMV  'Don't let her die!'
(11)  Mana qali ka-pty-n-ga ŋuganchik-pis taqlila-kta hapi-shpa qaluwa-nchik CH  'When there are no men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.'
(12)  Mana qatra-cha-ku-na-n-paq mandil-cha-n-ta wata-cha-ku-n AMV  'She's tying on an apron so she doesn't get dirty.'
(13)  Manam lluqsi-pti-yki(*-chu), waqa-shaq-mi AMV  'If you don't go, I'll cry'.

7.6  Interrogation

This section partially repeats sections (3.2.1.6) and (6.2.02) on interrogative indefinites and -chu; consult those sections for further discussion and glossed examples.

Absolute (1) and disjunctive (2), (3) questions are formed with the enclitic -chu. Where it functions to indicate interrogation, -chu attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of the interrogation (4). In disjunctive questions, it generally attaches to each of the disjuncts (5). Questions that anticipate a negative answer are indicated by manachu (6). Manachu may also
"soften" questions (7). Manachu, like aw 'yes', may also be used in the formation of tag questions (8). Interrogative -chu does not appear in questions using interrogative pronouns (9), (10).

1. ¿Chuga-mu-nki-man-chu? AMV
   'Can you throw?'
2. ¿May-taq chay-qa? ¿Apuri-chu Viñac-chu?
   'Where is that? Apuri or Viñac?'
3. ¿Maniya-ya-n icha katra-ri-ya-n-chu? AMV
   'Is she tying its feet or is she setting it loose?'
4. ¿Chay-pa-chu tuma-raq-nki? AMV
   'Did you take pictures there?'
5. ¿Kanasta-pi-chu baldi-pi-chu? AMV
   'In the basket or in the bucket?'
   'Don't you have any beans? They're finished?'
7. ¿Mana-chu chay wanku-cha-ta qawa-nki? AMV
   'You haven't seen the little [cheese] mold?'
8. Wak chimpa-pa-qa yuraq-ya-ya-n, ¿mana-chu? ACH
   'There in front they're turning white, no?'
9. *¿Pi haqtri-rqa-chu?
   'Who sneezed?'
10. *¿Pi-taq qurqurya-ra-chu? *¿Pi-taq chu qurqurya-ra?
    'Who snored?'

Constituent questions are formed with the interrogative-indefinite stems pi 'who', ima 'what', imay 'when', may 'where', imayna 'how', mayqin 'which', imapaq 'why', and ayka 'how much/many' (see Table 9). Interrogative pronouns are formed by affixing the stem – generally but not obligatorily – with one of the enclitics -taq, -raq, -ml, -shl or -trl (1)-(3). Interrogative pronouns are affixed with the case markers corresponding to the questioned element (4), (5). The enclitic generally attaches to the final word in the interrogative phrase: where the interrogative pronoun completes the phrase, directly to the interrogative; where the phrase includes an NP, the enclitic attaches to the NP (pi-paq-taq 'for whom' ima qullqi-tr 'what money') (6). Enclitics are not employed in the interior of a subordinate clause but may attach to the final word in the clause (¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta qawa-raq-nki? 'Who did you see trample the cat?' ¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta-taq qawa-raq-nki? 'Who did you see trample the cat?').

1. ¿Imay ura-raq chay kunihu-qa kuti-mu-nqa yanapa-ma-na-n-paq? SP
   'What time is that rabbit going to come back to help me?'
2. ¿Ima-tr ka-ku-n? LT
   'What could it be?'
3. Tapu-n, ¿Imapaq waqa-ku-nki, paluma? ACH
   'He asked, "Why are you crying, dove?"'
4. ¿Inti pasa-ru-pti-n imay ura-ta muna-ya-n? AMV
   'What time will it be when the sun sets?'
7.7 Reflexives and Reciprocals

This section partially repeats sections (4.4.2.3.05) and (4.4.2.3.08) on -ku, and -na; consult those sections for further discussion and examples. SYQ employs the verb-verb derivational affixes -kU and -na to indicate reflexive and reciprocal action, respectively.

