

# **A GRAMMAR OF SOUTHERN YAUYOS QUECHUA<sup>1</sup>**

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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 dialectal 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, Caca/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 Caca/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 Chinch'a's Topará. *Ethnologue*, like Taylor, includes Azángaro/Huangáscar and adds, even, an eighth dialect, that of San Pedro de Huacarpana, spoken on the Chinch'a side of the Yauyos-Chinch'a 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<sup>2</sup> among the dialects of

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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 Chinch'a and Castrovirreyna (Huancavelica) (Landerman 1991: 1.1.3.2.7). Indeed, even the District of Tana was once counted a part of Castrovirreyna.

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 Quechuas (for a list see section 1.4.1).

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## 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-Chocos<sup>3</sup>-Huangáscar (ACH), Cacara-Hongos (CH), and San Pedro (SP), use the same marking (vowel length) for the first person in both nominal and verbal paradigms<sup>4</sup> 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, Apurí-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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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 Cacara use *tíya-*, 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 *ñuqakuna* in place of *ñuqayku* to form the first person plural exclusive as well as *-pa(:)ku* to indicate the plural. Crucially, however, so do both the "QII" SYQ dialects.<sup>5</sup> 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 Caca 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 (*Chinchay Meridional*) languages apart from the rest. Like the QIIC languages, the AMV and LT dialects use the diminutive *-cha*, the emphatic *-ari*, the assertive *-puni*, 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*<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>7</sup> 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

	CH	ACH	SP	AMV	LT
1 Singular nominal inflection	-:	-:	-:	-y	-y
1 Singular verbal inflection	-:	-:	-:	-ni	-ni
1 Singular object inflection	-ma	-ma	-ma	-wa	-wa

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.

1Plural exclusive pronoun <i>ñuqakuna</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Fusion of */ch/ and */tr/	no	no	no	no	no
Fusion of */s/ and */sh/	no	no	no	no	no
S>O inflection order NUM-O-TNS-S	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Vowel length distinctive elsewhere <sup>1</sup>	no	no	no	no	no
Same-subject subordinator <i>-shpa</i>	yes	yes <sup>2</sup>	yes	yes	yes
Narrative past inflection <i>-sHQa</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Comparative <i>-hina</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Diminutive <i>-cha</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Emphatic <i>-ari</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1Plural Altern. Conditional <i>-chuwan</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2Singular Altern. Conditional <i>-waq</i>	no	no	no	yes	no
Assertive <i>-puni</i>	no	no	no	yes	no
Progressive <i>-ya</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Evidential modifier <i>-ki<sup>3</sup></i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Locative <i>-pa</i>	yes <sup>4</sup>	yes	yes	yes	yes
Ablative <i>-paq</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Distributive <i>-kama</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Non-exhaustive <i>-kuna</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Lateralization of */r/	yes <sup>5</sup>	no	no	no	no

1 with the exception of *-pa(:)ku*, where the long vowel distinguishes JTACC from BEN-REFL

2 Caca but not Hongos also uses *-r* (realized [l])

3 also used in Ayacucho (QII)

4 also uses *-traw* (QI)

5 also occurs in Junín (QI)

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 (Chavín), 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:ku* 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 Yúngay* (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*, *-mik*, and *-miki*; *-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).<sup>8</sup>

### 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<sup>9</sup> (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.<sup>10</sup> 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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8 On Aymara and the relationship of Quechua and Aymara see, among others, Adelaar with Musken (2004: 259-317) and Cerrón-Palomino (1994, 2000). On Jaqaru, see, among others, Hardman (1966, 1983, 2000).

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, Caca, Chocos, Hongos, Huangáscar, Lincha, Madeán, and Viñac – as well as in the district of San Pedro de Huacarpana in Chíncha. 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/> and <http://www.ailla.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

	Recording Title	Total length	Portion transcribed & translated	Portion glossed
1	Colcas_LR_ShiningPath	47:20	47:20	47:20
2	Cunyari_CG_Grandmother_Lake	03:50	03:50	03:50
3	Cunyari_ER_Hand	03:30	03:30	03:30
3v	Cunyari_ER_Hand			
4	Cunyari_ER_Weaving	07:10	07:10	07:10
4v	Cunyari_ER_Weaving			

5	Florida_CJ_Cow_Saqirwaytay_Vicuna	05:40	05:40	00:00
6	Florida_JH_Condor_Condenados	13:00	13:00	13:00
7	Florida_PH_Carpentry	03:30	03:30	03:30
7v	Florida_PH_Carpentry			
8	Hongos_LW_Supper	32:30	32:30	32:00
9	Lincha_NF_Deer	17:40	17:40	17:40
9v	Lincha_NF_Deer			
10	Liscay_LP_Various	14:10	14:10	14:10
11	Liscay_SE_Stories	12:50	12:50	12:50
11v	Liscay_SE_Stories			
12	Llanka_BC_LostCow_Milking	26:50	26:50	26:50
13	Madean_GH_FourStories	19:10	04:00	04:00
13v	Madean_GH_FourStories			
14	Madean_VDE_Cheese	12:20	12:20	00:00
14v	Madean_VDE_Cheese			
15	Madean_VDE_Rope	13:00	13:00	00:00
15v	Madean_VDE_Rope			
16	Madean_VDE_Various	18:30	18:30	18:30
16v	Madean_VDE_Various			
17	Nakarumi_DC_MedicinalHerb	03:30	03:30	03:30
17v	Nakarumi_DC_MedicinalHerb			
18	Ortugal_AB_PersonalHistory	11:10	11:10	00:00
19	SanPedro_BS_Various	28:20	22:20	10:30
19v	SanPedro_BS_Various			
20	Shutco_AQ_Goats_C	14:10	14:10	00:00
20v	Shutco_AQ_Goats_C			
21	Shutco_MG_Frog_Dog_Mouse_Bird	05:10	05:10	05:10
22	Shutco_MG_Literacy	06:30	06:30	06:30
23	Tambopata_AB_Comadres	03:00	03:00	03:00
24	Tambopata_AB_Courtship	12:30	06:00	06:00
25	Tambopata_DO_Weaving	14:20	14:20	14:20
25v	Tambopata_DO_Weaving			
26	Tambopata_HT_Harvest	03:50	03:50	00:00
27	Tana_IM_Orchard	31:10	31:10	31:10
27v	Tana_IM_Orchard			
28	Tapalla_RS_Spin	38:50	38:50	38:50
28v	Tapalla_RS_Spin			
29	Villaflor_VA_Dove_Dream	11:50	11:50	11:50
30	Vinac_AM_Lion	05:30	05:30	00:00
31	Vinac_AR_Grandparents	72:40	65:50	65:50
32	Vinac_AR_MedicinalHerbs	23:20	12:40	00:00
33	Vinac_CQ_TwoBrothers	02:00	02:00	02:00
34	Vinac_DC_BroadBean	18:40	06:00	00:00
34v	Vinac_DC_BroadBean			
35	Vinac_DC_Bull	02:30	02:30	00:00
35v	Vinac_DC_Bull			
36	Vinac_DC_Corn	26:30	15:10	00:00
37	Vinac_DC_Gossip	37:00	37:00	37:00
37v	Vinac_DC_Gossip			
38	Vinac_DC_Milking	32:00	32:00	32:00
38v	Vinac_DC_Milking			
39	Vinac_DC_ShiningPath_Disappeared	04:20	04:20	04:20

39v	Vinac_DC_ShiningPath_Disappeared			
40	Vinac_EA_Earthquakes	04:00	04:00	04:00
41	Vinac_EA_Workshop	42:50	04:10	00:00
41v	Vinac_EA_Workshop			
42	Vinac_HQ_Healer†	56:00	56:00	56:00
42v	Vinac_HQ_Healer†			
43	Vinac_HQ_Lamb_NewYear	05:50	05:50	05:50
44	Vinac_JC_Cure	23:50	23:50	23:50
44v	Vinac_JC_Cure			
45	Vinac_MA_Herranza_Candelaria	06:20	06:20	00:00
46	Vinac_MG_Wankas	02:20	02:20	02:20
47	Vinac_MM_Condenados_Burial_Coca	08:10	07:10	07:10
48	Vinac_SH_FiveStories	07:10	07:10	07:10
48v	Vinac_SH_FiveStories			
49	Vinac_SH_Puna_Breasts	07:20	07:20	07:20
50	Vinac_VV_DespachoAlmas	11:20	11:20	11:20
50v	Vinac_VV_DespachoAlmas			
51	Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos	55:10	55:10	55:10
51v	Vinac_VV_TodosMuertos			
52	Yuracsayhua_UY_Bull_Riddles_Souls	11:10	11:10	11:10
52v	Yuracsayhua_UY_Bull_Riddles_Souls			
53	Cunyari_CG_Garden.wav	02:50		
53v	Cunyari_CG_Garden.mpg	06:00		
54	Cunyari_CG_House.wav	10:50		
54v	Cunyari_CG_House.mpg	30:30		
55	Cunyari_CG_OpenCesar.wav	05:50		
55v	Cunyari_CG_OpenCesar.mpg	06:20		
56	Cunyari_CG_Spinning.wav	04:50		
56v	Cunyari_CG_Spinning.mpg	05:20		
57	Esmeralda_FA_Bull.wav	18:00		
57v	Esmeralda_FA_Bull.mpg	05:00		
58	Florida_HQ_Makeup.wav	18:10		
59	Llanka_VV_LimpiaEstanco_C.wav	07:30		
59v	Llanka_VV_LimpiaEstanco.mov	07:50		
60	Madean_GH_Various.wav	08:10		
61	Madean_GH_War.wav	06:30		
61v	Madean_GH_War.mov	06:30		
62	Marca_DC_MedicinalHerbs.wav	11:20		
62v	Marca_DC_MedicinalHerbs.mpg	11:20		
63	Nakarumi_MC_FamilyGov ... .wav	21:40		
63v	Nakarumi_MC_FamilyGov ... .mpg	21:40		
64	Ortigal_AB_PersonalHistory_L.wav	26:10		
65vv	Tambopata_EA_Cinta.mov	05:40		
66vv	Tambopata_VV_Herranza.mpg	02:20		
67vv	Tambopata_VV_Herranza11.mpg	12:50		
68	Vinac_AR_Grandparents5.wav	06:40		
69	Vinac_AR_MedicinalHerbs1.wav	22:20		
70	Vinac_CO_Coca.wav	04:20		
71	Vinac_DA_GetTogether.wav	55:30		
72	Vinac_DC_Alfalfa_C.wav	16:40		
72v	Vinac_DC_Alfalfa.mov	16:40		
73	Vinac_DC_BarleyHarvest_C.wav	38:00		

73v	Vinac_DC_BarleyHarvest_M.mpg	38:40
74	Vinac_DC_CornKnitAvas.wav	12:00
74v	Vinac_DC_CornKnitAvas.mpg	12:00
75	Vinac_DC_Flowers.wav	18:10
75v	Vinac_DC_Flowers.mpg	10:20
76	Vinac_DC_Pachamama.wav	05:00
77	Vinac_DC_Plow_C.wav	25:00
77v	Vinac_DC_Plow.mpg	12:30
78vv	Vinac_DC_Sheep.mpg	03:30
79	Vinac_DC_Various.wav	30:30
80	Vinac_EA_HerranzaSongs.wav	15:10
81	Vinac_EA_Grandmother.wav	15:20
82	Vinac_EA_ShiningPath.wav	19:30
83vv	Vinac_HQ_Butcher.mov	49:40
84vv	Vinac_HQ_GuineaPig.mov	36:20
85	Vinac_HQ_PotatoHarvest_C.wav	10:50
85v	Vinac_HQ_PotatoHarvest.mpg	08:30
86	Vinac_MC_FiveSongs.wav	07:10
87	Vinac_MC_Pictures_C.wav	10:40
88	Vinac_MG_GirlBone.wav	10:00
89	Vinac_MM_BeforeMenYou.wav	26:40
90	Vinac_SH_Lima.wav	15:50
91	Vinac_TD_Stories.wav	21:10
92vv	Vinac_VV_CortaMonte.mpg	02:20
93vv	Vinac_VV_Elections2011.mpg	05:30
94vv	Vinac_VV_Herranza.mpg	03:10
95	Vinac_Heggerty_WordList	06:50

## Phase 2 Audio and Audio-video Recordings.

1-35 with accompanying transcriptions, glosses and translations

	30m 57s	
II.01.t	Cacra_IB_Lexicon.eaf	
II.02.a	Cacra_MB_LifeHistory.wav	18m 08s
II.02.v	Cacra_MB_LifeHistory.mpg	23m 51s
II.02.t	Cacra_MB_LifeHistory.eaf	
II.03.a	Chocos_BD_Pictures.wav	05m 51s
II.03.t	Chocos_BD_Pictures.eaf	
II.04.a	Chocos_JM_Kallwa.wav	09m 40s
II.04.v	Chocos_JM_Kallwa.mpeg	10m 13s
II.04.t	Chocos_JM_Kallwa.eaf	
II.05.a	Hongos_HS_PersonalHistory.wav	16m 33s
II.05.t	Hongos_HS_PersonalHistory.eaf	
II.06.a	Hongos_HS_Stories.wav	45m 59s
II.06.t	Hongos_HS_Stories.eaf	
II.07.a	Hongos_HS_Various.wav	31m 55s
II.07.t	Hongos_HS_Various.eaf	
II.08.a	Hongos_LW_Stories.wav	21m 14s
II.08.t	Hongos_LW_Stories.eaf	
II.09.a	Hongos_MT_Herranza_C.wav	31m 18s
II.09.v	Hongos_MT_Herranza_C.mpeg	10m 47s

II.09.t	Hongos_MT_Herranza_C.eaf	
II.10.a	Huangascar_LG_Various.wav	24m 04s
II.10.t	Huangascar_LG_Various.eaf	
II.11.a	Huangascar_NS_Terrorists.wav	08m 57s
II.11.t	Huangascar_NS_Terrorists.eaf	
II.12.a	Huangascar_VQ_Religion.wav	58m 35s
II.12.t	Huangascar_VQ_Religion.eaf	
II.13.a	Lincha_NF_FrogStory.wav	06m 10s
II.13.t	Lincha_NF_FrogStory.eaf	
II.14.a	Lincha_NF_Sendero.wav	26m 59s
II.14.t	Lincha_NF_Sendero.eaf	
II.15.a	Lincha_NF_TailTrim_C.wav	03m 38s
II.15.v	Lincha_NF_TailTrim_C.mpg	03m 38s
II.15.t	Lincha_NF_TailTrim_C.eaf	
II.16.a	Lincha_SV_Kitchen.wav	17m 12s
II.16.t	Lincha_SV_Kitchen.eaf	
II.17.a	Lincha_SV_Lexicon.wav	34m 39s
II.17.t	Lincha_SV_Lexicon.eaf	
II.18.a	Lincha_SV_Milking_C.wav	16m 10s
II.18.v	Lincha_SV_MilkingSongs.mpg	16m 48s
II.18.t	Lincha_SV_MilkingSongs_C.eaf	
II.19.a	Liscay_EH_Abuse_School.wav	19m 36s
II.19.t	Liscay_EH_Abuse_School.eaf	
II.20.a	Liscay_EH_Sendero_Elopement.wav	25m 05s
II.20.t	Liscay_EH_Sendero_Elopement.eaf	
II.21.a	Liscay_JP_Wife_Adobe.wav	11m 59s
II.21.t	Liscay_JP_Wife_Adobe.eaf	
II.22.a	Liscay_MP_Dreams.wav	26m 51s
II.22.t	Liscay_MP_Dreams.eaf	
II.23.a	Liscay_NF_Sendero_Story.wav	11m 36s
II.23.t	Liscay_NF_Sendero_Story.eaf	
II.24.a	Liscay_SE_Heggarty_WordList.wav	
II.24.t	Liscay_SE_Heggarty_WordList.eaf	
II.25.a	Liscay_TT_CalatoCure.wav	18m 25s
II.25.t	Liscay_TT_CalatoCure.eaf	
II.26.a	Liscay_VV_Milking_C.wav	23m 00s
II.26.v	Liscay_VV_Milking_C.mpeg	23m 00s
II.26.t	Liscay_VV_Milking_C.eaf	
II.27.a	Liscay_VV_Protest_C.wav	19m 48s
II.27.v	Liscay_VV_Protest_C.mpeg	19m 48s
II.27.t	Liscay_VV_Protest_C.eaf	
II.28.a	Miraflores_SG_Wolves.wav (missing)	10m 24s
II.28.t	Miraflores_SG_Wolves.eaf	
II.29.a	Tana_IM_Kitchen.wav	15m 58s
II.29.t	Tana_IM_Kitchen.eaf	
II.30.a	Villafranca_CW_Various.wav	19m 08s
II.30.t	Villafranca_CW_Various.eaf	
II.31.a	Vinac_DC_SheepBath_C.wav	10m 35s
II.31.v	Vinac_DC_SheepBath_C.mpg	10m 35s
II.31.t	Vinac_DC_SheepBath_C.eaf	
II.32.a	Vinac_VV_BodyRetrieval_C.wav	37m 04s
II.32.v	Vinac_VV_BodyRetrieval_C.mpeg	36m 20s

II.32.t	Vinac_VV_BodyRetrieval_C.eaf	
II.33.a	Vinac_EA_Cross_C.wav	09m 11s
II.33.v	Vinac_EA_Cross_C.mpeg	07m 51s
II.33.t	Vinac_EA_Cross_C.eaf	
II.34.a	Vinac_EA_Grandmother.wav	15m 21 s
II.34.t	Vinac_EA_Grandmother.eaf	
II.35.a	Vinac_EA_SwadeshList.wav	05m 02s
II.35.t	Vinac_EA_SwadeshList.eaf	
II.36.a	Apuri_DO_Various.wav	09m 38s
II.37.a	Azangaro_AC_Songs.wav	10m 38s
II.38.a	Cacra_IB_Donkey.wav	16m 46s
II.39.a	Cacra_IB_Lexicon_2.wav	27m 04s
II.40.a	Cacra_IB_Lexicon_3.wav	31m 33s
II.41.a	Cacra_MB_Herranza_C.wav	12m 08s
II.41.v	Cacra_MB_Herranza_C.mpeg	09m 17s
II.42.a	Cacra_MB_Songs.wav	28m 04s
II.42.v	Cacra_MB_Songs.mpeg	23m 30s
II.43.v	Cacra_RW_Herranza_C.mpeg	16m 05s
II.44.a	Cacra_RW_PersonalHistory.wav	10m 54s
II.45.a	Canete_VV_Market.wav	24m 32s
II.45.v	Canete_VV_Market.mpeg	23m 05s
II.46.a	Chocos_BD_HarvestSongs.wav	02m 29s
II.47.a	Chocos_BD_Kallwa.wav	06m 19s
II.47.v	Chocos_BD_Kallwa.mpeg	06m 19s
II.48.a	Chocos_HH_StoriesAlmas.wav	17m42s
II.49.a	Hongos_AH_Birth.wav	10m 12s
II.50.a	Hongos_EC_HerranzaFog.wav	23m 03s
II.51.a	Hongos_HS_Lexicon.wav	36m 53s
II.52.a	Hongos_HS_Songs.wav	28m 03s
II.53.a	Hongos_MT_HerranzaSongs.wav	40m 11s
II.53.v	Hongos_MT_HerranzaSongs.mpg	37m 52s
II.54.a	Hongos_SA_Various.wav	
II.55.a	Hongos_SO_Burial.wav	18m 47s
II.55.v	Hongos_SO_Burial.mpeg	11m 35s
II.56.a	Hongos_SO_Lexicon.wav	19m 03s
II.57.a	Hongos_VV_Harawi	00m 45s
II.58.a	Hongos_VV_JamSession.wav	29m 59s
II.58.v	Hongos_VV_JamSession.mpg	30m 43s
II.59.a	Huangascar_BL_Midwifery.wav	04m 56s
II.60.a	Huangascar_LG_ChildMarriage.wav	04m 47s
II.61.a	Huangascar_LG_PotatoSong.wav	03m 07s
II.62.a	Huangascar_LG_Various.wav	22m 04s
II.63.a	Huangascar_NS_Songs.wav	21m 54s
II.64.a	Huangascar_NS_Stories.wav	27m 28s
II.65.a	Huangascar_PP_PersonalHistory.wav	17m 21s
II.66.a	Huangascar_TR_Stories.wav	14m 52s
II.67.a	Huangascar_VQ_PersonalHistory.wav	36m 29s
II.68.v	Huangascar_VQ_Store.mpg	06m35s
II.69.a	Lincha_AP_Sendero.wav	11m 40s
II.70.a	Lincha_AP_SheepRoundup_C.wav	12m 05s
II.70.v	Lincha_AP_SheepRoundup_C.mpeg	10m 42s
II.71.a	Lincha_NF_Herding.wav	28m 09s

II.71.v	Lincha_NF_Herding.mpg	28m 09s
II.72.v	Lincha_SV_HerranzaSongs.mpg	18m 47s
II.73.a	Lincha_SV_Songs_3.wav	11m 13s
II.74.a	Liscay_CE_Various.wav	20m 55s
II.75.a	Liscay_EF_Motorcycles.wav	09m 04s
II.76.a	Liscay_EH_Vicuna.wav	08m 17s
II.77.a	Liscay_MP_Karkaria_Reservoir.wav	31m 16s
II.78.a	Liscay_MP_Goats_Souls.wav	14m 22s
II.79.a	Liscay_MP_Various.wav	27m 24s
II.80.a	Liscay_NF_Songs.wav	08m 22s
II.81.a	Liscay_RF_Conversation.wav	14m 11s
II.82.a	Liscay_RF_PersonalHistory.wav	12m 06s
II.83.a	Liscay_RO_GlobalWarming.wav	16m 43s
II.84.a	Liscay_SE_Stories_2.wav	39m 59s
II.85.a	Liscay_SW_Sendero.wav	17m 22s
II.86.a	Liscay_VV_Chincha.wav	14m 59s
II.87.a	Liscay_VV_Lanterns_C.wav	05m 36s
II.87.v	Liscay_VV_Lanterns_C.mpeg	05m 36s
II.88.a	Liscay_VV_Procession_C.wav	10m 43s
II.88.v	Liscay_VV_Procession_C.mpeg	10m 43s
II.89.v	Liscay_VV_SanAntonio.mpeg	12m 10s
II.90.a	Marcalla_FG_Various.wav	15m 07s
II.91.a	Marcalla_IG_Various.wav	15m 30s
II.92.a	Tana_AF_Construction.wav	23m 59s
II.93.a	Tana_AF_Youth.wav	05m 45s
II.94.a	Tana_DL_LifeSongsStories.wav	30m 00s
II.95.a	Tana_DL_Stories.wav	23m 31s
II.96.a	Tana_DW_Ghosts.wav	34m 10s
II.97.a	Tapalla_EV_Dialogue.wav	37m 50s
II.98.a	Tapalla_EV_PersonalHistory.wav	22m 57s
II.99.a	Tapalla_EV_PersonalHistory_2.wav	11m 56s
II.100.a	Tapalla_EV_Various.wav	39m 11s
II.101.a	Villafranca_CW_Songs.wav	19m 08s
II.102.a	Villafranca_TT_Various.wav	10m 24s
II.103.a	Vinac_DC_NewChurch.wav	32m 12s
II.103.v	Vinac_DC_NewChurch.mpg	18m 54s
II.104.a	Vinac_EA_Pichqay.wav	18m 02s
II.104.v	Vinac_EA_Pichqay.mpg	17m 58s
II.105.a	Vinac_HQ_BodyRaising.wav	27m 41s
II.106.a	Vinac_HQ_Makeup.wav	18m 07s
II.107.a	Vinac_MC_Weeding_C.wav	04m 25s
II.107.v	Vinac_MC_Weeding_C.mpg	04m 21s
II.108.a	Vinac_VV_BodyRetrieval.wav	37m 41s
II.109.a	Vinac_VV_Candelaria_C.wav	07m 01s
II.109.v	Vinac_VV_Candelaria_C.mpeg	07m 01s
II.110.a	Vinac_VV_Corpus_C.wav	09m 32s
II.110.v	Vinac_VV_Corpus_C.mpeg	09m 32s
II.111.a	Yauyos_VV_Cachuy_C.wav	05m 27s
II.111.v	Yauyos_VV_Cachuy_C.mpg	05m 39s

### 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

*Apurí* AA, DO, Pedro Carrún

#### Madeán

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

#### Viñac

*Viñac* Dona Alvarado; Eudisia 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

Casa Blanca Margarita Madueño

Esmeralda Floriana Centeno, Emilia Guerra

Florida Juana Huari, Leonarda Huari, Neri Huari, Corsinia Javier, Cecilia Quispe

Ortugal AB

Llanka Octavia Arco, Bautista Cárdenas

Qanta Octavio Sulluchuco

Qunyari Cecilia Guerra, Emiliano Rojas,

Shutco María Guerra, Teresa Guerra, Alejandra Quispe,

Tambopata Alejandrina Centeno, Macedonia Centeno, Soylita Chullunkuy  
Hida Evangelista, Soylita Huari

Yuracsayhua Urbana Yauri

### **Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar**

#### Azángaro

*Azángaro* Anselma Caja, Filipa Postillón

Colca Genoveva Rodríguez, Lucía Rodríguez,

Marcalla Fortunato Gutiérrez, Isak Gutiérrez

Puka Rumi Alcibiada Rodríguez

Villaflor Victorina Aguado, Senovia Gutiérrez

#### Chocos

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

#### Huangáscar

*Huangáscar* Benedicta Lázaro, CW, Luisa Gutiérrez, PP, Victoria Quispe, Teódolo Rodríguez, Natividad Saldaña

Tapalla Grutilda Saldaño; Eudisia Vicente

### **Cacra-Hongos**

#### Cacra

*Cacra* Iris Barrosa, Maximina Barrosa, Regina Huamán

#### Hongos

*Hongos* Archi V., Eduardo Centeno, Dina Huamán, Leona Huamán, SA,

Sabina Huamán, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, Maximina Tupac,  
Erlinda Vicente

### **Lincha-Tana**

#### Lincha

*Lincha*

Ninfa Flores, Anselma Vicente, Sofía Vicente

#### Tana

*Tana*

Amador Flores, Gabina Flores, Lucio Flores, Dina Lázaro,  
Elisa Mancha, Isabel Mancha

### **San Pedro de Huacarpana**

#### San Pedro de Huacarpana

*Liscay*

Santa Ayllu, Edwin Fuentes, Neli Fuentes, Elvira Huamán,  
Sofía Huamán, Lucía Martínez, RF, Rosa O., Maximina Paloma,  
Juan Páucar

*San Pedro*

Bernarda S. *et al.*

For help with transcription and the lexicon, unending thanks to Benedicta Lázaro and Martina Reynoso (ACH); Mila Chávez, Delfina Chullunkuy, Esther Madueño, Hilda Quispe, and Celia Rojas (AMV); Iris Barrosa, Gloria Cuevas, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, and Erlinda Vicente, (CH); Ninfa Flores and Sofía Vicente (LT); and Santa Ayllu, Elvira Huamán; Sofía Huamán, and Maximina Paloma (SP).

### **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>) and the DoBeS project (<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 Pacaraos; 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.

*Ishkayninchik ripukushun.*

ishkay-ni-nchik ri-puku-shun  
two-EUPH-1PL go-MUTBEN-1PL.FUT

'The two of us will go.'

'Nos iremos los dos'.

(Florida\_JH\_Condor\_Condenados, 05:11-13)

*Southern Yauyos example*

morpheme breaks

gloss

English free translation

Spanish free translation

Source

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” Eudisia 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, Apurí-Madeán-Viñac; CH, Caca-Hongos; LT, Lincha-Tana; SP, San Pedro de Huacarpana. *Á* 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., GEN<sub>1</sub>, GEN<sub>2</sub>; LOC<sub>1</sub>, LOC<sub>2</sub>). 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., *-paq<sub>1</sub>*, *-paq<sub>2</sub>*, *-paq<sub>3</sub>*). 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)

ø	[ <i>none</i> ]	zero morpheme	nominal or verbal
1 <sub>1</sub>	- <i>y</i>	first person (AMV, LT)	nominal inflection, allocation
1 <sub>2</sub>	- <i>ni</i>	first person (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
1 <sub>3</sub>	-:	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	nominal inflection, allocation
1 <sub>4</sub>	-:	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
1.FUT	- <i>shaq</i>	first person singular future	verbal inflection
1.OBJ	- <i>wa</i>	1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection

1.OBJ	<i>-ma</i>	1P object (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
1>2	<i>-yki<sub>2</sub></i>	1P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
1>2.FUT	<i>-sHQayki</i>	1P subject 2P object future	verbal inflection
1PL <sub>1</sub>	<i>-nchik</i>	first person plural	nominal inflection, allocation
1PL <sub>2</sub>	<i>-nchik</i>	first person plural	verbal inflection
1PL.COND	<i>-chuwan</i>	first person plural conditional	verbal inflection
1PL.FUT	<i>-shun</i>	first person plural future	verbal inflection
2 <sub>1</sub>	<i>-yki<sub>1</sub></i>	second person	nominal inflection, allocation
2 <sub>2</sub>	<i>-nki</i>	second person	verbal inflection
2.COND	<i>-waq</i>	second person conditional	verbal inflection
2.OBJ	<i>-sHu</i>	second person object	verbal inflection
2>1	<i>-wanki</i>	2P subject 1P object	verbal inflection
3 <sub>1</sub>	<i>-n<sub>1</sub></i>	third person	nominal inflection, allocation
3 <sub>2</sub>	<i>-N<sub>2</sub></i>	third person	verbal inflection
3.FUT	<i>-nqa</i>	third person future	verbal inflection
3>1 <sub>1</sub>	<i>-wan<sub>1</sub></i>	3P subject 1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
3>1 <sub>2</sub>	<i>-man</i>	3P subject 1P obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
3>1PL <sub>1</sub>	<i>-wanchik</i>	3P subject 1PL obj (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
3>1PL <sub>2</sub>	<i>-manchik</i>	3P subject 1PL obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
3>2	<i>-shunki</i>	3P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
ABL	<i>-paq<sub>3</sub></i>	ablative	nominal inflection, case
ACC <sub>1</sub>	<i>-ta</i>	accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)	nominal inflection, case
ACC <sub>2</sub>	<i>-Kta</i>	accusative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
ACMP	<i>-sHi</i>	accompaniment	verbal derivation, vv
ADD	<i>-PIs</i>	additive	enclitic
AG	<i>-q</i>	agentive	nominal derivation, vn
ALL	<i>-man<sub>1</sub></i>	allative, dative	nominal inflection, case
BEN <sub>1</sub>	<i>-paq<sub>2</sub></i>	benefactive	nominal inflection, case
BEN <sub>2</sub>	<i>-pU</i>	benefactive, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
CAUS <sub>1</sub>	<i>-rayku</i>	causal	nominal inflection, case
CAUS <sub>2</sub>	<i>-chi</i>	causative	verbal derivation, vv
CERT	<i>-puni</i>	certainty, precision	enclitic
CISL	<i>-mu</i>	cislocative, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
COMP	<i>-hina</i>	comparative	nominal inflection, case
COND	<i>-man<sub>2</sub></i>	conditional	verbal inflection
CONT	<i>-Raq</i>	continuative	enclitic
DEM.D	<i>chay</i>	demonstrative, distal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)

DEM.DD	<i>wak</i>	demonstrative, distal removed	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
DEM.P	<i>kay</i>	demonstrative, proximal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
DESR	<i>-naya</i>	desirative	verbal derivation, vv
DIM <sub>1</sub>	<i>-cha<sub>1</sub></i>	diminutive	restrictive nominal affix
DIM <sub>2</sub>	<i>-cha<sub>2</sub></i>	diminutive	verbal derivation, vv
DISC	<i>-ña</i>	discontinuative	enclitic
DISJ	<i>-chu<sub>3</sub></i>	disjunctive	enclitic
DMY <sub>1</sub>	<i>na</i>	dummy noun	noun
DMY <sub>2</sub>	<i>na-</i>	dummy verb	verb
DUR	<i>-chka</i>	durative-simultaneative	verbal inflection
EMPH <sub>1</sub>	<i>-Yá</i>	emphatic	Enclitic
EMPH <sub>2</sub>	<i>-ARi</i>	emphatic	enclitic
EVC	<i>-trI</i>	evidential - conjectural	enclitic
EVD	<i>-mI</i>	evidential - direct	enclitic
EVR	<i>-shI</i>	evidential - reportative	enclitic
EXCEP	<i>-YkU</i>	exceptional	verbal derivation, vv
EXCL	<i>-pura</i>	exclusive	nominal inflection, case
F	<i>-a</i>	feminine	nominal, adjectival inflection
FACT	<i>-cha<sub>3</sub></i>	factive	verbal derivation, nv
FREQ	<i>-katra</i>	frequentive	verbal derivation, vv
GEN <sub>1</sub>	<i>-pa<sub>1</sub></i>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
GEN <sub>2</sub>	<i>-pi<sub>1</sub></i>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
IK	<i>-ik</i>	evidential modifier (strong)	enclitic
IKI	<i>-iki</i>	evidential modifier (strongest)	enclitic
INCEP <sub>1</sub>	<i>-ri<sub>1</sub></i>	inceptive	verbal derivation, vv
INCH	<i>-ya<sub>3</sub></i>	inchoative	verbal derivation, sv
INCL	<i>-ntin</i>	inclusive	nominal derivation, nn
INF	<i>-y<sub>2</sub></i>	infinitive	nominal derivation, vs
INJUNC	<i>-chun</i>	injunctive	verbal inflection
IMP	<i>-y<sub>3</sub></i>	imperative	verbal inflection
INSTR	<i>-wan<sub>2</sub></i>	instrumental - comitative	nominal inflection, case
INTENS	<i>-ya<sub>2</sub></i>	intensifier	verbal derivation, vv
IRREV	<i>-tamu</i>	irreversible change	verbal derivation, vv
JTACT	<i>-pa(:)ku</i>	joint action	verbal derivation, vv
LIM <sub>1</sub>	<i>-kama<sub>1</sub></i>	limitative	nominal inflection, case
LIM <sub>2</sub>	<i>-kama<sub>2</sub></i>	limitative	verbal derivation, vv
LOC <sub>1</sub>	<i>-pa<sub>2</sub></i>	locative	nominal inflection, case

LOC <sub>2</sub>	<i>-pi<sub>2</sub></i>	locative	nominal inflection, case
LOC <sub>3</sub>	<i>-traw</i>	locative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
M	<i>-o, -u</i>	masculine	nominal, adjectival inflection
MULT.ALL	<i>-sapa</i>	multiple possessive	nominal derivation, nn
MUTBEN	<i>-pUkU</i>	mutual benefit	verbal derivation, vv
NEG	<i>-chu<sub>1</sub></i>	negation	enclitic
NonEXHST	<i>-kuna<sub>2</sub></i>	non-exhaustive	nominal derivation, nn
NMLZ	<i>-na<sub>1</sub></i>	nominalizer	nominal derivation, vn
PART	<i>-masi</i>	partnership	nominal derivation, nn
PASS	<i>-raya</i>	passive	verbal derivation, vv
PASSACC	<i>-ka</i>	passive, accidental	verbal derivation, vv
PHT	[various]	phatism	multi
PL <sub>1</sub>	<i>-kuna</i>	plural	nominal inflection
POSS	<i>-yuq</i>	possessive	nominal derivation, nn
PRF <sub>1</sub>	<i>-sHa<sub>1</sub></i>	perfect	nominal derivation, vs
PRF <sub>2</sub>	<i>-sHa<sub>2</sub></i>	perfect	verbal inflection
PROG	<i>-ya<sub>1</sub></i>	progressive	verbal inflection
PROH	<i>ama</i>	prohibitive	particle
PST	<i>-RQa</i>	past tense	verbal inflection
PURP	<i>-paq<sub>3</sub></i>	purposive	nominal inflection, case
Q	<i>-chu<sub>2</sub></i>	question marker	enclitic
RECP	<i>-nakU</i>	reciprocal	verbal derivation, vv
REFL	<i>-kU</i>	reflexive-middle-med.passive	verbal derivation, vv
REPET	<i>-pa<sub>3</sub></i>	repetitive	verbal derivation, vv
RPST	<i>-sHQa</i>	reportative past tense	verbal inflection
RSTR	<i>-lla</i>	restrictive	enclitic
SEQ	<i>-taq</i>	sequential	enclitic
SIMUL	<i>-tuku</i>	simulative	verbal derivation, vv
SUBADV	<i>-shtin</i>	subordinator - adverbial	nominal derivation, vn
SUBDS	<i>-pti</i>	subordinator different subjects	nominal derivation, vn
SUBIS	<i>-shpa</i>	subordinator identical subjects	nominal derivation, vn
TOP	<i>-qa</i>	topic	enclitic
UNINT	<i>-Ra</i>	uninterrupted action	verbal derivation, vv
URGT	<i>-RU</i>	urgent, personal interest	verbal derivation, vv
VRBZ	<i>-na<sub>2</sub></i>	verbalizer	verbal derivation, nv

Table 4. Morphemes codes (sorted by morpheme)

-:	1 <sub>4</sub>	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
-:	1 <sub>3</sub>	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	nominal inflection, allocation
-:ri	PL <sub>3</sub>	plural (SP)	verbal derivation/inflection, vv
-a	F	feminine	nominal, adjectival inflection
-aRi	EMPH <sub>2</sub>	emphatic	enclitic
-cha <sub>1</sub>	DIM <sub>1</sub>	diminutive	restrictive nominal affix
-cha <sub>2</sub>	DIM <sub>2</sub>	diminutive	verbal derivation, vv
-cha <sub>3</sub>	FACT	factive	verbal derivation, nv
-traw	LOC <sub>3</sub>	locative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
-chi	CAUS <sub>2</sub>	causative	verbal derivation, vv
-chka	DUR	durative-simultaneative	verbal inflection
-chu <sub>1</sub>	NEG	negation	enclitic
-chu <sub>2</sub>	Q	question marker	enclitic
-chu <sub>3</sub>	DISJ	disjunctive	enclitic
-chun	INJUNC	injunctive	verbal inflection
-chuwan	1PL.COND	first person plural conditional	verbal inflection
-hina	COMP	comparative	nominal inflection, case
-ik	IK	evidential modifier (strong)	enclitic
-iki	IKI	evidential modifier (strongest)	enclitic
-ka	PASSACC	Passive, accidental	verbal derivation, vv
-kama <sub>1</sub>	LIM <sub>1</sub>	limitative	nominal inflection, case
-kama <sub>2</sub>	LIM <sub>2</sub>	limitative	verbal derivation, vv
-katra	FREQ	frequentive	verbal derivation, vv
-Kta	ACC <sub>2</sub>	accusative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
-kU	REFL	reflexive-middle-med.passive	verbal derivation, vv
-kuna <sub>1</sub>	PL <sub>1</sub>	plural	nominal inflection
-kuna <sub>2</sub>	NonEXHST	non-exhaustive	nominal derivation, nn
-lla	RSTR	restrictive	enclitic
-ma	1.OBJ	1P object (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
-man <sub>1</sub>	ALL	allative, dative	nominal inflection, case
-man <sub>2</sub>	COND	conditional	verbal inflection
-manchik	3>1PL <sub>2</sub>	3P subject 1PL obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
-masi	PART	partnership	nominal derivation, nn
-mI	EVD	evidential - direct	enclitic
-mu	CISL	cislocative, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
-n	3 <sub>1</sub>	third person	nominal inflection, allocation

