Ancash Quechua Verbal Morphology and Syncretism According to Tense

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LIN406: Field Methods

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INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the Spring 2024 semester at Syracuse University (SU), under the guidance of Dr. Adam Roth Singerman, LIN406 Field Methods conducted research on Ancash Quechua, a Quechuan language spoken in Peru. The class worked with consultant William Andahua Arellan (WAA), a native speaker of Ancash Quechua who is an MA student at SU. Our work with WAA is covered under the Syracuse University IRB #24-016, titled "Interviewing speakers of South American languages". All data presented and analyzed in this paper is derived from this course and was elicited by students according to their specific interests as our research developed.

The focus of this paper revolves around the verbal morphology of Ancash Quechua (AQ) in relation to the present, past, and future tenses. As the course progressed, data was collected on numerous verbs in different contexts and sentences. After analyzing the data, sentences with subjects acting on objects became of interest due to the same verbal forms being produced in different contexts and tenses. Later, we determined this was a phenomenon known as syncretism. Thus, this paper also discusses the syncretisms in Ancash Quechua and the characteristics of them.

This paper will adapt a four-line method for examples. The first line will show the surface form of the elicited data and will be given in the standard Central Quechua orthography employed by WAA. The second line will break down the data into its morphemic boundaries. The third line will gloss the morphemes. The fourth line will show the English translation of the elicited data.

The standard Central Quechua orthography is phonemic, rather than phonetic. Most of the graphemes align with their sounds' representations in the International Phonetic Alphabet, except for the following. Ancash Quechua has three short vowels: a, i, and u. When lengthened, the vowels are written as aa, ii, and uu, but the latter two are pronounced phonetically as [e:] and [o:], respectively. Additionally, the diagraph aw is realized as a short [o]. The graphemes w and y are used to write semi-vowels in the onset and coda position of the syllables and are never used as the syllabic nucleus. The nasal consonants are m, n, and \tilde{n} are representative, the last of which is phonetically a palatal nasal [n]. In word final positions, the nasal consonant n is phonetically a velar [n]. The oral stops are p, t, k, q, where q is used to represent the voiced uvular stop [o], and it is never pronounced in the word final position. The liquid and rhotic consonants are l, r, ll, where the diagraph ll represents [l]. The fricatives and affricates are l, l, and l with l representing [l] and l0 representing [l1] and l2 representing [l3].

RESEARCH METHOD

This course was held on Mondays and Wednesdays in 90 minute sessions, therefore on Wednesdays, we elicited data from WAA in groups of three that rotated between the roles of the elicitor, the transcriber, and the note-taker. On Mondays, we discussed and analyzed the data.

To elicit the data for verbal morphology, we built upon what was already collected from the initial stages of the course. After the class gathered verbs, we found AQ has highly agglutinative morphology, hence we were able to determine words' morphemic boundaries according to the tense that they were collected in. This allowed us to form our own predictions of how certain verbs would be conjugated in certain tenses, which we then checked with WAA for acceptability judgments. Though the class was able to collect numerous verbs, this paper will focus on the forms of *aru* 'cook' and *upu* 'drink' to derive personal pronouns and *aywa* 'go', *miku* 'eat' in the present, past, and future tenses. The verbal forms of the other verbs can be

found in the Appendix section of this paper. The following table provides the translation of the verbs mentioned above as given by the consultant. It is to be noted that in Ancash Quechua, verbs in the infinite form end with the sound -y.

Table 1

English	Ancash Quechua		
	Infinite form	Finite form	
'cook'	aruy	aru	
'drink'	ирииу	ирии	
ʻgo'	ayway	aywa	
'eat'	mikuy	miku	

elicitations: 2024-01-31 & 2024-02-07

As for the syncretisms, after seeing evidence for repeated forms in different subject and object contexts, Dr. Singerman led a class discussion on March 25, 2024 on syncretisms, specifically within the verb *rikay* 'to see'. With this knowledge, using the verb *mikutsi* 'feed', we created Table 5, similar to the one Dr. Singerman presented, and checked each form with WAA. In the end, we had 96 acceptable verbal forms.

Personal Pronouns

This paper will use subject personal pronouns when analyzing the various verbal forms and tenses in Ancash Quechua. It is used to help maintain coherence and cohesion in discourse by avoiding repetition of the subject noun. According to Shopen (2007), personal pronouns are words that are employed to refer to the speaker (I, me), the person being talked to (you), and

¹ This data is represented in Table 13 in the Appendix.

other people or objects whose referents are assumed to be obvious from the context. Subject personal pronouns must agree with the verb in terms of person (first, second, or third), number (singular or plural), and gender (for third person singular). The English pronoun list is illustrated below as a guide during the elicitation.