-kU may indicate that the subject acts on him/herself or that the subject of the verb is the object of the event referred to; that is, -kU derives verbs with the meanings 'V one's self' (1), (2), and 'be Ved' (3), (4). Note that -kU is not restricted to forming reflexives and may also indicate pseudo-reflexives, middles, medio-passives and passives.

-na indicates that two or more actors act reflexively on each other; that is, -na derives verbs with the meaning 'V each other' (5), (6). -na is dependent, never appearing independent of -kU. -chinakU derives verbs with the meaning 'cause each other to V' (7), (8). Preceding any of the derivational affixes -mu, -ykU, or -chi or the inflectional affix -ma, -(chi-na)-kU is realized as -(chi-na)-ka.

(1). Kiki-n-pis Campiona-ku-ru-n.AMV  'They themselves Campioned themselves [took Campion rat poison].'

(2). Kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta traya-ra-mu-n.AMV  'Condemning himself [turning into a zombie], he arrived at the girl's place.'

(3). Mancha-ku-nchik runa wanu-y-paq ka-pty-n.AMV  'We get scared when people die.'

(4). Pampa-ku-ru-n chay-shi.AMV  'He was buried, they say.'

(5). Unay-qa chay ni-shpa willa-na-ku-n ka-q-ta.AMV  'Formerly, saying that, we told each other what was.'

(6). Vali-ku-.: 'Paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ſuqa-kti chay-paq kalpa-shun qampa-kti-ña-taq', ni-na-ku-.:mi.CH  'We solicit each other. "Help me tomorrow," or, "Tomorrow me and then we'll plant yours," we say to each other.'

(7). Yuya-ri-chi-na-ku-ya-n.AMV  'They're making each other remember.'

(8). Kuka-n-kuna-ta tragu-n-kuna-ta muyu-ya-čhi-na-ku-shpa.AMV  'Making their coca and liquor circulate among themselves.'

7.8 Equatives
This section partially repeats section (4.2.3) on equative verbs; consult that section for further discussion and examples. SYQ counts a single copulative verb, *ka-*.

Like the English verb *be*, *ka-* has both copulative (1), (2) and existential (3), (4) interpretations. *ka-* presents the single irregularity in the SYQ verbal system: its third person singular present tense form, *ka-n* never appears in equational statements, but only in existential statements. 'This is a llama' would be translated *Kay-qa llama-m*, while 'There are llamas' would be translated *Llama-qa ka-n-mi*. The evidentials (-*mI*, -*shI* and -*trI*) complete the predicate in the absence of *ka-n* in equational statements (5), (6). SYQ employs a second strategy for filling this gap: the use of the progressive form *ka-ya-n* without progressive meaning (7).

(1)  *Ñuqa-nchik fwirti ka-nchik patachi-ta, matrka-ta, trakra-nchik lluqsi-q-ta miku-shpa-m.* AMV

'We are strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and toasted grain.'

(2)  *Qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y ka-inki.* AMV

'You are my salvation.'

(3)  *Ka-n-ña piña turu.* AMV

'There are mean bulls.'

(4)  *Ranti-q-pis ka-n-taq-mi.* AMV

'There are also buyers.'

(5)  *Vaka-y wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa, allin pastu-ta miku-shpam.* AMV

'Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow is really fat.'

(6)  *Llutan-shi-ki.* LT

'They are deformed, they say.'

(7)  ¿*Alpaka-chu wak ka-ya-n?* AMV

'Is that alpaca [wool]?'

7.9 Possession

This section partially repeats section (3.3.1) on allocation; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ employs the allocation affixes to indicate possession. The allocation (substantive) affixes of SYQ are the same in all dialects for all persons except the first-person singular. Two of the five dialects – AMV and LT – follow the QII pattern, marking the first-person singular with -*y*; three dialects – ACH, CH, and SP – follow the QI pattern marking it with -* (vowel length). The SYQ nominal affixes, then, are: -*y* or -*: (1P), -*Yki* (2P), -*n* (3P), -*nchik* (1PL) (1)-(5).