<i>-N</i>	3 <sub>2</sub>	third person	verbal inflection
<i>-ña</i>	DISC	discontinuative	enclitic
<i>-na<sub>1</sub></i>	NMLZ	nominalizer	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-na<sub>2</sub></i>	VRBZ	verbalizer	verbal derivation, nv
<i>-nakU</i>	RECP	reciprocal	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-naya</i>	DESR	desirative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-nchik<sub>1</sub></i>	1PL <sub>1</sub>	first person plural	nominal inflection, allocation
<i>-nchik<sub>2</sub></i>	1PL <sub>2</sub>	first person plural	verbal inflection
<i>-ni<sub>1</sub></i>	1 <sub>2</sub>	first person (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-ni<sub>2</sub></i>	EUPH	euphonic	nominal inflection
<i>-nki</i>	2 <sub>2</sub>	second person	verbal inflection
<i>-nqa</i>	3.FUT	third person future	verbal inflection
<i>-ntin</i>	INCL <sub>1</sub>	inclusive	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-o, -u</i>	M	masculine	nominal, adjectival inflection
<i>-pa:ku</i>	JTACT	joint action	verbal derivation/inflection, vv
<i>-pa<sub>1</sub></i>	GEN <sub>1</sub>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pa<sub>2</sub></i>	LOC <sub>1</sub>	locative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pa<sub>3</sub></i>	REPET	repetitive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-paq<sub>1</sub></i>	ABL	ablative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-paq<sub>2</sub></i>	BEN	benefactive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-paq<sub>3</sub></i>	PURP	purposive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pi<sub>1</sub></i>	GEN <sub>2</sub>	genitive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pi<sub>2</sub></i>	LOC <sub>2</sub>	locative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-PIs</i>	ADD	additive	enclitic
<i>-pti</i>	SUBDS	subordinator different subjects	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-pU</i>	BEN <sub>2</sub>	benefactive, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-pUkU</i>	MUTBEN	mutual benefit	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-puni</i>	CERT	certainty, precision	enclitic
<i>-pura</i>	EXCL	exclusive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-q</i>	AG	agentive	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-qa</i>	TOP	topic	enclitic
<i>-Ra</i>	UNINT	uninterrupted action	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-Raq</i>	CONT	continuative	enclitic
<i>-Raya</i>	PASS	passive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-rayku</i>	CAUS <sub>1</sub>	causal	nominal inflection, case
<i>-ri<sub>1</sub></i>	INCEP <sub>1</sub>	inceptive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-RQa</i>	PST	past tense	verbal inflection

<i>-RU</i>	URGT	urgent, personal interest	verbal derivation, vv (inflective)
<i>-sapa</i>	MULT.ALL	multiple possessive	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-sHa<sub>1</sub></i>	PRF <sub>1</sub>	perfect	nominal derivation, vs
<i>-sHa<sub>2</sub></i>	PRF <sub>2</sub>	perfect	verbal inflection
<i>-shaq</i>	1.FUT	first person singular future	verbal inflection
<i>-shI</i>	EVR	evidential - reportative	enclitic
<i>-sHi</i>	ACMP	accompaniment	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-shpa</i>	SUBIS	subordinator identical subjects	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-sHQa</i>	RPST	reportative past tense	verbal inflection
<i>-sHQayki</i>	1>2.FUT	1P subject 2P object future	verbal inflection
<i>-shtin</i>	SUBADV	subordinator - adverbial	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-sHu</i>	2.OBJ	second person object	verbal inflection
<i>-shun</i>	1PL.FUT	first person plural future	verbal inflection
<i>-shunki</i>	3>2	3P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
<i>-ta</i>	ACC <sub>1</sub>	accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)	nominal inflection, case
<i>-tamu</i>	IRREV	irreversible change	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-taq</i>	SEQ	sequential	enclitic
<i>-trI</i>	EVC	evidential - conjectural	enclitic
<i>-tuku</i>	SIMUL	simulative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-wa</i>	1.OBJ	1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-wan<sub>1</sub></i>	3>1 <sub>1</sub>	3P subject 1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-wan<sub>2</sub></i>	INSTR	instrumental - comitative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-wanchik</i>	3>1PL <sub>1</sub>	3P subject 1PL obj (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-wanki</i>	2>1	2P subject 1P object	verbal inflection
<i>-waq</i>	2.COND	second person conditional	verbal inflection
<i>-y<sub>1</sub></i>	1 <sub>1</sub>	first person (AMV, LT)	nominal inflection, allocation
<i>-y<sub>2</sub></i>	INF	infinitive	nominal derivation, vs
<i>-y<sub>3</sub></i>	IMP	imperative	verbal inflection
<i>-Yá</i>	EMPH <sub>1</sub>	emphatic	enclitic
<i>-ya<sub>1</sub></i>	PROG	progressive	verbal inflection
<i>-ya<sub>2</sub></i>	INTENS	intensifier	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-ya<sub>3</sub></i>	INCH <sub>2</sub>	inchoative	verbal derivation, sv
<i>-yki<sub>1</sub></i>	2 <sub>1</sub>	second person	nominal inflection, allocation
<i>-yki<sub>2</sub></i>	1>2	1P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
<i>-YkU</i>	EXCEP	exceptional	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-yuq</i>	POSS	possessive	nominal derivation, nn
[ <i>none</i> ]	∅	zero morpheme	nominal or verbal

[various]	PHT	phatism	multi
<i>ama</i>	PROH	prohibitive	particle
<i>chay</i>	DEM.D	demonstrative, distal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
<i>kay</i>	DEM.P	demonstrative, proximal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
<i>na</i>	DMY <sub>1</sub>	dummy noun	noun
<i>na-</i>	DMY <sub>2</sub>	dummy verb	verb
<i>wak</i>	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

## 2. 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 of 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 [č] and [ĉ];<sup>11</sup> [k], [q]<sup>12</sup> and [h]<sup>13</sup>; [l] and [λ];<sup>14</sup> [n] and [ñ];<sup>15</sup> and [s] and [š];<sup>16</sup> 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, Cacara-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 (wasi-: 'my house' and puri-: 'I walk'). The Cacara-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 [š], respectively.<sup>17</sup> The first of these mutations it has

11 In Ecuador, Columbia, Bolivia, Argentina, as well as in the east and south of Peru, \*/ĉ/ underwent deretroflexion. SYQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like *trina* 'female', *trupa* 'tail', *katrka*- 'knew', and *qutra* 'lagoon'. Thus, in SYQ, *traki* 'foot' contrasts with *chaki* 'dry'.

12 \*/q/ was neither velarized nor glottalized in SYQ. The language retains, for example, the PQ forms *qusa* 'husband', *gasa*- 'freeze', *waga*- 'cry', *agu* 'sand', *uqu*- 'wet', *wigaw* 'waist', *wagra* 'horn', and *atug* 'fox'. SYQ thus retains contrasts like those between *qiru* 'stick' and *kiru* 'tooth'; *qilla* 'lazy' and *killa* 'moon'.

13 \*/h/ appears in SYQ, as in PQ, principally word-initially, as in *hapi*- 'grab', *hampi*- 'cure', and *haya*- 'be 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-morphemes, he calls it “un elemento marginal y parasitario” ('a marginal and parasitic element'). He admits, however, that the hypothesis that PQ included palatal lateral (/l/) but not an 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). W. Adelaar (p.c.) writes, "in support of the controversial status of \*/l/ which runs against the universal tendency that /l/ presupposes /l/, there is the case of Amuesha (Yanesha'). This language has a generalized palatal vs. non-palatal opposition in its consonant inventory, but precisely \*/l/ is missing (apparently an areal feature shared with Quechua)." I have postulated an /l/ for SYQ, as both [λ] and [l] appear in more than just a few marginal lexemes. [λ] appears in SYQ lexemes like *llaki* 'sadness', *lluqsi*- 'exit', *allin* 'good', *allqu* 'dog', *tullu* 'bone', *ayllu* 'family', *wallqa* 'garland', and *kallpa* 'strength', among many others. As for [l], as noted in section 2.2, it appears, first, as an allomorph of /r/ in the CH dialect. It also appears in exclamations like *alalaw!* 'how cold!' and *añalaw!* 'how beautiful!' (which occur in Jaqaru, a neighboring Aymara language, as well (Belleza Castro)), as well as in onomatopoeic terms like *luqluqluqya*- 'make the sound of boiling'. Finally, crucially, [l] also appears in a non-negligible number of semantically contentful lexemes, including *lapu*- 'slap', *lapcha*- 'touch', *laqatu* 'slug', *lashta* 'snow', *lawka*- 'feed a fire', *layqa*- 'bewitch', *lani* 'penis', *lumba* 'without horns', *alpaka* 'alpaca', *almi*- 'forge a river', and *alqalli* 'testicle'. [l]/[λ] minimal pairs can be found in contemporary SYQ in the CH dialect where [l] is an allomorph of /r/. These pairs include *laki*- 'separate' and *llaki* 'grieve'; *tali*- 'find' and *talli*- 'pour'; *lunku* 'sack' and *llunku* 'picky'; and *lulu* 'kidney' and *llulu* 'unripe'.

15 In SYQ, [ñ] did not undergo depalatalization as it did in the Quechuas of Central Peru. [ñ] figures in the first-person personal pronoun *ñuqa* as well as in lexemes such as *ñakari* 'suffer', *ñaña* 'sister', *ñiti*- 'crush', *ñawsa* 'blind', and *ñañu* 'thin'. Examples of [n]/[ñ] minimal pairs include *aña* 'mole' and *aña*- 'scold'; and *na* DMY and *ña* DISC.

16 [š] suffered depalatalization throughout the south. SYQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like *shimi* 'mouth', *shunqu* 'heart', *shipash* 'maiden', *washa* 'back', *ishkay*, 'two', *mishki* 'sweet'. [s]/[š] minimal pairs include *suqu* 'gray hair' and *shuqu*- 'sip'. One also finds contrasts between the native-borrowed pairs *ashta*- 'move' and *ashta* 'until'; and *asha*- 'yawn' and *asa*- 'anger'.

17 Willem Adelaar (p.c.) writes that, at least with regard to the examples given here and below, the "Cacara-Hongos

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' → [qeɭa], /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-ḥ* 'my house' and *puri-ḥ* 'I walk' (rendered '*wasi-y*' and *puri-ni* in the AMV and LT dialects)).

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

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development of \*/s/ to /h/ is found throughout Junín (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 Martín." *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/;<sup>18</sup> voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/.

In the Cacara-Hongos dialect, the protomorpheme \*/r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l] (\**r*una > *l*una 'person', \**r*i-y > *l*i-y 'go!', \**h*arka- > *h*alka- 'herd'); and word-initial \*/s/ and \*/h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h]<sup>19</sup> and [ʃ], respectively (\**s*apa > *h*apa 'alone', \**s*urqu- > *h*urqu- 'take out', \**h*amu- > *sh*amu- 'come', \**h*ampatu > *sh*ampatu 'frog').<sup>20</sup> 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').<sup>21</sup>

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

	Front	Central	Back
<b>Closed (High)</b>	i		u
<b>Closed (Mid)</b>			
<b>Open (Low)</b>		a	

Table 6. Consonant Inventory

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
<b>Voiceless plosive</b>	p		t		tr [č][t]	ch [č][c]	k	q

18 In SYQ, \*/p/ \*/t/ and \*/k/ were not sonorized. SYQ retains PQ forms like *wampu* 'boat' and *shimpa* 'braid'; *inti* 'sun' and *anta* 'copper-colored'; and *punki* 'swell' and *punku* 'door, entryway'.

19 According to Parker (1971:51-62) this mutation of word-initial /s/ into /h/ occurs as well in all the QB lects, including the three Huanca lects, those of Yauyos' immediate neighbor to the north, Junín. In CH, as in the QB lects, many stems retain initial /s/: *supay* 'phantom', *sipi* 'root', *siki* 'behind', *supi* 'fart', *suwa*- 'to rob', *sinqa* 'nose', *sasa* 'hard', and *siqna* 'wrinkle'. CH also shares with Junín the mutation of r to l. CH patterns with Huanca with regard to all but one of the phonological innovations common to the lects of other QB regions. For example, CH and Huanca retain ñ and ll, ch and tr.

20 Further examples: *saru*- > *haru*- 'trample', *sara* > *hara* 'corn', *siqa*- > *hiqa*- 'go up', *sira*- > *hila*- 'sew', *sama* > *hama* 'rest'.

21 In Lincha and Tana – Cacara and Hongos' immediate neighbors to the north-east and south-west, respectively – speakers may realize word-initial \*/r/ and \*/s/ as [l] and [h], respectively, in a few cases (\**r*unku- > *l*unku- 'bag', \**s*apa > *h*apa 'alone'). These substitutions are not systematic, however, and remain exceptions.

<b>Voiced plosive</b>	(b)		(d)				(g)	
<b>Nasal</b>	m		n			ɲ [ɲ][ɲ]		
<b>Trill</b>			(rr)[r]					
<b>Tap or Flap</b>			r [ɾ]					
<b>Voiceless fricative</b>		(f)	s	sh [ʃ][ʃ]			h	
<b>Voiced fricative</b>		(v)						
<b>Approximant</b>	w <sup>22</sup>					y [j]		
<b>Lateral approximant</b>			l			ʎ [ʎ][ʎ]		

Table 7. Morphophonemics

/n/	realized as [m] before /p/; in free alternation with nasalization of the preceding vowel before /m/; (i.e., <i>rinan<u>pa</u>q</i> → [rinam <u>pa</u> q])
/m/	[m] is free alternation with [n] before /w/ and /m/ (i.e., <i>qam<u>ma</u>n</i> → [qan <u>ma</u> n])
/k/	[k] is in free alternation with [ø] before /k/ and /q/ (i.e., <i>wak<u>qa</u></i> → [wa <u>qa</u> ])
/q/	[q] is in free alternation with [ø] before /q/ (i.e., <i>ruwa<u>qqa</u></i> → [ruwa <u>qa</u> ])
/q/	[q] is in free alternation with [g] after /n/ (i.e., <i>ring<u>a</u></i> → [ring <u>a</u> ])
/-qa/ TOP	[qa] is in free alternation with [aq] after [aj] (i.e., <i>chay-<u>qa</u></i> → [ʧaj <u>aq</u> ])
/u/	realized as [o] or [ʊ] when it figures in a syllable that includes /q/ (i.e., <i>ur<u>qu</u></i> → [or <u>qo</u> ])
/i/	realized as [e] or [ɛ] when it figures in a syllable that includes /q/ (i.e., <i>qill<u>u</u></i> → [qe <u>ʎu</u> ])

## 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

<sup>22</sup> Labio-velar

strategies: (a) the elimination of one or the other of the two vowels ('aceite' → *asiti* 'oil'); (b) the replacement of one of the two vowels by a semiconsonant ('cuerpo' → *kwirpu* 'body', 'sueño' → *suyñu* 'dream'); or (c) the insertion of a semiconsonant between the two vowels ('cualquiera' → *kuwalkiyera* 'any'). In the special case where the sequence 'ue' or 'ua' is preceded by 'h' – generally silent in Spanish – 'h' and 'u' together are replaced by the semiconsonant [w] ('huérfano' → *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 epenthetic vowel ('groche' → *guruchi* '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:

<u>No restructuring</u>		<u>Restructuring</u>	
<i>kanásta-wan</i>	Sp. 'canásta' 'basket'	<i>tirruristá-wan</i>	Sp. 'terrorísta' 'terrorist'
<i>fwírata</i>	Sp. 'fuéra' 'outside'	<i>Kañití-ta</i>	Sp. 'Cañéte' 'Cañete'
<i>mútu-qa</i>	Sp. 'móto' 'motorcycle'	<i>vaká-qa</i>	Sp. 'váca' 'cow'

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-tri* '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 /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/. 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' → *baldi* 'bucket'; 'doctor' → *duktur* 'doctor'; 'carro' → *karru* 'car'; 'fiesta' → *fiysta* 'festival'; 'velar' → *yilaku-* 'watch', 'hold vigil').

*Phonemic inventory – vowels.* The inventory of Spanish vowels includes two foreign to SYQ: /o/ and /e/ ('Dios' 'God'; 'leche' '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' → *sirbisa* 'beer'). This does indeed occur. More commonly, however, [o] and [e] are either replaced by the /u/ and /i/ allophones [ʊ] and [ɪ] ('cosa' → [kʊsa] '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 unstructured, 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'	→ <i>suliyā-</i>	'sun'
au → aw	'autoridad'	→ <i>awturidad</i>	'official'
ía → iya	'policía'	→ <i>pulisiyā</i>	'police'

ia → ya	'familia'	→ <i>familya</i>	'family'
ie → iy	'siempre'	→ <i>siympri</i>	'always'
io → yu	'invidioso'	→ <i>inbidyusu</i>	'jealous'
ío → iyu	'tío'	→ <i>tiyu</i>	'uncle'
ua → wa	'guardia'	→ <i>gwardya</i>	'guard'
ue → wi	'cuento'	→ <i>kwintu</i>	'story'
ue → uy	'sueño'	→ <i>suyñu</i>	'dream'

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: onomatopoeic 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 (*achachallaw* '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).  | <i>Warmi-n-pis qati-pa-ru-n urqu-ta</i> .AMV  | 'His <u>wife</u> threw him to the <u>hills</u> .'   |
| (2)*. | <i>Qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n, masha-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n</i> .AMV                             | 'She killed her <u>husband</u> , they say; she killed her <u>son-in-law</u> , they say.'  |
| (3).  | <i>Lata-wan yanu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra</i> .ACH                                   | 'They even cooked <u>people</u> in metal <u>pots</u> , they say, and ate them.'   |
| (4).  | <i>Unay-kuna-qa watu-ta ruwa-q ka-ya-nchik llama-paq-pis alpaka-paq-pis</i> .AMV                | 'In the old days, we used to make <u>rope</u> from [the wool of] <u>llamas</u> and <u>alpacas</u> .'                                    |
| (5).  | <i>Ukucha-pa trupa-lla-n-ta paluma-qa qu-yku-n</i> .ACH   | 'The <u>dove</u> gave them the <u>tail</u> of a <u>mouse</u> .'   |
| (6).  | <i>Wamanripa puna karu-pa-raq-tri ka-ya-n. Awkichanka-pa-raq-tri qaqa-pa</i> .AMV               | 'There must be <u>wamanripa</u> [flowers] far in the <u>puna</u> still; there must be some in <u>Awkichanca</u> on the <u>cliffs</u> .' |
| (7).  | <i>Wak ukucha-qa puraminti sibada-y-ta puchuka-ru-sa-ø shipra-lla-ta-ña-m saha-ru-sa-ø</i> .AMV | 'That <u>mouse</u> had completely finished off my <u>barley</u> and had left just <u>chaff</u> .'                                       |

*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 adverbally 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 chawa-nchik*.AMV 'Now we milk a cow into a cup.'
- (3). *Pishipa-ru-lla-ni-ña-m. Kuti-mu-nki paqarin*.AMV 'I'm tired already. You'll come back tomorrow.'
- (4). *"Kanan huras Dios Tayta-nchik qarqu-mu-wa-n", ni-n-shi*.AMV "'God Our Father is now throwing me out [of heaven]," he said.'
- (5). *Rinri-lla-:-pis upa-ru-ra qayna wata-qa*.ACH 'My ears went deaf last year.'
- (6). *Qayna huk wata-hina timblur yapa kay-pa ka-pti-n-qa*.AMV 'About a year ago, when there was an earthquake here again.'

*Kanan vakataq pusillaman chawayanchik kabratahina.*

kanan vaka-taq pusi-lla-man chawa-ya-nchik kabra-ta-hina.  
 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 lechamos 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)\*. *¿Kay-lla-ta nisita-nki, aw, tiyu? ¿Llama wira-ta?*AMV 'You need only this, uncle, llama fat?'
- (2). *Chay-tri Tiya Alejandra-qa Shutco-lla-pa yatra-rqa*.AMV 'That must be why Aunt Alexandra lived just in Shutco.'
- (3). *Wak karu puri-ku-sha-y-ta ansyana-ña ka-sha-y-ta*.LT 'There where I've walked far, an old lady already.'
- (4). *Unay unay blusa-ta-raq-chu hina-m ushtu-roya-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?*

kay-lla-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)* | <i>Qipa-nchik hamu-ya-n runa-hina</i> .AMV   | 'Behind us it comes like a person.'  |
| (2)  | <i>Hinashpa-qa hatari-ru-: Allqu-kuna yata-n-pa ka-ra</i> ...ACH                       | 'Then I got up. His dog was <u>at his side</u> .'                          |
| (3)  | <i>Kalamina hawa-n-ta pasa-ra-chi-sa uku-n-man saqa-ku-yku-sa</i> .AMV                 | 'He made him go <u>on top of</u> the tin roof and he fell <u>inside</u> .' |
| (4)  | <i>Planta-cha-qa alfa-pa trawpi-n-pa wiña-n</i> .AMV                                   | 'The little plant grows in the <u>middle</u> of alfalfa [fields].'         |
| (5)  | <i>Kalabira, tullu, wamaq wamaq chay uku-paq ka-ku-ya-n</i> .ACH                       | 'Skeletons, bones – there are a lot there <u>inside</u> .'                 |
| (6)  | <i>Uma nana-y-paq ... trura-ru-nchik huk limun-ta-m trawpi-paq parti-ru-nchik</i> .AMV | 'For headaches ... we put a lime – we cut it in the <u>center</u> .'       |

#### *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 *ñuqa* 'I'; *qam* 'you'; *pay* 'she/he'; *ñuqanchik* '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: *ñuqa-qa* (1-TOP) 'I'; *nuqa-ta* (1-ACC) 'me'; *ñuqa-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'; *sapa-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 *ñuqa*, *qam*, *pay*

SYQ counts three pronominal stems – *ñuqa*, *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: *ñuqakuna*, *qamkuna*, and *paykuna* (4), (5) and (6). SYQ makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural among *ñuqanchik* (dual), *ñuqanchikkuna* (inclusive), and *ñuqakuna* (exclusive) (7), (8), (9). *Ñuqakuna* is employed in all five dialects (10)-(12). In practice, except in CH, *ñuqanchik* 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 *ñuqanchikkuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default *ñuqanchik* (13); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive *ñuqakuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular *ñuqa* (14), (15). In the verbal and nominal paradigm tables below, I sometimes make abstraction of *ñuqanchikuna* and *ñuqakuna* noting here that the first patterns with *ñuqanchik*, the second with *ñuqa*. 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 *ñuqanchik Viñac-pa* 'we in Viñac'.

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (1).  | <i>Ka-la-: Cañete-pi chay-pi-m uyari-la-: ñuqa-pis.CH</i>              | 'I was in Cañete. <u>I</u> , too, heard it there.'             |
| (2).  | <i>Mana-m nuqa-qa Viñaq-ta riqsi-:-chu. ¿Qam riqsi-nki-chu, Min?CH</i> | 'I don't know Viñac. Do <u>you</u> know it, Min?'              |
| (3).  | <i>Pay-qa hatari-ru-sha-ña-m rika-q.LT</i>                             | ' <u>He</u> had already gotten up to see.'                     |
| (4)*. | <i>Huk qawa-pti-n-qa, ñuqanchik qawa-nchik-chu.AMV</i>                 | 'Although others see it, <u>we</u> don't see it.'              |
| (5)*. | <i>"Qam-kuna ashi-pti-ki-m chinka-ku-n", ni-:CH</i>                    | '"When <u>you</u> were looking for him, he got lost," I said.' |
| (6).  | <i>¿Mana-chu pay-kuna wak-pa wasi-n-pi miku-n uqa-ta?AMV</i>           | 'There in her house, don't <u>they</u> eat oca?'               |
| (7).  | <i>Ishkay ka-shpa-lla-m "ñuqanchik" ni-n.AMV</i>                       | 'If there are only two people, they say                        |

- ñuqanchik.'*
- (8). *Kay-pi ñuqanchik-kuna-qa kustumbraw-mi ka-nchik.*AMV 'Around here, we're used to it.'
- (9). *Unay ñuqa-kuna-qa mana-m qawa-rqa-ni-chu, pay-kuna-qa alminus mana-m qawa-rqa-pis-chu.*AMV 'Before, we didn't see, but they, at least, didn't see either.'
- (10). *Mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa talpu-la-:-chu pay-pa wawi-n-mi talpu-la-ø.*CH 'We haven't planted. Her children have planted.'
- (11). *Chay-na-kuna-m ñuqa-kuna kwintu-: ka-ra-ø.*SP 'That's how our stories were.'
- (12). *Lincha-pi ñuqa-kuna-pa ka-n-chu.*LT 'We don't have any in Lincha.'
- (13). *Kriyi-nchik ñuqanchik-kuna.*AMV 'We believe.'
- (14). *Familya-lla-n ñuqa-kuna suya-:CH* 'Only we, their relatives, waited.'
- (15). *Puntraw-ya-ya-n-ña-m ñuqa-kuna-qa llusqi-ni-ña-m.*AMV 'It's getting to be daytime – we leave already.'

*Almanchik puriyanshi. Huk qawaptinga, ñuqanchik qawanchikchu.*

alma-nchik puri-ya-n-shi huk qawa-pti-n-qa ñuqanchik qawa-nchik-chu  
 soul-1PL walk-PROG-3-EVR one see-SUBDS-3-TOP 1PL see-1PL-NEG

'Our souls wander around, they say. Although others see them, we don't see them.'

'Nuestras almas andan, dicen. Aunque otros las vean, nosotros no las vemos'.

(Yuracsayhua\_UY\_Bull\_Riddles\_Souls, 09:20-09:28)

*"Qamkuna ashiptikim chinkakun", ni:.*

qam-kuna ashi-pti-ki-m chinka-ku-n ni-:  
 2-PL look.for-SUBDS-2-EVD lose-REFL-3 say-1

'"When you looked for him, he got lost," I said.'

'"Cuando ustedes lo buscaron, él se perdió", dije'.

(Hongos\_LW\_Supper, 28:31-28:38)

Table 8. Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ñuqa	ñuqanchik (dual) ñuqanchikkuna (inclusive) ñuqakuna (exclusive)
2	qam	qamkuna
3	pay	paykuna

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).	<i>ñuqa-qa</i>	'I'	<i>Katra-yku-ru-sayki ñuqa-qa.AMV</i>	'I'm going to let you free.'
(14).	<i>pay-qa</i>	'he,' 'she'	<i>Traya-mu-ra-ø punta-ntin punta-ntin pay-qa.SP</i>	' <u>He</u> came from peak to peak.'
(15)*.	<i>ñuqa-ta</i>	'me'	<i>Ñuqa-ta miku-mu-wa-na-n-paq kuti-mu-shpa traqna-ru-wa-n.AMV</i>	'To be able to eat <u>me</u> when he comes back, he chained me.'
(16).	<i>pay-ta</i>	'him,' 'her'	<i>Tiya-yku-pti-n-qa allqu-sh turi-ya-yku-ru-n pay-ta-qa.LT</i>	'When he sat down, they say, the dog was bull-fighting <u>him</u> .'
(17).	<i>ñuqa-paq</i>	'mine'	<i>Mana-m ka-n-chu – ñuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n.AMV</i>	There isn't any. <u>Mine</u> is all gone.'
(18).	<i>pay-pa</i>	'his,' 'her'	<i>Mana-ña-m mira-n-ña-chu ganaw-ni-n-qa pay-pa-qa.LT</i>	' <u>His</u> animals didn't multiply any more.'

*Chaymi ñuqata mikumuwananpaq kutimushpa traqnaruwan.*

chay-mi      ñuqa-ta      miku-mu-wa-na-n-paq      kuti-mu-shpa      traqna-ru-wa-n  
 DEM.D-EVD    I-ACC      eat-CISL-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP    return-CISL-SUBIS    chain-URGT-1.OBJ-3

'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: *kay* 'this', *chay* 'that', and *wak* 'that (other)' (1)-(3). *chay* is the default form and may have referents both proximate and distal. *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). *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)*.	<i>kay</i>	'this'	<i>Kay-qa mana-m bali-n-chu miku-na-nchik-paq.AMV</i>	' <u>This</u> is no good to eat.'
(2).	<i>chay</i>	'that'	<i>¿Lliw lliw chay ka-n-chu? AMV</i>	'There is all <u>that</u> '?
(3).	<i>wak</i>	'that'	<i>Luku-hina-m wak puri-ya-</i>	' <u>That</u> (one) walks around like

n.AMV

a crazy person.'

- (4). *Hinashpa achka-ña wawa-n ka-ya-n. Chay-paq ñaka-n-ña-taq-tri miku-y-paq.*ACH 'Then she has a lot of babies. She'll suffer, too, a lot from that, from hunger.'
- (5). *Ollanta Humala, "Kanan chay-kuna-cta wañu-chi-shaq", ni-ya-n.*CH '[President] Ollanta Humala is saying, "Now I'll kill those."'
- (6). *Kay-ni-nchik.*AMV 'these of ours'
- (7). *Kay llañu-ta-pis puchka-ni kiki-y-mi.* AMV 'I spin this thin one, too, myself.'
- (8). *Chay-mi hampi-chi-ra-: huk-wan, huk-wan.*ACH 'So I had him cured with one and with another.'
- (9). *Kay millwa-paq-mi ima-pis llusqi-mu-n.*ACH 'Anything comes out of this wool.'
- (10)\*. *¿Mana-chu chay qatra wambra-yki rikari-n-raq?*AMV 'Didn't that dirty kid of yours appear yet?'
- (11). *Wak trakra-y-qa hunta hunta ka-ku-ya-n.*AMV 'That field of mine is really full.'
- (12). *Wak mula-qa mana-m mansu-chu. Runa-ta-m wak wañu-chi-n.*AMV 'That mule is not tame. He kills people.'

*"Kayqa manam balinchi mikunanchikpaq" [nishpa] allquman qaraykurqani.*

kay-qa mana-m bali-n-chu miku-na-nchik-paq allqu-man qara-yku-rqa-ni  
 DEM.P-TOP no-EVD be.worth-3-NEG eat-NMLZ-1PL-PURP dog-ALL give-EXCEP-PST-1  
 "This is not good to eat," I said and I served it to the dog.  
 "Este no vale para comer", dije y se lo di al perro'.  
 (Vinac\_HQ\_Lamb\_NewYear, 02:02-02:08)

*¿Manachu chay qatra wambra-yki rikarinraq?*

mana-chu chay qatra wambra-yki rikari-n-raq  
 no-Q DEM.D dirty child-2 appear-3-CONT  
 'Hasn't that dirty kid of yours appeared yet?'  
 '¿No aparece todavía tu chico sucio?'  
 (Llanka\_BC\_LostCow\_Milking, 11:27-11:33)

### 3.2.2.2.1 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).

- (1)\*. *Huk pashña-sh ka-rqa ubihira. Huk qari ... chay pashña-wan puri-rqa.*AMV 'There was a girl, a shepherdess. A man ... walked with the girl.'

- (2). *Runa chay maqta-ta wañu-ra-chi-n hanay urqu-pa*.AMV 'People killed the boy up in the hills.'

*Huk pashñash karqa ubihira. Chaymanshi trayarushqa huk qari yuraq kurbatayuq.*

huk pashña-sh ka-rqa-ø ubihira chay-man-shi traya-ru-shqa huk qari  
one girl-EVR be-PST-3 shepherdess DEM.D-ALL-EVR arrive-URGT-SUBIS one man

*Yuraq kurbata-yuq yana tirnuyuy chay pashñawan purirqa.*

yuraq kurbata-yuq yana tirtu-yuq chay pashña-wan puri-rqa-ø  
white tie-POSS black suit-POSS DEM.D girl-INSTR walk-PST'3

'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 (*llapanchik* '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).  | <i>kiki</i>  | 'one's self'  | <i>Campion ni-shpa kiki-n-pis tuma-ru-n. Kiki-n-pis campiona-ku-ru-n</i> .AMV | '"Poison," she said, and <u>she</u> <u>herself</u> took it. <u>They</u> <u>themselves</u> poisoned themselves.' |
| (2)*. | <i>sapa</i>  | 'only, alone' | <i>Pampa-wanchik tardi-qa diha-ra-mu-wanchik sapa-llan-chik-ta</i> .AMV       | 'They bury us in the afternoon then leave <u>us</u> <u>alone</u> .'   |
| (3)*. | <i>llapa</i> | 'all'         | <i>Sikya fayna ka-pti-n-mi li-ya-: llapa-:.</i> CH                            | 'When there's a community work day, <u>we</u> <u>all</u> go.'   |
| (4).  | <i>kuska</i> | 'together'    | <i>Chay kuska-n-ta wañu-ra-chi-sa chay-pa</i> .ACH                            | 'They killed them <u>together</u> there.'   |

- (5). *wakin* 'some, the rest' *Wakin-ni-nchik lluqsi-nchik.†AMV* 'The rest of us left.'
- (6). *Yatra-rqa-ni sapa-lla-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-nchik kumpaña-wanchik.AMV* 'Then they take us to the cemetery. Our whole family accompanies us.'
- (14). *¿Imay-hina-m chay lluqsi-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-lla-n?CH* 'How does she walk about calmly all alone?'
- (16). *Pi-taq atindi-nqa hapa-lla-y kaya-pti-y-qa.LT* '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-lla-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:.*

sikya fayna ka-pti-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

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

### Interrogatives

- (1). *¿Pi-taq willa-ma-n-chik?*ACH 'Who's going tell us?'
- (2)\*. *"¿Ima-ta-m 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-rqa-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 kuti-shaq?"*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 awminta-ru-n kabra-n-qa?*AMV 'How much have her goats increased?'

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

#### Indefinites

- (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-ta-pis*.SP 'When you go by there on the opposite side – [it could do] anything.'
- (14). *Chay muqu-y-kuna imay-pis nana-pti-n* 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 where ever!'
- (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-lla-:.*ACH 'I don't want to leave this. Like this I just make whichever way.'
- (18). *Imayna-pis yatra-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 brought 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 llusqi-:-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-chu*.AMV 'Neither of you reminded me.'
- (31). *Raya-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 qullqi-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-ni-yuq!*AMV 'How damned is the Devil! He's powerful!'
- (33). *¿Runku-wan-chu qaqu-ru-shaq? ¿Ima-wan-taq qaqu-ru-y-man?*AMV 'Should I rub it with a sack? With what can I rub it?'
- (34). *'¿Imapaq-mi qam puka traki ka-nki?'" ni-shpa.*SP "'Why are your feet red?" he said, they say.'
- (35). *¿Ukaliptu-ta pi-taq simbra-nqa? ¿Pi-paq-ña-taq?*AMV 'Who's going to plant eucalyptus trees? For whom?'
- (36). *¿Ayka wata-ña-taq kanan nubinta i tris-paq?*AMV 'How many years is it already since ninety-three?'
- (37). *¿Pi-wan tuma-shpa-tr pay hamu-n?*AMV 'Who did he come drinking with?'
- (38). *¿Qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq?*CH 'The man went where?'
- (39). *Pashña-qa pi-wan traya-ra-mu-n†*AMV 'The girl with whom she came'
- (40). *Familya-n-qa qawa-ru-n imayna wañu-ku-sa-ø-m pusta-pa.*AMV 'Her family saw how she had died in the clinic.'
- (41). *¿Imay ura-taq hunta-nqa kay yaku-qa?*LT 'What time will this water fill up?'
- (42). *¿Ima diyablu-yá ñuqanchik ka-nchik?*AMV 'What the hell are we?'
- (43)\*. *Mana ima-yki-pis ka-pti-n* ACH 'If you don't have anything'
- (44). *Yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki mana pi-ni-ki-pis ka-nqa-chu.*ACH 'When you're old, you won't have anyone.'
- (45). *Mana vaka-nchik ima-nchik ka-pti-n* 'Without our cows and our stuff, we could sit

- hawka-tr tiya-ku-chuwan*.AMV in peace.'
- (46). "*¿Mayqin-ni-nchik pirdi-ri-shun? Kusi-sa-m kay-hina silba-ku-:*" *ni-n*.SP "'Which of us will lose? Sewed up like this, I whistle," he said.
- (47). *Imapa-m chay-ta ruwa-ra pay-taq? Imapa-raq?*ACH 'Why did they do that to him? Why in the world?'
- (48). *Mana-ña-m kanan chay llama-ta-pis qawa-nchik-chu ni imay-pis kanan unay-ña-m*.ACH 'Now we don't see llamas any more ever. For a long time now.'
- (49). *Katra-yku-ru-n. ¡Ima-pis ka-n-chu! "¡Ñuqa-ta ingaña-ma-ra-ø!" ni-shpa*.SP '[The fox just] let it go and – nothing! "He tricked me!" said [the fox].'
- (50). *Wak-hina inutilisadu ka-ku-ya-n – ima-paq-pis bali-n-chu*.LT 'It's unused like that. It's not good for anything.'
- (51). *Wañu-q runa-lla huk-vida-ta llaki-ku-ya-n. "Kanan-qa prisu-tri-ki ñuqa-qa riku-shaq. ¿Ima-na-shaq?"*SP 'She was very sorry for the deceased person. "Now I'm going to go to jail. What will I do?"
- (52). "*¿Karahu-ta-taq ima-na-ru-n-taq?*" *qawa-yku-shpa-qa huk utrpa-ta qapi-ku-shpa kay kunka-n-man pasa-yku-ru-n*.AMV 'She watched him then she said "What happened to that bastard?" and grabbed some ashes and stuffed them down his throat.'
- (53). *Wañu-ku-n-man-tri-ki. ¿Ima-na-n-man-taq? ¿Imayna mana kuti-ka-mu-n-man-chu?*ACH 'He could die, of course. What could happen? Why can't he come back?'
- (54). *Quni qunim ñuqa kaya:, kumadri. ¿Qam imamish kayanki?*CH 'I'm really warm, comadre. How are you?'