Table 2

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 _{ST PERSON}	I	We
2 _{ND PERSON}	You	You
3 _{RD PERSON}	He/She	They

class handout: 2024-02-05

The list of pronouns was analyzed after the verbal paradigm for the verbs 'to cook' and 'to drink' in the present tense was elicited. In the elicitation obtained, individual translations of nouns and verbs were given, which helped to determine the subject personal pronoun forms in Ancash Quechua. For example, WAA individually translated *mikuna* 'food' and *yaku* 'water'.² Just as in English, it was analyzed that the subject personal pronouns in Ancash Quechua must agree with the verb in terms of person and number, but there was no evidence of agreement with gender. The table below illustrates the subject personal pronoun based on person and number.

Table 3

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1 _{ST PERSON}	Ι	nuqa	We	nuqakuna/nuqantsik
2 _{ND PERSON}	You	qam	You	qamkuna
3 _{RD PERSON}	He/She	pay	They	paykuna

² The translations for 'cook' and 'drink' can be found in the Appendix section.

elicitation: 2024-01-31

Clusivity Contrast

In the elicitation for the subject personal pronouns, it was observed that Ancash Quechua has two forms of the first-person plural form. These two forms exhibited features of the concept of clusivity contrast. Clusivity contrast is a feature found in some languages that distinguish between inclusive and exclusive pronouns or verbal forms. This distinction is based on whether the pronoun or verb includes or excludes the listener or another person in the conversation. During the elicitation, WAA described the first-person plural form *nuqantsik* 'we' as having an inclusive feature, meaning he, the speaker, was included in the conversation. However, the first-person plural form *nuqakuna* 'we' can be described as having an exclusive feature, which indicates that the speaker is excluded from the conversation.

The concept of clusivity can be classified into two categories. The concept can be classified as a fourth-person pronoun ($4_{TH \, PERSON}$) and be given a different category, or it can be classified as the first-person plural pronoun ($1_{ST \, PERSON}$) consisting of different variants, that is, inclusive and exclusive. In this paper, the concept of clusivity would be represented by the latter, that is, as variants of the first-person plural pronoun. This concept is represented in the table below.

Table 4

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
1 _{ST PERSON}	Ι	nuqa	INCLU We nuqakuna
			EXCLU We nuqantsik
2 _{ND PERSON}	You	qam	You qamkuna
3 _{RD PERSON}	He/She	pay	They paykuna

VERBAL TENSES

According to Shopen (2007), the majority of words that convey activities or processes fall within the parts-of-speech class known as verbs. The conjugation of verbs may all express tense, aspect, mood, and voice. These indications assist in communicating the speaker's attitude, the relationship between the action and the subject, and when the action happened. In this paper, the tense of the main verbs in Ancash Quechua will be considered. The types of tense that would be discussed are the present, past and future paradigms in agreement of the subject pronouns discussed earlier.

In this paper, past tense marker is represented by 'PST', the future tense marker is represented by 'FUT', the object in a sentence is represented by 'OBJ' and the subject is represented by 'SUBJ'. The subject number agreement is indicated by numerical figures ranging from one(1) to three (3). The inclusive form of a pronoun is represented by 'INCL' and the exclusive form is represented by 'EXCL.'

Present Tense

The present tense is used to talk about actions that are factual, habitual, or scheduled, as well as to express general truths, thoughts, feelings, or opinions. In Ancash Quechua, the present tense is marked according to the person and number agreement of the verb.

To create the first-person singular form of the present tense, the final vowel of the verb is lengthened. The final vowel in the verb *aywa* 'go' is lengthened to become *aywaa* [aywa:], and the final vowel in *miku* 'eat' is lengthened to become *mikuu* [miko:]. This observation is shown in (1) and (2) below.

(1) Nuqa aywaa.
nuqa aywa-:
1_{SG. SUBJ} go-1

'I go.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(2) Nuqa hakata mikuu.
nuqa haka-ta miku-:
1_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-1

'I eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-01-31

It should be noted that during the elicitation with WAA, the production of the lengthened high vowels like [u] and [i] were different from the underlying form and orthography. These vowels were lowered and produced as [-o:] and [-e:] respectively.

The second-person singular verbal form with the pronoun *qam* 'you' is formed by adding the suffix /-nki/. The suffix /-nki/ is added to the verbs *aywa* 'go' and *miku* 'eat' to form *aywanki* and *mikunki*, respectively. (3) and (4) illustrate how the second-person singular is formed.

(3) Qam aywanki. qam aywa-nki $2_{\text{SG. SUBJ}}$ go-2 'You go.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(4) Qam hakata mikunki. qam haka-ta miku-nki $2_{\text{SG. SUBJ}}$ guinea pig- $_{\text{OBJ}}$ eat-2

'You eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-01-31

The suffix /-n/ is added to the main verb to form the third-person singular form in Ancash Quechua. In the examples below in (5) and (6), it can be observed that the suffix /-n/ is added to form the *aywan* and *mikun* in the third-person singular form of the verb.