Table 10 displays this paradigm. In the case of words ending in a consonant, -*ni* – semantically vacuous – precedes the person affix (6). SYQ "have" constructions are formed SUBSTANTIVE-POSS *ka-* (7). In case a noun or pronoun referring to the possessor appears in the same clause, the noun or pronoun is case-marked genitive with either -*pa*, -*pi*, or -*paq* (8), (9).

(1)  *Wiqaw-ni-ý-mi nana-n.* AMV

'My lower back hurts.'
(2). Qusa-\-ta lista-man trura-ru-sa.ACH  
'They put my husband on the list.'

(3). Kimsa-n wambra-yki-kuna taki-ku-ya-n.AMV  
The three of your children are singing.'

(4). ¿May-pi-sh wasi-n-ta lula-ya-n?CH  
'Where did she say she is making her house?'

(5). Chay-na achka wambra-\-nchik-ta familya-nchik-kuna-ta apa-ru-n.ACH  
'So they took away lots of our children, our relatives.'

(6). Ganaw-ni-n-ta qati-ku-\-\-ra galay galay.ACH  
'They grabbed their cattle, absolutely all.'

(7). Mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana gari-yki ka-n-chu.ACH  
'You don't have children, you don't have a husband.'

(8). Duyñu-pa wallqa-n-ta ruwa-n.AMV  
'They make the owner his wallqa (garland).'  
'Geting up, the mule went to the man's house.'

(9). Asnu-qa hatari-shpa-sh ripu-ku-n chay runa-pa wasi-n-man.SP  

7.10  
**Topic**

This section partially repeats section (6.2.07) on -qa consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ uses the enclitic -qa to mark topic.

(1). Ganaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqa.LT  
'Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.'

(2). Chay-na-m unay-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-p-\-n-qa.AMV  
'That's how it was before when there wasn't anything.'

(3). Kanan-qa miku-n muna-sa-nchik qullqi ka-p-\-n-qa.AMV  
'Now we eat whatever we want when there's money.'

'In your town, do you plant barley?'

7.11  
**Emphasis**

In SYQ, it is the evidentials, -mI, -shI, and -trI, that, by virtue of their placement, indicate focus or comment. For example, in (1), the evidential attaches to the direct object, shakash 'guinea pig', and it is that element that is stressed: it is a guinea pig that you are going to butcher tomorrow. In (2) the evidential attaches to the temporal noun pagarin 'tomorrow', with the resulting interpretation: it is tomorrow that you are going to butcher a guinea pig. Evidentials never attach to the topic or subject; these are, rather, marked with -qa, as is qam in (1) and (2).

(1). Pagarin qam-qa shakash-\-tr wañu-chi-\-nki.  
'Tomorrow you'll kill a guinea pig.'

(2). Pagarin-trI qam-qa shakash-\-tr wañu-chi-\-nki.  
'Tomorrow you'll kill a guinea pig.'
7.12 Complementization (infinitive, agentive, indicative and subjunctive clauses)

This section partially repeats section (3.4.1) on substantives derived from verbs; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ forms infinitive complements with -y (1)-(3); purposive complements with -q (4), (5); indicative complements with -sHa (6)-(9), and subjunctive complements with -na (10). Infinitive complements often figure as the object of auxiliary verbs – muna- 'want' (1), atipa- 'be able' (2), and gusta- 'like' (3); indicative complements are common with the verbs yatra- 'know' (7), (8), qunqa- 'forget', qawa 'see' (9), and uyari- 'hear'. Note that infinitive complements are case-marked with accusative -ta and that -q purposive complements only occur with verbs of movement (-na-(POSS)-paq, being used for other verb types (11) (see section 3.4.1.1)).

(1). ¿Muna-nki-chu – sinta-chi-y-ta-qa? AMV 'Do you want to? To piece their ears with ribbons?'