*Maytapis pushaway. ¿Imata niwanqaraq 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 qullqita 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)

*Familyanqa qawarun imayna wañukusan pustapa.*

familya-n-qa qawa-ru-n imayna wañu-ku-sa-n pusta-pa  
 family-3-TOP see-URGT-3 how 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).	<i>qillu</i>	'yellow'	<i>qillu wayta</i>	'yellow flowers'
(2)*.	<i>qatra</i>	'dirty'	<i>qatra pishqu</i>	'dirty bird'
(3).	<i>trawa</i>	'raw'	<i>trawa aycha</i>	'raw meat'
(4).	<i>putka</i>	'turbid'	<i>putka yaku</i>	'turbid water'
(5)*.	<i>hatun</i>	'big'	<i>hat hatun</i>	'really big'

### *Wak pishqu mikukuyan mikunayta – ¡qatra 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

'That bird is eating my food – dirty bird!'  
 'Ese pájaro come mi comida – ¡pájaro sucio!'  
 (Viñac\_AR\_Grandparents, 05:52-05:58)

*Wak umbruyanñatr mamanta. Hat hatun kayan.*

wak umbru-ya-n-ña-tr mama-n-ta hat-hatun ka-ya-n  
 DEM.DD carry.on.shoulder-PROG-3-DISC-EVC mother-3-ACC big-big be-PROG-3  
 'That one would be carrying his mother on his shoulders already – he's really big!'  
 'Ese ya estará cargando a su mamá. Es tremendo.'  
 (Viñac\_DC\_Milking, 02:21-02:24)

### 3.2.4.2 Adverbial Adjectives

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

(1)*.	<i>wamaq</i>	'a lot'	<i>Aburi-ku-ru-n sakristan-qa wama wamaq-ta kampana-ta suyna-chi-pti-n.AMV</i>	'The deacon got annoyed that [Lluqi Maki] rang the bell <u>so much</u> .'
(2).	<i>sumaq</i>	'pretty'	<i>Pay-ta-tr indika-pu-wa-nki sumaq-ta.AMV</i>	'You're going to point him out to me <u>nicely</u> .'
(3).	<i>quyu</i>	'ugly'	<i>Ñuqa-qa quyu quyu-ta waqaya-:SP</i>	'I'm singing <u>awfully</u> .'
(4).	<i>rakta</i>	'thick'	<i>Kay-na rakta-ta-ña-m.ACH</i>	'[I spin] like this, <u>thick</u> .'
(5).	<i>karu</i>	'far'	<i>Sirka-lla-ta-m ri-ya-: mana-m karu-ta-chu.SP</i>	'I'm staying <u>close</u> , I don't go <u>far</u> .'
(6).	<i>qillu</i>	'yellow'	<i>Rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik qillu-ta.AMV</i>	'We dress <u>in yellow</u> .'

*Aburikurun sakristanqa wama-wamaqta kampanata suynachiptin*

aburi-ku-ru-n sakristan-qa wama-wamaq-ta kampana-ta suyna-chi-pti-n  
 annoy-REFL-URGT-3 deacon-TOP a.lot-a.lot-ACC bell-ACC sound-CAUS-SUBDS-3  
 'The deacon got annoyed that [Lluqi Maki] rang the bell so much.'  
 'El sacristán se aburrió cuando [Mano de Bastón] hacía sonar la campana constantemente'.  
 (Cunyari\_ER\_Hand, 00:11-00:15)

### 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). | <i>kuntintu/a</i>  | 'happy'       | <i>Qam-qa kuntinta-chu ka-nki kay-pa?</i> AMV                  | 'Are you <u>happy.F</u> here?'  |
| (2). | <i>fiyu/a</i>  | 'bad', 'ugly' | <i>Fiyu fiyu qatra-m warmi ka-sa.</i> AMV                      | 'An <u>ugly.M</u> , <u>ugly.M</u> , dirty <u>woman</u> '  |
| (3). | <i>luku/a</i>  | 'crazy'       | <i>Luka turu-qa. Chay-kuna-ta-m mama-cha-:-lla willa-ma-q.</i> | 'The <u>crazy.F</u> bull. My grandmother would tell me those [stories].'                                |
| (4). | <i>Masha-:-pis qali-pis walmi-pis wawi-:-kuna-paq.</i> CH                                      |               |  | 'My <u>son-in-law</u> , too, my children's sons and daughters.'   |
| (5). | <i>Wañu-ra-chi-n wawqi-n-ña-taq "¡Ama wawqi-:-ta!" ni-pti-n.</i> ACH                           |               |  | 'They [the Shining Path] killed his <u>brother</u> when he said, "Don't [kill] my <u>brother</u> !"'    |
| (6). | <i>Ñaña-y-pis turi-y-pis ka-rqa-ø-m piru wañu-ku-n-ña.</i> AMV                                 |               |  | 'I had a <u>sister</u> and a <u>brother</u> , but they died.'   |
| (7). | <i>Chay ubiha-pa wawa-n-ta chay karniru-pa-churi-n-ta.</i> AMV                                 |               |  | 'The <u>baby of that sheep</u> , the <u>baby of that ram</u> '  |
| (8). | <i>"Paga-shun-ña-m riga-ru-na-n-paq-mi. Bali-ku-ru-nki", ni-wa-ra-ø ya chay wawi-warmi.</i> LT |               |  | 'We're going to pay already to water. You're going to request someone," my <u>daughter</u> said to me.' |
| (9). | <i>Wak vaka-n-cha-qa watra-ru-sa-ø. ¿Wak urqu-chu wawa-n trina-chu?</i> AMV                    |               |  | 'His cow gave birth. Is it a <u>male</u> or a <u>female</u> ?'  |

### 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). | <i>Mancha manchay buyna-m pay-qa ka-ra-ø.</i> LT                                      |  |  | 'He was <u>really good</u> .'   |
| (2). | <i>Pasaypaq chanchu sapatu pasaypaq lapi chuku pasaypaq-shi ri-tamu-n pay-pis.</i> LT |  |  | 'He, too, went with <u>totally old</u> shoes and a <u>completely worn</u> hat, they say.' |
| (3). | <i>Dimas-ta sumaq ka-ya-n.</i> †AMV   |  |  | 'She's <u>too pretty</u> .'   |

### 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'; *ishkay* '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 – *ishkay* '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', *ishkay* '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)*. | <i>Ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi</i> .AMV                                      | 'Two Wankas rested in a cave.'                                      |
| (2).  | <i>Kimsa killa-m kay-paq para-nqa</i> .AMV   | 'It's going to rain for <u>three</u> months here.'                  |
| (3).  | <i>Inagaña-yku-n. Chay waranqa kwista-sa-n-ta-m ...</i> ACH                              | 'They cheat them. That which cost <u>one thousand</u> ...'          |
| (4).  | <i>Riga-nchik chay sara-ta-qa ishikay trunka kimsa trunka puntraw-ni-yuq-ta-m-á</i> .AMV | 'We water the corn that's <u>twenty</u> or <u>thirty</u> days old.' |
| (5).  | <i>Trunka ishikay-ni-yuq-paq-pis ruwa-nchik</i> .AMV                                     | 'We make them out of <u>twelve</u> [strands], too.'                 |
| (6).  | <i>Ishikay-lla-ta api-ku-na-y-paq. Shanti-pa mana ka-sha-chu</i> .LT                     | 'Just <u>two</u> so I can make pudding. Shanti didn't have any.'    |

*Ishkay Wanka samakushqa huk matraypi.*

ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi

two Huancayoan rest-REFL-NPST one cave-LOC

'Two Huancayoans rested in a cave.'

'Dos Huancaínos 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).  | <i>"Chay mamakuq-ta siqa-chi-nki <u>primiru</u> yatra-chi-shu-na-yki-paq" ni-n.ACH</i> | '"Make the old woman go up <u>first</u> in order to teach you," they said.'                    |
| (2).  | <i>Kay-ta-m <u>primiru</u> qawa-chi-ri-nki traya-shpa.AMV</i>                          | 'You're going to offer this <u>first</u> when you arrive.'                                     |
| (3)*. | <i><u>Kwartu-lla kintu-lla</u> – mana-m puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-pis-chu.AMV</i>             | 'They had me finish <u>fourth</u> [grade], no more, <u>fifth</u> [grade], no more.'            |
| (4).  | <i>Qari-n-man sirvi-ru-n <u>punta-taq</u> hinashpa kiki-n-pis miku-ru-n-tri-ki.AMV</i> | 'She served her husband [the poisoned tuna] <u>first</u> then she herself must have eaten it.' |
| (5).  | <i>Kimsa puntraw tawa puntraw uriya-yka-chi-shpa <u>punta-taq</u> pacha-nchik.CH</i>   | 'We're there for three days, four days getting it plowed. <u>First</u> you crush it.'          |

*Kwartu nu mas kintu – manam puchukachiwarqapischu.*

kwartu nu mas kintu mana-m puchuka-chi-wa-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). | <i>Puñu-ku-n tuta <u>a las tris</u> di la mañana-ta-qa.AMV</i> | 'He went to sleep at night – <u>at three</u> in the morning.' |
| (2). | <i>Las tris i midya-ta qayku-ru-ni.AMV</i>                     | 'I threw him in the corral <u>at three thirty</u> .'          |

### 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).

- (1). *Ishkay-ni-n, kimsa-n ka-shpa-qa miku-n-yá*.AMV 'If there are two or three of them, they eat.'
- (2)\*. *Ishkay-ni-nchik ripu-ku-shun*.AMV 'Let's go both of us!'
- (3). *Huk-ni-n-pis huk-ni-n-pis hinaptin sapa-lla-: witrqa-raya-chi-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). *Ñuqa-kuna-paq pichqa mulla: huk, ishka, kimsa, tawa, pichqa*.CH 'We have five quotas [of water]: one, two, three, four, five.'
- (2). *Achka ... llusqin huk pakay-lla-paq*.AMV 'A lot [of seeds] come out of just one pacay.'
- (3). *Huk inhiniyru-sh ri-ku-ra. Chay absirva-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 ishka-lla-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 llusqi-ru-wa-n ishka traki-yuq-hina llusqi-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). | <i>mishki</i>   | 'a sweet', 'sweet'                |   |
| (2). | <i>tardi</i>  | 'afternoon', 'late'               |   |
| (3). | <i>ima</i>  | 'thing', 'what', 'that'           |   |
| (4). | <i>sapa</i>   | 'each' 'one alone'                |   |
| (5). | <i>huk</i>  | 'one', 'I'                        |   |
| (6). | <i>ishkay</i>   | 'two [stones]' 'two [came]'       |   |
| (7). | <i>kuska</i>  | 'we/you/they together' 'together' |   |
| (8). | <i>llapa</i>  | 'all of us/you/them' 'all'        |   |
| (9). | <i>Karitira tuni-ru-n trakra tuni-ru-n yaku-qa llapa wayqu-ta hunta-ra-mu-n.AMV</i> |                                   | 'The road collapsed; the fields collapsed. Water filled <u>all</u> 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).  | <i>Chay-na-sh wak na law-kuna-pa – Wañupisa. Yanak law-kuna-pa-tr.ACH</i> |  | 'So, they say, there in <u>where-is-it</u> – Wañupisa. Around Yanak, for sure.' |
| (2).  | <i>Wanqa-ku-nchik na-hta papa-hta-pis uqa-hta-pis. Walmi.CH</i>           |  | 'We turn the <u>what-do-you-call-them</u> – the potatoes, the oca. [We] women.' |
| (3)*. | <i>Wak na-ta-tr qawa-nqa hina-shpa-tr rima-nqa.AMV</i>                    |  | 'She's going to look at that <u>thingamajig</u> , then she'll talk.'            |
| (4).  | <i>Waqay-n. Uray-law-pa apa-mu-nki chay na-n-ta.AMV</i>                   |  | 'He's crying. Bring his <u>thingy</u> down there!'                              |
| (5).  | <i>Chay-kuna rima-nqa-ña na-ru-shpa-qa.AMV</i>                            |  | 'They'll talk after <u>doing that</u> .'  |

*Wak natatr qawanqa hinashpatr rima-nqa.*

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 María'); 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 María' *qawa-na-n-paq* 'in order for her to see'); locative *-pi* (*Lima-pi* 'in Lima'); exclusive *-puRa* (*amiga-pura* 'among friends'); causative *-rayku* (*María-rayku* 'on account of María'); accusative *-ta* (*María-ta* 'to María'), and comitative and instrumental *-wan* (*María-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 kay-lla-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      kay-lla-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

Person	Singular	Plural
<b>1</b>	<i>-y</i> (AMV, LT) <i>-:</i> (ACH, CH, SP)	<i>-nchik</i> (dual, inclusive) <i>-y</i> (exclusive ACH, CH, SP) <i>-:</i> (exclusive AMV, LT)
<b>2</b>	<i>-Yki</i>	<i>-Yki</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>

- (1). *-y* my *Wiqaw-ni-y-mi nana-n.AMV* 'My lower back hurts.'
- (2). *-:* my *Qusa-:-ta lista-man trura-ru-sa.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-n-ta ruwan.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* 'Then the poor man returned to his house

- animal-ni-n-wan wasi-n-man*.AMV with all his animals.'
- (9) *"Kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan", ni-shpa ish kay-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.'
- (10) *Pay sapa-lla-n hamu-ya-n kay-lla-ta-qa*.AMV 'She's coming here all alone.'
- (11) *Chay-ni-ki-ta prista-wa-nki*.AMV 'Lend me that of yours.'
- (12) *Mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu*.AMV 'None of us has died yet.'
- (13) *¿May-ni-n-ta-pis ripu-nqa-ña-tr? Gallu Rumi altu-n-ta-pis ripu-nqa-ña-tr*.AMV 'Whereabouts will he go? He'll go up above Gallu Rumi, for sure.'
- (14) *Hamu-ya-q kay-ni-n-ta*.AMV 'He used to be coming around here.'
- (15) *Vikuña-cha-y-ta diha-ru-ni papa-ni-y-wan*.AMV 'I left my little vicuña with my father.'
- (16) *Mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana qari-yki ka-n-chu*.ACH 'You don't have children, you don't have a husband.'
- (17) *Yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki mana pi-ni-ki-pis ka-nqa-chu*.ACH 'When you're old, you won't have anyone.'
- (18) *Hampi-ku-na-yki-paq yatra-nki*.AMV 'You'll learn so that you can cure.'
- (19) *Atipa-sa-n-ta-tri-ki ruwa-n*.ACH 'They do what they can.'
- (20) *Chay wawqi-n ama ni-sa-n-ta-s wañu-ri-sa-taq*.ACH 'They also killed his brother who said "No!"'
- (21)\* *Trura-yku-n fruta-cha-n-kuna-ta – llapa gusta-sa-n*.AMV 'They put out their fruit – everything that they liked.'

*¡Ishkay makikiwan traskiy! Chulla maki wambrayki nasirunqa.*

ishkay maki-ki-wan traski-y chulla maki wambra-yki nasi-ru-nqa  
 two hand-2-INSTR receive-IMP unequal hand child-2 be.born-URGT-3.FUT  
 'Accept [coca] with your two hands! Your son is going to be born with one hand.'  
 '¡Recibe [coca] con las dos manos! Tu hijo va a nacer con una sola mano'.  
 (Vinac\_JC\_Cure, 01:16-01:21)

*Truraykun frutachankunata – llapa gustasan.*

trura-yku-n fruta-cha-n-kuna-ta llapa gusta-sa-n  
 save-EXCEP-3 fruit-DIM-3-PL-ACC all like-PRF-3  
 'They put out their fruit and all – everything they liked'.  
 'Ponen su fruta y todo – todo lo que les gustaba'.  
 (Vinac\_VV\_TodosMuertos, 25:07-25:12)

### 3.3.2 Number *-kuna*

*-kuna* pluralizes regular nouns (1), the personal pronouns *ñuqa*, *qam* and *pay* (2), demonstrative pronouns (3), and interrogative-indefinites (4) (*kabra* 'goat' → *kabra-kuna* 'goats'). *-kuna* follows

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).  | <i>Kabra-kuna-ta hapi-shpa miku-ku-ya-n</i> .AMV                      | 'Taking ahold of the <u>goats</u> [the puma] ate them.'                     |
| (2).  | <i>Awa-n-mi pay-kuna-pis-r-iki</i> .AMV                               | ' <u>They</u> , too, weave.'  |
| (3).  | <i>Chay-kuna-pa algunus-qa pampa-rayan</i> .AMV                       | 'Some people are buried <u>in those</u> .'                                  |
| (4).  | <i>¿Ima-kuna-m ubiha-yki-pa suti-n?</i> AMV                           | ' <u>What</u> are your sheep's names?'                                      |
| (5).  | <i>Chamis-ni-n-kuna-ta upiya-ri-n, kuka-n-kuna-ta aku-n</i> .AMV      | 'They drink <u>their chamis</u> , they chew <u>their coca</u> .'            |
| (6).  | <i>Ishkay yatra-rqa, ishkay warmi</i> .AMV                            | ' <u>Two</u> lived [there], <u>two</u> women.'                              |
| (7)*. | <i>Chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man</i> .AMV | ' <u>Your body and all</u> can be sick, <u>your head and all</u> can hurt.' |
| (8)*. | <i>Qaya-shpa waqa-shpa puri-n animalis-ni-nchik-kuna-qa</i> .AMV      | ' <u>Our animals</u> walk around screaming, crying.'                        |

*Chay kwirpuykikuna mal kanman umaykikuna nananman.*

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

'Your whole body could be not well; your head and everything could hurt.'

'Tu cuerpo todo puede estar mal; tu cabeza todo puede doler'.

(Vinac\_VV\_TodosMuertos, 24:04-24:09)

*Qayashpa waqashpa purin animalisninchikunaqa.*

qaya-shpa	waqa-shpa-m	puri-n	animalis-ni-nchik-kuna-qa
scream-SUBIS	cry-SUBIS-EVD	walk-3	animals-EUPH-1PL-PL-TOP

'Our animals walk around screaming, crying.'

'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, *-traw*, 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

<i>-hina</i>	comparative	<i>Runa-hina, uyqa-hina</i>	' <u>like</u> people, <u>like</u> sheep'
<i>-kama</i>	limitative	<i>Fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa.</i>	'It will rain still <u>until</u> February or March.'
<i>-man</i>	allative, dative	<i>Lima runa-kuna traya-mu-pti-n siyra-n-man.</i>	'When people from Lima return <u>to</u> their sierra.'
<i>-pa<sub>1</sub></i>	genitive	<i>Algunus-pa puchka-n tipi-kuya-n-mi.</i>	'Some people's thread breaks on them.'
<i>-pa<sub>2</sub></i>	locative	<i>Urqu-lla-pa-m chay-qa wiñan.</i>	'It grows only <u>in</u> the mountains.'
<i>-pi</i>	locative	<i>Yana-ya-sa qutra-pa pata-n-pi qutra-pa tuna-n-pi.</i>	'Blackened <u>on</u> the banks of the lake, <u>in</u> the corner of the lake'
<i>-paq<sub>1</sub></i>	ablative	<i>Huangáscar-paq-mi hamu-ra wama-wamaq polisiya-pis.</i>	'Lots of policemen came <u>from</u> Huangáscar.'
<i>-paq<sub>2</sub></i>	benefactive	<i>Chay qari-kuna mana ishpa-y-ta atipa-q-paq.</i>	'This is <u>for</u> the men who can't urinate.'
<i>-paq<sub>3</sub></i>	purposive	<i>Qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ... kitra-ni.</i>	' <u>In order to</u> see what he died from ... I opened him up.'
<i>-puRa</i>	reciprocal	<i>Qam pay-wan wawqi ñaña-pura ka-nki.</i>	'You and she are going to be true brothers and sisters.'
<i>-rayku</i>	causative	<i>Chawa-shi-q lichi-lla-n-rayku ri-y-man-tri.</i>	'I might go help milk <u>on account of</u> his milk.'
<i>-ta</i>	accusative	<i>¿Maqta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta?</i>	'Are you going to take the boys or the girl?'
<i>-wan<sub>1</sub></i>	comitative	<i>¿Imapaq-mi wak kundinaw-wan puri-ya-nki?</i>	'Why are you walking around <u>with</u> that zombie?'
<i>-wan<sub>2</sub></i>	instrumental	<i>Ichu-wan-mi chay-ta ruwan-chik.</i>	'We make this one <u>with</u> straw.'

In Cacra-Hongos dialect only:

<i>-Kta</i>	replaces <i>-ta</i> to mark accusative
<i>-traw</i>	alternates with <i>-pa</i> and <i>-pi</i> 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 Cacara and sometimes in Hongos, *-mish* is employed in place of *-hina* (16), (17).

- |        |  |   |
|--------|--|---|
| (1).   | <i>Ñawi-lla puka-ya-ru-ra-ø total puka.<br/>Yawar-hina ñaw-ø i ka-ra.ACH</i>           | 'My eyes turned red, totally red. My eyes were <u>like</u> blood.'  |
| (2).   | <i>Karsil-pa-hina-m. Witrqa-ma-ra-ø<br/>wambra-:-kuna istudya-q pasa-n.ACH</i>         | 'It was <u>like</u> in prison. When my children went to school, they closed me in.'                                   |
| (3).   | <i>Traki-n, ishka-ya-ni-ni traki-n ka-ya-n maniya-<br/>sha-hina.LT</i>                 | 'His feet, it's <u>like</u> both are shackled.'   |
| (4).   | <i>Wak-hina-lla-m puri-ku-ni. ¿Ima-na-shaq-<br/>mi?LT</i>                              | 'Just <u>like</u> that I go about. What am I going to do?'  |
| (5).   | <i>Gindon tuna-y-kuna-pa wak-hina puqu-ku-<br/>ya-n wak-kuna-ta miku-yku-ku-n.LT</i>   | 'My peaches in the corner are ripening <u>like</u> that. Those got eaten.'  |
| (6).   | <i>Walmi-ña-taq-mi kay-hina alli-cha-nchik<br/>allpi-cta.CH</i>                        | 'The women already fix up the earth <u>like</u> this.'  |
| (7).   | <i>Pay-pis wak-hina qisha-n. Ñuqa-pa-pis<br/>traki-: qunqur-ni-: nana-ya-n.CH</i>      | 'She, too, is sick in bed <u>like</u> that. My foot and my knee hurt, too.'   |
| (8).   | <i>Chay-pi-ña runa-qa hapi-ri-sa-ø kunihu-ta<br/>hawla-ru-sa-ø kay-hina.SP</i>         | 'The man grabbed the rabbit there [in the garden] and caged him <u>like</u> this.'                                    |
| (9).   | <i>Huk rumi ka-ya-n warmi-hina. Chay-pi-sh<br/>inkanta-ra-ø unay unay.SP</i>           | 'There's a stone <u>like</u> [in the form of] a woman. A long, long time ago, it bewitched [people] there, they say.' |
| (10).  | <i>Rima-y-ta-kaman rima-ku-ya-n mana-m ni-<br/>sa-yki-hina.AMV</i>                     | 'She talks for the sake of talking. Not <u>like</u> what you say.'  |
| (11).  | <i>Mana-m unay-hina para-n-ña-chu.AMV</i>  | 'It doesn't rain <u>like</u> before.'   |
| (12)*. | <i>Tuta-kuna puri-n qarqarya-hina.AMV</i>  | 'He wanders around at night <u>like</u> a zombie.'  |
| (13).  | <i>Runa-pa-pis mana-chu uma-n hat-hatun.<br/>Kay-hina -- putu-hina ka-ku-ya-sa.AMV</i> | 'People's heads weren't really very big. They were <u>like</u> this – <u>as</u> big <u>as</u> a drinking gourd.'      |
| (14).  | <i>Kay-hina-kuna-cha-ta-m (=kay-hina-cha-<br/>kuna-ta-m) ruwa-ni.AMV</i>               | 'I make all of them just <u>like</u> this.'   |
| (15).  | <i>¿Imayna-taq Shilli-qa hamu-ya-rqa? Qaya-<br/>chi-sa-hina.AMV</i>                    | 'How was Shilli coming? <u>As if</u> he'd been made call.'  |
| (16).  | <i>Kilu-n paqwa-lu-n. Miku-y-ta atipa-n-chu.<br/>Awila-mish.CH</i>                     | 'His teeth finished off. He can't eat. <u>Like</u> an old lady.'  |
| (17).  | <i>¿Ima-mish wawi-paq taki-n?CH</i>  | 'What is a baby's song <u>like</u> ?'   |

### *Tutakuna puriyan qarqaryahina.*

tuta-kuna puri-ya-n qarqariya-hina

night-PL walk-PROG-3 zombie-SIM

'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).   | <i>Qati-mu-shaq vaka-ta kay-kama.</i> AMV   | 'I'm going to drive the cows <u>over</u> here.'   |
| (2).   | <i>Chay wambra-yki-ta katra-ru-nki mayur-ni-ki-kama wawqi-ki-kama-qa.</i> LT                                  | 'You sent your children <u>over to</u> your older brother, <u>over to</u> your brother.'  |
| (3)*.  | <i>Fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa.</i> AMV   | 'It's going to rain <u>until</u> February or March still.'  |
| (4).   | <i>¿Imay-kama ka-nki?</i> AMV   | ' <u>Until</u> when are you going to be (here)?'  |
| (5).   | <i>Kandaw-ni-y-pis warku-ra-ya-n altu-pa-m. Mana-m ka-na-n-kama-pis trura-chi-ni-chu.</i> LT                  | 'My padlock, too, is hung --up there. <u>Until</u> now I haven't had it put on.'  |
| (6).   | <i>Traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama puri-nchik. Traki-pis ampulla hatari-na-n-kaman ri-rqa-ni.</i> AMV | 'We walked <u>while</u> blisters formed on the souls of our feet. I went <u>while</u> blisters came up on my feet.'                   |
| (7).   | <i>Apuraw miku-na-n-kama turu-qa kay-na tuksi-ri-ku-sa.</i> SP  | ' <u>Until</u> the bull ate quickly, she pricked him like this.'  |
| (8).   | <i>Sultira, kasa-y-kama puri-ya-nki-ri-ki.</i> ACH  | 'Single, you'll wander around <u>until</u> you marry.'  |
| (9).   | <i>San Jerónimo-paq asta kay-kama.</i> AMV  | 'From San Jerónimo <u>to</u> here'  |
| (10).  | <i>Ñuqa-kuna-man qu-yku-ru-y ishkay-ta-kama.</i> AMV  | 'Give [ <u>each</u> one of] us <u>two</u> .'  |
| (11).  | <i>Uñacha-yuq-kama ka-ya-n.</i> AMV   | 'They <u>all</u> [ <u>each</u> ] have their little <u>young</u> .'  |
| (12)*. | <i>Traya-ra-mu-n arma-n qipi-ku-sa-kama. Mancha-ku-:.</i> ACH   | 'They arrived <u>each</u> carrying weapons. I got scared.'  |
| (13).  | <i>Qilla-kama. Tilivisyun-ni-n-ta ranti-ru-n chay tilivisyun asha-ra-ku-n kay-hina.</i> CH                    | 'Lazy, <u>each and every one</u> . They bought them their television and they [watch] that television with their mouths hanging open' |

like this.'

*Fibriru marsukamaraqtri paranqa.*

fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa  
February March-LIM-CONT-EVC rain-3.FUT  
'It will rain still until February or March'.  
'Lloverá todavía hasta febrero o marzo'.  
(Llanka\_MG\_Literacy 05:23-25)

*Ñuqakunaman quykuruy ishkaytakama.*

ñuqa-kuna-man qu-yku-ru-y ishkay-ta-kama  
I-PL-ALL give-EXCEP-URGT-IMP two-ACC-LIM  
'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). *Qiñwal-man traya-ra-chi-pti-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-q-man-ña-taq.ACH* 'Then, from there they made them go up high to Don Amador's place.'
- (3). *Chuno-kuna-man apa-na ka-rqa-ø saku pur saku.AMV* 'It had to be brought sack by sack to Chuno and all.'
- (4). *Kalamina wasi-man traya-ra-chi-n pashña-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-qa.SP* 'The zombie entered those houses, they say.'
- (7). *"¿Kabra-ta qaq-a-man imapaq qarqu-ran-ki?" ni-shpa. SP* "'Why did you let the goats loose onto the cliff?" he said.'
- (8). *Pashña-qa qu-yku-ru-sa-ø mushuq-ta wata-* 'The girl gave [the young man] a sash, a new

- ku-ru-sa-ø chumpi-ta wiqaw-ni-n-man*. AMV one, and she tied it around his waist.'
- (9) *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?]'
- (10) *Chay lliw lliw 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.'
- (11) *Kay-na wiqaw-ni-nchik-man kata-wan kay-na kata-wan wiqaw-ni-nchik-man similla-kta 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.'
- (12) *¿Ima-ta-taq qu-nki kay pubri-man?*AMV 'What are you going to give to this poor man?'
- (13) *¿Urqu-man qapi-shu-pti-ki ima-ta-sh qaran-ki?*AMV 'What are you going to give to the hill when it grabs you?'
- (14)\* *Chay-shi mama-n-man willa-ku-n*.AMV 'So she told it to her mother.'
- (15) *Chay-lla-paq willa-ku-ru-sa tirrurista-man hinaptin chay-ta wañu-ra-chi-n*.ACH 'So they told it to the terrorists and then they killed him.'
- (16) *Traya-nqa sabadu-man*.AMV 'She'll come on Saturday [or around there].'
- (17) *Pasaypaq runa-paq kunvirti-ru-n kabraman*.LT 'Completely, from people they turned into goats.'
- (18) *Wiña-ru-n hatun-man*.AMV 'She grew tall.'
- (19) *Aa, karu karu-m Imayna-taq, ima-man-taq hamu-ra-nki*.AMV 'Ah, from far, far away. How, for what did you come?'
- (20) *"¿Ima-man-taq hamu-ra-nki mana wañu-chi-na-:-paq?" ni-n-shi. Chay wañu-ra-chi-n*.ACH '"What have you come for so that I shouldn't kill?" he said, they say. And he killed him.'
- (21) *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-pti-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 -pa<sub>1</sub>, -pa<sub>2</sub>**

Genitive, locative. As a genitive, *-pa* indicates possession (1), (2); it is often paired with allocation inflection (3)-(6). As a locative, *-pa* indicates temporal (7), (8) and spatial location (9)-(15). In all dialects, *-paq* is often used in place of *-pa* and *-pi* as both a locative (16) and genitive (17) (see section 3.3.3.1.5); in the CH dialect, *-traw* is used in addition to *-pa* and *-pi* as a locative (18), (19). As a genitive, *-pa* can usually be translated 'of' or with a possessive pronoun; as a locative, it can usually be translated 'in' or 'on'.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (1)* | <i>Runa-pa uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-shqa</i> .AMV   | 'There was just the head and the foot <u>of</u> a person.'  |
| (2)  | <i>¿Imayna-taq qam-pa traki-ki-qa ka-ya-n qillu qillu-cha?</i> SP  | 'How are <u>your</u> feet nice and yellow?'   |
| (3)  | <i>Algunus-pa puchka-n tipi-ku-ya-n-mi</i> .AMV  | 'Some people's <u>s</u> thread tears.'  |
| (4)* | <i>Mana-ña-m mira-n-ña-chu ganaw-ni-n-qa pay-pa-qa</i> .LT   | ' <u>His</u> animals of his no longer reproduce.'   |
| (5)  | <i>Runa-pa shimi-n-ta graba-ya-n</i> .ACH  | 'She's recording people's <u>s</u> language.'   |
| (6)  | <i>Puchka-nchik. Vaka-ta harka-nchik vaka-pa qipa-n-pa ahh millwi-nchik</i> .AMV                               | 'We spin. Ahh, we herd the cows and <u>behind</u> the cows, behind the cows, we twist [yarn].'                                  |
| (7)  | <i>Mana-m biranu-pa-hina-chu</i> .AMV  | 'Not like <u>in</u> summer.'  |
| (8)  | <i>Añu-pa-m waranga ishqun pacha-qi-n-kanchis trunka pusaq-ni-yuq-pa</i> .AMV                                  | ' <u>In</u> the year one thousand nine-hundred seventy-eight.'  |
| (9)  | <i>Kay-mi visyu-lla-: ka-n. Trabahu-: may-pa-pis may-pa-pis</i> .ACH   | 'This is my vice. I work <u>where</u> ever, <u>where</u> ever.'   |
| (10) | <i>Fila-pa trura-ku-ru-n – mana huk-lla-chu</i> .AMV   | 'They put themselves <u>in</u> a line – not just one.'  |
| (11) | <i>iskwila-pa-m niytu-: -kuna-qa wawa-: -kuna-qa ri-n-mi ñuqa-lla-m ka-: analfabitu</i> .SP                    | 'My grandchildren and my children are <u>in</u> school. Just I am illiterate.'  |
| (12) | <i>Taklla-wan halu-ya-nchik chay-pa-qa. Uqa trakla. Yaku-wan icha-shpa chay-pa-qa</i> .CH                      | 'We're working with a foot plow <u>in</u> there. The oca fields. Adding water <u>in</u> there.'                                 |
| (13) | <i>Cañete-pa lima-pa montaña-pa</i> .ACH   | ' <u>In</u> Cañete, <u>in</u> Lima, <u>in</u> the rain forest.'   |
| (14) | <i>Pasaypaq runa-paq kunvirtu-ru-n kabraman. Qaqa-pa yatra-n</i> .LT   | 'Totally, they turned from people into goats. They live <u>in</u> the cliffs.'  |
| (15) | <i>Dimunyu-m chay-qa. Chay ... altu rumi-paq uku-n-paq yatra-n</i> .ACH  | 'It was a devil. It ... lives <u>in</u> the stone up <u>inside</u> it.'   |
| (16) | <i>¿Ima pay-paq hucha-n? Qayku-ru-pti-n-qa hawka-m saya-ku-n uña-n-kuna-ta fwiraman diha-ru-pti-nchik</i> .AMV | 'What fault is it <u>of</u> hers? When you toss her into the corral, she stands there calmly when we leave her babies outside.' |
| (17) | <i>Pusta-traw-shi chay mutu</i> .CH  | 'That motorcycle is <u>in</u> the health clinic.'   |
| (18) | <i>Ñuqa-kuna-qa fayna-traw-mi ka-ya-: .CH</i>  | 'We're <u>in</u> the middle of community work days.'  |
| (19) | <i>Chay-ta-m ni-n kichwa-pa, Witray-man qatishaq</i> .AMV  | 'They say that <u>in</u> 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 paypaqa.*

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); origen 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 llusqi-mu-la-nki?*CH 'When did you go out from your country?'
- (2). *Kusta-paq altu-ta siqa-pti-nchik uma-nchik nana-n.*AMV 'When we come up from the coast, our heads hurt.'
- (3). *Kusta-paq. Chincha, Lunahuaná, Cañete. Chay-paq-mi fruta-ta apa-ya-mu-nchik.*SP 'From the coast. Chincha, Lunahuaná, Cañete. We bring fruit from there.'
- (4). *Ka-n-chu ima-pis. Hinaptin kuti-ka-ra-mu-rqa altu-paq. Divwilta-taq taqla-cha-ku-ya-n.*SP '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

- each other.'
- (8). *Chay huk walmi-taq tali-lu-shpa-qa apa-lu-n-ña-m uspital-man. Pasaypaq miku-y-paq alala-y-paq, ¿aw?*CH  
'When they found the other woman they brought her to the hospital – completely [sick] from hunger and cold, no?'
- (9). *"Wambra-y lichi-paq, kisu-paq waqa-pti-n ñuqa riku-ra-ni urqu-ta."*LT  
'"When my children cried for [because they had no] milk or cheese, I went to the hill."
- (10). *Adubi-paq wasi.*AMV  
'an adobe house, a house made out of adobe'
- (11). *Lliklla-kuna, punchu-kuna, puñu-na-kuna, ruwa-: lliw lliw ima-ta-pis ruwa-: kay-paq-mi, kay millwa-paq-mi.*ACH  
'Mantas, ponchos, blankets – everything, everything I make from this, from this yarn.'
- (12). *Ayvis ruwa-ni wiqa-paq uviha-paq.*AMV  
'Sometimes I make them out of twisted sheep's wool.'
- (13)\*. *Chay allin chay qari-kuna mana ishpa-y-ta atipa-q-paq.*AMV  
'That is good for men who can't urinate.'
- (14). *Quni quni planta-m chay-qa. Chiri-paq-mi allin.*AMV  
'This plant is really warm. It's good for (fighting) the cold.'
- (15)\*. *Qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ni-shpa kitra-ni.*AMV  
'I opened it up so that I could see.'
- (16). *Mana-m ka-n-chu – ñuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n.*AMV  
'There aren't any – mine are all finished up.'
- (17). *Hinaptin-qa watya-lu-n wawi-n-ta atuq-pa-hta.*CH  
'So they baked his children, the fox's.'
- (18). *Asnu alla-alli-ta atuq wata-ku-n kunka-paq traki-paq suga-wan wata-ru-n.*SP  
'The fox tied him up really well. He tied him up with a rope on his neck and on his foot.'
- (19). *Kay llaqta-paq kundinaw-mi lliw lliw runa-ta puchuka-ya-n.*AMV  
'In this town, a zombie is finishing off all the people.'
- (20). *Pasa-y-paq uyqa-y-ta-pis puchuka-ru-n. ¿Ima-ta-taq miku-shaq?*AMV  
'My sheep are completely finished off. What will I eat?'
- (21). *Kay-mi puchka-ku-na-: -pas pasa-y-paq llañu-pis.*AMV  
'I have to spin like this – completely thin, too.'
- (22). *Kuya-y-lla-paq waqa-ku-ya-n yutu-qa, kuya-ku-y-lla-paq chay waychaw-wan yutu-qa.*SP  
'"The partridge is singing so beautifully! The waychaw and the partridge sing so beautifully!'"
- (23). *Balinaku: "¡Paqarin yanapa-ma-y!" u "Paqarin ñuqa-hta chay-paq talpu-shun qampaktañataq", ni-naku-: -mi.*CH  
*Huk vis-lla-m piliya-ra-ø chay-paq chinka-ru-ra-n-ña-mi-ki.*ACH  
'We ask for each other's services. "Help me tomorrow!" or, "Tomorrow mine then we'll plant yours," we say to each other.'
- Huk vis-lla-m piliya-ra-ø chay-paq chinka-ru-ra-n-ña-mi-ki.*ACH  
'They fought just once and then they disappeared.'
- (24). *Qayna puntraw-paq mas-mi.*AMV  
'It's more than yesterday.'
- (25). *Cynthia-paq-pis mas-ta [chawa-n].*SP  
'She [milks] more than Cynthia.'
- (26). *Pular-paq-pis más mihur-ta-m chay-qa allu-ku-n.*ACH  
'Better than fleece -- this bundles you up.'

*Chay allin chay qarikuna mana ishpayta atipanpaq.*

chay allin chay qari-kuna mana ishpa-y-ta atipa-na-n-paq  
DEM.D good DEM.D man-PL no urinate-INF-ACC be.able-NMLZ-3-PURP

'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.*

qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ni-shpa kitra-ni  
see-NMLZ-1-PURP what-INSTR die-URGT-3 say-SUBIS open-1

'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.'
- (2). *Marsu-pi-qa ya ri-na-n-paq ¿limpu limpu runa-ta mana-chu firma-ka-ya-chi-n?*LT '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-nchik-paq.*AMV 'To cook in the rain.'
- (6). *Tuta tuta traya-ru-n kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-q-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-: ñuqa-pis.*CH 'I was in Cañete. I, too, heard it there.'
- (8). *Chay-pi chaki-ru-sa-ø wala-ntin vistidu-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?'"
- (10). *Kundur-ña-taq atuq-ta apusti-ru-n, ? Mayqin-ni-nchik lasta-pi urqu-pi wañu-ru-shun?*SP '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.'

*Parapi yanukunanchikpaq.*

para-pi yanu-ku-na-nchik-paq  
rain-LOC cook-REFL-NMLZ-1PL-PURP

'So we can cook in the rain.'

'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 *intri* 'between', borrowed from Spanish (*entre*) (2).

- (1). *Walmi-pula qutu-naku-la-nchik.CH* 'The women gathered amongst themselves.'  
(2). *Intri 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 lichilla-n-rayku ri-y-mantri.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 yanuku-nqatr.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 out with her calf.'  
(7). *Mana-m lichika-n-chu. Pastu kawsu.AMV* 'There's no milk. Because of the grass.'

### *Chawashiq lichillanrayku riymantri.*

chawa-shi-q      lichi-lla-n-rayku      ri-y-man-tri  
milk-ACMP-AG    milk-RSTR-3-CAUS    go-1-COND-EVC  
'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).<sup>23</sup> *-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, piluta puklla-q-kuna-kta-m.*CH      'They're watching television, ball players.'
- (2). *"Suti-:-ta-m apa-ku-nki", jni-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-yki-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-shpa-qa palla-ku-ya-ra.*SP      'After finding some antayluma berries, she gathered them up.'
- (5). *Wak Kashapata-pi-ña-m maqa-ru-ra César Mullida-ta.*LT      'They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.'
- (6)\*. *¿Maqta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta?* AMV      'Are you going to take the boys or the girl?'
- (7). *jVaka-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). *Qaqa-paq llusqi-y-ta atipa-n-chu. Qaya-ku-n "¿Imayna-taq kanan llusqi-shaq?"*SP      'She couldn't get off the cliff. She shouted, "Now, how am I going to get down?"'

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-pti-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). *Qiwñwal-ta-m 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 Qaquana.'
- (16). *Kiki-n-qa allin-ta-raq-taq gusa-q.SP* 'They themselves enjoyed them well still.'
- (17). *Rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik qillu-ta.AMV* 'We dress ourselves in yellow.'
- (18). *Ishkay ishkay-ta-m planta-ra-mu-ni.AMV* 'I planted them two by two.'
- (19). *"Kumpadri, ¿imayna-taq waqa-ya-nki qam-qa? ¡Kuya-y-lla-ta waqa-nki!" ni-n.SP* "'Compadre, why are you crying? How lovely you sing!" he said.'
- (20). *Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abril-ta llugsi-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.'
- (24). *Tarpu-ri-pti-nchik-pis miku-n-chu wak Shulli-ta wak Erminio-ta ni-ni.AMV* 'If we plant it, they won't eat it, I said to my younger brother and to Erminio.'

*Chayshi yatraran kundur kashanta.*

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 almataqa.*

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)

*Yakupis tukuy pampata rikullaq.*

yaku-pis tukuy pampa-ta ri-ku-lla-q  
water-ADD all ground-ACC go-REFL-RSTR-AG

'The water, too, would go all over the terrain.'  
 'El agua también iba por todos lados en la pampa'.  
 (Llanka\_MG\_Literacy, 01:25-26)

### 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'.

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

*Wambraymi matrka-wan tansharusa.*

wambra-y-mi	matrka-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 atorrado 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-INSTR 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).   | <i>Paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ñuqa-cta chay-paq talpa-shun qam-pa-cta-ña-taq.</i> CH   | 'Help me tomorrow or tomorrow me and then we'll plant <u>yours</u> .'                                 |
| (2).   | <i>Pilu-n-ta-qa yupa-ya-n-sh-ari chay chapu-paq-ta. Usha-chi-n-chu yupa-y-ta.</i> AMV     | 'He counted <u>those</u> [the hairs] <u>of</u> that hairless dog, but he couldn't count them.'        |
| (3).   | <i>Mishki-ta yawar-ni-n-ta-m miku-ru-nchik muti-n-ta-wan papa-n-ta-wan.</i> AMV           | 'We eat its blood, [we eat] hominy <u>and</u> potatoes – delicious.'                                  |
| (4)*.  | <i>Chay kabra-n-pa-wan vaka-n-pa-wan-tri kisu-cha-n.</i> AMV                              | 'Her cheese must be [from] her goats' <u>and</u> cows' [milk] both.'                                  |
| (5).   | <i>Chay kimsa-n-ta-m pipara-nchik yuraq klavil wayta-cha-ta-wan mancha-ri-sa-paq.</i> AMV | 'We prepare all three together <u>with</u> the flowers of white carnations [as a remedy for] fright.' |
| (6).   | <i>Qari-pura-wan kambya-shun.</i> †AMV  | 'Let's exchange husbands [one for one another].'  |
| (7).   | <i>Piliya-na-chin wambra-pura-ta.</i> †AMV  | 'He made the boys fight <u>among</u> themselves.'   |
| (8).   | <i>Karsil-pa-hina-m witrqa-ma-ra-ø. Wambra:-kuna istudya-q pasa-n.</i> ACH                | 'They closed me in <u>like in</u> a jail. My children leave to study.'                                |
| (9).   | <i>Kanan vaka-taq pusi-lla-man chawa-yan-chik kabra-ta-hina.</i> AMV                      | 'Now we milk a cow into a cup <u>like</u> a goat.'  |
| (10)*. | <i>Mana-m biranu-pa-hina-chu.</i> AMV   | 'It's not <u>like in</u> summer.'   |

*Chay kabranpawan vakanpawantri kisuchan.*

chay kabr-n-pa-wan vaka-n-pa-wan kisu-cha-n  
 DEM.D goat-3-GEN-INSTR cow-3-GEN-INSTR cheese-DIM-3  
 '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 biranupahinachu.*

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).  | <i>Wak urqu qipa-n-pa karu karu-ta-m muyu-mu-nchik.AMV</i>               | 'We go around very far <u>behind</u> that hill.'              |
| (2)*. | <i>Kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki.SP</i>                     | 'The condor must be sitting <u>on top of</u> a rock.'         |
| (3).  | <i>Hawa-n-pa-qa huk nichu-ta-ña ruwa-ru-n familia-n-kuna-paq.AMV</i>     | 'They made another niche <u>on top</u> for their relatives.'  |
| (4).  | <i>Waka uku-n-pa-tri-ki runa wañu-ra-ø unay.ACH</i>                      | ' <u>Inside</u> the ruins, people must have died before.'     |
| (5).  | <i>Wak wambra qaqa trawpi-n-ta-m pasa-ya-n mana-m mancha-ku-ya-n.AMV</i> | 'That boy passes <u>between</u> 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 (*upiyana-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* 'You grind it in a machine and then you toast  
*kalla-na-pa*.AMV it in the toasting pan.'

- (2). *Kuchu-na-y-kuna chinka-n.LT* 'My knife and all get lost.'
- (3). *Lliklla-kuna, punchu-kuna, puñu-na-kuna, ruwa-: .ACH* 'I make mantas, ponchos, and blankets.'
- (4). *Iskina hawa-n-pa michi-na-yki.AMV* 'Above the corner where you pasture.'
- (5). *Mama-y-qa witray-ta miku-na-y-ta apa-shpa asnu-cha-n-wan karga-cha-ku-sa hamu-q.AMV* 'My mother would come up hill bringing my food carrying it with her donkey.'
- (6). *Miku-na-n-ta-pis lliw lliw-shi sibada-n-ta trigu-n-ta ima ka-q-ta-pis katri-wan taku-ra-chi-sa-ø.ACH* 'Their food, too, everything, everything, their barley, their wheat, anything, they mixed it with salt.'
- (7). *Sibada-y-ta wayra-chi-shaq – abas-ni-y-ta palla-na-y ka-ya-n.AMV* 'I'm going to winnow my barley – I have to pick my broad beans.'
- (8). *Hina-ta risa-ni – yanu-ku-na-y ka-ku-ya-pti-n.LT* 'I pray like that – when he's there, I have to cook.'
- (9)\*. *Chay wawi warmi palla-na-n ka-ra.LT* 'My daughter had to pick them.'
- (10). *Kuti-ka-mu-ra-ø qari wambra-: yayku-na-n ka-ra-ø mana-ña atipa-ra-ø-chu.ACH* 'My son came back – he was supposed to enter [university] but he couldn't any more.'
- (11). *Shinka-kuna-qa kasu-na-n ka-ra-ø madri-qa rabya-sa-ø-tr kuti-n.* 'The drunks had to pay [should have paid] attention. The nun must have gotten mad.'
- (12). *Ganaw-kuna michi-na-:-paq chay chay-ta-m trakra trabaha-na-:-paq.SP* 'So I can herd the cows, so I can work in the fields.
- (13). *Ampulla-kta inyikta-ma-na-nchik-paq.CH* 'Syringes in order to give us injections.'
- (14). *Tambo-paq apa-mu-q ka-ni, "¡Miku-y! Hampi-shu-na-yki-paq", ni-ni.AMV* 'I used to bring it from Tambopata. "Eat it so it can cure you!" I said.'
- (15). *Mana-ña yapa maqa-shu-na-yki-paq.AMV* 'So she doesn't hit you again.'
- (16)\*. *¡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.'
- (17). *"¿Imay ura chay kunihu-qa kuti-mu-nqa yanapa-ma-na-n-paq?" ni-n.SP* ""What time is that rabbit going to come back so he can help me?" said [the fox].'
- (18). *Paga-na-n-ta muna-ya-n, ranti-na-n-ta gasolina-ta.ACH* 'He wants her to pay, to buy gasoline.'
- (19). *Hinaptin-shi pay-ta-qa mana tarpu-na-n-ta muna-sa-ø-chu.ACH* 'Then, they say, they didn't want him to plant.'
- (20). *Mansa-na-paq-ña wak turu-n ka-ya-n.AMV* 'That bull is to be tamed/for taming already.'
- (21). *Ñuqa laqya-ru-shaq siki-paq. Kipu-ta-qa. Laqya-pa-na-sh ka-ya-n.AMV* 'I'm going to slap him on the behind. Kipu [a dog]. It's there to be hit.'

*Chay warmi wawiy pallanán kara*

chay warmi wawi-y palla-na-n ka-ra-ø  
DEM.D woman baby-1 pick-NMLZ-3 be-PST-3

'My daughter had to harvest them.'

'Mi hija tenía que cosecharlos'.

(Tana\_IM\_Orchard, 13:25-30)

*¡Uqi pulluyki qawachinaypaq! Kaynam ruwasay.*

uqi pullu-yki qawa-chi-na-y-paq kay-[hi]na-m ruwa-sa-y  
gray manta-2 see-CAUS-NMLZ-1-PURP DEM.P-COMP-EVD make-PRF-1

'[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 así.'

(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-cta pusha-ku-ya-n*.CH 'They're taking people who don't want to.'
- (4). *Wak bandidu-qa muna-rqa-ø-chu mana-sh wawa-yuq-ta – wawa-paku-q-tri-ki kida-q*.ACH 'That bastard didn't want [a woman] with a baby, they say – she remained a single mother, for sure.'
- (5). *Ayqi-ya-mu-q-wan-tri tinku-rqa*.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-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-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.'

- (15)\*. *Unay-qa pay-kuna-qa mantil-ta ruwa-q*.AMV 'Before, they used to make tablecloths.'
- (16). *Huybis-ni-n-pa dumingu-n-pa kisu-ta apa-q ka-: ish kay*.ACH 'On Thursdays and Sundays, I used to bring two cheeses [to sell].'
- (17). *Sirda-lla-wan chuma-ku-q ka-nchik, kaspi-cha-lla-wan aychi-q ka-nchik. Winku puru-cha-m ka-q. Antis*.AMV '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.'

*Unayqa paykunaqa ... mantilta ruwaq, mantilta burdaq, unayqa.*

unay-qa pay-kuna-qa mantil-ta ruwa-q mantil-ta burda-q unay-qa  
long.ago-TOP 3-PL-TOP cloth-ACC make-AG cloth-ACC embroider-AG long.ago-TOP

'Formerly, they used to make table cloths; they used to embroider table cloths, formerly'.

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

(Madean\_VDE\_Various, 06:02-09)

### 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-sa-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-sa-n* 'where there are sports') (16)-(18). *-sHa* nominalizations, relative to the E of the main clause, refer to actions already completed (19), (20).

- (1). *Mandil-lla-y-kuna-qa chaki-sa ka-ya-n*.AMV 'My aprons and all are dry.'
- (2). *Wak runa-pa traki-n-qa punki-sa-m ka-ya-n tullu-n-tri kuyu-sa ka-ya-n*.ACH 'That person's foot is swollen, the bone must be out of place.'
- (3). *Kay kumida talpu-sa-: mana puydi-n-chu...*CH 'This food that I planted can't ...'
- (4). *Chay ganaw dividi-sa-n-wan rikisi-ya-n-tri*.SP 'They must be getting rich with the cattle that they divided up [among themselves].'
- (5). *Pampa-ku-ru-n matray-man-qa chay wañu-sa-n tardi-qa*.AMV 'They buried him in a cave the afternoon that he died.'
- (6). *Unay ima-s pasa-ma-sa-nchik ...*CH 'Before, anything that happened to us ...'
- (7). *Pampa-yku-ni fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta*.AMV 'I bury the fruit that I bring.'
- (8). *Kalamina ranti-sa-nchik-kuna* LT 'The tin roofing that we bought'
- (9)\*. *Ratus-kaman-shi kisu-ta ruwa-sa-yki-ta* 'A little later, she says, she'll see the cheese'

- qawa-nqa*.AMV that you made.'
- (10). *Chay wawqi-n "¡Ama!" ni-sa-n-ta-s wañu-chi-sa-taq*.ACH 'They also killed his brother who said "Don't!"'
- (11). *¿Ima-ta-taq kanan ñuqa Lutu-pa ubiha-wan yatra-sa-y-ta willa-ku-shaq?*AMV 'Now what am I going to tell you about what I lived in Lutu with my sheep?'
- (12). *Lucha-shaq. Atipa-sha-y-ta-tri-k ruwa-ku-shaq*.LT 'I'll fight. I'll do what I can.'
- (13). *Ñuqa-pa-ta-qa silinsyu ka-pti-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 wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-ni-chu*.AMV 'I didn't see that she carried her baby.'
- (15). *Qam-pa rantiku-ra-sa-yki-yá chay shakash*.AMV 'That guinea pig that YOU sold me.'
- (16). *Wambra-qa puklla-ya-sa-n-pa tuta-yka-ra-chi-n*.SP 'Night fell where the girls were playing.'
- (17). *Tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n – piluta puklla-q-kuna-cta-m may-chu dipurti ka-sha-n-kuna-cta*.CH 'They're watching television – the ball-players and where there are sports.'
- (18). *Ri-ya-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 apasayta.*

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).  | <i>Ni puñu-y ni miku-y.</i> AMV   | 'Neither sleeping nor eating.'  |
| (2).  | <i>Paqwa-ya-n-ña-m talpu-ku-y.</i> CH   | 'The planting is finishing up.'   |
| (3).  | <i>Warmi-n-pa ishpa-y-ni-n-ta-sh tuma-n.</i> AMV  | 'He drinks his wife's urine, they say.'   |
| (4).  | <i>Traki nana-y-wan ka-rqa-ni.</i> AMV  | 'I've had foot pain.'   |
| (5).  | <i>Tutal suda-y-lla-ña hamu-ku-ya-n kwirpu-nchik-pa-pis – "¡Chaq! ¡Chaq! ¡Chaq!" – sutu-ku-ya-n suda-y-ni-ki.</i> ACH | 'Just a whole lot of sweat is coming on our bodies – "Chak! Chak! Chak!" – your sweat is dripping.' |
| (6).  | <i>Kay-qa awa-paku-y-mi.</i> AMV  | 'This one is one woven for someone else.'   |
| (7).  | <i>¿Uktubri paqwa-y-pi-ña-chu hamu-nki?</i> CH  | 'Are you coming at the end of October?'   |
| (8).  | <i>Aligra-ku-ya-n suygra-n wañu-ku-sa-n-ta-tr – mana-yá pampa-ku-y-ni-n-pa ka-rqa-chu, ¿aw?</i> AMV                   | 'He must be very happy his mother-in-law died – he wasn't at her burial, no?'                       |
| (9).  | <i>Ranti-y kahun mana yayku-n-chu.</i> AMV  | 'Bought coffins won't fit it.'  |
| (10). | <i>Waqta-kuna-ta llusqi-shpa runa-s puñu-y.</i> ACH   | 'The people, too, asleep, they came out on the hillsides.'  |
| (11). | <i>Chay yanu-ku-y tardi-sh alma-qa traya-mu-n.</i> AMV  | 'The souls arrive on the afternoon that we cook, they say.'   |
| (12). | <i>Waqta-y-ta qalla-ku-n, "Oooh ooohh ooohhhh ooh ooh!"</i> SP  | 'It started to wail, "Oooh ooohh ooohhhh ooh ooh!"'   |
| (13). | <i>Mana-ña-m diskuti-y-ta ñuqa muna-ni-chu kay-na.</i> LT   | 'I don't want to fight about it like this any more.'  |
| (14). | <i>¿Kuka-ta aku-yku-y-ta muna-nki-chu?</i> AMV  | 'Do you want to chew coca?'   |
| (15). | <i>Hampi-na-n-paq, shinka-yka-chi-shpa-sh pusha-ru-sa-ø. Hinashpa-sh qara-yku-y-ta muna-sa-ø.</i> AMV                 | 'So that he would be cured, they got him drunk and took him. Then he wanted to make an offering.'   |
| (16). | <i>Wak vaka-y-pa ataka-n-mi mal ka-ya-n – puri-y-ta atipa-n-chu.</i> AMV  | 'My cow's leg is hurt – she can't walk.'  |
| (17). | <i>Iskribi-y-ta-pis usachi-ni-chu ni firma-y-ta-pis. Total analfabitu.</i> CH   | 'I can't write or sign [my name], either. Completely illiterate.'                                   |
| (18). | <i>Mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa kay-taq maniha-y yatra-:-chu.</i> CH   | 'We here don't know how to drive.'  |
| (19). | <i>Mana risa-ku-y-ta yatra-ra-ø-chu – Satan-as-wan yatra-ra-ø.</i> SP   | 'They didn't know how to pray. They lived with Satan.'  |
| (20). | <i>Wak-hina mana vininu tuma-y-ta muna-shpa-tri mana-m yayku-y-ta muna-n-chu ubihaqa.</i> AMV                         | 'Like that, not wanting to drink poison, the sheep don't want to go in.'                            |
| (21). | <i>Mana-m lula-y muna-n-chu.</i> CH   | 'He doesn't want to do it.'   |

### 3.4.2 Substantives Derived from Substantives

Four affixes 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*<sub>2</sub>

Non-exhaustivity. *-kuna*<sub>2</sub> indicates that the referent of its base is accompanied by another entity, generally of the same class (1)-(8).

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (1). | <i>Chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man.AMV</i>                      | 'Your body <u>and all</u> could be sick; your head <u>and all</u> could hurt.'                                    |
| (2). | <i>Maridu-kuna-cta-pis tali-lu-n.CH</i>   | 'She found a husband <u>and all</u> .'  |
| (3). | <i>Wak rikisun-ni-n-kuna-ta na-ru-n warku-ru-n.AMV</i>                                    | 'She did that, she hung up her cheese curd <u>and everything</u> .'   |
| (4). | <i>Silva-kuna-ta-sh riku-lla-n.ACH</i>  | 'He went to the rainforest <u>and all</u> .'  |
| (5). | <i>"Pachamanka-kuna ka-ya-n – alli allin miku-shun kanan tardi", ni-shpa.SP</i>           | '"There's a barbecue <u>and all</u> – we're going to eat really, really well this afternoon," said [the rabbit].' |
| (6). | <i>Ispusu-:-ta mama-:-kuna tayta-:-kuna-cta qaya-ku-shpa mana-m ... hiwya-ku-:-chu.CH</i> | 'Calling on my husband <u>and</u> on my mother <u>and</u> father, I'm not scared.'                                |
| (7). | <i>Chay-man ri-sa-ø Marleni, Ayde, Vilma, Norma-kuna.AMV</i>                              | 'Marleni went there <u>with</u> Ayde, Vilma and Norma <u>and all</u> .'   |
| (8). | <i>Chay-paq ri-shaq wak animal-ni-y-man wak infirmu-y-kuna-man.LT</i>                     | 'From there I'll go to my animals <u>and</u> my sick [husband] <u>and all</u> .'                                  |

### 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). | <i>¿Allqu-ntin-chu traya-mu-ya-n?AMV</i>                                     | 'Are they coming <u>with</u> their dog(s)?'  |
| (2). | <i>Vistiga-shpa-qa pasa-ku-n vistiga-q lliw gwardya-ntin huys-ni-ntin.SP</i> | 'After they investigated, the investigators left <u>with</u> the policemen <u>and</u> judges.' |
| (3). | <i>Hinaptin ri-ku-ra-: vaka-ntin Cañete-ta.ACH</i>                           | 'So I went <u>with</u> the cows to Cañete.'  |
| (4). | <i>Chay-pi chaki-ru-sa-ø wala-ntin vistidu-</i>                              | 'There she dried out <u>with</u> her skirt <u>and</u> her                                      |

- ntin-shi*.ACH clothes, they say.'
- (5). *Hinashpa-sh pwirta-n-ta kandaw-ni-ntin-ta kuchu-ru-sa-ø, ¿aw?*AMV 'Then, they say, they cut the door with its lock and all, no?'
- (6). *Qullqi-ntin ri-pti-n – krus-ni-ntin-shi qullqi-ntin-shi*. AMV 'Leaving with her money – with her cross and her money, they say.'
- (7). *Traya-mu-ra-ø punta-ntin punta-ntin pay-qa*.SP 'They came from peak to peak, they did.'

### 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.

<i>yuya-y</i>	'memor y'	→ <i>yuya-y-sapa</i>	'person with a very good memory'	<i>yuya-y-sapa ka-ya-n</i> ACH	'she has a <u>very good memory</u> '
<i>uma</i>	'head'	→ <i>uma-sapa</i>	'person with a big head'	<i>uma-sapa liyun-ni-ki</i> AMV	'your <u>big-headed</u> lion'

- (1). *"jÑa-m tuku-chka-ni-ña!" – puk, puk, puk – siki-sapa sapa*.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 waqra-sapa – uku-pa iglisy-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 ñuqa-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-lla-rqa-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-ø puka pantahun-ni-yuq gindun-ta-qa 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-ø puka pantahun-ni-yuq gindun-ta-qa 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-qa ña-m trakra-n-ta-ña-m tapa-mu-n*.AMV 'At fifteen days we cover the field.'

*Imayuqpis kankichu chay wambraykita katrarunki mayurnikikama.*

ima-yuq-pis ka-nki-chu chay wambra-yki-ta katra-ru-nki mayur-ni-ki-kama  
 what-POSS-ADD be-2-NEG DEM.D child-2-ACC loose-URGT-2 older-EUPH-2-LIM  
 '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 kaqniqu huknin mana kaqniqu.*

huk-ni-n ka-sa-ø 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 tenía 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). *puñu-q-masi†* 'bed mate'
- (2). *niraq-masi†* 'family, blood, peeps, posse'
- (3)\*. *¡Runa-masi-nchik-ta miku-ru-nchik, wawqi!* 'We ate our fellow people, brother!'

AMV

- (4). *Chay-wan apa-katra-ku-shpa-m rika-ka-ya-chi-n runa-masi-nchik-ta-qa*.LT 'Carrying those [their arms], they made our fellow people look.
- (5). *Chay yatra-q-masi-n-qa ayqi-ku-ya-n*.AMV 'Her neighbor is escaping.'
- (6). *Qunqaytaq-qa, chay ukucha-masi-n apa-mu-n trupa-ta-qa*.ACH 'Suddenly, the mouse's companion [arrived and] took away the tail.'

¡Runamasinchikta mikurunchik, wawqi!

runa-masi-nchik-ta miku-ru-nchik wawqi  
person-PART-1PL-ACC eat-URGT-1PL brother

'We ate our fellow humans, brother!'

'¡Comimos entre personas, hermano!'

(Vinac\_MG\_Wanka, 01:48-53)

### 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-cha wawa-cha-lla ka-rqa*.AMV 'When I lived there, the little vicuña was just a little baby.'
- (2). *Wambra, uch-uchuk wambra. Kay-na – wambra-cha-kuna-lla*.LT 'Little, little children, like this, just small children'
- (3). *Santu-pa ka-rqa kuruna-cha-n-kuna*.AMV 'The saints had their little crowns.'
- (4). *Turnu-cha-wan ñuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-:CH* 'We work by short turns.'
- (5). *Katra-ra-mu-y indika-na-n-paq, Hilda-cha*.AMV 'Send him so that he shows him, Hilda, dear.'
- (6). *Pulvu-cha-paq tapa-yku-lla-sa, wayra-cha-paq apa-yku-lla-sa, kay sityu-cha-man traya-yka-mu-nki*.SP 'Covered with dust, carried by the wind, you're going to come to this place.'
- (7). *Chay-cha-pa-m ka-ku-lla-ya-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.'

*Yatraptiy chaypi chay vikuñacha wawachalla karqa.*

yatra-pti-y      chay-pi      chay      vikuña-cha      wawa-cha-lla      ka-rqa-ø  
live-SUBDS-1    DEM.D-LOC    DEM.D    vicuña-DIM    baby-DIM-RSTR    be-PST-3

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

'Cuando yo vivía allí la vicunita era bebito no más'.

(Vinac\_VG\_Vicuna, 00:16-20)

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: onomatopoeic 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 onomatopoeic 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-rqa* '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.'

- (2). *Yaku-pis tukuy pampa-ta riku-lla-q.AMV* 'The water used to run all over the ground.'
- (3). *¿Llaqta-yki-ta para-n-chu?AMV* 'Does it rain on your town?'
- (4). *Tukuy puntraw pukuta-lu-nqa llaqta-ka.CH* 'It's going to cloud over on the town all day.'

#### 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').<sup>24</sup> 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 qutu-q ri-sa, mayu-ta pawa-ya-shpa-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).

<sup>24</sup> The weather verbs admit only their corresponding weather nouns for subjects. *Para para-ya-n*. 'The rain is raining.'

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| (1).  | <i>Ñuqa-nchik fwirti <u>ka-nchik</u> patachi-ta, matrka-ta, trakra-nchik lluksi-q-ta miku-shpa-m.AMV</i> | 'We <u>are</u> strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and machka.' |
| (2).  | <i>Qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y <u>ka-nki</u>.AMV</i>   | 'You <u>are</u> my salvation.'  |
| (3).  | <i><u>Ka-n-ña</u> piña turu.AMV</i>  | ' <u>There are</u> mean bulls.'   |
| (4).  | <i>Ranti-q-pis <u>ka-n-taq-mi</u>.AMV</i>  | ' <u>There are</u> also buyers.'  |
| (5).  | <i>¿Cañete, maypa-hina-ña-tr <u>ka-ya-nchik</u>? Karru, mutu -- ¡Asu machu!AMV</i>                       | 'Cañete, like we <u>were</u> where already? Cars, motorcycles – My Lord!'                   |
| (6).  | <i>Qam sumaq sumaq warmi-m <u>ka-ya-nki</u>.ACH</i>  | 'You <u>are</u> a very pretty woman.'   |
| (7).  | <i>Wira wira-<u>m</u> matray-pi puñu-shpa, allin pastu-ta miku-shpa-m.AMV</i>                            | 'Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow <u>is</u> really fat.'                  |
| (8).  | <i>Llutan-<u>shi</u>-ki.LT</i>   | 'They <u>are</u> deformed, they say.'   |
| (9).  | <i>Watu-n-qa fiyu fiyu wiqa-m <u>ka-ya-n</u>.AMV</i>   | 'Her rope <u>is</u> really horrid twisted wool.'  |
| (10). | <i>¿Alpaka-chu wak <u>ka-ya-n</u>?AMV</i>  | ' <u>Is that</u> alpaca [wool]?'  |

#### 4.2.4 Onomatopoeic Verbs

Onomatopoeic 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 of -ya. Four patterns dominate:

Pattern 1: ([C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)]<sub>S1</sub>)[C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)]<sub>S1</sub>[C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)]<sub>S1</sub>-(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<sub>1</sub>)S<sub>1</sub>S<sub>1</sub>-(ya)(-ku). Example: *qurqurya-* 'snore', *luqluqluqya-* 'boil'.

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

Pattern 2: [C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)]<sub>S1</sub>[C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>1</sub>]<sub>S2</sub>[C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>1</sub>]<sub>S2</sub>[C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>1</sub>]<sub>S2</sub>-(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.*,  $S_1S_2S_2S_2(-ya)(-ku)$ . Example: *bunrururu-* 'thunder'.

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

Pattern 3: ( $[[[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_2}]_{U_1}][[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_2}]_{U_1}[[[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_2}]_{U_1}(-ya)$   
*(-ku)*

Pattern 3 replaces the single syllable of Pattern 1 with a two-syllable unit, *i.e.*, ( $[S_1S_2]_{U_1}[S_1S_2]$   
 $U_1[S_1S_2]_{U_1}(-ya)(-ku)$ ). Example: *chiplichipli-* 'sparkle'.

- |      |                             |                               |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1). | <i>chiplichipli-</i>        | shine, sparkle                |
| (2). | <i>piiiiichyupiiiichyu-</i> | make the sound of a pichusa   |
| (3). | <i>iraniraniranyaku-</i>    | moo (make the sound of a cow) |
| (4). | <i>wilwichwilwichyaku-</i>  | 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). | <i>chalaqchalanya-</i> | clang, make the sound of metal things coming into contact with each other |
| (2). | <i>waqwaqwaya-</i>     | laugh heartily, guffaw  |
| (3). | <i>chiwachiwayku-</i>  | 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). | <i>Fwira-pa-pis katkatyaku-ya-nchik</i> .ACH  | 'Outside, too, we're <u>trembling</u> .'   |
| (2). | <i>Tuta-ña killa-pa sumaq sumaq kaballiriyahamu-ku-ya-sa-ø pampa-ta chiplichiplishpa</i> .AMV | 'At night, under the moon, a beautiful horse was coming across the ground, <u>sparkling</u> .' |
| (3). | <i>Unay-qa wamaq wamaq rayu ka-ku-lla-q. "¡Qangran! ¡Qangran!" taqlaq-ya-ku-q</i> .AMV        | 'Before, there was a whole lot of thunder. "Bbrra-boom! Bbrra-boom!" it <u>rumbled</u> .'      |
| (4). | <i>Chitchityaku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa</i> .LT   | ' <u>Chit-chitting</u> , 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 (*ñuqa*, *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 (*ñuqanchik*, *ñuqanchikkuna*, *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* (*karqa*)); 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 *-ni/-:* (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 *-∅*. Examples: *qawa-rqa-ni* 'I saw' 'I have seen'; *patrya-la-∅* '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-∅* '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 *-∅*). 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. Cakra, 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 adverbally 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

	First person singular	Past tense affix <i>-RQa</i>	Perfect <i>-sHa</i>	Second-person alternative conditional
AMV	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-rqa</i>	<i>-sa</i>	yes
ACH	<i>-:</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-sa</i>	no
CH	<i>-:</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-sha</i>	no
SP	<i>-:</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-sa</i>	no
LT	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-sha</i>	no

Table 13. Verbal Inflection Paradigm

Tense	1P and 1PL incl.	2P	3P	1PL dual and excl.
Present	<i>-ni</i> <sub>AMV,LT</sub> <i>-:</i> <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub> I say	<i>-nki</i> you say	<i>-n</i> he says	<i>-nchik</i> we say
Future	<i>-shaq</i> I will say	<i>-nki</i> you will say	<i>-nqa</i> he will say	<i>-shun</i> we will say
Past	<i>-rqa-ni</i> <sub>AMV</sub>	<i>-rqa-nki</i> <sub>AMV</sub>	<i>-rqa-∅</i> <sub>AMV</sub>	<i>-rqa-nchik</i> <sub>AMV</sub>

	-ra-ni <sub>LT</sub> -ra- <sub>ACH,SP</sub> -la- <sub>CH</sub> I (have) said	-ra-nki <sub>ACH,LT, SP</sub> -la-nki <sub>CH</sub> you (have) said	-ra-∅ <sub>ACH, LT, SP</sub> -la-∅ <sub>CH</sub> he (has) said	-ra-nchik <sub>ACH, LT,SP</sub> -la-nchik <sub>CH</sub> we (have) said
<b>Quotative Past</b>			-sa <sub>AMV,ACH,SP</sub> -sha <sub>CH,LT</sub> -shqa he said	
<b>Perfect?</b>	-sa-ni <sub>AMV</sub> -sha-ni <sub>LT</sub> -sa- <sub>ACH,SP</sub> -sha- <sub>CH</sub> I have said	-sa-nki <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-nki <sub>CH,LT</sub> you have said	-sa-∅ <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-∅ <sub>CH,LT</sub> he has said	-sa-nchik <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-nchik <sub>CH,LT</sub> we have said
<b>Iterative past</b>	-q ka-ni <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -q ka- <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub> I used to say	-q ka-nki you used to say	-q he used to say	-q ka-nchik we used to say
<b>Progressive</b>	-ya-ni <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -ya- <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub> I am saying	-ya-nki you are saying	-ya-n he is saying	-ya-nchik we are saying
<b>Conditional (Potential)</b>	-y-man <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -:-man <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub> I can...say	-nki-man you can...say	-n-man he can...say	-nchik-man we can...say
<b>Alternative conditional</b>	x	-waq <sub>AMV</sub> you could... say	x	-chuwān we could... say
<b>Past Conditional</b>	-y-man karqa <sub>AMV</sub> -y-man ka-ra <sub>LT</sub> -:-man ka-ra <sub>ACH,SP</sub> -:-man ka-la <sub>CH</sub> I could...have sai	-nki-man ka-rqa <sub>AMV</sub> -nki-man ka-ra <sub>ACH,LT,SP</sub> -nki-man ka-la <sub>CH</sub> you could...have said	-n-man ka-rqa <sub>AMV</sub> -n-man ka-ra <sub>ACH,LT,SP</sub> -n-man ka-la <sub>CH</sub> he could...have said	-nchik-man ka-rqa <sub>AMV</sub> -nchik-man ka-ra <sub>ACH,LT,SP</sub> - nchik-man ka-la <sub>CH</sub> we could...have said
<b>Alternative Past Conditional</b>	x	-waq ka-rqa <sub>AMV</sub> -waq ka-ra <sub>LT</sub> you could...have said	x	-chuwān ka-rqa <sub>AMV</sub> -chuwān ka-ra <sub>ACH,SP,LT</sub> -chuwān ka-la <sub>CH</sub> we could...have said
<b>Imperative</b>	x	-y Say!	x	-shun Let's say!
<b>Injunctive</b>	x	x	-chun	x
<b>Subord. Diff Subjs</b>	-pti-y <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -pti- <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub> when ... I <say>	-pti-ki when ... you <say>	-pti-n when ... he <say>	-pti-nchik when ...we <say>
<b>Subord. Ident. Subj</b>	-shpa when ... I <say>	-shpa when ... you <say>	-shpa when ... he <say>	-shpa when ... we <say>
<b>Subord. Adverbial</b>	-shtin saying	-shtin saying	-shtin saying	-shtin saying

#### 4.3.1 Person and Number

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  $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$ ,  $-ni_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ , and  $-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ .  $-:$  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-y*, *qawa-pti-:* 'when ... I see'), to the verb stem in the conditional (*lluqsi-y-man*, *lluqsi-:-man* 'I could leave'), and to noun stems ending in vowels (*mishi-y*, *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-y*, *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 healer'). It appears that in Cacara, *-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

Person	verb stem + affixes	subordinator <i>-shpa</i>	subordinator <i>-pti</i>	substantive (short) <i>i</i> final	substantive (short) <i>a, u</i> final	substantive C (or long V) final	conditional V stem + affixes
<b>1</b>	$-ni_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$	$-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$	$-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$	$-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$	$-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$	$-ni-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-ni-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$	$-y_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-:\text{ACH,CH,SP}$

2	-nki	-yki	-ki	-ki	-yki	-ni-ki	-nki
3	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-ni-n	-n
1PL	-nchik	-nchik	-nchik	-nchik	-nchik	-ni-nchik	-nchik

#### 4.3.1.2 Actor and Object Reference

*-wa<sub>AMVLT</sub>* and *-ma<sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>* 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 (*iQu-wa-y!*, *iQu-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-ya-wa-nki* 'you are giving me'; *qu-wa-rqa-ø* '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* – precede 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-sqayki* '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

	<b>1 OBJ</b>	<b>2 OBJ</b>	<b>1PL OBJ</b>
<b>1 SBJ</b>	x	Present: -YkI <sub>ACH,AMV,LT,SP</sub> Future: -sHQa-yki	x
<b>2 SBJ</b>	-wa-nki <sub>AMV,LT</sub>	x	x

	-ma-nki <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>		
<b>3 SBJ</b>	-wa-N <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -ma-N <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>	-shu-nki	-wa-nchik <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -ma-nchik <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>

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

- pa ñiti-ru-wa-pti-n-qa*.AMV would crush me.'
- (23) *Mana yaku-kta qu-ma-pti-n, ¿Imayna-taq putriru-:-pis planta-:-pis ka-nqa?* CH 'If they don't give me water, how will I have alfalfa and plants?'
- (24) *Wambra willa-su-pti-ki* LT 'When the children told you'
- (25) *Suda-ra-chi-shu-pti-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 kwintaku-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-yki-paq*.AMV 'So he sets some aside for you.'
- (30) *Saru-ru-lla-wanki-man, Mana-m saru-wa-na-n-taq muna-ni-ña-chu*.AMV 'You could trample me. I don't want him to trample me any more.'
- (31) *Mana chichi-yuq ka-pti-ki-qa chay-na lluqa-ri-shunki-man-tri*.AMV 'When you don't have breasts they can top you.'
- (32) *¡Kwidadu! Chay-pi-taq qalqali miku-lu-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-rqa-nchik*.AMV 'She doesn't want to drink now. Earlier, they had got us drunk.'
- (34) *Chiri pasa-wa-pti-nchik-pis, wiksa nana-y-kuna-paq*.AMV 'When we get chills or for stomach pain [this plant is good].'
- (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 runa-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 allqu-y-paq-pis ... ni-ku-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 uywa-ma-ra-ø mama-cha-: tiyu-: tiya-:.*SP 'My grandmother and my uncle and aunt raised me.'
- (41) *Qam-pis kuntista-mu-wa-nki-m-á*.AMV 'You, too, are going to answer me.'
- (42) *¿Alli-cha-wa-nqa-chu mana-chu? Yatra-ru-nqa-ña 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-ta-tr paga-yku-shaq-qa mana-m wañu-chi-ma-nqa-chu*.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.'