(2). Luku-ya-ru-n runa-lla. Mana-m puñu-y-ta atipa-ra-chu. ACH 'My husband was going crazy. He couldn't sleep.'

(3). Algunus turu-qa runa waqra-y-ta gusta-n. AMV 'Some bulls like to gore people.'

(4). Misa lula-q shamu-n.Ch 'They come to hold mass'.

(5). Pasa-ru-pti-n qawa-q hamu-ni. AMV 'When that happened, I came to see.'

(6). Atipa-sa-n-ta-tri-ki ruwa-n.ACH 'They do what they can.'

(7). Ni may-pa ka-sa-n-ta-pis yatra-:-chu. Waqaku-.ACH 'I don't even know where he is. I cry.'

(8). Kwirpu-: yatra-n imapaq kay-na puli-sha-:-ta-pis.Chi 'My body knows why I walk around like this.'

(9). Ñuqa-qa wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawarqa-ni-chu. AMV 'I didn't see that she carried her baby.'

(10). Puchuka-na-n-ta muna-ni.AMV 'I want them to finish.'

(11). ¡Uqi pullu-yki qawa-chi-na-y-paq kay-na-m ruwa-sa-y!AMV '[Bring] your gray manta so I can show it to her. What I make is like this.'

7.13 Relativization

This section partially repeats section (3.4.1) on substantives derived from verbs; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ forms relative clauses with the four deverbalizing affixes: concretizing -na (1), agentive -q (2), perfective -sHa (3), and infinitive -y (4). As these structures are formally nouns, they are inflected with substantive affixes, not verbal affixes (ranti-sa-yki * ranti-sa-nki 'that you sold') (5); these may be reinforced with possessive pronouns (6). -sHa
may additionally form nouns referring the place where E (7) or the time when E (8). `-ShHa is realized as `-sa in ACH (5), AMV (9) and SP (11); as `-sha in LT (10) and CH. Any substantive constituent – subject (2), object (9), or complement (1) – can be relativized. Nominalizing affixes attach directly to the verb stem, with the exception that the person affixes `-wa/-ma (first person object) and `-sHu (second person object) may intercede (12), (13).

(1)  
Asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-kama-tri-ki chay-na puri-shaq.LT

'tUntil the day I die, I'm going to walk around like that.'

(2)  
Riga-ku-q luna trabaha-ya-:.CH

'the people who water, we're working.'

(3)  
Ñuqa-qa mana-m rima-y-ta yatra-ra-:-chu prufusur-ni-: ni-ma-sa-na-ta.SP

'I didn't know how to say what my teacher said to me.'

(4)  
Chay vila-ku-y puntraw simitivityu-pa.AMV

'The day we lit candles in the cemetery.'

(5)  
Rigala-ku-lla-q ka-: mana rantiku-sa-:-ta-ga.ACH

'I used to give away what I didn't sell.'

(6)  
Qam-pa rantiku-ra-sa-yki-yá chay shakash.AMV

'That guinea pig that YOU sold'

(7)  
Chay fwira-pi chay vila-kuna rantiku-sa-n.AMV

'That's outside where they sell candles.'

(8)  
Urqu-pa ka-ya-sa-nchik-pis.AMV

'When we were in the mountains'

(9)  
Pampa-yku-ni fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta.AMV

'I bury the fruit that I bring.'

(10)  
Kalamina ranti-sha-nchik-kuna.LT

'The tin roofing that we bought'

(11)  
Ni may-man yayku-sa-y yatra-ku-n-chu.SP

'They didn't know even where I had gone in.'

(12)  
Ampulla-kta inyikta-ma-na-nchik-paq.CH

'Ampules to inject us / for injecting us.'

(13)  
Fílu-pa pani-n-qa ni-n, "Maqa-wa-y-ta-m ñuqa-ta pinsa-ya-n".AMV

'Filomena's sister said, "He's thinking about hitting [wants to hit] me."