- (45) *Watya-ru-n-shi. Chay-na-tr watya-ra-ma-shun ñuqanchik-ta-pis.*ACH 'They got baked, they say. Like that, we're going to get baked, us, too.'

*Ñuqa qipirushqayki llaqtayta.*

ñuqa qipi-ru-shqayki llaqta-y-ta  
I carry-URGT-2>1.FUT town-1-ACC

'I'll carry you to my town.'

'Te cargaré a mi pueblo'.

(Florida\_JH\_Condor\_Condenados, 00:31-35)

*Kaywan pampachiwan ... qampaqmi qali qali imaypis kidanqa.*

kay-wan pampa-chi-wa-n qam-paq-mi qali qali ima-y-pis kida-nqa  
DEM.P-INSTR bury-CAUS-1.OBJ-3 you-BEN-EVD all all what-1-ADD remain-3.FUT

'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)

Plural subject > singular object

1PL>2	<i>Ñuqa-kuna qu-paku-yki tanta-ta qam-man.</i>	'We give you.S bread.'
1PL>2 fut	<i>Ñuqa-kuna qu-paku-sqayki tanta-ta qam-man.</i>	'We will give you.S bread.'
2PL>1	<i>Qam-kuna qu-paku-wanki tanta-ta ñuqa-man.</i>	'You.PL give me bread.'
3PL>1	<i>Pay-kuna qu-paku-wan tanta-ta ñuqa-man.</i>	'They give me bread.'
3PL>2	<i>Pay-kuna qu-paku-shunki tanta-ta qam-man.</i>	'They give you.S bread.'

Singular subject > plural object

1>2PL	<i>Ñuqa qu-paku-yki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man.</i>	'I give you.PL bread.'
1>2PL fut	<i>Ñuqa qu-paku-sqayki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man.</i>	'I will give you.PL bread.'
2>1PL	<i>Qam qu-wanki tanta-ta ñuqa-kuna-man.</i>	'You.S give us bread.'
3>1PL	<i>Pay qu-wanchik tanta-ta ñuqa-kuna-man.</i>	'He gives us bread.'
3>2PL	<i>Pay qu-paku-shunki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man.</i>	'He gives you.PL bread.'

Plural subject > plural object

1PL>2PL	<i>Ñuqa-kuna qu-paku-sqayki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man.</i>	'We give you.PL bread.'
1PL>2PL fut	<i>Ñuqa-kuna qu-paku-sqayki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man.</i>	'We will give you.PL bread.'
2PL>1PL	<i>Qam-kuna qu-paku-wanki tanta-ta ñuqa-kuna-man.</i>	'You.PL give us bread.'
3PL>1PL	<i>Pay-kuna qu-paku-wanchik tanta-ta ñuqa-kuna-man.</i>	'They give us bread.'
3PL>2PL	<i>Pay-kuna qu-paku-shunki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man.</i>	'They give you.PL bread.'

#### 4.3.2 Tense

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 *ñuqanchik* (dual), *ñuqanchikkuna* (inclusive), and *ñuqakuna* (exclusive) (see section 3.2.1.5.1 on personal pronouns). In practice, *ñuqanchik* 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 *ñuqanchikkuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default *ñuqanchik* (10); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive *ñuqakuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular *ñuqa* (11). Although *ñuqa* 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

Person	Singular	Plural
<b>1</b>	<i>-ni</i> <sub>AMV,LT</sub> <i>-:</i> <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>	<i>-nchik</i> (dual, incl.) <i>-ni</i> <sub>AMV,LT</sub> (excl.) <i>-:</i> <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub> (excl.)
<b>2</b>	<i>-nki</i>	<i>-nki</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>

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

mi.AMV

- (2). *Mana-m ñuqa yatra-;:chu*.ACH 'I don't know (how).'
- (3). *Qam-qa ri-tamu-nki urqu-ta*. LT 'You left for the hill for good.'
- (4). *Allqu miku-ku-n wakchu-cha-ta-qa*.AMV 'The dog ate up the lamb.'
- (5). *Viyhu-nchik-ta ruwa-nchik hinashpa-qa kaña-nchik-mi*.AMV 'We make our effigy then burn it.'
- (6). *Familya-lla-n ñuqa-kuna suya-;:CH* 'Just their relatives – we waited.'
- (7). *Kanan qam-kuna-tr hamu-ya-nki*.SP 'Now you.PL are coming.'
- (8). *Suqta wanka vaka-ta tumba-n*.AMV 'Six hired hands tackle the cow.'
- (9). *Chay-ta-qa qawa-yku-shpa valur-ta hapi-ni*.AMV 'Looking at that, I gathered courage.'
- (10). *Kay-pi ñuqanchikkuna-qa kustumbraw-mi ka-ya-nchik*.AMV 'Here, we're accustomed to it.'
- (11). *Wañu-q tayta-cha-y-mi chay-ta-qa ñuqa-kuna-man willa-wa-rqa*.AMV 'Our late grandfather told that to us.'
- (12). *Kama-pa-m ñuqa puñu-ku-ya-; ish kay-ni-;:ACH* 'We were both sleeping in bed.'

*Dispidichin churinkunata hinashpaqa kañan.*

dispidi-chi-n                      churi-n-kuna-ta      hina-shpa-qa      kaña-n  
 bid.farewell-CAUS-3      child-3-PL-ACC      thus-SUBIS-TOP      burn-3  
 'One has their children say good bye and then burns it [the effigy].'  
 'Se hace despedir a sus hijos y después se lo quema'.  
 (Vinac\_HQ\_Lamb\_NewYear, 00:50-55)

**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

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-shaq	-shun
2	-nki	-nki
3	-nqa	-nqa

- (1)\*. *Mana-m iskapa-nqa-chu wañu-ra-chi-shaq-mi*.AMV 'She's not going to escape. I'll kill her.'

- (2). *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.'
- (3)\*. *Vaka-ta-sh harka-nki vaka-ta chawa-nki.AMV* 'You'll herd the cows, you'll milk the cows.'
- (4). *Rupa-ri-nqa-tr.AMV* 'It will be warm [tomorrow].'
- (5). *Shimi-ki-ta sira-ru-shun.SP* 'We're going to sew your mouth shut.'
- (6). *Kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun.AMV* 'We'll wash this.'
- (7). *Qam-kuna-lla-m parla-nki.CH* 'Just you.PL are going to talk.'
- (8). *Qam-pa mama-yki-s tayta-yki-s wañu-kunqa turi-ki-pis ñaña-yki-pis.ACH* 'Your mother and father will die, your brother and your sister, too.'
- (9). *Mana-laq yaku-cta qu-ma-nqa-chu.CH* 'They still aren't going to give me water.'

*Manam iskapanqachu wañurachishaqmi.*

mana-m iskapa-nqa-chu wañu-ra-chi-shaq-mi  
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 harkanki vakata chawanki kisuta ruwanki.*

vaka-ta-sh harka-nki vaka-ta chawa-nki keso-ta ruwa-nki  
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 lechar, vas a hacer queso'.  
(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-sa-ø* 'she brought it'). The perfect is indicated by the affix *-sHa* (*uyari-sa-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<sup>25</sup> -*RQa*

-*RQa* 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 - $\emptyset$  (9)-(10). In all five dialects, -*RQa* 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. -*RQa*, but not -*Ru*, is used in the construction of the iterative past (23), (24) and the past conditional (2), (25); while -*Ru*, but not -*RQa*, 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

Person	Singular	Plural
<b>1</b>	-rqa-ni <sub>AMV</sub> -ra-ni <sub>LT</sub> -ra- <sub>ACH,SP</sub> -la- <sub>CH</sub>	-rqa-nchik <sub>AMV</sub> -ra-nchik <sub>ACH,SP,LT</sub> -la-nchik <sub>CH</sub>
<b>2</b>	-rqa-nki <sub>AMV</sub> -ra-nki <sub>ACH,SP,LT</sub> -la-nki <sub>CH</sub>	-rqa-nki <sub>AMV</sub> -ra-nki <sub>ACH,SP,LT</sub> -la-nki <sub>CH</sub>
<b>3</b>	-rqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -ra- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,SP,LT</sub> -la- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub>	-rqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -ra- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,SP,LT</sub> -la- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub>

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (1). | <i>Iskwila-n-ta lliw-ta ya wambra-y-ta puchuka-chi-rqa-ni</i> .AMV                    | 'I <u>made</u> all my children finish their schooling.'                     |
| (2). | <i>¿Ima-paq-taq ni-wa-rqa-nki? ¡Paga-ru-lla-wa-n-man-tri ka-rqa!</i> AMV              | 'Why <u>did you say</u> that to me? He would have sacrificed me!'           |
| (3). | <i>Kuti-ka-mu-ra-: lliw ganaw-ni-ntin wambra-: lliw listu hishpi-ru-pti-n-ña</i> .ACH | 'I <u>came</u> back with all my cattle when my children had been educated.' |
| (4). | <i>Kanan Primitivo-qa ñuqa istanka-mu-ra-ni</i> .LT                                   | 'Now Primitivo [says] I <u>emptied</u> the reservoir.'                      |

25 -*RQa* 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).

- (5). *Qam pasaypaq-tri-ki ri-ra-nki Dios-ni-nchik-ta tari-q*.LT 'You surely went to look for our God.'
- (6). *Antayluma-ta tari-ru-shpa-qa palla-ku-lla-ra-ø hinaptin-shi*.SP 'When she found the antayluma berries, she picked them then.'
- (7). *Suwa-naku-shpa-tr llusqi-la-ø*.CH 'They left eloping.'
- (8). *¿Mana-chu rimidyu-cta apa-ka-mu-la-nki?* CH 'You didn't bring any medicine?'
- (9). *¿Llaqta-yki-pa pasa-rqa-ø-chu?*AMV 'Did [the earthquake] go through your town?'
- (10). *Unay-mi chay-na puli-la-ø chay tirruku. Awturidad-kuna-cta ashuyi-shpa wañu-chi-y-ta muna-la-ø*.CH 'The Shining Path walked about like that. They approached the officials. They wanted to kill them.'
- (11). *Alli-alli-ta-ya-ri lucha-rq-nchik wak hurqu-ru-pti-n-qa*.LT 'We fought really well when they took that out.'
- (12). *Mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa talpu-la-:-chu*.CH 'We haven't planted.'
- (13). *Chay-lla-ta-m tuma-chi-rqa-ni. Mana-m iksisti-rqa-chu chay ranti-y-paq kay Viñac-pa-qa wak Gloria*.AMV 'I fed them only goat milk and cheese. Gloria, milk for sale, didn't exist here in Viñac.'
- (14). *Chay limpu limpu chunya-ku-la-nchik ayvis*.CH 'But it was completely silent here sometimes.'
- (15). *Ripu-ku-y-ta-m muna-rqa-nchik*.AMV 'We wanted to run away.'
- (16). *Uyqa-chay-ta kasa-ra-shpa puchuka-ru-nchik*.AMV 'When we got married, we finished with the sheep.'
- (17). *Wak runa-qa wawa-n-ta pampa-ru-n qipi-cha-yku-shpa-m*.AMV 'The people buried their son wrapping him in his blanket.'
- (18). *Yaqa-m wañu-ru-n*.ACH 'He almost died.'
- (19). *Pusu-man hiqa-yku-ru-ni. kay-paq uray-man*.LT 'I fell towards the reservoir. From here down hill.'
- (20). *Mana ganaw uywa-q-kuna-man chay-man parti-ku-ru-n*. 'They distributed it to those who don't raise cattle.'
- (21). *Disparisi-ru-n-ña-m. Mana-m uyari-:-chu*.SP 'They disappeared already. I don't hear them [anymore].'
- (22). *Chay walmi-taq tali-lu-shpa-qa apa-lu-n-ña-m uspital-man*. CH 'When they found the woman they took her to the hospital.'
- (23). *Dumingu-n-pa kisu-ta apa-q ka-ra-: (\*ka-ru-:) ishkay*.ACH 'On Sundays, I would bring two cheeses.'
- (24). *Traya-mu-spha mancha-chi-ku-q ka-la-ø*.CH 'When she came, she would scare them.'
- (25). *Kundina-ku-ru-n-man-tri ka-ra (\*ka-ru-n) qullqi chay ka-sa*.SP 'She would have condemned herself if that were money.'
- (26). *Cañete-ta ayari-ku-ra-: Ispusu-:-ta lista-man trura-ru-sa. (\*trura-rqa-sa)*.ACH 'I escaped to Cañete. They had put my husband on the list.'
- (27). *Chay-lla-paq willa-ka-ru-sa. (\*willa-ka-rqa-sa)*.ACH 'That's why they had told on him.'

- (28). *Chay hawla-ru-pti-n-shi, atuq traya-ru-n* (*\*hawla-ra-pti-n*).SP 'When he had caged [the rabbit], the fox arrived.'
- (29). *Chay mula-paq siqayku-ru-pti-n puñu-ku-ra-ø-trik shinka-q-qa*.ACH 'When he fell off that mule, the drunk must have fallen asleep.'

*Wak runaqa wawanta pamparun kaman qipichaykushpam qullqiyuq runa.*

wak runa-qa wawa-n-ta pampa-ru-n kama-n qipicha-yku-shpa-m  
 DEM.DD person-TOP baby-3-ACC bury-URGT-3 blanket-3 wrap-EXCEP-SUBIS-EVD  
 'Those people buried their son wrapping him in his blanket – people with money'.  
 'Esa gente enterró su hijo envolviendo con su cama – gente con dinero'.  
 (Vinac\_AR\_Grandparents, 12:19-26)

*Chay huk walmitaq talilushpaqa apalunñam naman uspitalman.*

chay huk walmi-taq tali-lu-shpa-qa apa-lu-n-ña-m uspital-man  
 DEM.D one woman-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP bring-URGT-3-DISC-EVD hospital-ALL  
 'When they found the other woman, they took her to the hospital.'  
 'Cuando encontraron a esa otra mujer, la llevaron ya al hospital'.  
 (Hongos\_LW\_Supper, 15:23-26)

#### 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 qalay qalay 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.'

- (7). *Wañu-ka-chi-shpa-sh qipi-ru-sa-ø karu-ta mana disiya-na-n-paq.*AMV 'When she killed him, they say, she carried him far, so they wouldn't suspect.'
- (8). *Wak warmi-qa llama-n qutu-q ri-sa-ø. Mayu-ta pawa-ya-shpa-sh siqa-yku-ru-sa-ø; karu karu-ta-sh apa-ru-sa-ø.*AMV 'That woman went to gather up her llamas. Jumping the river, she fell and [the river] took her far.'
- (9). *Fiysta-man hamu-shpa siqa-yku-ru-sha.*ACH 'When they were coming to the festival they fell [into the canyon].
- (10). *Wak runa-qa achka aycha-ta apa-ra-mu-sa-ø: llama aycha-sh sibada-wan kambya-kuna-n-paq.*AMV 'Those people brought a lot of meat : llama meat, they say to exchange for barley.'
- (11). *Lliw lliw kuchi-hina-m mitu-man yayku-ru-sa-ø.*SP 'All, like pigs, entered the mud.'
- (12). *Ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa-ø huk matray-pi, taruka-pa ka-sa-n-pi. Wama wamaq karka ka-sa-ø.*AMV 'Two Huancayoans were resting in a cave, in some tarucas' place. There was a whole lot of manure.'
- (13). *Rutu-pis ingaña-rqa-ø-sh maqta-tuku-shpa pashña-ta.*AMV 'A rutu-bird, too, deceived a girl by making himself out to be a young man, they say.'
- (14). *Millisu-n-qa wañu-ru-rqa-sh huk-ni-n.*AMV 'His twin, the other one, died, they say.'
- (15). *Traya-ru-n-sh-ari, '¿May-mi chay warmi-y?'*AMV 'The condor arrived, they say, [and said], "Where is my wife?"'
- (16). *"Chay-na-m kundur qipi-wa-rqa matray-ta chaypi wawa-ku-ru-ni."*AMV "'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).<sup>26</sup> 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<sup>27</sup> (5)-(7) (see section 4.3.2.3.1).<sup>28</sup> Speakers do consistently translate the combination of *-RU* and *-sHa* with the Spanish past perfect (8)-(10).<sup>29</sup> Given, however, the restrictions on the distribution of *-RU*-

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 Quechuas, 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 kuti-nqa, ¿aw?* Spkr 2: *Puchuka-ri-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 person<sup>30</sup> 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 either the subordinator *-pti* (11), (12) (see section 4.3.7.1) or a connective like *hinashpa* or *hinaptin* (13).<sup>31</sup>

Table 19. Inflection of *-sHa*

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-sa-ni <sub>AMV</sub> -sha-ni <sub>LT</sub> -sa: <sub>ACH,SP</sub> -sha: <sub>CH</sub>	-sa-nchik <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-nchik <sub>CH,LT</sub>
2	-sa-nki <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-nki <sub>CH,LT</sub>	-sa-nki <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-nki <sub>CH,LT</sub>
3	-sa-∅ <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-∅ <sub>CH,LT</sub>	-sa-∅ <sub>ACH,AMV,SP</sub> -sha-∅ <sub>CH,LT</sub>

- (1). *Chay alkul-ta mana tapa-sa-ni-chu.AMV* 'I haven't capped that alcohol.'
- (2). *Grasyusu ka-sa-nki.AMV* 'You've been funny.'
- (3). *Miku-sha-∅-y-ari. Miku-sha-∅-y-ari.LT* 'They've eaten them, all right. They've eaten them.'
- (4). *Mula-n-kuna-wan karga-ri-ku-shpa pasa-n wañu-ri-chi-shpa wak Chavin law-pa-sh. Hinashpa qalay qalay Chavin miniru-wan-shi parti-sa-∅.ACH* 'Carrying everything with their mules, they left, killing people over by Chavin, they say. Then they divided up absolutely everything with the miners.'
- (5). *'¿May-paq-taq suwa-mu-ra-nki?' ni-shpa.LT* 'Where have you stolen these from?' he said.
- (6). *Kanan-qa shimi:-lla qacha-ru-n hatu-hatun.SP* 'Now my mouth has ripped open wide.'
- (7). *Ni pi qawa-n-chu; ni pi tari-n-chu.ACH* 'No one has seen her, no one has found her.'
- (8). *¡Wak suwa liyun-qa ubiha-y-ta tumba-ru-sa-∅!AMV* 'That thieving puma had knocked off my sheep!'
- (9). *Trakra-y-mi tuñi-ru-n. Yaku-ta-m katra-yku-ru-sa-∅.AMV* 'My field washed away. They had released water.'
- (10). *Aa pay-lla-ta-m wañu-ra-chi-ra runa ... hapi-ru-sa karrupi.ACH* 'The people killed just him ... They had grabbed him on the bus.'
- (11). *Li-lu-pti-n-qa, li-:CH* 'When (after) he went, I went.'
- (12). *Hinaptin-shi iskina-pa ka-ya-pti-n baliya-* 'Then, they say, when he was in the corner,

<sup>30</sup> The corpus counts 330 instances of *-RU (-∅/-chi/-mu) -sHa*, only two inflected for any other than third person.

<sup>31</sup> 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* they shot him.'
- (13). *Suya-ru-sa-ø hinashpa maqa-ru-sa-ø. Chay-shi ni-rqa-ø-mi-k tuma-ru-n.AMV* 'She had waited for her then she had hit her. That's whyhe 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

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-q ka-ni <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -q ka- <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>	-q ka-nchik
2	-q ka-nki	-q ka-nki
3	-q	-q

- (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-lla-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 puriq ka-nchik ayvis fufuru puchuka-ru-q.AMV* 'We would walk around like that; sometimes the matches would run out.'
- (5). *Awturidad-kuna-qa paka-ku-q huk law li-ku-q.CH* 'The officials would hide, they would go other places.'
- (6). *Chirimuya-n-ta apa-mu-q. Igus-kuna-ta apamu-q kay-pi tapa-pti-y durasnu-n-ta.LT* 'He used to bring his chirimoyas. He used to bring figs here when I covered his peaches.'
- (7). *Chay turrurista-wan kay Azángaro-paq rikuya-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-pti-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 antiguowo viyhu-kuna puri-ra-ø ni-shpa.SP* 'My grandfather used to tell me [stories]. The ancients walked about like that, he said.'

*Wak Marcopukyo nisanpa triguta qurqapakumuq kani -- ishkay, kimsa klasita.*

wak Markupukyu ni-sa-n-pa trigu-ta qurqu-pa-ku-mu-q ka-ni

DEM.DD Markupukyu say-PRF-3-LOC wheat-ACC remove-BEN-REFL-CISL-AG be-1  
 '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'.  
 (Llanka\_MG\_Literacy, 00:45-49)

*Chayhina puriq kanchik ayvis fusfuru puchukaruq.*

chay-hina puri-q ka-nchik ayvis fusfuru puchuka-ru-q  
 DEM.D-COMP walk-AG be-1PL sometimes match finish-URGT-AG  
 'We walked around like that; sometimes matches would run out.'  
 'Así caminabamos. A veces se nos terminaban los fósforos'.  
 (Vinac\_SH\_Puna\_Breasts, 01:40-44)

**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 21. Regular Conditional Inflection

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-y-man <sub>AMV,LT</sub> -:-man <sub>ACH,CH,SP</sub>	-nchik-man
2	-nki-man	-nki-man
3	-n-man	-n-man

### 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 either of no evidential or of an evidential modified by the evidential modifier  $\emptyset$ ; strong universal readings result when the evidential is modified by the evidential modifier *-ki* (*siqa-yku-n-man-tri- $\emptyset$*  'it might fall', *siqa-yku-n-man-tri-ki* 'it will most likely fall'; *istudiya-nki-man-mi- $\emptyset$*  '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 *-mI*, 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). | <i>Ruwa-y-man lliw lliw.AMV</i>                             | 'I <u>can</u> do everything.'                                |
| (2). | <i>Kanan chay-ta ri-n-man.LT</i>                            | 'Now, he <u>could</u> go there.'                             |
| (3). | <i>¿Mana-chu kuska li-n-man?CH</i>                          | ' <u>Can</u> 't they go together?'                           |
| (4). | <i>Ulvida-ru-:-yá mana-yá yuyari-:-man-chu.SP</i>           | 'I've already forgotten. I <u>can</u> 't remember any more.' |
| (5). | <i>¿Ima-ta-taq ruwa-nki-man? ¿Ima-ta-taq ruwa-n-man?ACH</i> | 'What <u>can</u> you do? What <u>can</u> they do?'           |
| (6). | <i>Mana-ña-m kawsa-:-man-chu.CH</i>                         | 'I <u>can</u> 't live any more.'                             |
| (7). | <i>Mana-tr wak law-pa pastu ka-n-man-</i>                   | 'There <u>can</u> 't be any pasture on that side.'           |

- chu*.AMV
- (8)\*. *Saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man*.AMV 'She could trample me.'
- (9). *Wasi-kuna-pis saqa-yku-n-man-tri fwirti ka-pti-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*.ACH 'You should have at least one child.'
- (11). *Yata-ru-nki-man-taq*.AMV 'Be careful not to catch it.'
- (12). *Allin nuta-ta surqu-na-yki-paq istudya-nki-man-mi-ki*.†AMV 'If you want to get good grades, you have to study.'
- (13). *Chay-na-pis chunya-q-ta-qa suwa-ku-n-man-tri-ki*.LT 'So, where it's abandoned, it's very likely they will rob [you].'
- (14). *Tura-ntin siqayku-ru-sa-ø ay, chay uku-pa-qa puchuka-ru-n-man-tri-ki*.AMV 'He fell [from the roof] with the bull. He really might [have] been finished off inside.'
- (15). *Mana-ña ri-y-ta atipa-n-chu pishipa-ku-ya-n*.AMV 'They can't go – they're getting tired.'
- (16). *Wawa-n ka-pti-n-qa, mana-ña uywa-y-ta atipa-n-chu*.ACH 'When they have babies, they can't raise [cattle] any more.'
- (17). *Qutra-sh. Mana-sh pawa-y-ta atipa-n-chu chaypaq*.AMV 'There's a lake, they say. They can't jump out of there, they say.'
- (18). *Chay nina-man pawa-y-ta qawa-n-ta muna-ya-n mana usachi-n-chu*.AMV 'They want to jump over the fire, but they can't.'
- (19). *Pilu-n-ta-qa yupa-ya-n-sh-ari chay chapu-paq-ta. Ushachi-n-chu yupa-y-ta*.AMV '[The zombie] is counting the hairless dog's hairs. He can't count them'
- (20). *Puri-y-ta yatra-n-ña-m*.AMV 'She can already walk.'
- (21). *Hinashpa traya-ru-shpa-qa ... waqta-ku-ya-nchik-ña atipa-sa-nchik-kama*.CH 'Then, when you get there, when there is any, you're already hitting it as much as you can.'
- (22). *Aa, burru-nchik-wan ri-nchik Cañete-kama may-kama-pis atipa-sa-nchik-kama*.AMV 'Ah, with our donkeys we went to Cañete, to where ever, as much [far] as we could.'
- (23). *Chay-mi vaka harka-q riku-na-yki-mi-ki*.AMV 'That's why you have to go pasture the cows!'
- (24). *Hawka-ña-m tushu-nqa*.AMV 'She can go dancing.'
- (25). *¡Kwidadu! Chay-pi-taq qalqali miku-lu-shunki-man*.CH 'Be careful! A zombie could eat you there.'
- (26). *Chay-shi mana-sh invidyusu kay-taq atipa-nchik-man-chu*.LT 'That's why we shouldn't be jealous.'
- (27). *Mana-m wañu-:-man-chu*.SP '"I can't die," he said.'
- (28). *Agua florida-ta u krisu-ta-pis apa-mu-nki-man-mi*.ACH 'You can bring florida water or creso [so as not to get sick].'
- (29). *Suwa-pis ri-ka-ru-n-man chay-pa*.ACH 'Thieves also can pop up around there.'
- (30). *Chay-qa waqa-ya-n. ¿Ima-taq ka-n-man?*SP 'She was crying, "What could that be?"'
- (31). *Wañu-ku-n-man-tri-ki. ¿Imayna mana kuti-ka-mu-n-man-chu?*ACH 'He might have died. Why can't he come back?'

- (32). *Mana chichi-yuq ka-pti-ki-qa chay-na lluqa-ri-shunki-man-tri*.AMV 'If you don't have breasts they might climb on top of you.'
- (33). *Ishcha-lla-ta-ña shutu-yka-chi-y-man, ¿aw?* 'I should make it drip just a little, right?'

*Sarurullawanman manam saruwanantaq munanichu.*

saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man                      mana-m    saru-wa-na-n-taq                      muna-ni-chu  
 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

	<b>Existential</b>	<b>Universal**</b>
<b>Ability</b>	V-COND-EVD <i>Qawa-n-man-mi</i>  Manam V-INF-ACC <i>atipa- chu</i> *EV <i>Manam qawa-y-ta atipa-nchu</i>	N/A
<b>Circumstantial</b>	V-COND-EVD <i>Wiña-n-man-mi</i>	N/A
<b>Deontic</b>	V-COND-EVD <i>Qawa-n-man-mi</i>  <i>Hawka</i> V-FUT-EVD <i>Hawka qawa-nqa-m</i>	V-COND-EVD <i>Qawa-n-man-mi</i>  V-NMLZ-POSS-EVD ( <i>be</i> -PST) <i>Qawa-na-n-mi</i>
<b>Epistemic</b>	V-COND-EVC <i>Qawa-n-man-tri</i>	V-COND-EVC ( <i>be</i> -PST) <i>Qawa-n-man-tri</i>
<b>Teleological</b>	V-COND-EVD <i>Qawa-n-man-mi</i>  V-PRES-EVD <i>Qawa-n-mi</i>	V-COND-EVD <i>Qawa-n-man-mi</i>  V-PRES-EVD <i>Qawa-n-m</i>

\*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 antipenultimate syllable (19).

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (1)*  | <i>¿Ima-lla-ta-pis miku-cha-yku-waq-chu mama-y?AMV</i>                         | ' <u>Can you</u> eat any little thing, Miss?'  |
| (2).  | <i>Wak tina-pa alcha-waq.AMV</i>   | ' <u>You can</u> fix it in that tub.'  |
| (3).  | <i>¡Ama! Huk law-man hitra-yku-ru-lla-waq.AMV</i>                              | 'Don't! <u>Be careful you don't</u> spill it on the other side.'                                     |
| (4).  | <i>Ratu ratu-m chay-wan-qa shinka-ru-chuwan.ACH</i>                            | ' <u>We can</u> get drunk really quickly with that.'   |
| (5).  | <i>Huk qu-pti-n-qa miku-ru-chuwan-mi.ACH</i>                                   | 'When another gives, <u>we can</u> eat.'   |
| (6).  | <i>Mana-ña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-ña-chu.LT</i>                                    | ' <u>We can</u> no longer become aware of it.'   |
| (7).  | <i>Tuta-ya-q-paq, mana-m ima-ta-pis ruwa-chuwan.AMV</i>                        | 'In the darkness, <u>we couldn't</u> do anything.'   |
| (8).  | <i>Yanapa-paku-waq.AMV</i>   | ' <u>You.PL should</u> help.'  |
| (9).  | <i>Vinina-machuwan-tri.ACH</i>   | 'It <u>can</u> poison <u>us</u> .'   |
| (10). | <i>Sapa-lla-nchik-ta-qa miku-ru-machuwan-tri.ACH</i>                           | '[When we're] alone, the Devil <u>can</u> eat <u>us</u> .'   |
| (11). | <i>Dibil ka-pti-nchik chuka-ru-wachuwan-yá.AMV</i>                             | 'When we're weak, it <u>can</u> make <u>us</u> sick.'  |
| (12). | <i>Midiku hudi-ru-wachuwan-mi.AMV</i>  | 'Ahh, doctors <u>can</u> mess <u>us</u> up.'   |
| (13). | <i>¿Vaka-ta chuqa-mu-waq-chu?AMV</i>   | ' <u>Can you</u> herd cows?'   |
| (14). | <i>Yaku usu-n chay-mi llaqta-ta ri-shaq. Mana-m riga-chuwan-chu.LT</i>         | 'Water is spilling. So I'm going to go to town. <u>We can't</u> water.'                              |
| (15). | <i>Ka-ya-n-mi uniku qullqi-yuq-paq-yá ¿May-pa-m rigala-wachuwan runaqa?AMV</i> | 'There are some just for people with money. Where <u>can</u> people give <u>us</u> things as gifts?' |
| (16). | <i>Chikitu llama-cha-ta apa-ku-waq.AMV</i>                                     | ' <u>You could</u> take a small little llama.'   |
| (17). | <i>Wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuwan-tri.AMV</i>                                     | ' <u>We could be</u> also about to die.'   |
| (18). | <i>Trabaha-waq-mi miku-y-ta muna-shpa-qa.AMV</i>                               | ' <u>You have to</u> work if you want to eat.'   |
| (19). | <i>Pulí-chuwan kuska-nchik.</i>  | ' <u>We should</u> go together.'   |

*Imallatapis mikuchaykuwaqchu mamáy?*

ima-lla-ta-pis	miku-cha-yku-waq-chu	mamá-y
what-RSTR-ACC-ADD	eat-DIM-EXCEP-2.COND-Q	mother-1

'Can you eat any little thing, Miss?'

'¿Qualquier cosita puedes comer, señorita?'

(Llanka\_BC\_LostCow\_Milking, 04:56-58)

*Tutayaqpaq, manam imata ruwachuwan.*

tuta-ya-q-paq	mana-m	ima-ta-pis	ruwa-chuwan
---------------	--------	------------	-------------

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

Person	Singular	Plural
<b>1</b>	-y-man karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -y-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>LT</sub> -:-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,SP</sub> -:-man kala- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub>	-nchik-man karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -nchik-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,LT,SP</sub> -nchik-man kala- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub> -chuwan karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -chuwan kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,LT</sub>
<b>2</b>	-nki-man karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -nki-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,LT,SP</sub> -nki-man kala- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub> -waq karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub>	-nki-man karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -nki-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,LT,SP</sub> -nki-man kala- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub> -waq karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub>
<b>3</b>	-n-man karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -n-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,SPLT</sub> -n-man kala- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub>	-n-man karqa- $\emptyset$ <sub>AMV</sub> -n-man kara- $\emptyset$ <sub>ACH,SPLT</sub> -n-man kala- $\emptyset$ <sub>CH</sub>

- (1)\*. *Ri-ru-y-man ka-rqa ñuqa-pis yanga hanay-paq.*AMV 'I, too, would have gone, in vain up there.'
- (2). *Chay pacha-lla ... ruwa-shi-nki-man ka-rqa.*AMV 'That time you could have helped make it.'
- (3). *Mas-ta-m katra-yku-ru-n-man ka-rqa.*AMV 'She should have let more out.'
- (4). *¿Ima-pis mas piyur-tri ka-nchik-man ka-rqa?*AMV 'What worse thing could we have been?'
- (5). *Dimunyu chay-qa ka-ra- $\emptyset$ . Miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra- $\emptyset$  icha apa-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra- $\emptyset$ .*ACH '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- $\emptyset$  qullqi chay kasa- $\emptyset$ .*SP 'Ah, she would have condemned herself [to being a zombie]. That was money.'
- (7). *Lus-ta paga-nki-man-tri ka-rqa- $\emptyset$  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- $\emptyset$ .*LT '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 ñuqapis yanga hanaypaq.*

ri-ru-y-man ka-rqa-ø ñuqa-pis yanga hanay-paq  
go-URGT-1-COND be-PST-3 I-ADD 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-y 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-ku-ya-n*.ACH "'Don't leave me!" he said, going crazy.'
- (10). *¡Ama ñuqa-cta-qa imana-ma-y-pis-chu!*CH 'Don't do anything to me!'
- (11). *¡Ama manchari-y-chu! ¡Ama qawa-y-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-1PL-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".  
 (Lincha\_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-lla 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!'
- (4). *Papa-ni-y wañu-ku-chun-pis wambra-n kawsa-ku-chun ni-n-shi. Chay-kuna-ta upya-chi-wa-pti-n-shi kawsa-ku-rqa-ni.* AMV 'Let him die; let his child live, my father said, they say. When they made me take those [cures], I lived.'
- (5). *¡Hina-lla-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-nqa!"* ninshi.ACH 'When they killed him, "Don't bury him! Let him rot like that!" he said.'

*Ahh, kukantaraq akuykuchun.*

ahh kuka-n-ta-raq aku-yku-chun  
 ahh coca-3-ACC-CONT chakcha-EXCEP-INJUNC  
 '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-pti-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'; *miku-ya-chi-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* precedes *-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.'

- (4). *Taq̄la-cha-ku-pti-n-qa, "¿Ima-na-ru-n-mi? ¿Ima-na-ya-n-taq wak warmi-qa? ¿Ima-m ka-ya-n?SP* 'When it clanged [they asked], "What happened? What is that woman doing?· What is it?"'
- (5). *Radyu-kuna-pa rima-y-ta rima-ya-n, "Lluq̄si-ya-mu-n-shi turrurista. Turrurista rikari-ya-mu-n-shi," ni-n.SP* 'On the radio they're re talking for the sake of talking. "Terrorists are coming out. Terrorists are appearing," they say.'
- (6). *¿Ima-ta-tr-ik ruwa-ya-n? Trabaha-ya-n-tri-ki.ACH* 'What is he doing? He must be working.'
- (7). *Runa-pa shimi-n-ta graba-ya-n.ACH* 'She's recording people's language.'
- (8). *Chay-shi Dios-ni-nchik, "Ima-ta-m ashi-ya-nki?" ni-n.LT* 'Then Our God said, "What are you searching for?"
- (9). *Uchuy-pis pasapasaypaq-mi chaki-ru-n, uchuy-pis chaki-sha-m ka-ya-n.LT* 'The chiles completely dried out; the chiles are dried out.'
- (10). *Pi-pis. Ñuqa ukupaw ka-ku-ya-ni.AMV* 'No one. I'm busy.'
- (11). *Hita-ka-ru-y-ta muna-ya-ni.AMV* 'I want to fall.'
- (12). *Mana suliy-a-sa ka-pti-n-qa wak-ta suliy-a-chi-ya-nchik.AMV* 'When [the oca] hasn't been sunned, we sun it.'
- (13). *Uyqa-pa millwa-n-ta-m kay-paq puchka-ya-nchik.AMV* 'We spin sheep's wool here.'
- (14). *Fwirs-a-wan wawa-ku-ya-nchik.ACH* 'With effort, we give birth.'
- (15). *Hinaptinshi iskina-pa ka-ya-pti-n baliya-ru-n.ACH* 'Then when he was in the corner, they shot him.'
- (16). *Wak runa-qa warmi-n-ta wañu-ra-chi-n maqa-ya-shpa-lla.AMV* 'That man, turning jealous, killed his wife, when he was beating her.'
- (17). *Limpu limpu runa-ta firma-ka-ya-chi-n.LT* 'They're making all the people sign.'
- (18). *Ima, ladira-n-kuna-paq rumi-pis hinku-ya-mu-n-tri-ki.ACH* 'Stones, too, would be rolling down the sides [of the mountain].'
- (19). *¿Suya-yka-ma-y! ¿Qarqariya-m qipa-:-ta sham-ku-ya-n!CH* 'Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!'
- (20). *¿May-pa yasaqa-yku-rqa? Pay-pis wishtuma ka-ya-rqa.AMV* 'Where did she fall? She, too, was limping.'
- (21). *Antayluma-ta tari-ru-shpa-qa palla-ku-ya-ra-ø hina-pti-n-shi ...SP* 'After finding some antayluma berries, she was gathering them up. Then ...'
- (22). *Kim-sa ura-sh tushu-ku-ya-rqa.AMV* 'He was dancing for three hours, they say.'
- (23). *Taqsa-ku-na-y uqu-ya-nqa-ña-tr.AMV* 'My washing is going to be getting wet already, for sure.'
- (24). *Vaka-mi-k manda-ku-ya-nqa.AMV* '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). | <i>Kay-lla-pa-m kwida-chka-nki ñuqa-qa apa-ra-mu-:ACH</i>  | 'You'll <u>go on taking</u> care of this here [ <u>while</u> ] I bring it.'   |
| (2). | <i>Mundu-m ñiti-ra-ma-shun kay-ta-m sustini-nki-qa. Kay-ta sustini-chka-nki ñuqa-ña-taq-mi – huk wak-law-pis siqa-yka-ya-mu-n.SP</i> | '"The world is going to crush us. Hold this! You <u>go on holding</u> this one. I, too – another is falling in over there." |
| (3). | <i>Aviva, tiya-chka-nki chay-lla-pa.AMV</i>  | 'Aviva, <u>you're going to sit</u> just right there [ <u>while the others</u> go looking].'                                 |
| (4). | <i>¡Taq sachkay!†CH</i>  | 'You go on <u>washing</u> [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).<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>

- |      |                                    |                                    |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1). | <i>Qawa-ri-n.</i>                  | 'He <u>has</u> seen him.'          |
| (2). | <i>Qawa-ra-ri-n.</i>               | 'They <u>have</u> seen him.'       |
| (3). | <i>Tiya-ra-ri-chi-ni.</i>          | 'We <u>have</u> had him sit down.' |
| (4). | <i>Maska-ri-ku-n.</i>              | 'She <u>has</u> looked.'           |
| (5). | <i>Tiya-ra-ri-chi-n.</i>           | 'They <u>have</u> made him sit.'   |
| (6). | <i>Maska-ri (*ra *rqa *ru)-ni.</i> | 'She <u>has</u> looked.'           |

#### 4.3.5.4 Perfective *-ku*

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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-nqa, ¿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). | <i>Qullqi-ta qu-yku-pti-n ... pasa-ku-n</i> .AMV             | 'When he gave him the money, he <u>went away</u> .'                    |
| (2). | <i>Ripu-ku-n paqwash llapa wawa-n tudu ripu-ku-n</i> .LT     | 'Then, he <u>left</u> for good – all his children – all <u>left</u> .' |
| (3). | <i>Pashna-lla kida-lu-n. ¿Qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq?</i> CH | 'Just the girl stayed. The man <u>went</u> where?'                     |
| (4). | <i>Baliya-pti-n-qa wañu-ku-n</i> .ACH                        | 'When they shot him, he <u>died</u> .'                                 |
| (5). | <i>¿Ima-na-ru-nqa-tr? Wañu-ku-n-tri</i> . ACH                | 'What could have happened? He <u>died</u> , I guess.'                  |

#### 4.3.6 Subordination

SYQ counts three subordinating affixes – *-pti*, *-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).

*-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'); *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'). Caca, 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'). *-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 the events of the two clauses are simultaneous (*urkista-qa 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-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'). *-pti* subordinates are suffixed with allocation affixes (*tarpu-pti-nchik* 'when we plant'); *-shpa* and *-shtin* subordinates do not inflect for person or number (\**tarpu-*

*shpa-nchik*; \**tarpu-shtin-yki*).<sup>34</sup> Subordinate verbs are never affixed with any other inflectional morphemes, with the exception of *-ya* (\**tarpu-rqa-shpa*; \**tarpu-shaq-shpa*). The evidentials, *-mI*, *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 (*mana-m rima-pti-ki* (\**chu*) 'if you don't talk'). 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'). Depending on the context, *-pti* and *-shpa* 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

	<b>Subordinate-clause event begins <u>before</u> main-clause event</b>	<b>Subordinate-clause event <u>simultaneous</u> with main-clause event.</b>
<b>Identical Subjects</b>	<i>-shpa</i>	<i>-shpa, -shtin</i>
<b>Different Subjects</b>	<i>-pti</i>	<i>-pti</i>

*-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-na-n-kama* 'until she died').

#### 4.3.6.1 Different Subjects *-pti*

*-pti* 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. *-pti* 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*, *-pti* subordinates generally receive a 'not until' interpretation (15), (16). The first-person and second-person object affixes, *-wa/ma* and *-sHu* precede *-pti* (17).

Table 25. *-pti* Inflection

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>-pti-y<sub>AMV,LT</sub></i>	<i>-pti-nchik</i>

<sup>34</sup> *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*.

	-pti-:ACH,CH,SP	
2	-pti-ki	-pti-ki
3	-pti-n	-pti-n

- (1). *Arus-cha-ta kumbida-pti-nchik miku-n-man-chu?*AMV 'If we share the rice, will she eat it?
- (2). *Qusa-: tiniynti alkaldi ka-pti-n, 'Kumpañira, ¿may-pi-m qusa-yki?' ni-ma-n.*CH 'When my husband was vice-mayor they asked me, "Compañera, where is your husband?"'
- (3). *Chay kundur-qa qipi-pti-n huk turu-ta paga-yku-n.*SP 'After the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.
- (4). *Huk mumintu puri-ya-pti-ki ima-pis prisintaku-ru-shunki.*AMV 'One moment you're walking and something presents itself to you.'
- (5). *Kalur-ni-yuq ka-pti-ki-qa yawar-ni-n yana-sh.*AMV 'When you have a fever, it's blood is black, they say.'
- (6). *Chay planta-man siqa-ru-pti-:-pis chay turu-qa ... siqa-ra-mu-n qipa-:-paq planta-man.*ACH 'When I climbed up the tree, the bull ... climbed up the tree behind me.'
- (7). *Kundinaw-qa, witrqa-ku-ru-pti-n-qa, wasi utru-ku-n-ta altu-kuna-pa-sh [yayku-ru-n].*SP 'When they shut themselves in, the zombie [entered] through a hole in the attic.'
- (8). *Hinaptin-shi "Wak turu-ta paga-yku-sayki", ni-pti-n asipta-n.*ACH 'Then, they say, when he said "I'll pay you that bull" they accepted.'
- (9). *Mana-m paga-wa-pti-ki-qa mana-m wambra-yki-qa alli-ya-nqa-chu.*LT 'If you don't pay me, your son isn't going to get better.'
- (10). *Spkr 1: Wañu-y-man-tri ka-rqa. Spkr 2: Mana hampi-pti-n-qa.*AMV Spkr 1: 'I might have died.' Spkr 2: 'If they hadn't cured [her].'
- (11)\*. *Pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pti-n.*AMV 'He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.'
- (12). *Priykupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n mal ka-pti-n n-in.*AMV 'Certainly, he'd be wandering around worried because his wife is sick.'
- (13). *Mana qusa-: ka-pti-n. Mana qali-: ka-pti-n trabaha-ya-:.*CH 'Because I don't have a husband. I'm working because I don't have a husband.'
- (14). *Huk qawa-pti-n-qa, ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu.*AMV 'Although others see (it), we don't see (it).'
- (15). *Hamu-pti-y-raq ñuqa-qa mana-m llusqi-rqa-chu.*†AMV 'Not until I came did she leave.' (= 'Until I came, she didn't leave.')
- (16). *Mana-ña-m puntraw-ya-ru-pti-n vaka-y chawa-chi-ku-nqa-chu.*AMV 'Until it's day time, my cow won't let herself be milked.'
- (17). *Chay pasa-ru-shpa suda-ra-chi-shu-pti-ki kapas-mi surqu-ru-n-man.*AMV 'When you have it passed over you, when it makes you sweat, it's possible it could remove it.'

*Payqa rikunñash warmin saqiruptin rikunshi.*

pay-qa riku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pti-n riku-n-shi  
 3-TOP leave-3-DISC-EVR woman-3 abandon-URGT-SUBDS-3 leave-3-EVR

'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.<sup>35</sup> *-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 Caca uses the QI *-r* in place of the QII *-shpa* (10)-(15).

- |       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| (1).  | <i>Chitchitya-ku-<u>shpa</u> riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa.LT</i>  | '"Chit-chitting," the goats just left.'   |
| (2).  | <i>Familya-nchik-ta wañu-ri-chi-<u>shpa</u>-qa lliw parti-ya-n.SP</i>                               | ' <u>After</u> they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.'                     |
| (3)*. | <i>Tragu-wan, kuka-wan tushu-chi-<u>shpa</u>-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni.AMV</i>                            | 'With liquor and coca, <u>making</u> them dance, I harvest.'                                |
| (4).  | <i>Kustumbrawu-<u>shpa</u> hawka-m yatra-ku-nchik kay-pa-hina.AMV</i>                               | ' <u>When</u> we adjust, we live peacefully, like here.'                                    |
| (5)*. | <i>Kuti-<u>shpa</u>-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta.AMV</i>                                      | ' <u>If</u> I come back, I'll come back in two or three years.'                             |
| (6).  | <i>Mana yanu-<u>shpa</u>-lla-m likwa-ru-nchik.AMV</i>   | ' <u>Without</u> boiling it, we liquify it.'  |
| (7).  | <i>Qullqi-ta gana-<u>shpa</u>-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki.ACH</i>                                  | ' <u>Although</u> you earn money and save it in the bank'                                   |
| (8).  | <i>Kulur-cha-kuna-ta kay-na trura-<u>shpa</u> qawa-<u>shpa</u> ñaka-ri-ni.AMV</i>                   | ' <u>Looking</u> , <u>putting</u> the colors like this, I suffer.'                          |
| (9).  | <i>Kuka-cha-kuna-ta aku-<u>shpa</u> sigaru-cha-kuna-ta fuma-<u>shpa</u> ri-chka-n tuta-kama.AMV</i> | ' <u>Chewing</u> coca, <u>smoking</u> cigarettes, you go on until the night.'               |
| (10). | <i>Vaka-ta harka-nchik puchka-<u>shpa</u> millwa-ta puchka-puchka-<u>shpa</u>.AMV</i>               | 'We herd the cows spinning – spinning and spinning wool.'                                   |
| (11). | <i>Kuti-mu-<u>shpa</u>-qa kay-na baldi-lla-wan apa-ku-shaq ni-wa-n.LT</i>                           | '" <u>When</u> I come back, I'll bring them like this, with just a bucket," he said to me.' |
| (12). | <i>Hinashpa maska-<u>shpa</u> puri-ya-:ACH</i>  | 'Then I'm <u>walking</u> around looking for them.'  |
| (13). | <i>Wirta-man yayku-ru-<u>shpa</u> klavil-ta lliw usha-ru-sa-ø.SP</i>                                | ' <u>Entering</u> 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*.

- (14). *Wiqaw-ni-nchik-man kay-na kata-wan similla-hta wata-ku-ru-shpa talpu-: .CH* 'Like this, tying it to our waists with a manta we plant seeds.'
- (15). *Waqal li-ku-n atuu kampu-hta.CH* 'Crying, the fox went to the countryside.'

*Traguwan, kukawan tushuchishpallam kusichakuni.*

tragu-wan kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni  
 drink-INSTR coca-INSTR dance-CAUS-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD harvest-REFL-1  
 'With liquor and coca, just making (lots of people) dance, I harvest'.  
 'Con licor y con coca no más, haciendo bailar (a bastante gente), cosecho'.  
 (Vinac\_AR\_Grandparents, 10:17-32)

*Kutishpaqa kutimushaq kimsa tawa watata.*

kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta  
 return-SUBIS-TOP return-CISL-1.FUT three four year-ACC  
 'If I come back, I'll come back in two or three years.'  
 'Si es que vuelvo, regresaré en dos o tres años'.  
 (Florida\_CJ\_Cow\_Saqirwaytay\_Vicuna, 02:10-14)

#### 4.3.6.3 Adverbial *-shtin*

*-shtin* is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinated clauses are identical (1), (2) and the events of the two clauses are simultaneous (3). *-shtin* subordinates do not inflect for person or number. *-shtin* subordinates are adverbial and can generally be translated by 'while' or with a gerund (4)-(7). While attested in spontaneous speech, *-shtin* is rare. Speakers overwhelmingly employ *-shpa* in place of *-shtin*.

- (1). *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.'
- (2). *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].'
- (3). *Wak pubri ubiha watra-shtin ri-ya-n.AMV* 'Those poor sheep are giving birth even as the walk.'
- (4). *Pusha-yku-shtin-qa wambra-ta-qa maki-n yatapa-sha yanta-man katra-n.ACH* 'Bringing the boys [home], their hands tied, she sent them for firewood.'
- (5). *Chay iskwila-paq wambra-n miku-shtin [lluqsi-ru-n].LT* 'His child [came out] of school eating.'
- (6). *"iQarqariya-m qipa-:-ta!" waqa-shtin shamu-ku-ya-n.CH* '"A zombie is behind me!" he was coming crying.'
- (7). *Waqal-ku-shtin kay-qa apa-ya-n wayta-kuna-hta.CH* 'Crying, they are bringing flowers.'

- (8). *Waqra-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<sub>1</sub> late husband beat her<sub>2</sub> until she<sub>2</sub> 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-ø-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 qarin 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<sub>1</sub> late husband beat her<sub>2</sub> until she<sub>2</sub> died'.  
'Por eso su<sub>1</sub> esposo finado la<sub>2</sub> pegaba hasta que muera<sub>2</sub>'.  
(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

<i>-cha</i>	factive	<i>Mama-n kanan qatra-<u>cha</u>-ru-nqa.</i>	'Now his mother is going <u>to dirty</u> it.'
<i>-ku</i>	reflexive	<i>Qishta-<u>ku</u>-ru-n.</i>	'They <u>made a nest</u> .'
<i>-tuku</i>	simulative	<i>Atrqray-shi huvin-<u>tuku</u>-sa.</i>	'The eagle <u>disguised himself as</u> a young man.'
<i>-ya</i>	inchoative	<i>Puntraw-<u>ya</u>-ru-n.</i>	'It dawned.'
<i>na-</i>	'do'	<i>Ima-na-ku-shaq-taq mana kay pacha muna-wa-na-n-paq?</i>	' <u>What am I going to do</u> so that this earth won't want me?'
<i>naya-</i>	'give desire'	<i>Pashña-naya-shunki.</i>	'You <u>want</u> a girl.'

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);<sup>36</sup> *-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-*

<sup>36</sup> W. Adellar (p.c.) points out that *-mu* might also be treated as an inflectional affix.

*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)* | <i>Mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa pawa-katra-shpa.AMV</i>                 | 'Now his mother is going to <u>make it dirty</u> jumping.'                             |
| (2)  | <i>Hatun-cha-nqa-tri kay.AMV</i>   | 'This one is going to <u>make it big</u> .'  |
| (3)  | <i>Qali paqwa-lu-n alli-cha-lu-: .CH</i>                                 | 'The men finished and we <u>fixed</u> it up.'  |
| (4)  | <i>Cañete-man alli-cha-ra-chi-mu-nki kay-pi-tr sigura-na-y-paq-qa.LT</i> | 'You're going to have that <u>fixed</u> in Cañete to be able to insure yourself here.' |
| (5)  | <i>Tristi-cha-ku-ya-n niraq kurasun-ni-: -qa.SP</i>                      | TK   |
| (6)  | <i>Chay-na siru-cha-ku-ru-n.AMV</i>                                      | 'It's <u>forming</u> a hill like that.'  |
| (7)  | <i>Utrku-cha-sa watu-cha-yuq.AMV</i>                                     | 'A <u>hole bored</u> in it, with its rope.'  |
| (8)  | <i>Parti-cha-yku-pti-n-qa chaki chaki.AMV</i>                            | 'When she <u>breaks it into parts</u> – dry, dry!'                                     |
| (9)  | <i>Kustal-cha-ya-n papa-ta-m.AMV</i>                                     | 'She's <u>bagging</u> potatoes.'   |
| (10) | <i>Chay turu-ta-qa llampu-cha-yku-n chay yubu-cha-n-man.AMV</i>          | 'They <u>put llampu</u> on his yoke.'  |

*Maman kanan qatracharunqa pawakatrashpa.*

mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa pawa-katra-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) | <i>Idad-ni-ki-paq wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s.ACH</i> | 'You should <u>make [have]</u> a baby, at least one, for your old age.' |
| (2) | <i>Misa-ku-n. Mana-m kasu-n-chu misa-ta.AMV</i>           | 'She's <u>making [holding]</u> mass. They don't pay attention to mass.' |

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (3).  | <i>Qaninpa-s ... <u>hira-ku-ru-n</u>.ACH</i>                   | 'The last time, they <u>made [held] an herranza.</u> '                     |
| (4).  | <i><u>Wala-ku-yku-ru-shaq</u>.AMV</i>                          | 'I'm going to <u>put on</u> my skirt'.                                     |
| (5).  | <i>Mana-sh <u>wayta-ku-nchik-chu</u>.AMV</i>                   | 'You don't <u>put flowers on</u> your hat [on All Saints' Day], they say.' |
| (6).  | <i>Kundinaw-kuna puri-ra <u>kadina-ku-sa</u>. Unay-qa.SP</i>   | 'Zombies wandered around <u>with chains on</u> . Before.'                  |
| (7).  | <i><u>Kumuda-ku-ru-n</u>.AMV</i>                               | 'He's <u>made himself comfortable.</u> '                                   |
| (8).  | <i>¡Kurriy! <u>Qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari</u>.LT</i>               | 'Run! You must be <u>getting lazy.</u> '                                   |
| (9).  | <i>Mana-m mansu-chu – yatran waqra-<u>ku-y-ta</u>.AMV</i>      | 'He's not tame – he can <u>horn</u> [gore] people.'                        |
| (10). | <i>Karru-wan ... <u>silla-ku-yku-shpa-m ri-ya-nchik</u>.SP</i> | 'In a car ... [it's like] we're <u>riding horseback in a saddle.</u> '     |

#### 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).  | <i>Atrgray-shi huvin-<u>tuku-sa</u>.AMV</i>                               | 'The eagle, they say, <u>disguised himself as</u> a young man.'                        |
| (2)*. | <i>Chay ukucha ka-<u>sa</u> – maqta-<u>tuku-shpa</u>.AMV</i>              | 'It was a rat <u>pretending to be</u> a man.'  |
| (3).  | <i>"¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Qam ingaña-<u>ma-la-nki qali-tuku-shpa!</u>"CH</i>    | '"Shameless bastard! You fooled me <u>pretending to be a man!</u> "'                   |
| (4).  | <i>Wak wañu-q wañu-ru-n. Pursabir asnu-qa wañu-q-<u>tuku-ru-n</u>.AMV</i> | 'That "dead" one died. Out of curiosity, the donkey had <u>pretended to be dead.</u> ' |

*Chay ukucha kasa maqtatukushpa.*

chay ukucha ka-sa-∅ 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). *Siyrtumpi-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-ta-raq*.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.'
- (7). *Duru-ya-ru-n-ña. Duru-ya-ru-pti-n hurqu-nchik wanku-man*.AMV 'It's already hard. When it gets hard, we put it in the mold.'
- (8). *Chay wañu-ru-pti-ki-qa, ¿pi-m-a qawa-shunki? ¿Yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki-qa?*ACH '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-lla-: mana-m puñu-y-ta atipa-ra-ø-chu*.ACH 'My husband went really crazy – he couldn't sleep.'
- (10). *Hawla-lla-pa-m qam-taq wira-ya-chi-sayki ni-n*.ACH 'I'm going to fatten you up in a cage!" she said.'

*Chaykunawantri alliyarurqa.*

chay-kuna-wan-tri      alli-ya-ru-rqa-ø  
 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.'
- (4). *Chay mamaku-qa yata-yku-n. ¿Ima-na-nqa-taq? Yata-yka-chi-n*.ACH 'The old woman touched [their arms]. What are they going to do? They let her touch their arms.'

- (5)\*. *¿Ima-na-ku-shaq-taq mana kay pacha munawananpaq?*AMV 'What am I going to do so that this earth won't want me?'
- (6). *Kanan-qa prisu-tri-ki ñuqa-qa riku-shaq. ¿Ima-na-shaq?*SP 'Now I'm going to go to jail. What am I going to do?'
- (7). *¿Mana-ña ka-pti-n-qa ima-na-shaq-ña-tr?*LT 'If there isn't any, what am I going to do?'
- (8). *Mana-m ñuqa-qa ima-na-shayki-pis-chu. Kwirpu-:-mi hutra-yuq.*CH 'I'm not going to do anything to you. My body is guilty.'
- (9). *¿Wawa-y-ta ima-na-ru-n-tri?*ACH 'What would have happened to my son?'

*Imanakushaqtaq mana kay pacha munawananpaq?*

ima-na-ku-shaq-taq mana kay pacha muna-wa-n-na-n-paq  
 what-do-REFL-1.FUT-SEQ no DEM.P earth want-1.OBJ-3-NMLZ-3-PURP  
 '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!"*LT 'The person said, "I'm thirsty." So he said to his child, "Bring water!"'

*Pashñanayashunki.*

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 precedes 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

-cha	diminutive	<i>Wilka-y-ta puklla-<u>cha</u>-ya-n qawa-yku-ni.</i>	'I looked at my grandson playing.'
-chi	causative	<i>Ishpay-cha-ta tuma-ra-<u>chi</u>-rqa-ni.</i>	'I <u>made him</u> drink urine.'
-ka	passive/ accidental	<i>Puñu-<u>ka</u>-ru-n-mi.</i>	'She has fallen asleep.'
-katra	frequentive	<i>Pawa-<u>katra</u>-shpa</i>	'jumping and jumping'
-kU	reflexive, passive	<i>Mancha-<u>ku</u>-nchik runa wanu-y-paq ka-pti-n.</i>	'We <u>get scared</u> when people die.'
-lla	restrictive	<i>Wak runa-qa wamaq-ta piliya-<u>ku-lla</u>-n.</i>	'Those people fight too much, they <u>just</u> fight.'
-mu	cislocative	<i>Qati-<u>mu</u>-shaq kay-man.</i>	'I'm going to bring it over here.'
-naku	reciprocal	<i>Kay visinu-kuna-qa dinunsiya-<u>naku</u>-n maqa-<u>naku</u>-n.</i>	'The neighbors denounce <u>each other</u> , they hit <u>each other</u> .'
-chinaku	causal- reciprocal	<i>Kuka-n-kuna-ta muyu-yka-<u>chinaku</u>-shpa.</i>	' <u>Making</u> their coca circulate <u>among themselves</u> .'
-naya	sensual/psyc h necessity	<i>Ishpa-<u>naya</u>-wa-n.</i>	'I <u>want to</u> urinate.'
-pa	repetitive	<i>Qawa-<u>pa</u>-yku-pti-n-ña-taq-shi.</i>	'If he's looking <u>every second</u> .'
-pa(:)ku	joint action	<i>Tari-<u>pa</u>:ku-n-man-pis ka-rqa.</i>	' <u>They</u> might have found him.'
-pU	benefactive	<i>Chay-lla-pa pripara-<u>pu</u>-nki.</i>	'Just there prepare it <u>for me</u> .'
-pUkU	mutual benefit	<i>Aa, kuka-n-kuna-ta aku-<u>paku</u>-nchik.</i>	'Ah, we chew coca <u>together</u> .'
-Ra	uninterrupted	<i>¿Ima-ta-m qawa-ra-ya-nki?</i>	'What are you looking at ( <u>persistently</u> )?'
-ri	inceptive	<i>Warmi-kuna-qa shinka-<u>ri</u>-shpa ... waqa-n.AMV</i>	'When the women [start to] get drunk ... they cry.'
-RU	urgency, completive	<i>Miku-<u>ru</u>-shunki wak kundinaw-qa.</i>	'( <u>Careful!</u> ) that zombie will eat you.'

<i>-shi</i>	accompani- ment	<i>"Harka-shi-sa-yki-m", ni-n.</i>	'I'm going to <u>help</u> you pasture," he said.'
<i>-tamu</i>	irreversible	<i>Wañu-tamu-sha qari-qa.</i>	'The man <u>died</u> .'
<i>-Raya</i>	passive	<i>Wak vaka wata-raya-n.</i>	'That cow is <u>ti<u>e</u>d</u> up.'
<i>-paya</i>	uninterrupted	<i>Miku-paya-chi-wa-n.</i>	'She <u>contin<u>e</u>s</u> feeding me.'
<i>-YkU</i>	exceptional	<i>Kay-lla-pi, Señor; tiya-yku-y.</i>	'Right here, Sir, <u>pl<u>e</u>ase</u> 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

<i>ka</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>Ra</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>katr</i> <i>a</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>Ri</i>	<i>ykU</i>	<i>RU</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>pU</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>kU</i>	<i>(ya)</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>lla</i>
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- (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 suliyasa ka-pti-n-qa wak-ta suliyachi-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). *Ñuqa-nchik-qa para-pti-n uviha-nchik yata-n-pi puñu-nchik munti-ta mashta-ku-yku-shpa-m, uku-nchik-ta yaku ri-pti-n.*AMV 'When it rains, we spread out brush and sleep next to our sheep – the water goes below us.'
- (5). *\*kumuda-shi-ku-ya-n \*kumuda-ku-shi-ya-n* Target meaning: 'They accompanied getting comfortable.'

#### 4.4.2.2 Morphophonemics

Table 29. Modal Affixes – Morphophonemics

U represents an alternation between [u] and [a].

mor- pHEME	realized as	before					Else- where as
-kU	-ka	-ma <sub>1.OBJ</sub>	-mu			-chi	-ku
-pU	-pa	-ma <sub>1.OBJ</sub>	-mu	-kU			-pu
-RU	-Ra	-ma <sub>1.OBJ</sub>	-mu	-kU	-pU	-chi	-Ru
-yKU	-yka	-ma <sub>1.OBJ</sub>	-mu		-pU	-chi	-yku

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 ñuqa-qa paqa-ka-ra-mu-ni-ña-m.*AMV 'I've already washed my hands.'
- (3). *Wira-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-pti-n traski-ra-pa-mu-wa-y hinashpa alli-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-ra-ku-ra-: 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-ya-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.'

*Chay wilkayta uchuklla pukllachayan qawaykuni.*

chay wilka-y-ta uchuk-lla puklla-cha-ya-n qawa-yku-ni  
DEM.D grandson-1-ACC small-RSTR play-DIM-PROG-3 see-EXCEP-1

'I looked at my little grandson playing.'

'Miré a mi nieto chiquitito jugando'.

(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-nki-chu?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?'

AMV

- (6). *Kay-pa witra-yka-chi-mu-nki*.AMV 'From here your going to have it go up hill.'
- (7). *Ñaka-ya-chi-wa-n-mi*.AMV 'You're making me suffer.'
- (8). *Chay-mi hishpi-chi-ma-ra-ø*. SP 'So they raised me.'
- (9). *Chay-mi diskuti-ru-ra-: ñuqa kay uray. Ishkay-ta wañu-ra-chi-ra-ø*.SP 'That's why I argued here down hill. They killed two.'
- (10). *Chay-tri-k Humala-kta rispita-n – wañu-la-chi-nqa*.CH 'That would be why they respect [President] Humala. They're going to kill him.'
- (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 'He left for the mountain to look for a little vicuña to domesticate to feed his children meat.'
- (12). *Chawa-chi-ku-n-chu mana-yá vaka*.AMV 'The cow doesn't let herself be milked.'
- (13). *Chiri-ru-shpa-qa mana-ña-m llushti-chi-ku-n-chu*.AMV 'When it's cold, it doesn't let itself be [=can't be] skinned any more.'
- (14)\*. *Qipi-ra-chi-ku-sa chay pashña-qa*.AMV 'The girl got herself carried.'
- (15). *Yanapa-chi-ku-nki*.AMV 'You're going to get yourself helped.'
- (16). *Wak alfiris-kuka-n-ta-ña-m muyu-ya-chi-ku-n*.AMV 'The hosts are having their coca go around.'

*Ishpaychata tumarachirqani.*

ishpa-y-cha-ta tuma-ra-chi-rqa-ni  
 urinate-INF-DIM-ACC drink-URGT-CAUS-PST-1  
 'I 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  
 thus-SUBDS-3-DISC-SEQ-EVR carry-URGT-CAUS-REFL-NPST-3 DEM.D girl-TOP  
 'Then, they say, the girl got herself carried.'  
 'Después, 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].'

- (3)\*. *Suyñu-ka-ya-nchik runa-lla-ta fiyu-lla-ta-ña.ACH* 'We're having terrible dreams [nightmares] about the people.'
- (4). *Wakhina lliw lliw tumba-ka-ru-shpa ...AMV* 'All of them, falling down like that ...'
- (5). *Wak allqu-qa watra-ru-shpa utrku-man wina-ka-ru-sa-ø.AMV* 'When she gave birth, that dog threw them in a hole.'
- (6). *Tullu-ta-qa waqta-ya-n acha-wan piku-wan. Pisa-ka-ya-n kay-na. Chay-qa kundinaw ka-sa-ø.SP* 'They're beating the bones with axes and picks. They're hitting like that – it was the zombie!'
- (7). *Uma-n-taq katra-yku-ru-n-sha chayara-pi-sh wata-ka-ru-sa-ø chukcha-n.AMV* 'He let his head go, [and it fell into the bushes on the side of the river] and his hair had tangled in chayara thorns.'
- (8). *Kuti-ri-shpa-qa chay maqta-pa kay-ni-n-man laqa-ka-ru-n uma-n.AMV* 'When the young man's [head] came back, it stuck here [on the girl's shoulder].'
- (9). *Achka luna hunta-la-mu-sha. Tayta-lla-:-qa kalli-pa puli-ku-sha ashi-ka-ya-n tayta-:-taq.* 'A lot of people had gathered. My father was walking in the street and they made fun of him.'

*Pasaypaq punkisa purirqa qaparikashtin rin ninmi.*

pasaypaq punki-sa puri-rqa-ø qapari-ka-shtin ri-n ni-n-mi  
completely swell-PRF walk-PST-3 scream-PASSACC-SUBADV go-3 say-3-EVD

'He was walking totally swollen. They say that he was shouting [despite himself].'

'Andaba completamente hinchado. Iba gritando, dicen'.

(Vinac\_JC\_Cure, 14:24-30)

*Suyñukayanchik runallata fiyullataña.*

suyñu-ka-ya-nchik runa-lla-ta fiyu-lla-ta-ña  
dream-PASSACC-PROG-1PL person-RSTR-ACC ugly-RSTR-ACC-DISC

'We're having terrible dreams about the people.'

'Estamos soñando feo a la gente'.

(Colcas\_LR\_ShiningPath, 19:24-26)

#### 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.'

*manchik.ACH*

- (6). *"¡Qipi-ra-ma-lla-y! ¡Baha-y-ta muna-ya-:!"* *qaya-katra-ku-n.SP* "'Carry me! I want to get down!" she shouted again and again.'
- (7). *Wak maqta-qa puklla-y-ta atipa-n-chu, qay.* *Yanga-m sayta-katra-ya-n.AMV* 'That boy can't play [ball], eh. In vain, he's kicking and kicking.'
- (8). *Wañu-q tiyu-yki-ta uywa-cha-chi-pti-y* *mana-chu qapari-katra-ku-ya-n shakash* *"wichikwichikwichik"?AMV* 'When I had your late uncle passed over wasn't the guinea pig was screaming and screaming, "Wichikwichikwichik"?'
- (9). *Quni-ri-chi-rqa-ø-tri-ki. Qapari-katra-rqa-ø.* *Arruhaytash qalla-ku-yku-n.AMV* 'It must have heated him up. He shouted and shouted. He started to throw up, they say.'
- (10). *Hinaptin-qa qaya-katra-ku-n, "¡Abuelo* *Prudencio! ¡Suya-yka-ma-y! Qarqariya-m* *qipa-:-ta shamuku-ya-n."CH* 'Then he called several times, "Grandfather Prudencio! Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!"

*Killa-ntin killa-ntin maska-ni tapu-katra-shpa*

kill-ntin            kill-ntin            maska-ni            tapu-katra-shpa  
month-ACMP      month-ACMP      look.for-1      ask-FREQ-SUBIS

'I looked for him for months and months, asking and asking.'

'Meses y meses estaba buscando, preguntando y preguntando.'

(Vinac\_DC\_ShiningPath\_Disappeared, 03:17-20)

#### 4.4.2.3.05 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-cta!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 wawqi-n, "¡Suwa-ka-mu-ra-nki tuta!" ni-shpa*.LT 'His jealous brother said, "You stole those at night!"'
- (7). *Mashwa-kuna ulluku-kuna-cta-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 ñuqa-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'

*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)

*Kay inbidyusu wawqin, "¡Suwakamuranki tuta!" nishpa.*

kay inbidyusu wawqi-n 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)

#### 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 wamaq-ta-m piliya-ku-lla-n*.AMV 'Those people fight too much, do nothing but fight.'

- (2). *Alkansa-pti-n, "¡Suya-yku-lla-wa-y!" ni-shpa.*AMV 'When he caught up to her, he said, "Just wait for me!"'
- (3). *Hinaptin-ña huk atrqay pasa-n ismo atrqay. "¡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."
- (4). *Fiysta-pa tushu-ku-nki. Kanan irransa ka-ku-lla-nqa-tri-ki.*AMV 'You'll dance at the festival. Now there's going to be an herranza, for sure.'
- (5). *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.'
- (6). *Tiya-y Shatu asi-ku-lla-q. Wama wamaq ka-ku-lla-rqa!*AMV 'My Aunt Shatu would just laugh. She was too much!'
- (7)\*. *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.'
- (8). *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].'
- (9). *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.'
- (10). *Chitchityaku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa.*LT '"Chit-chitting," [the children] left [having turned into] goats.'
- (11). *Qari-qari-lla-raq-chu qari-qari-lla-raq-mi ni-y-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.'

*Shunquy hunta llakiyuqtam saqill<sub>as</sub>sqayki; ñawiy hunta wiqiyuqtam dihall<sub>as</sub>sqayki.*

shunqu-y hunta llaki-yuq-ta-m saqi-lla-sqayki  
heart-1 full sorrow-POSS-ACC-EVD leave-RSTR-1>2.FUT

'My heart full of sadness, I'm going to abandon you; my eye full of tears, I'm going to leave you.'

'Mi corazón lleno de pena, te voy a abandonar; mi ojo lleno de lágrimas, te voy a dejar'.

(Florida\_CJ\_Cow\_Saqirwaytay\_Vicuna, 02:23-35)

#### 4.4.2.3.07 Cislocative, Translocative *-mu*

Cislocative, translocative. In the case of verbs involving motion, *-mu* indicates motion toward the speaker (1)-(4) or toward a place which is indicated by the speaker (5)-(8). 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 (8)-(10).

- (1). *Qati-mu-shaq kay-man.*AMV 'I'm going to bring it over here.'
- (2)\*. *Papa-ni-y karta-ta pachi-mu-wa-n wañu-ku-* 'My father sent me a letter that [the vicuña]

- sa-n-ña*.AMV had died.'
- (3). *Navidad-ni-nchik traya-mu-pti-n-qa tushu-ku-nchik*.CH 'When our Christmas comes, we dance.'
- (4). *Kanan uras Dios tayta-nchik qarqu-mu-wa-n*.AMV 'God Our Father is now kicking me out.'
- (5)\*. *Yuraq kaballu-qa yuraq vaka-ta arrastra-mu-sa*.AMV 'A white horse was dragging along a white cow.'
- (6). *Ladira-n-kuna-paq rumi-pis hinku-ya-mu-n-tri-ki*.ACH 'Stones, too, must be rolling down the hillsides.'
- (7). *"Huk wak law-pa saqa-yka-ya-mu-n. Sustini-chka-mu-shaq", ni-shpa kunihu-qa*.SP '"Another is falling in another place. I'm going to be holding up that one," said the rabbit.'
- (8). *Kanan witray-ta ri-ya-: uviha-man. Uviha-: -ta michi-mu-shaq*.SP 'Now I'm going up hill to my sheep. I'm going to herd my sheep.'
- (9). *Lichi-ta maña-ka-ra-mu-y tiyu-yki-pa*.LT 'Go ask your uncle for milk.'
- (10). *Ushtichi-ka-la-mu-y haku-yki-cta*!CH 'Go put on your jacket!'

*Ishkay killanta papaniy kartata pachimuwan wañukusanña.*

ishkay killa-n-ta papa-ni-y karta-ta pachi-mu-wa-n wañu-ku-sa-n-ña  
 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 arrastramusa.*

yuraq kaballu-qa yuraq vaka-ta arrastra-mu-sa-ø  
 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-q-ta*.AMV 'Formerly, we said that, we told each other what was.'
- (2). *Wak-paq pantyun-pa pampa-na-ku-n-man?* 'Can people there bury each other in the

- AMV cemetery?'
- (3). *Vali-na-ku-:.* "Paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ñuqa-*cta chay-paq talpa-shun qam-pa-cta-ña-taq*", *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 maqa-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-na-ku-n wak pastuta 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-yka-chi-na-ku-shpa*.AMV 'Making their coca and liquor circulate among themselves.'
- (9). *Kiki-n-kama-tr wañu-chi-na-ku-ra. Gwardya-kuna-tr wañu-chi-ra*.ACH 'They must have killed each other themselves' (lit. caused e.o. to die)
- (10). *Ishkay kimsa-m. Yatra-chi-na-ku-yku-shpa misi-ta wata-ru-n kunka-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  
 long.ago-TOP DEM.D say-SUBIS tell-RECP-REFL-NMLZ be-AG-ACC  
 '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 muyuykachinakushpa.*

kuka-n-kuna-ta tragu-n-kuna-ta muyu-yka-chi-naku-shpa  
 coca-3-PL-ACC drink-3-PL-ACC circulate-EXCEP-CAUS-RECIP-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-yku-n-ña miku-naya-n lliw-ña*.SP 'Night fell and he was hungry and everything already.'

- (3)\*. *Mashwa-ta miku-pti-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.'
- (4). *Chay-ta siguru-ta wata-nki Hilda icha tira-naya-shpa iskapa-ru-n-man.*AMV 'Tie it up tight, Hilda, or else, wanting to pull, it could escape.'
- (5). *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.'
- (6). *Para-naya-mu-n.*ACH 'It's about to rain.'
- (7). *Shakash-qa wañu-naya-n-ña.*AMV 'The guinea pig is about to die already.'