7.14  
Subordination

This section partially repeats section (4.3.6) on subordination. Consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ counts three subordinating affixes – `-pti, `-shpa, and `-shtin – and one subordinating structure – `-na-POSS-kama. Additionally, in combination with the purposive case affix, `-paq, `-na forms subordinate clauses that indicate the purpose of the action expressed in the main clause (qawa-na-y-paq 'so I can see') (see section 3.4.1.1).

-`pti is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different (huk qawa-pti-n-qa, ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu 'Although others see, we don't see') (1); `-shpa and `-shtin are employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical (tushu-shpa wasi-ta kuti-mu-n...
'Dancing they return home') (2), (3). -pti generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause began prior to that of the main clause but may also be employed in the case those events are simultaneous (urkista-q a traya-mu-pti-n tushu-rqa-nchik 'When the band arrived, we danced'). -shpa generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause (sapu-q a kurrkurrya-shpa kurri-ya-n 'The frog is running going kurr-kurr!') (4) but may also be employed in case the subordinated event precedes the main-clause event (5). -shtin is employed only when the main and subordinate clause events are simultaneous (Awa-shtin miku-chini wambra-y-ta 'By weaving, I feed my children') (6). -pti subordinates are suffixed with allocation affixes (tarpu-pti-nchik 'when we plant') (7); -shpa and -shtin subordinates do not inflect for person or number (*tarpu-shpa-nchik; *tarpu-shtin-yki). Subordinate verbs inherit tense, aspect and conditionality specification from the main clause verb (Ri-shpa qawa-y-man karqa 'If I would have gone, I would have seen') (8). Depending on the context, -pti and -shpa can be translated by 'when' (1), 'if' (9), 'because' (10), (11) 'although' (12) or with a gerund (2). -shtin is translated by a gerund only (3), (6).

-na-ALLO-kama is limitative. It forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to either is simultaneous with (13) or limits (14) the event referred to in the main clause (puñu-na-y-kama 'while I was sleeping'; wañu-na-n-kama 'until she died').

(1) Qawa-yku-pti-n-q a sakristan wañu-rusa.AMV

'When he looked, the care-taker had died.'

(2) Chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kunaqa.AT

'”Chit-chitting,” the goats just left.'

(3) Yanta-kuna-ta qutu-shtin llipta-kuna-ta kaña-ku-shtin, hanay ... yachana karqa.AMV

'Gathering wood, burning ash, we lived up [in the mountains].'

(4) Tragu-wan, kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni.AMV

'With liquor and coca, making them dance, I harvest.'

(5) Familya-nchik-ta wañuri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n.SP

'Ater they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.'

(6) Yatra-ku-nchik imayna-pis maski waqa-ku-shtin-pis ... asi-ku-shtin-pis ... imayna-pis.ACH

'We live however we can, although we're crying ... laughing ... however we can.'

(7) Mana-m paga-wa-pti-ki-q a mana-m wambra-yki-qa alli-ya-nqa-chu.LT

'If you don't pay me, your son isn't going to get better.'

(8) Hamu-pti-y-raq ŋuqa-q a mana-m luqsi-rqa-chu.†AMV

'Not until I came did she leave.' (=‘Until I came, she didn't leave.’)

(9) Kuti-shpa-q a kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta.AMV

'If I come back, I'll come back in two or three years.'

(10) Priykapaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n

'Certainly, he'd be wandering around
mal ka-pti-n.\textit{AMV} \hspace{2cm} \text{worried because his wife is sick.}'

(11). Pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pty-\textit{n}.\textit{AMV} \hspace{2cm} 'He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.'

(12). Qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki \textit{ACH} \hspace{2cm} 'Although you earn money and save it in the bank'

(13). Mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-v-kaman.\textit{AMV} \hspace{2cm} 'I didn't keep watch \textit{while} I was sleeping.'

(14). Traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama-puri-nchik.\textit{AMV} \hspace{2cm} 'We walked until blisters formed on the souls of our feet.'
REFERENCES