*Mashwakta mikuptinchik ishpanayawanchik chay riñunninchikta limpiyanshi.*

mashwa-kta miku-pti-nchik ishpa-naya-wanchik chay riñun-ni-nchik-ta limpiya-n-shi  
 mashua-ACC eat-SUBDS-1PL urinate-DESR-3>1PL DEM.D kidney-EUPH-1PL-ACC clean-3-EVR  
 'Mashwakta mikuptinchik ishpanayawanchik chay riñunninchikta limpiyanshi.  
 Cuando comemos mashwa, nos da ganas de orinar y nos limpia los riñones, dicen  
 (Hongos\_LW\_Supper, 54:07-10)

#### 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-pa-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-chka-y!*AMV '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 hinaptin-qa ... 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 misa-kuna-man, prusisyun-kuna-man.*AMV 'Long ago, I would always go to the mass and to the processions.'
- (8)\*. *Warmi ka-pti-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 tuta nana-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.'

- (11). *Aysa-pa-ru-pti-ki-qa tuta-qa hamu-ra-ø.SP* 'When you tugged repeatedly [at the rag] at night, [the zombie] would appear.'

*Warmi ka-pti-n-qa yata-pa-shpa-tr qaqu-ya-n.*

*warmi ka-pti-n-qa yata-pa-shpa-tr qaqu-ya-n*  
woman be-SUBDS-3-TOP touch-REPET-SUBIS-EVC rub-PROG-3

'If it's a woman he'll be fondling her while he massages.'

'Si es una mujer, la estará manoseando mientras soba'.

(Vinac\_HQ\_Healer, 21:56-22:00)

*"Imapaqtaq wak yawar yawar kayan?" diciendo dice qawapaykun.*

*Imapaq-taq wak yawar ka-ya-n Qawa-pa-yku-n*  
why-SEQ DEM.DD blood be-PROG-3 look-REPET-EXCEP-3

'''Why is there this blood, all this blood?' they said and stared at him.'

'''¿Por qué hay esta sangre?' dijeron y quedaron mirándolo.'

(Florida\_JH\_Condor\_Condenados, 04:40-46)

#### 4.4.2.3.11 Benefactive, Translocative -pU

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)\*. *Chay-lla-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-pti-n traski-ra-pa-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-ku-pti-: ? ¡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-pa-mu-wa-nki, Hilda, fuma-ku-shtin kuti-ka-mu-na-n-paq.AMV* 'Hilda, go and buy me a cigarette so he can smoke while he's coming back.'

*Chayllapa priparapunki.*

*chay-lla-pa pripara-pu-nki*  
DEM.D-RSTR-LOC prepare-BEN-2

'Just there prepare it [for her].'

'En allí no más préparaselo'.

(Vinac\_JC\_Cure, 07:13-15)

#### 4.4.2.3.12 Joint action *-pa(:)kU*

- (1)\*. *Kuti-ra-mu-shpa-qa kapas-tri tari-pa:ku-n-man-pis kar-qa.AMV* 'If they had returned they maybe they would have found him.'
- (2). *Chay ñaña-n-tri ka-rqa piru mama-n-pa-qa huk ka-pa:ku-rqa.AMV* 'She would have been her sister but others were her mother's.'
- (3). *¿Imay ura-taq hamu-pa:ku-rqa-nki?AMV* 'What time did you.PL come?'
- (4). *Tiya-pa:ku-ya-n-tri pay-kuna-qa.AMV* 'They must be sitting down.'
- (5). *Kaña-pa:ku-rqa-ni rupa-n-ta. Comp. Kaña-paku-rqa-nchik.AMV* 'We've been burning her clothes'.  
'We have burned [for someone else].'
- (6). *Uqa-кта-m talpu-pa:ku-ya-:CH* 'We're planting oca.'
- (7). *Hawka-ña-m yatra-ka-pa:ku-ya-:SP* 'Now we live in peace.'
- (8). *Pasa-n. Lliw lliw ri-pa:ku-ya-n. Sapa-lla-:-lla-m ka-shaq.SP* 'They're leaving. All [of them] are going. I'm going to be all alone.'

*Kutiramushpaqa kapastri taripa:kunman karqa.*

kuti-ra-mu-shpa-qa kapas-tri tari-pa:ku-n-man ka-rqa  
return-URGT-CISL-SUBIS-TOP perhaps-EVC find-JTACT-3-COND be-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 *-mu* or *-chi* or the inflectional affix *-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 nichu-ta-n-ta.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. 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 chutchakuna-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* 'That woman gave birth to an illegitimate child. She must have stayed a single mother.'
- (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 pay], she's raising her son.'
- (9). *Kay siyra-pa-qa pasiya-paku-: michi-paku-: .SP* 'In these mountains, I pasture, I herd [for others].'
- (10). *Karru-wan-ña-tr 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, kustumbrinchikmi.*

koka-kuna-ta aku-paku-nchik kustumbri-nchik-mi  
coca-PL-ACC chew-MUTBEN-1PL custom-1PL-EVD

'We chew coca together. It's our custom'.

'Chakchamos coca (acompañándonos). Es nuestra costumbre'.

(Vinac\_MM\_Condenados\_Burial\_Coca, 06:28-32)

*Thipakushpalla wambran uywan.*

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 qaqa-man tiya-ra-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 ...llullu 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-nchik-taq. 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 Cacara (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 Cacara 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 ñuqa-qa pasa-ri-ya-: vaka-ta yaku tuma-chi-q-qa*.ACH 'At twelve I'll bring the cows by to have them drink water.'
- (4). *Para usya-ri-pti-n-qa kuti-ku-nqa-ña-tri-k*.AMV 'When the rain clears, he'll return.'
- (5). *Warmi-kuna-qa shinka-ri-shpa taki-shpa-m waqa-n*.AMV 'When the women get drunk and sing, they cry.'
- (6). *¿Ni una hoja? ¡Anda kara! Kuka-paq ñuqa-qa wañu-ri-y-man-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 shinkarishpa 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 -IU 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).<sup>37</sup> Preceding any of the derivational affixes -mu, -pU, -kU, -chi or the inflectional affix -ma, -RU is realized as -Ra (11).

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| (1).  | <i>"Mana virdi-ta miku-shpa-qa luki-ya-<u>ru-shaq</u>" ni-n.AMV</i>                                      | 'They say, "If I don't eat green [pasture grass], I'm going to go batso-crazy.'"                |
| (2).  | <i>Chay mana rantiku-pti-n-qa ... chaki-<u>ru-nqa</u>.AMV</i>  | 'If she doesn't sell it [right away], it's going to dry out [and be worthless].'                |
| (3)*. | <i>"¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Ñuqa-qa willa-ku-<u>ru-shaq-mi</u> gwardyan-man tirruku ka-sa-yki-ta!"AMV</i>        | '"Shameless bastard! I'm going to tell the police that you were a terrorist!'"                  |
| (4).  | <i>Puyu-pa-m wambra-y chinka-<u>ru-sa-ø</u>. Karu karu-ta-m ri-pu-<u>ru-sa-ø</u>-AMV</i>                 | 'My son got lost in the fog. He wandered very far.'   |
| (5).  | <i>Qali-qa paqwa-<u>lu-shpa-qa</u> alli-cha-ya-nchik. Qali paqwa-<u>lu-n</u> alli-cha-<u>lu-:</u>.CH</i> | 'When the men finish, we're fixing it up. The men finished and we fixed it up.'                 |
| (6).  | <i>Chinka-<u>ru-n</u>. Ni may ri-sa-n yatra-ku-n-chu.ACH</i>   | 'They <u>got lost</u> . We don't know where they went.'   |
| (7).  | <i>Mana chichi-na-n-paq tardi wata-<u>ru-n</u> mama-n-ta wawa-n-ta kapacha-<u>ru-n</u>.AMV</i>           | 'So that he wouldn't nurse, she <u>tied</u> up his mother and <u>put</u> a muzzle on her baby'. |
| (8)*. | <i>Campion-cha-ta wina-<u>ru-n</u> aytri-ku-<u>ru-n</u> qari-n-ta miku-<u>ra-chi-n</u>.AMV</i>           | 'She <u>threw</u> in the poison, <u>stirred</u> it, and <u>made</u> her husband eat it.'        |
| (9).  | <i>"¿Imapaq-mi uywa-nki ganaw-ta?" ni-shpa-m kita-<u>ma-ru-n</u>.SP</i>                                  | '"Why are you raising cattle?" [the Shining Path] said, and they <u>took</u> it away from us.'  |
| (10). | <i>Pasaypaq runa-paq kunvirti-<u>ru-n</u> kabraman.LT</i>  | 'Completely, from people they <u>turned</u> into goats.'  |
| (11). | <i>Chay-mi, "¡Kay-paq hurqa-<u>ra-ma-nki</u> kay hawla-paq."SP</i>                                       | 'So, [he said,] "Take me out of this! [Let me out] of this cage here!'"                         |

*"¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Ñuqaqa willakururushaqmi gwardyanman tirruku kasaykita!"*

ñuqa-qa	willa-ku-ru-shaq-mi	gwardya-man	tirruku	ka-sa-yki-ta
1-TOP	tell-REFL-URGT-1.FUT-EVC	police-ALL	terrorist	be-PRF-2-ACC

<sup>37</sup> 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 URG 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-lu-shpa-m miku-lu-nki. ¡Ama trawakta-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!"

"¡Sinvergüenza! Voy a avisar a la policía que tú eras terruco!"

(Vinac\_VV\_TodosMuertos 1:00:24-28)

*Campionchata winarun aytrikurun qarinta mikurachin.*

Campion-cha-ta                      wina-ru-n                      aytri-ku-ru-n                      qari-n-ta                      miku-ra-chi-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). | <i>Asnu-qa ni-n, "Ñuqa tari-si-sayki suga-yk-ita-qa. ¡Putriru alfa-ta qu-yka-ma-y!"</i> SP | 'The mule said, "I'm going to <u>help</u> you find your rope. Give me a bin-full of alfalfa!"' |
| (2). | <i>Mana-m hamu-rqa-ø-chu tiya-shi-q.</i> AMV   | 'She didn't come to <u>accompany</u> us sitting.'  |
| (3). | <i>"Harka-shi-saykim", nin.</i> AMV  | "I'm going to <u>help</u> you pasture," he said.'  |
| (4). | <i>Hampi-shi-rqa-ø-tri-k. ¿Ima-taq kuti-chi-rqa?</i> AMV                                   | 'She must have <u>helped</u> cure. What did she offer?'  |
| (5). | <i>Pay-qa r-iki ni-ya-n-tri "Patrun Santiago, ¡hampi-shi-wa-y!"</i> AMV                    | 'For sure he's saying, "Patron Saint Santiago, <u>help</u> me heal!"'                          |
| (6). | <i>Kwida-shi-ma-n-chu. Hapa-lla-: kwida-ku-: hapa-lla-:.</i> CH                            | 'He didn't help take care [of the animals]. Alone, I took care of them. Alone.'                |

*Manam hamurqachu tiyashiq.*

mana-m    hamu-rqa-ø-chu    tiya-shi-q

no-EVD    come-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)

*Harkashisaykim nin huvin.*

harka-shi-sayki-m                      ni-n                      huvin

herd-ACMP-1>2.FUT-EVD    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-tamu-shá*.CH 'When she was making the bed, when she sat on the bed, she died.'
- (2). *Wañu-tamu-sha qari-qa; warmi-qa kida-ru-sha*.LT 'The man died; the woman remained.'
- (3). *Puchuka-tamu-n*.AMV 'It finished off.'
- (4). *Atuq-ta-qa ñiti-tamu-n uma-paq*.AMV '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-pti-n-shi hawla-pa-sh-a witrqara-ya-n*.ACH 'When she closed them up in the cage, they say, [the boys stayed there], locked up.'
- (2). *pwinti-kama traya-ru-pti-n huk mamaku-cha traqna-ra-ya-sa pwinti-pa*.AMV '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?" "Ukllu-pa-m trura-ra-ya-sa"*.SP '"The dog took a bone.' "Where was it taken from?" "It was stored in the storehouse.'
- (4). *Kama-lla-pa-ña sapa-lla-: hita-ra-ya-pti-: runa traya-ra-mu-n*.ACH 'When I was layed out in bed all alone, a person came.'
- (5). *Qawa-ra-ya-mu-n pashñaqa ura-ta*.LT 'The girl kept checking the time.'
- (6). *¿Puklla-pa-ya-n-chu? ¿Kani-ru-y-ta-chu muna-ya-n?*AMV 'Is it keeping on playing? Or does it want to bite?'

*Witrqaruptinshi hawlapasha witrqarayan*.

witrqa-ru-pti-n-shi                      hawla-pa-sh-a                      witrqara-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.'



'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 palatals 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 or 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).  | <i>¡Achacháw!</i>    | 'Yikes!' 'What a fright!' |
| (2).  | <i>¡Achachalláw!</i> | 'How awful!' 'How ugly!'  |
| (3).  | <i>¡Achalláw!</i>    | 'How beautiful!'          |
| (4).  | <i>¡Alaláw!</i>      | 'How cold!'               |
| (5).  | <i>¡Atatacháw!</i>   | 'How beautiful!'          |
| (6).  | <i>¡Ananáw!</i>      | 'Ouch!'                   |
| (7).  | <i>¡Añalláw!</i>     | 'How delicious!'          |
| (8).  | <i>¡Achachák!</i>    | 'Yikes!' 'What a fright!' |
| (9).  | <i>¡Hinata!</i>      | 'So be it!'               |
| (10). | <i>¡Pay!</i>         | 'Enough!' 'Thanks!'       |
| (11). | <i>¡Karay!</i>       | 'Damn!'                   |
| (11). | <i>¡Karahu!</i>      | 'Damn!'                   |
| (12). | <i>¡Miyrda!</i>      | '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.  
¡Atatayáw!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.'
- (18). *¿Sapa-lla-yki-tr hamu-ya-nki-yá?  
¡Achachák!ACH* 'You're coming all alone, then? Yikes!'
- (19). *¡Dios Tayta! ¿Ima-paq kima-wanchik-man?  
¡Achachayáw!AMV* '¡Good God! Why would they burn [cremate] us? How awful!'
- (20). *¡Achacháw ! Apuri-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 nuchis* '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.  
Ari, wak sinta-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 pindihu-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 ubiha-y-wan ñuqa disdi uchuy-cha-lla-y-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 adverbally, 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 hapi-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). *Yaqqa wañu-rqa-ni chay-shi tiya-y.*AMV 'I almost died, then, says my aunt.'  
 (3). *Kumpadri yanqa yanqa shimi-:-ta sira-ra-chi-nki.*SP 'Compadre, you had my mouth sewed up in vain.'

- (4)\*. *"¡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.
- (5). *Hina-lla-ta-ña-m qaninpa apa-ka-ra-mu-n wak yanta-ta.*LT 'Just like that, before, they took that firewood.'
- (6). *Mana-m apuraw hurqu-pti-n-qa chay-qa wañu-chi-n.*ACH 'If [the placenta] is not taken out quickly, it kills.'
- (7). *Uchuy-pis pasa-pasaypaq-mi chaki-ru-n, uchuy-pis chaki-sha-m ka-ya-n.*LT 'My chiles completely dried out. My chiles, too, are dried out.'
- (8). *Waqaya-ni-yá siympri yuya-ri-ya-ni-yá.*AMV 'I'm crying. I'm always remembering.'
- (9). *Chay-mi ni-ni ayvis itana-pa-chu qutrupa-ru-shaq.*AMV 'So sometimes I think I'm going to roll around in thorns.'
- (10). *Ayvis lliw chinka-ru-n ayvis huk-lla ishkay-lla-ta tari-ru-:*ACH 'Sometimes all of them get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.'
- (11). *Ni pi-ta-pis kritika-:-chu dañu-ku-ru-pti-n-pis sumaq-lla-m ni-ku-lla-:*ACH 'I don't criticise anyone. When they do harm, I take it up with them nicely.'
- (12). *¡Kay-ta pasa-ra-chi-y! Karga-raya-n-ña-mi-ki. ¡Sumaq-lla wina-ru-y!*AMV 'Have him come here! It's being carried already. Add it in nicely!
- (13). *Kanan tuta-q suyñu-ku-ru-ni fiyu-ta-m. ¿Ima pasa-ru-wa-nqa?*AMV 'Last night I dreamed horribly. What's going to happen to me?'
- (14). *¿Mana-chu chay Alicia-wan risa-chi-waq? Alicia-m sumaq sumaq-ta risa-n.*AMV 'Can't you have Alicia pray for her? Alicia prays really nicely.'
- (15). *Tushu-pti-y-pis alli-lli-ta piga-ku-q.*AMV 'When I would dance, he would stick himself [to me] really well.'
- (16). *Rinri-lla-:-pis upa-ru-ra qayna wata-qa.*ACH 'My ears went deaf last year.'
- (17). *Chay-mi shamu-la-: gaspa-lpu-q-ta. Chay-mi karkariya qipa-:-ta shamu-sha.*CH 'Then I came at nighfall. Then a zombie came behind me.'

*"¡Kanallan intrigaway!" nishpash chay kundur trayarun.*

kana-lla-n intriga-wa-y ni-shpa-sh chay kundur traya-ru-n  
now-RSTR-now turn.in-1.OBJ-IMP say-SUBIS-EVR DEM.D condor arrive-URGT-3

""Turn her over to me right now!" said the condor when he arrived.'

""¡Entrégamela ahorita!" dijo el cóndor cuando llegó'.

(Florida\_JH\_Condor\_Condenados, 02:30-34)

*Matraypaq siympri trayaqshiki.*

matray-paq siympri traya-q-sh-iki  
cave-LOC always arrive-AG-EVR-iki

'He always arrived at the cave, they say'.

'Siempre llegaba a la cueva, dicen'.

(Madean\_GH\_FourStories, 03:26-29)

## 5.5. Particles Covered Elsewhere

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:

*-Yá* (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* (discontinuative) 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'.

*-puni* (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* (continuative) 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

<i>-Yá</i>	emphasis	<i>Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu!</i> <i>¡Ari-yá!</i>	'We do <u>NOT</u> set on fire!' 'Yes, indeed!'
<i>-chu<sub>1</sub></i>	interrogation	<i>¿Iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu mama-yki?</i>	' <u>Did</u> your mother put you in school?'
<i>-chu<sub>2</sub></i>	negation	<i>Chay-tri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu.</i>	'That must be why she wouldn't have waited for me.'
<i>-chu<sub>3</sub></i>	disjunction	<i>¿Qari-chu ka-nki warmi-chu ka-nki?</i>	'Are you a man <u>or</u> a or a woman?'
<i>-lla</i>	restriction	<i>Uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-sa.</i>	' <u>Nothing but</u> the head and the hand remained.'
<i>-ña</i>	discontinuity	<i>Chay-shi ni-n kundinadaw-ña-m wak-qa ka-ya-n.</i>	'That one, they say, is <u>already</u> condemned.'
<i>-pis</i>	inclusion	<i>Tukuy tuta tusha-n qaynintin-ta-pis.</i>	'They dance all night and the next day, <u>too</u> .'
<i>-puni</i>	certainty	<i>Mana-puni-m.</i>	'By no means', 'Not on your life'
<i>-qa</i>	topic	<i>Mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa.</i>	'Those of them who didn't know'
<i>-raq</i>	continuity	<i>Kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-pti-n-raq tari-ru-n.</i>	'He found him <u>still</u> sleeping in his bed.'
<i>-taq</i>	sequence	<i>hinaptin-ña-taq-shi</i>	' <u>then</u> ' 'so'
<i>-mI</i>	evidential-direct	<i>Yanga-ña-m qipi-ku-sa puri-ni.</i>	'In vain, I walk around carrying it.'
<i>-shI</i>	evidential-reportative	<i>Qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n.</i>	'She killed her husband, <u>they say</u> .'
<i>-trI</i>	evidential-	<i>Awa-ya-n-tr-iki kama-ta.</i>	'He <u>must</u> be weaving a blanket.'

	conjecture		
<i>-ari</i>	assertive force	<i>Chay-sha-ri kanan avansa-ru-nqa.</i>	'That one definitely will advance now, they say.'
<i>-ikI</i>	evidential modification	<i>Kay-na-lla-m-iki kay urqu-pa-qa yatra-nchik.</i>	'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*.

						<i>-qa</i>		
						<i>-mI</i>		
			<i>-Raqa</i>			<i>-shI</i>		<i>-ikI</i>
<i>-lla</i>	<i>-puni</i>	<i>-pis</i>	<i>-ña</i>	<i>-taq</i>	<i>-chu</i>	<i>-trI</i>	<i>-Yá</i>	<i>-aRi</i>

## 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 *-Raqa*, 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).  | <i>Ari-yá!AMV</i>   | 'Yes' ('That's it', 'Yes, <u>indeed</u> ')                        |
| (2)*. | <i>¡Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu! AMV</i>                   | 'We do <u>NOT</u> set on fire!'                                   |
| (3).  | <i>Pantyun-pa-yá. ¡Ima wasi-y-pi-tr pampa-mu-shaq!AMV</i> | 'In the cemetery! I doubt I'm going to bury someone in my house.' |

- (4). *¿Imayna-yá piru pay-kuna yatra-n warmi u qari?*AMV 'How ever can they know if it will be a woman or a man (who will die next)?'
- (5)\*. *Sirbisa-ta-tr mas mas-ta-qa rantiku-ru-n. Sirbisa-ta-yá.*AMV Spkr 1: 'They must have sold a lot more beer.'  
Spkr 2: 'Beer, all right!'
- (6). *Vali-ku-sha-tr ka-ra. Pay-ta-m-á rika-ra-ni.*LT 'He must have been requested. I saw him.'
- (7). *¿Imayna-m-á chay-hina-tr kay ka-ya-n?*'ACH 'How ever would it be like that?
- (8). *Trabaha-y-ta kanan kumunal-ta trula-la-m-á.*CH 'Now he's put the community to work.'
- (9). *Unay-qa Awkichanka inkanta-ku-ra-sh-á wak altu-pa yanta-man ri-pti-ki.*SP 'In olden times, Awkichanka, too, bewitched, they say up hill if you went for firewood.'

### 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 interrogation 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).<sup>38</sup>

- (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 suya-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?'

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 either Maurio or Julián.'
- (8). *¿Mana-chu kuska li-n-man?*CH 'Couldn't they go together?'
- (9). *Paysanu, ¿mana-chu vaka-ta ranti-y-ta muna-nki?*AMV 'My countryman, do you not want to buy a cow?'
- (10). *Lliw lliw-tri-ki wañu-ku-shun, puchuka-shun entonces, ¿mana-chu?*ACH 'We'll all have to die, to finish off then, isn't that so?'
- (11). *Aa, mana-yá ka-n-chu. Mana-yá bula ka-n-chu*.LT 'Ah, there aren't any. No one has any balls.'
- (12). *Kaspi-n-pis ka-n-chu*.AMV 'She doesn't have a stick.'
- (13). *Mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu-:-chu*.ACH 'Being scared, I didn't sleep at night.'
- (14). *Apuraw wañu-ru-rqa-ø-riki. Ni apa-n-ña-chu*.AMV 'He died quickly. They didn't even bring him [to the hospital].'
- (15). *Manam wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu*.AMV 'Neither a flower nor a bird.'
- (16). *"¡Ama wawqi-ta-qa wañu-chi-y-chu!" ni-pti-n-shi wañu-ra-chi-n pay-wan-ta-pis*.ACH 'When he said, "Don't kill my brother!" they killed him with him, too.'
- (17). *Mana qali ka-pti-n-qa ñuqanchik-pis taqlla-hta hapi-shpa qaluwa-nchik*.CH 'When there are no men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.'
- (18). *Mana qatra-cha-ku-na-n-paq mandil-cha-nta wata-cha-ku-n*.AMV 'She's tying on an apron so she doesn't get dirty.'
- (19). *Manam llusqi-pti-yki-(qa \*chu), waqa-shaq-mi*.AMV 'If you don't go, I'll cry.'
- (20). *Mana llusqi-rqa-nki-(mi)-chu*. 'You didn't leave.'
- (21). *\*¿Pi hamu-rqa-chu?* 'Who came?'

*¿Iskwilaman trurashurqankichu mamayki?*

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?'  
 '¿Te puso en la escuela tu mamá?'  
 (Madedan\_VDE\_Various, 06:16-18)

*¿Qarichu kanki warmichu kanki?*

qari-chu ka-nki warmi-chu ka-nki  
 man-Q be-2 woman-Q be-2  
 'Are you a man or a or a woman?'  
 '¿Eres hombre o mujer?'  
 (Florida, JH)

*Paysanu, ¿manachu vakata rantiyta munanki?*

paysanu mana-chu vaka-ta ranti-y-ta muna-nki  
 countryman no-NEG cow-ACC buy-INF-ACC want-2  
 'My countryman, do you not want to buy a cow?'  
 'Paysano, ¿no quieres comprar una vaca?'

### 6.2.03 Restrictive, Limitative *-lla*

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-pti-n-qa millwa-lla qutu-ra-ya-sa-ø ni maqta-qa ka-sa-chu.AMV* 'When she went there was just wool piling up. There was no young man.'
- (4). *Kichwa-lla-cta-m lima-ku-ya-: kay-traw-laq mana-m kastillanu-cta lima-:-chu.CH* 'I'm talking just Quechua. Here, still, we don't speak Spanish.'
- (5). *Fwirti ka-shpa-lla-m-á li-nchik pustaman.CH* 'Only if it's bad will we go to the health clinic.'
- (6). *Lliw lliw-ta-m ranti-shpa-lla-ña-m kanan kama-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-pti-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-waq.AMV* 'They had me cross the river pulling [me by the hand].'

### 6.2.04 Discontinuative *-ña*

Discontinuative. *-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)*  | <i>Kundinadaw-ña-m wak-qa ka-ya-n.AMV</i>  | 'That one is <u>already</u> condemned.'  |
| (2).  | <i>Ñuqa-qa kuka-y-wan-ña-m qawa-ru-ni.AMV</i>  | 'I saw it with my coca <u>already</u> .'   |
| (3).  | <i>Paqwa-ya-nchik-ña-m talpu-y-ta, ¿aw?<br/>Papa-cta-pis talpu-la-lu:-ña-m, kanan<br/>hala-cta, ¿aw?CH</i> | 'We're finishing the planting <u>already</u> , no?<br>We've <u>already</u> planted the potatoes, now the<br>corn, no?' |
| (4).  | <i>Unay-tri-k. Kanan-qa ka-n-ña-chu ima-<br/>pis.SP</i>  | 'That would be a long time ago. Now there<br>isn't anything <u>any more</u> .'   |
| (5).  | <i>Unay wambra ka-shpa traki-wan puri-ra-:<br/>Kanan-qa viyha-qa mana-ña-m-a puri:-ña-<br/>chu.SP</i>      | 'Before, when I was a child, I walked about<br>on foot. Now, old, I don't walk <u>any more</u> .'                      |
| (6).  | <i>Mana-ña ni santu ni imapis.AMV</i>  | 'There are <u>no longer</u> saints or anything.'   |
| (7).  | <i>Kanan-ña-m mana puri-n-chu. Hamu-ya-q<br/>kay-ni-n-ta kuti-ya-q.AMV</i>                                 | 'Now he <u>no longer</u> walks about. He used to<br>come around here, used to come back.'                              |
| (8).  | <i>¿Pasa-ru-n-ña-chu? Ma, tapu-shun.AMV</i>  | 'Did she go by <u>yet</u> ? Let's ask.'  |
| (9).  | <i>¿Aa, rima-ya-n-ña-chu kanan wak-pi?LT</i>   | 'Are they talking <u>yet</u> there now?'   |
| (10). | <i>"¡Ña-m tuku-chka-ni-ña!" Puk! Puk! Puk!<br/>siki-sapa sapu.AMV</i>                                      | '"I'm <u>already</u> finishing up!" Puk! Puk! Puk!<br>said the big-butted frog.'                                       |
| (11). | <i>Ña-m riqsi-ya-n-ña huk-ya yaykun.LT</i>   | 'They're getting to know it <u>already</u> and<br>another comes in.'   |

*Chayshi nin kundinadawñam wakqa kayan.*

chay-shi	ni-n	kundinaw-ña-m	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 ñuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-:* 'We work in turns, the women and the men.'  
*walmi-pis qali-pis.*CH

- (2). *Wanqa-ku-nchik na-cta papa-cta-pis uka-cta-pis.* CH 'We turn over the ummm, the potatoes and the oca, too.'
- (3)\*. *Tukuy tuta tushu-n qaynintin-ta-pis.* AMV 'They dance all night and the next day, too.'
- (4). *Pay-pis chay subrinu wañu-ku-pti-n-ña-mi-k pay-qa tuma-ru-n.* AMV 'He, too, when his nephew died, took [poison].'
- (5). *Salchipullu rantiku-q-ta-pis tuma-ru-n.* AMV 'She also took [pictures] of the people selling fried chicken.'
- (6). *Mama-n wañu-ku-pti-n-pis mana-m waqa-n-chu.* AMV 'Even when his mother died, he didn't cry.'
- (7). *"Imapaq-taq ñuqa waqa-shaq?" nin. "Warmi-y-paq-pis waqa-rqa-ni-chu."* AMV "'Why am I going to cry?'" he said. "I didn't cry for my wife, either."
- (8). *Pay-kuna-qa mana-m qawa-rqa-pis-chu.* AMV 'Neither did they see us.'
- (9). *Pata saqa-y-ta-pis atipa-n-chu.* AMV 'They can't even go up one terrace.'
- (10). *Ura-ta-m muna-shpa-pis.* AMV 'Although I want to know the time.'
- (11)\*. *Achka tarpu-shpa-pis, mana-m kusi-cha-ni-chu.* †AMV 'Even if I plant a lot, I don't harvest.'
- (12). *Hinaptin wasi-pi-ña rumi-wan taka-pti-n-pis uya-n-chu.* SP 'Later, at home, even when they hit it with a rock, it couldn't.'
- (13). *Chay-na-m ima-lla-ta-pis wasi-man apa-mu-n.* AMV 'That way he brings a little something to his house.'
- (14). *Llapa tiynda-man yayku-shpa-qa lliw lliw-shi ima-n-ta-pis apa-ku-n.* ACH 'They entered all the stores and took everything and anything they had.'
- (15). *Alli chambya-ku-q-paq mana-m ima-pis falta-n-man-chu.* AMV 'Nothing can be lacking for a good worker.'
- (16). *"jDiskansa-ka-mu-y wasi-ki-pa!" ni-wa-n kiki-n-pas diskansu-man ripu-n.* LT "'Go rest in your house," he said to me and he, himself, too, went to rest.'
- (17). *Hinaptin-qa yutu pawa-pti-n-qa chay, "jAaaapship ship ship!" Yutu-pas "jWwaaaayyy!"* SP 'Then, when the partridge jumped, he [cried], "Aaaap-ship-ship-ship!" The partridge, too, [cried] "Wwaaaayyy!"'
- (18). *Ñuqa-ta-s harqu-ru-wa-ra Kashapata-man ri-ra-ni-m.* LT 'They threw me out, too, and I went to Kashapata.'
- (19). *Mas uchuk-lla-s mas hatun-pis ka-n-mi. Kawpu-kuna-paq mas hatun-ña-m.* ACH 'There are smaller and bigger boards. The *kawpus*' are bigger.'

*Chay vispirata tukuy tuta tushan qaynintintapis.*

chay vispira-ta tukuy tuta tushu-n qaynintin-ta-pis  
DEM.D eve-ACC all night dance-3 morrow-ACC-ADD

'[The bands arrive and] on the eve (of the event) people dance all night and the next day, too'.

'[Llegan las orquestas y] a la vispera se baila toda la noche y al día siguiente también'.

(Vinac\_MA\_Herranza\_Candelaria, 03:43-49)

*Manam trabahashpapis, achkatam mikun. Achka tarpushpapis, manam kusichanichu.*

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-IPL-ALL-PREC cold water-ACC put-IPL

'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-: ñuqa-lla-qa.CH* 'I'm a single mother.'
- (2). *"Ñuqa-pis ri-shaq intunsis", ni-n invidyusu wawqi-n-qa.LT* "'Ah, then I, too, am going to go," said the jealous brother.'
- (3). *Ganaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqa.LT* 'Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.'
- (4). *Qam-qa waqa-ku-nki sumaq-lla-ta-m. Ñuqa-qa quyú quyú-ta waqa-ya-ni.SP* "'You sing nicely. I'm singing awfully.'"
- (5). *Kay-qa kurasun nana-y-paq allin.AMV* 'This [plant] is good for heart pain.'
- (6)\*. *Yatra-q-ni-n-qa; mana yatra-q-n-in-qa mana-yá.AMV* 'Those of them who knew; not those of them who didn't know.'
- (7). *Chay-na-m unay-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-pti-n-qa.AMV* 'That's how it was before when there wasn't anything.'

- (8). *Kanan-qa miku-nchik muna-sa-nchik[-ta] qullqi ka-pti-n-qa.AMV* 'Now we eat whatever we want when there's money.'
- (9). *Llaqta-yki-pa-qa ¿tarpu-nki-chu sibada-ta? AMV* 'In your town, do you plant barley?'
- (10)\*. *Uray-qa puri-q ka-ni traki-lla-wan traki-nchik-pis nana-na-n-kama.AMV* 'I would walk down hill just on foot until our feet hurt.'
- (11). *Difindi-wanchik malichu-kuna-paq-qa.AMV* 'It protects us against curses.'
- (12). *Lluqsi-la-ø pasiyu-man yayku-shpa-qa mana-ña puydi-la-ø-chu piru.CH* 'They went out for a walk but when they went in, they couldn't.'
- (13). *Qipi-ru-pti-n-qa ... chay kundur-qa qipi-pti-n huk turu-ta paga-yku-n.SP* 'When he carried her, after the condor carried her, she paid him a bull.'

*Yatraqninga. Mana yatraqninga manayá.*

yatra-q-ni-n-qa            mana    yatra-q-ni-n-qa            mana-yá  
 know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP    no            know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP    no-EMPH

'Those who knew. Those who didn't know, no, of course'.

'Los que sabían. Los que no sabían, no, pues'.

(Madean\_VDE\_Various, 06:12-15)

*Urayqa puriq kani trakillawan trakinchikpis nananankama.*

Uray-qa            puri-q            ka-ni            traki-lla-wan            traki-nchik-pis            nana-na-n-kama  
 down-TOP    walk-AG    be-1            foot-RSTR-INSTR    foot-IPL-ADD            hurt-NMLZ-3-LIM

'We would walk down hill just on foot – until our feet hurt.'

'Solíamos andar hacia abajo a pie no más – hasta que nuestros pies nos dolían

(Madean\_VDE\_Various, 15:05-09)

## 6.2.08            Continuative -Raq

Continuative. -Raq – realized in CH as *-laq* (1) and in all other dialects as *-raq* – indicates continuity of action, state or quality. It can generally be translated 'still' (1)-(5) or, negated, 'yet' (6), (7). In an interrogative sentence, it can indicate a kind of despair (8), (9). With subordinate clauses, it may indicate a prerequisite or a necessary condition for the event to take place, translating in English as 'first' or 'not until' (10), (11). *Chay-raq* indicates an imminent future, translating in Andean Spanish 'recién' (12), (13). Employed as a coordinator, it implies a contrast between the coordinated elements (see section 7.3).

- (1). *Kichwa-lla-cta-m lima-ku-ya-: kay-traw-laq mana-m kastillanu-cta lima-:-chu.CH* 'I'm just talking Quechua. Here, still, we don't speak Spanish.'
- (2)\*. *Qam-qa flaku-raq-mi. Hawla-pa-m qam-ta-qa wira-ya-chi-sayki.ACH* 'You're still skinny. I'm going to fatten you up in a cage.'
- (3). *"Mana-m wañu-:-man-chu", ni-n-shi.* "'I can't die," said [the fox]. "Still brave and

- Hinaptin-shi, "¿Qari-qari-lla-raq-chu?"*  
*"Aa, sí, qari-qari-lla-raq-mi", ni-n.SP* strong?" [asked the condor]. "Ah, yes, still brave and strong," he said.'
- (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-pti-n-raq tari-ru-n.LT* 'He found him when he was sleeping still in his bed.'
- (6). *Runtu-wan-mi qaqu-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?'
- (9). *Chay gringu-kuna-qa altu-kuna-ta-sh ri-n. ¿Imayna-raq chay runa-ta wañu-chi-n?ACH* '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-n.AMV* 'Once she makes the cheese, she's coming.'
- (11). *Hamu-pti-n-raq ñuqa-qa mana-m lluqsi-rqa-ni-chu.†AMV* 'Until she came, I didn't leave.'
- (12). *Chay-raq-mi tapa-ya-n. Qalla-yku-ya-ni chay-raq.AMV* 'He's just now going to cap it. I'm just now going to start.'
- (13). *Chay-laq-mi shamu-ya-:.CH* 'I'm just now coming.'

*Qamqa flakuraqmi kayanki. ¡Kanan hawlallapam qamtaqa wirayachisayki!*

qam-qa flaku-raq-mi Hawla-pa-m qam-ta-qa wira-ya-chi-sayki  
 2-TOP skinny-CONT-EVD cage-LOC-EVD 2-ACC-TOP fat-INCH-CAUS-1>2.FUT

"You're still skinny. I'm going to fatten you up in a cage!"

"Estás flaco todavía. ¡Te voy a hacer engordar en una jaula!"

(Villaflor\_VA\_Dove\_Dreams, 01:27-31)

*Mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu.*

mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu  
 no-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG

'None of us has died yet.'

'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).

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| (1).  | <i>Huangáscar-paq-mi hamu-ra-ø hinashpa wama wamaq pulisiya-pis. Dispara-ra-ø-taq pay-kuna-pis tuta</i> .ACH | 'Lots and lots of policemen came then from Huangáscar. They, too, also <u>then</u> shot a lot.'           |
| (2).  | <i>Punta-taq pacha-nchik</i> .CH   | ' <u>First</u> we crush it.'  |
| (3).  | <i>Yapa-taq kuyu-ru-n wak-hina-ta baha-ra-chi-n</i> .SP  | ' <u>Once again</u> , it moved. [Once again, the girl] lowered it like that.'                             |
| (4)*. | <i>Tardi-qa yapa listu suya-n; yapa-taq-shi traya-ru-n</i> .AMV  | 'In the afternoon, <u>again</u> , ready, he waits. <u>Then, again</u> , [the zombie] arrived.'            |
| (5)*. | <i>Lliw-ta pika-ru-shpa, kay-man-ña-taq qutu-ri-ni trura-ni wak-man-ña-taq</i> .AMV                          | 'When I have all these sorted, <u>then</u> I gather everything here and <u>then</u> store it there.'      |
| (6).  | <i>Qali-qa taklla-wan-mi halu-n. Qipa-n-ta-ña-taq kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan</i> .CH                      | 'Men turn over the earth with a foot plow. Behind them, <u>then</u> , we break up the clods with a pick.' |
| (7).  | <i>Hinaptin-ña-taq-shi kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta traya-ra-mu-n tuta</i> .AMV                    | ' <u>Then</u> when he turned into a zombie he arrived at the girl's house at night.'                      |
| (8).  | <i>Ñuqa-pa maki-y-wan aytri-chi-ya-n-mi. Kanan traki-lla-ña-taq. Huk-ni-n maki-wan-ña-taq kanan-mi</i> .AMV  | 'He's stirring it with my hand. Now, the foot. Now with the other hand.'                                  |
| (9).  | <i>Huk-ta-qa, tirruku-kuna-ta-qa. Sinchi-ña-taq mata-lu-la-ø</i> .CH   | 'Others, Shining Path soldiers. The <i>Sinchis</i> <u>then</u> killed them.'                              |
| (10). | <i>¡Ishpa-yku-ru-wa-n! ¿Imapaq-taq ishpa-n?</i> AMV  | 'It urinated on me! <u>Why</u> does it urinate?'  |
| (11). | <i>¿Ima riku-q-taq ka-rqa sapatilla-yki?</i> AMV   | ' <u>What color</u> were your shoes?'   |
| (12). | <i>¿Ima-na-shaq-taq? Dios-lla-ta-ña-tri-ki</i> .LT   | ' <u>What am I going to do?</u> It's in God's hands already.'   |
| (13). | <i>¡Waskillu-y-ta-ña-taq katra-yku-waq!</i> AMV  | '" <u>Be careful</u> you don't let go of my rope!'"   |
| (14). | <i>Kurasun-ni-y-man shakashta trura-ya-n. Ñuqa ni-ya-ni "¡Kani-ru-wa-pti-n-ña-taq!"</i> AMV                  | 'He's putting the guinea pig over my heart. I'm saying, " <u>Be careful</u> it doesn't bite me!'"         |
| (15). | <i>Warmi-ña-taq puchka-wan qari-ña-taq tihidu-wan</i> .AMV   | 'Women with spinning <u>and</u> men with weaving'.  |

*Tardiqa yapa listu suyan; yapataqshi trayarun.*

tardi-qa            yapa    listu    suya-n    yapa-taq-shi    traya-ru-n  
 afternoon-TOP    again    ready    wait-3    again-SEQ-EVR    arrive-URGT-3

'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)

*Lliwta pikarushpa, kaymanñataq quqarini trurani wakmanñataq.*

lliw-ta pika-ru-shpa kay-man-ña-taq quqa-ri-ni trura-ni wak-man-ña-taq  
all-ACC pick-URGT-SUBIS DEM.P-ALL-DISC-SEQ gather-INCEP-1 store-1 DEM.DD-ALL-DISC-SEQ

'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 yatra-ya-n mas-ta, mas-ta-ya, lliw-ta ... aaaa*.AMV 'In the old days, people knew more, more, everything, ahhh.'

*Hinashpaqaya wañurachishaqña wakchachaytaqa – sufriyan.*

hinashpa-qa-ya wañu-ra-chi-shaq-ña wakcha-cha-y-ta-qa sufri-ya-n  
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 runakunaqa yatrayan masta mastaya lliwta ... aaaa.*

unay runa-kuna-qa yatra-ya-n mas-ta mas-ta-ya 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 *-trI*, *-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).

Evidentials 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).  | <i>Tayta-cha José irransa-ku-rqa chay-pa-m</i> .AMV  | 'My grandfather José held <u>herranzas there</u> .'  |
| (2)*. | <i>Trura-wa-rqa-ya huk ratu. Mana-yá puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-chu. Trura-wa-rqa-m</i> .AMV                       | 'They put me in [school] a short while. They didn't have me finish, but they did <u>put me in</u> .'                                       |
| (3).  | <i>Qayna puntraw qanin puntraw-lla-m traya-mu-ra-:</i> .ACH  | 'I arrived yesterday, <u>just the day</u> before yesterday.'   |
| (4).  | <i>Radyu-kuna-pa rima-y-ta rima-ya-n. Lluqsi-ya-mu-n-shi turrurista. Turrurista rikari-ya-mu-n-shi</i> .SP | 'On the radio they talk for the sake of talking. Terrorists <u>are coming out, they say</u> . Terrorists <u>are appearing, they say</u> .' |
| (5).  | <i>Chay utrku-lla-pa pashña-taq uywa-ku-pti-n-ña-taq-shi maqta-qa apa-rqa miku-na-n-ta</i> .AMV            | 'When <u>he raised</u> the girl in that cave, the man brought her his food, <u>they say</u> .'   |
| (6).  | <i>Qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n, masha-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n</i> .AMV  | 'She killed her <u>husband, they say</u> ; she killed <u>son-in-law, they say</u> .'   |
| (7).  | <i>Qiñwal-man traya-ra-chi-pti-ki wañu-ku-n-man-tri</i> .AMV   | 'If you make her go all the way to the quingual grove, <u>she might die</u> .'   |
| (8).  | <i>Suwa-wa-n-tri durasnu-y ka-ra-ø mansana-y ka-ra-ø qanin puntraw birnis</i> .LT                          | 'They <u>may have robbed</u> me. The day before yesterday, Friday, I had peaches and apples.'  |
| (9).  | <i>Wasi-y raha-sa ka-ya-n. Saqa-yku-ru-nqa-tr</i> .AMV   | 'My house is cracked. <u>It's going to fall down</u> .'  |
| (10). | <i>¿May-mi chay warmi?</i> AMV   | ' <u>Where</u> is that woman?'   |
| (11). | <i>¡Ruwa-ru-chun- *mI/shI/trI!</i>   | ' <u>Let</u> him do it!'   |

*Trurawarqaya huk ratu. Manaya puchukachiwarqachu. Trurawarqam.*

trura-wa-rqa-ø-ya      huk ratu      mana      puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-ø-chu      trura-wa-rqa-ø-m  
put-1.OBJ-PST-3-EMPH    one moment    no      finish-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-3-NEG    put-1.OBJ-PST-3-EVD  
'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)

*Qiñwal-man traya-ra-chi-pti-ki wañu-ku-n-man-tri.*

qiñwal-man      traya-ra-chi-pti-ki      wañu-ku-n-tri  
qiñwal-ALL      arrive-URGT-CAUS-SUBDS-2      die-REFL-3-COND-EVC  
'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 31. Evidential schema: "evidence from" by "evidence for"

	Supports scope proposition <i>p</i>	Supports <i>P'</i> evidence for <i>p</i>
Direct (personal experience) evidence	DIRECT <i>-mI</i>	CONJECTURAL <i>-trI</i>
Reportative (non-personal experience) evidence	REPORTATIVE <i>-shI</i>	CONJECTURAL <i>-trI</i>

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 *-trI*, 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).  | <i>Piñi-y-mi paka-ra-ya-n wasi-y-pa wak ichuy-pa uku-n-pa.AMV</i>         | ' <u>My necklace</u> is hidden in my house under the straw.'      |
| (2).  | <i>Chay-wan-mi pwirta-ta ruwa-ya-ni. Mana-m achka-taq ruwa-ni-chu.AMV</i> | 'I make doors <u>with this</u> .'<br>'I <u>don't</u> make a lot.' |
| (3).  | <i>Vaka-qa kay-pa waqara-yuq-m-iki ka-ya-n.AMV</i>                        | 'The cows from here <u>have horns</u> .'                          |
| (4).  | <i>Mana-m mansana-yki-qa ka-n-chu.LT</i>                                  | 'You <u>don't</u> have any apples.'                               |
| (5).  | <i>Mana-m turu-ta-qa muna-:-chu.SP</i>                                    | 'I <u>don't</u> want a bull.'                                     |
| (6).  | <i>¡Ama kuti-mu-nki-chu qam-qa! Isturbu-m ka-ya-nki.CH</i>                | 'Don't you come back! You're being a <u>pain in the ass</u> .'    |
| (7)*. | <i>Kanan mana-m-iki chay-ta-qa riqsi-nchik-ña-chu.AMV</i>                 | 'Now, we <u>don't</u> , of course, know any of that.'             |
| (8).  | <i>Karru-pis ashna-ku-ya-n-mi.ACH</i>                                     | 'The buses, too, <u>stink</u> .'                                  |
| (9).  | <i>Quni-ri-ra-chi-shunki. Kaliynta-manchik-mi. Chay-m-iki.ACH</i>         | 'It warms you up. <u>It warms us up</u> .'                        |

*Kanan manamiki chaytaqa riqsinchikñachu.*

kanan	mana-m-iki	chay-ta-qa	riqsi-nchik-ña-chu
now	no-EVD-IKI	DEM.D-ACC-TOP	know-1PL-DISC-NEG

'Now, we don't, of course, know any of that.'

'Ahora ya no conocemos éso'.

(Yuracsayhua\_UY\_Bull\_Riddles\_Souls, 01:08-15)

### 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).

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (1). | <i>Awkichanka urqu-pa-qa inkantu-sh – karu-sh chinka-ru-rqa qutra-pa.AMV</i> | 'In the hill Okichanka, there is <u>a spirit, they say</u> – a car was lost in a reservoir.'      |
| (2). | <i>Pay-kuna-paq subtiranyu-ña-sh ka-ya-n, wasi-n.CH</i>                      | 'Theirs are <u>underground, they say</u> , their houses.'   |
| (3). | <i>Mashwa-qa prustata-paq-shi allin.CH</i>                                   | 'Mashua is good for the prostate, <u>they say</u> .'  |
| (4). | <i>Chay-pa-sh runtu-ta miku-chi-shunki.AMV</i>                               | 'They'll feed you eggs <u>there, they say</u> .'  |
| (5). | <i>Lata-wan yanu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra. ACH</i>                | 'They [the Shining Path] even <u>cooked</u> people in metal pots and ate them, <u>they say</u> .' |

- (6). *Unay-shi ka-ra-ø huk asnu.SP* 'Once upon a time, they say there was a mule.'
- (7). *Chay-paq-shi kuti-ru-n mama-n ka-q-ta papa-ni-n ka-q-ta.LT* 'He returned from there, they say, to his mother's place, to his father's place.'

*Awkichanka urqupaqa inkantush – karrush chinkarurqa qutrapa.*

Awkichanka urqu-pa-qa inkantu-sh karru-sh chinka-ru-rqa-ø qucha-pa  
 Awkichanka hill-LOC-TOP spirit-EVR car-EVR lose-URGT-PST-3 reservoir-LOC  
 'In the hill Okichanka they say there is a spirit – a car, they say, was lost in a reservoir.'  
 'En el cerro de Okichanca dicen que hay un encanto – que un carro se perdió en un pozo'.  
 (Vinac\_AR\_Grandparents, 34:48-36:01)

*Chaypash runtuta mikuchishunki.*

chay-pa-sh runtuta miku-chi-shunki  
 DEM.D-LOC-EVR egg-ACC eat-CAUS-3>2  
 'She's going to feed you eggs there, she says'.  
 'Alli te va a hacer comer huevos, dice'.  
 (Vinac\_SH\_Puna\_Breasts, 06:48-50)

### 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-chuwan-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 kuwta-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.'
- (8). *Allin-ta-qa. Kapas-tri-ki palabra-ta kichwa-pa apa-ku-nqa kanan-pis.SP* 'Good. Maybe they'll bring Quechua now, too.'

*Ayvis kumpaňaw hamuyan – wañuyapaqis kayachuwantriki.*

ayvis kumpaňaw hamu-ya-n wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuwan-tr-iki  
 sometimes accompanied come-PROG-3 die-1-PURP-ADD be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC-IKI

'Sometimes someone comes accompanied – we might be also about to die.'

'Aveces uno viene acompañado – también podemos estar para morir'.

(Yuracsayhua\_UY\_Bull\_Riddles\_Souls, 00:39-47)

#### 6.2.11.4 Evidential Modification

SYQ counts four evidential modifiers, *-ari* and the set  $\emptyset$ , *-ik* and *-iki*. Subsections (6.2.11.4.1) and (6.2.11.4.1) cover *-ari* and  $\emptyset$ /*-ik/iki*, respectively. The latter section largely repeats Shimelman (2012a, 2012b).

##### 6.2.11.4.1 Assertive Force *-aRi*<sup>39</sup>

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).  | <i>Viñac-paq-sh-ali</i> .CH   | 'From Viñac, she says, then.'  |
| (2)*. | <i>Mana-m-ari llapa ruwa-ya-q-hina ka-ya-ni</i> .AMV  | 'No, of course, it seems like I'm making it all up.'   |
| (3).  | <i>Wayra-ku-ya-n-m-ari</i> .AMV   | 'It's windy.'  |
| (4).  | <i>Ripu-n-sh-ari uma-qa kunka-n-man</i> .AMV  | 'His head went [flying back] towards his neck [trying to recover its lost place], they say.' |
| (5)*. | <i>Chay-sh-ari kanan avansa-ru-n</i> .AMV   | 'That one definitely will advance now, they say.'  |
| (6).  | <i>Kida-ku-shun kay-pa-y-ari</i> .ACH   | 'We're going to stay here.'  |
| (7).  | <i>Ñuqa[-ta]-s firma-chi-wa-n-m-ari</i> . Piru<br><i>mana-sh-ari chay wawi warmi-y-ta-pis<br/>firma-chi-n-raq-chu</i> .LT | 'They made me sign, too. But they didn't make my daughter sign yet, they say.'               |
| (8).  | <i>Yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana-y-ari</i> .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*, *-rI* 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*, *-rI* 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.

- (9) *Kwinta-n-paq-ña-y-ari ka-ya-n kwinta-n-paq.LT* '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.LT* 'Run! Don't ... already ... be like that! You must be being lazy!

*Manamari llapa ruwayaqhina 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)

#### 6.2.11.4.2 Evidence Strength *-ik* and *-iki*

SYQ is unusual<sup>40</sup> in that each of its three evidentials counts three variants, formed by the affixation of  $-\emptyset$ ,  $-k$  or  $-ki$ . The resulting nine forms are direct  $-mI-\emptyset$ ,  $-m-ik$  and  $-m-iki$  (1)-(3); reportative  $-shI-\emptyset$ ,  $-sh-ik$  and  $-sh-iki$  (4)-(6); and conjectural  $-trI-\emptyset$ ,  $-tr-ik$  and  $-tr-iki$  (7)-(9).<sup>41</sup> 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- $\emptyset$*  [cat-EVD- $\emptyset$ ] 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  $-\emptyset$  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.

- (1) *Mana-m traya-mu-n-chu mana-m-ik rikari-n-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?'

<sup>40</sup> Ayacucho Q also makes use of  $-ki$ .

<sup>41</sup> In Lincha,  $-iki$  may modify both  $-mI$  and  $-shI$  but not  $-trI$ ; in Tana,  $-iki$  may modify all three evidentials.

- |       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| (3).  | <i>Wañu-chi-naku-n ima-m-iki chay-ta-qa muna-:-chu.SP</i>   | 'They kill each other and <u>what-not, then</u> . I don't want that.'   |
| (4).  | <i>Chay-sh-ik chay susyu-kuna ruwa-paku-rqa-ø chay nichu-cha-n-ta wañu-shpa chay-man pampa-ku-na-n-paq.AMV</i>                            | ' <u>That's why, they say</u> , before, the members made each other the small berths, to bury each other when they died.'   |
| (5)*. | <i>Llutan-shi-ki. Llutan runa-sh-ik ka-n.LT</i>   | ' <u>They're messed up, they say</u> . There are messed up <u>people, they say</u> .'   |
| (6).  | <i>"Mátalo!" ni-sha-sh-iki.CH</i>   | '"Kill him!" <u>she's said, they say</u> .'   |
| (7).  | <i>¿Imapaq-raq chay-ta ruwa-ra-ø pay-ta-qa? Yanqa-ña-tri-k chay-ta wañu-chi-ra-ø.ACH</i>  | 'What did they do that to him for? They <u>must have</u> killed him just for the sake of it.'   |
| (8).  | <i>Abla-n-sh-iki. "Tragu, vino", ni-shpa-tri-ki abla-ya-mu-n.SP</i>   | ' <u>They talk, they say, for sure</u> . "Pay me liquor, wine," <u>they must be saying</u> , talking.'  |
| (9).  | <i>Ubiha-ta-qa, kabra-ta-qa kuti-ya-chi-n. Alkansa-chi-n warka-wan-tri. Kabra-pis kasu-sa-m, piru. Riysi-ya-n-tr-iki runa-n-ta-qa.AMV</i> | 'She's making the sheep and the goats come back. She <u>must make [the stones] reach</u> with the sling, <u>for sure</u> . The goats obey her. They <u>must know</u> their master, <u>for sure</u> .' |

#### 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). | <i>Ari-yá urqu-pa-qa puchuka-paku-nchik-m-iki.AMV</i>             | 'Yes, in the hills <u>they ran out on us</u> .'            |
| (2). | <i>Huk visis-lla piliya-ra chay-paq chinka-ku-ra-ña-m-iki.ACH</i> | 'They fought just once and then <u>they disappeared</u> .' |

In addition to indicating increases in evidence strength, *-ik* and *-iki*, in combination with *-mI*, generally correspond to increases in strength of assertion. A *-m-ik* assertion is interpreted as stronger than a *-mI-∅* assertion; a *-m-iki* assertion as stronger still. In Spanish, *-mI-∅* 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-∅* [warm-EVD-∅] 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-mi-ki*.ACH 'Now sh'e going to fatten you up and eat you!'

In those cases in which *-mI* 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 *-mI-∅*, *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 *-mI-∅*, 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 *-mI* 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 *-mI-∅* 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 *-trI*

In the case of the conjectural *-trI*, all three forms, *-trI-∅*, *-tri-k*, and *-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 *-ik* and *-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, *-trI* assigns the values [universal] and [epistemic], for force and base, respectively. So, for example, the progressive present-tense *kama-ta awa-ya-n* [blanket-ACC weave-PROG-3] 'is weaving a blanket' and the simple past-tense *wañu-rqa-∅* [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 *-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 *-trI* with the future and future perfect, respectively. The *awa-ya-n* 'is weaving' and *wañu-rqa-∅* '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. *-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), *saya-ru-chuwan* 'we could stand around', is normally five-ways ambiguous, under the scope of *-trI*, only the existential epistemic reading is available: 'it could happen that we stand around'. Similarly, although the past-tense conditional of (2), *miku-ra-ma-n-man ka-rqa-∅* 'could/would/should/might have eaten me', is normally seven-ways ambiguous, under the scope of *-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) *Qala-pis saya-ru-chuwan-tri luku-ya-ri-shpa-qa.ACH*

'We could also stand around naked, going crazy.'

- (2). *Mana chay ka-pti-n-qa miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-rqa chay dimunyu-kuna.ACH* '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-wa-nga* 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-∅/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 *-mI*, 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 companions 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-pti-y-qa tiya-pa-ru-wa-nqa-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-∅* 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-∅*, 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 *-∅* 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-∅*, the simple past tense *wañu-rqa-∅* [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  $-\emptyset$  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<sub>i</sub> makes a present-tense conditional *-trI- $\emptyset$*  conjecture: She<sub>j</sub> 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<sub>j</sub> 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  $-\emptyset$  form is licensed. In (6), in contrast, the speaker makes a simple-present-tense *-tr-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,  $-\emptyset$ , *-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 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,  $-\emptyset(\varphi)$  will often be answered with *-ik(φ)* or *-iki(φ)*, where  $\varphi$  is a proposition-evidential pair. Thus, *Karu-m- $\emptyset$*  'it's far' may be answered with *Aw, 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- $\emptyset$*  conjecture, 'They must have left drunk'. The second answers with *-tr-ik*, echoing the judgement of the first, 'Indeed, they must have gotten drunk'.

- (1). Spkr 1: *Chay kida-mu-q runa-kuna shinka-ña-tr llugsi-mu-rqa.AMV* 'Those people who stayed must have left already drunk.'
- Spkr 2: *Shinka-ru-n-tri-k.AMV* '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, in the case of the latter, of the evidentials *-mI*, *-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 (*jAchacháw!* '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: *-wa/-ma* indicates a first-person object, and *-yki*, *-sHQayki* and *-shunki*, indicate second-person objects (*suya-wa-nki* 'you wait for me' *suya-shunki* 'She'll wait for you') (see section 4.3.1.2 on actor-object reference).

### 7.3 Coordination

The enclitics *-pis*, *-taq*, and *-raq* can all be used to coordinate NPs (1)-(2), AdvPs and VPs (3); the case affix *-wan* can be used with the first two of these three (4). *-pis*, *-taq*, and *-raq* generally imply relations of inclusion, contrast, or contradiction, respectively. Thus, *-pis* (inclusion) can generally be translated 'and' or 'also' (1), (2). *-taq* and *-raq* (contrast and contradiction) can both be translated 'but', 'while', 'whereas' and so on (5). *-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 *icha* 'or' (6) or any of the borrowed Spanish coordinators *i* 'and' (7), *u* 'or' (8), *piru* 'but' (9), or *ni* 'nor' (10) (from Spanish *y*, *o*, *pero*, and *ni*) and (b) juxtaposition. Juxtaposition consists in the placement of the coordinated elements in sequence (11), (12). When *-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).  | <i>Walmi-pis, qali-pis</i> .CH  | 'Women <u>and</u> men.'   |
| (2).  | <i>Uyqa-paq-pis ka-n-mi alpaka-paq-pis ka-n-mi llama-paq-pis ka-n-mi</i> .ACH   | 'Out of sheep [wool] <u>and</u> out of alpaca [wool] <u>and</u> out of llama [wool].'                       |
| (3).  | <i>Ishpa-ni-pis-chu puqu-chi-ni-pis-chu</i> .AMV  | 'I <u>neither</u> urinate <u>nor</u> ferment [urine].'  |
| (4).  | <i>Mila-wan Alicia-wan Hilda trayaramun</i> . †AMV  | 'Hilda arrived with Mila <u>and</u> Alicia.'  |
| (5).  | <i>Wawa-nchik-ta iduka-nchik qilla-kuna-qa mana-taq-mi</i> .ACH   | 'We're educating our children; <u>whereas</u> the lazy ones aren't.'  |
| (6).  | <i>Miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra icha apa-ra-ma-n-man-tri</i> .ACH   | 'It would have eaten me <u>or</u> it would have taken me away.'   |
| (7).  | <i>Tushu-nchik i imaqin-ta-m kriyi-nchik ñuqa-kuna-qa piru chay ivanhilyu-kuna sabadista-kuna-qa mana kriyinchu</i> .CH | 'We dance and believe in the saints <u>but</u> those Evangelists and Seventh Day Adventists don't believe.' |
| (8).  | <i>Kay-taq ish kay puntraw u huk puntraw-lla-m ruwa-:.</i> ACH  | 'I make this one in two days <u>or</u> just one day.'   |
| (9).  | <i>Ñaña-y-pis, turi-y-pis ka-rqa-m piru wañuku-n-ña' ni-shpa rima-y!</i> AMV  | 'Say, "I had a sister and a brother, <u>but</u> they died." Talk!'  |
| (10). | <i>Ni alpaka ni llama. Kanan mana-m traya-mu-n-chu</i> .ACH   | ' <u>Neither</u> alpacas <u>nor</u> llamas. They don't come here now.'                                      |

- (11). *Sibada-kuna-ta karga-shpa, trigu-ta ranti-shpa, sara-ta ranti-shpa-m puri-ra*.ACH 'They walked about, carrying barley and selling wheat and selling corn.'
- (12). *Walmi-qa talpu-nchik, alli-cha-nchik-mi*.CH 'We women plant and fix up [the soil].'
- (13). *Chay-man ri-sa Marleni, Ayde, Vilma, Norma-kuna*.AMV 'Marleni went there with Ayde, Vilma and Norma.'
- (14). *Ullqush-pis ka-ya-n, ¿aw? Chuqlluqupa-pis -- yuraq-pis puka-pis*.AMV '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).

- (1)\*. *Huancayo-pa-qa wak mashwa-qa papa-paq-pis mas-mi kwista-n*.AMV 'In Huancayo, mashua costs more than potatoes.'
- (2). *Qayna puntraw-paq mas-mi*.AMV 'It's more than yesterday.'
- (3). *Granada-kuna-cta-pis, armamintu-kuna-cta-pis lanti-ya-n mas-ta*.CH 'Grenades and weapons and all, too – they're buying more.'
- (4). *Qayna wata puku-m ka-rqa-ø. Chay-mi minus pastu-pis ka-rqa-ø*.AMV 'Last year there was little [rain]. So there was less pasture grass.'
- (5). *Mas-ta-qa mashta-ku-ya-n-mi*.LT 'It's spreading out more.'
- (6). *Pular-paq-pis mas mihur-ta-m chay-qa ayllu-ku-n*.ACH 'It's much better than fleece – it keeps you warm.'
- (7). *Unay-qa mana-yá iskwila-qa ka-sa. Unay-qa analfabitu-lla-ya ka-ya-q. Warmi-qa piyur*.AMV 'Ah, before, they didn't have schools. Before, they were just illiterate. Worse [for the] women.'
- (8). *Sapa putraw piyur piyur-ña-m ka-ya-ni. Mas-ta-ña qayna puntraw mana puri-y-ta wakchaw-ta qati-y-ta atipa-ni-chu*.AMV 'Every day it's worse, I'm worse. More yesterday. I couldn't walk or take out my sheep.'
- (9). *Runa-wan igwal-triki vaka-qa: nuybi mis*.AMV '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).  | <i>Chaytri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu</i> .AMV  | 'That's why she wouldn't have waited for me.'                           |
| (2).  | <i>Aa, mana-ya ka-n-chu. Mana-ya bula-yuq ka-n-chu</i> .LT                      | 'Ah, there aren't any. <u>No one</u> has any balls.'                    |
| (3).  | <i>Kaspi-n-pis ka-n-chu</i> .AMV  | 'She <u>doesn't</u> have a stick.'                                      |
| (4).  | <i>Mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu-:-chu</i> .ACH                                    | 'Being scared, I <u>didn't</u> sleep at night.'                         |
| (5).  | <i>Apuraw wañu-ru-rqa riki. Ni apa-n-ña-chu</i> .AMV                            | 'He died quickly. They <u>didn't even</u> bring him [to the hospital].' |
| (6).  | <i>Manam wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu</i> .AMV                                       | ' <u>Neither</u> a flower <u>nor</u> a bird.'                           |
| (7).  | <i>¡Ama manchari-y-chu! ¡Ama qawa-y-chu!</i><br>AMV                             | ' <u>Don't</u> be scared! <u>Don't</u> look!'                           |
| (8).  | <i>¡Ama kuti-mu-nki-chu! Qam-qa isturbu-m ka-ya-nki</i> .                       | ' <u>Don't</u> you come back! You're getting in the way.'               |
| (9).  | <i>¡Ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun-chu!</i> LT                                 | ' <u>Let's never</u> leave each other!'                                 |
| (10). | <i>¡Ama wañu-chun-chu!</i> †AMV   | ' <u>Don't let</u> her die!'  |
| (11). | <i>Mana qali ka-pti-n-qa ñuqanchik-pis taqllakta hapi-shpa qaluwa-nchik</i> .CH | 'When there are <u>no</u> men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.'    |
| (12). | <i>Mana qatra-cha-ku-na-n-paq mandil-cha-nta wata-cha-ku-n</i> .AMV             | 'She's tying on an apron <u>so</u> she <u>doesn't</u> get dirty.'       |
| (13). | <i>Manam llusqi-pti-yki(*-chu), waqa-shaqmi</i> .AMV                            | ' <u>If</u> you <u>don't</u> 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).  | <i>¿Chuqa-mu-nki-man-chu?</i> AMV                          | 'Can you throw?'   |
| (2).  | <i>¿May-taq chay-qa? ¿Apuri-chu Viñac-chu?</i><br>CH       | 'Where is that? Apurí <u>or</u> Viñac?'                    |
| (3).  | <i>¿Maniya-ya-n icha katra-ri-ya-n-chu?</i> AMV            | 'Is she tying its feet <u>or</u> is she setting it loose?' |
| (4).  | <i>¿Chay-pa-chu tuma-rqa-nki?</i> AMV                      | 'Did you take pictures <u>there</u> ?'                     |
| (5).  | <i>¿Kanasta-pi-chu baldi-pi-chu?</i> AMV                   | 'In the basket <u>or</u> in the bucket?'                   |
| (6).  | <i>¿Mana-chu friqul-ni-ki? ¿Puchuka-ru-n-chu?</i> AMV      | 'Don't you have any beans? They're finished?'              |
| (7).  | <i>¿Mana-chu chay wanku-cha-ta qawa-nki?</i><br>AMV        | 'You haven't seen the little [cheese] mold?'               |
| (8).  | <i>Wak chimpa-pa-qa yuraq-ya-ya-n, ¿mana-chu?</i> ACH      | 'There in front they're turning white, <u>no</u> ?         |
| (9).  | <i>*¿Pi haqtri-rqa-chu?</i>                                | 'Who sneezed?'   |
| (10). | <i>*¿Pi-taq qurqurya-ra-chu? *¿Pi-taq-chu qurqurya-ra?</i> | '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*, *-mi*, *-shi* or *-tri* (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-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?').

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (1). | <i>¿Imay ura-raq chay kunihu-qa kuti-mu-nqa yanapa-ma-na-n-paq?</i> SP | ' <u>What time</u> is that rabbit going to come back to help me?' |
| (2). | <i>¿Ima-tr ka-ku-n?</i> LT   | ' <u>What</u> could it be?'                                       |
| (3). | <i>Tapu-n, '¿Imapaq waqa-ku-nki, paluma?'</i> ACH                      | 'He asked, " <u>Why</u> are you crying, dove?''                   |
| (4). | <i>¿Inti pasa-ru-pti-n imay ura-ta muna-ya-n?</i><br>AMV               | ' <u>What time</u> will it be when the sun sets?'                 |

- (5). *¿Trakla-man-chu li-ya-n? ¿Pi-wan-yá?CH* 'Is he going to the field? With whom?'
- (6). *Chay-pa-qa wiña-ra-pti-n-qa ¿ayka puntraw-ni-n-ta-taq riga-nchik?AMV* 'When it grows, at how many days do you water it?'

## 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 Champion 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-pti-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-na-ku-: . 'Paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ñuqa-cta chay-paq talpa-shun qam-pa-cta-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-yka-chi-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). | <i>Ñuqa-nchik fwirti ka-nchik patachi-ta, matrka-ta, trakra-nchik lluksi-q-ta miku-shpa-m.AMV</i> | 'We <u>are</u> strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and toasted grain.' |
| (2). | <i>Qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y ka-nki.AMV</i>   | 'You <u>are</u> my salvation.'   |
| (3). | <i>Ka-n-ña piña turu.AMV</i>  | ' <u>There are</u> mean bulls.'  |
| (4). | <i>Ranti-q-pis ka-n-taq-mi.AMV</i>  | ' <u>There are</u> also buyers.'   |
| (5). | <i>Vaka-y wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa, allin pastu-ta miku-shpam.AMV</i>                      | 'Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow <u>is</u> really fat.'                         |
| (6). | <i>Llutan-shi-ki.LT</i>   | ' <u>They are</u> deformed, they say.'   |
| (7). | <i>¿Alpaka-chu wak ka-ya-n?AMV</i>  | ' <u>Is that</u> 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). | <i>Wiqaw-ni-y-mi nana-n.AMV</i> | ' <u>My</u> 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 familia-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-ø qalay qalay.ACH* 'They grabbed their cattle, absolutely all.'
- (7). *Mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana qari-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).'
- (9). *Asnu-qa hatari-shpa-sh ripu-ku-n chay runa-pa wasi-n-man.SP* 'Getting up, the mule went to the man's house.'

## 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-pti-n-qa.AMV* 'That's how it was before when there wasn't anything.'
- (3). *Kanan-qa miku-n muna-sa-nchik qullqi ka-pti-n-qa.AMV* 'Now we eat whatever we want when there's money.'
- (4). *Llaqta-yki-pa-qa ¿tarpu-nki-chu sibada-ta? AMV* '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 *paqarin* '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). *Paqarin qam-qa shakash-ta-tr wañu-chi-nki.* 'Tomorrow you'll kill a guinea pig.'
- (2). *Paqarin-tri qam-qa shakash-ta wañu-chi-nki.* 'Tomorrow<sub>F</sub> 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).  | <i>¿Muna-nki-chu – sinta-chi-y-ta-qa?</i> AMV                    | 'Do you <u>want to</u> ? To piece their ears with ribbons?'                         |
| (2).  | <i>Luku-ya-ru-n runa-lla. Mana-m puñu-y-ta atipa-ra-chu.</i> ACH | 'My husband was going crazy. He <u>couldn't</u> sleep.'                             |
| (3).  | <i>Algunus turu-qa runa waqra-y-ta gusta-n.</i> AMV              | 'Some bulls <u>like to</u> gore people.'  |
| (4).  | <i>Misa lula-q shamu-n.</i> CH                                   | 'They <u>come to</u> hold mass.'  |
| (5).  | <i>Pasa-ru-pti-n qawa-q hamu-ni.</i> AMV                         | 'When that happened, I <u>came to see</u> .'  |
| (6).  | <i>Atipa-sa-n-ta-tri-ki ruwa-n.</i> ACH                          | 'They do <u>what they can</u> .'  |
| (7).  | <i>Ni may-pa ka-sa-n-ta-pis yatra-:-chu. Waqa-ku-:.</i> ACH      | 'I don't even know where <u>he is</u> . I cry.'                                     |
| (8).  | <i>Kwirpu-: yatra-n imapaq kay-na puli-sha-:-ta-pis.</i> CH      | 'My body knows <u>why I walk around</u> like this.'                                 |
| (9).  | <i>Ñuqa-qa wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-ni-chu.</i> AMV     | 'I didn't see <u>that she carried</u> her baby.'                                    |
| (10). | <i>Puchuka-na-n-ta muna-ni.</i> AMV                              | 'I want <u>them to finish</u> .'  |
| (11). | <i>¡Uqi pullu-yki qawa-chi-na-y-paq kay-na-m ruwa-sa-y!</i> AMV  | '[Bring] your gray manta <u>so I can</u> 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). *-sHa* 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).  | <i>Asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-kama-tri-ki chay-na puri-shaq.LT</i>             | 'Until <u>the day I die</u> , I'm going to walk around like that.'                 |
| (2).  | <i>Riga-ku-q luna trabaha-ya-: .CH</i>  | ' <u>The people who water</u> , we're working.'                                    |
| (3).  | <i>Ñuqa-qa mana-m rima-y-ta yatra-ra-:-chu prufusur-ni-: ni-ma-sa-n-ta.SP</i> | 'I didn't know how to say <u>what my teacher said to me</u> .'                     |
| (4).  | <i>Chay vila-ku-y puntraw simitiryu-pa.AMV</i>                                | 'The <u>day we lit candles</u> in the cemetery.'                                   |
| (5).  | <i>Rigala-ku-lla-q ka-: mana rantiku-sa-:-ta-ga.ACH</i>                       | 'I used to give away <u>what I didn't sell</u> .'                                  |
| (6).  | <i>Qam-pa rantiku-ra-sa-yki-yá chay shakash.AMV</i>                           | 'That guinea pig <u>that YOU sold</u> '  |
| (7).  | <i>Chay fwira-pi chay vila-kuna rantiku-sa-n.AMV</i>                          | 'That's outside <u>where they sell</u> candles.'                                   |
| (8).  | <i>Urqu-pa ka-ya-sa-nchik-pis.AMV</i>   | ' <u>When</u> we were in the mountains'  |
| (9).  | <i>Pampa-yku-ni fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta.AMV</i>                          | 'I bury the fruit <u>that I bring</u> .'   |
| (10). | <i>Kalamina ranti-sha-nchik-kuna.LT</i>                                       | 'The tin roofing <u>that we bought</u> '   |
| (11). | <i>Ni may-man yayku-sa-y yatra-ku-n-chu.SP</i>                                | 'They didn't know even <u>where I had gone in</u> .'                               |
| (12). | <i>Ampulla-kta inyikta-ma-na-nchik-paq.CH</i>                                 | 'Ampules <u>to</u> inject us / <u>for</u> injecting us.'                           |
| (13). | <i>Filu-pa pani-n-qa ni-n, "Maqa-wa-y-ta-m ñuqa-ta pinsa-ya-n".AMV</i>        | 'Filomena's sister said, "He's thinking about hitting [wants to hit] <u>me</u> ."' |

## 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-qa 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-qa 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-chi-ni wambra-y-ta* '(By) weaving, I feed my children') (6). *-pti* subordinators are suffixed with allocation affixes (*tarpu-pti-nchik* 'when we plant') (7); *-shpa* and *-shtin* subordinators 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).  | <i>Qawa-yku-pti-n-qa sakristan wañu-rusa</i> .AMV   | 'When <u>he</u> looked, <u>the care-taker</u> had died.'                                       |
| (2).  | <i>Chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa</i> .LT  | "" <u>Chit-chitting</u> ," the goats just left.'   |
| (3).  | <i>Yanta-kuna-ta qutu-shtin llipta-kuna-ta kaña-ku-shtin, hanay ... yachana karqa</i> .AMV        | ' <u>Gathering wood</u> , <u>burning ash</u> , we lived up [in the mountains].'                |
| (4).  | <i>Tragu-wan, kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni</i> .AMV                                | 'With liquor and coca, <u>making</u> them dance, I harvest.'                                   |
| (5).  | <i>Familya-nchik-ta wañuri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n</i> .SP                                    | ' <u>After</u> they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.'                        |
| (6).  | <i>Yatra-ku-nchik imayna-pis maski waqa-ku-shtin-pis ... asi-ku-shtin-pis ... imayna-pis</i> .ACH | 'We live however we can, although <u>we're crying</u> ... <u>laughing</u> ... however we can.' |
| (7).  | <i>Mana-m paga-wa-pti-ki-qa mana-m wambra-yki-qa alli-ya-nqa-chu</i> .LT                          | 'If <u>you</u> don't pay <u>me</u> , your son isn't going to get better.'                      |
| (8).  | <i>Hamu-pti-y-raq ñuqa-qa mana-m llusqi-rqa-chu</i> .†AMV   | 'Not <u>until</u> I came did she leave.'<br>(='Until I came, she didn't leave.')               |
| (9).  | <i>Kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta</i> .AMV  | 'If <u>I</u> come back, <u>I'll</u> come back in two or three years.'                          |
| (10). | <i>Priyupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n</i>  | 'Certainly, <u>he'd</u> be wandering around  |

- mal ka-pti-n*.AMV worried because his wife is sick.'
- (11). *Pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pti-n*.AMV 'He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.'
- (12). *Qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki* ACH 'Although you earn money and save it in the bank'
- (13). *Mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kaman*.AMV 'I didn't keep watch while I was sleeping.'
- (14). *Traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama puri-nchik*.AMV 'We walked until blisters formed on the souls of our feet.'

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