(5) Pay aywan.
pay aywa-n
3_{SG. SUBJ} go-3
'He/she goes.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(6) Pay hakata mikun.
pay haka-ta miku-n
3_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-3

'He/she eats guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-01-31

There are two verbal forms of the first-person plural form due to the clusivity concept discussed earlier. The first form is the inclusive form of the first-person plural which adds the suffix /-ntsik/ to the main verb. In the illustration of (7) and (8), the addition of this suffix creates the form *aywantsik* for the verb 'go' and *mikuntsik* for the verb 'eat'.

(7) Nuqantsik aywantsik.

nuqa-ntsik aywa-ntsik

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} go-1_{PL.INCL}

'We._{INCL} go.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(8) Nuqantsik hakata mikuntsik.
nuqa-ntsik haka-ta miku-ntsik
1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-1_{PL.INCL}

'We. INCL eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

However, to form the exclusive form of the first-person plural, there are two suffixes that are added to the verb. First, the suffix /-ya-/ is added. Second, the final vowel in the suffix is lengthened just as described in the formation of the first-person singular form. Therefore, it can be concluded that the suffix /-ya-/ is the plural marker, while the lengthening of the vowel is the first-person marker. This concept is illustrated in (9) and (10) below.

(9) Nuqakuna aywayaa.

nuqa-kuna aywa-ya-:

1_{PL.EXCL. SUBJ} go-_{PL}-1_{EXCL}
'We._{EXCL.} go.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(10) Nuqa-kuna hakata mikuyaa.

nuqa-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-:

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL}-1_{EXCL}

'We.INCL eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

The second-person plural form of the present tense is formed by adding the plural suffix /-ya-/ and the second-person singular marker suffix /-nki/. Therefore, as illustrated in (11) and (12) below, the second-person plural form for 'go' is *aywayanki* and the form for eat is *mikuyanki*.

(11) Qamkuna aywayanki.

qam-kuna aywa-ya-nki

2_{PL. SUBJ} go-_{PL}-2

'Y'all go.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(12) Qamkuna hakata mikuyanki. qam-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-nki $2_{\text{PL.SUBJ}}$ guinea pig- $_{\text{OBJ}}$ eat- $_{\text{PL}}$ -2

'Y'all eat guinea pig.

elicitation: 2024-02-07

To form the third-person plural form of the present tense in Ancash Quechua, the plural suffix /-ya-/ and the third-person singular marker suffix /-n/ is added to the finite form of the verb. The forms *aywayan* and *mikuyan* were elicited from WAA for the third-person plural form of the verbs 'go' and 'eat,' respectively, as shown in (13) and (14).

(13) Paykuna aywayan.

pay-kuna aywa-ya-n

3_{PL} SURI go-_{PL}-3

'They go'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(14) Paykuna hakata mikuyan.

pay-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-n

3_{PL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL-}3

'They eat guinea pig.

elicitation: 2024-02-07

Past Tense

The simple past tense is used to describe completed actions or events that occurred at a specific point in the past. It is also used for past habitual actions, such as repeated or regular actions that took place in the past. The past tense in Ancash Quechua is marked with two suffixes /-ra/ and /-ru/. The suffix /-ru/ is used to indicate the recent past, while the suffix /-ra/ is used to indicate distant past events. For example, /-ra/ would be used if someone was referring to their childhood, and /-ru/ would be used when referring to an event that happened yesterday. The verbal forms in the past tense for the verbs "go" (went) and "eat" (ate) are shown from (15) to (28) below.

(15) Nuqa aywaraa. nuqa aywa-ra-: $1_{SG. SUBJ}$ go-_{PST}-1

'I went.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(16) Nuqa hakata mikuraa.

nuqa haka-ta miku-ra-:

1_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PST}-1

'I ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(17) Qam aywaraiki

qam aywa-ra-iki

 $2_{SG. SUBJ}$ go-_{PST}-2

'You went.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(18) Qam hakata mikuraiki.

qam haka-ta miku-ra-iki

2_{SG, SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PST}-2

'You ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(19) Pay aywaran.

pay aywa-ra-n

 $3_{SG. SUBJ}$ go- $_{PST}$ -3

'He/she went.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(20) Pay hakata mikuran.

pay haka-ta miku-ra-n

2_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PST}-3

'He/she ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(21) Nuqantsik aywarantsik.

nuqa-ntsik aywa-ra-ntsik

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} go-_{PST}-1_{PL.INCL}

'We.INCL went.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(22) Nuqantsik hakata mikurantsik.

nuqa-ntsik haka-ta miku-ra-ntsik

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PST}-1_{PL.INCL}

'We.INCL ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(23) Nuqakuna aywayaraa.

nuqa-kuna aywa-ya-ra-:

 $1_{PL.EXCL. SUBJ}$ go- $_{PL}$ - $_{PST}$ - 1_{EXCL}

'We.EXCL went.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(24) Nuqa-kuna hakata mikuyaraa.

nuqa-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-ra-:

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL}-_{PST}-1_{EXCL}

'We.EXCL ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(25) Qamkuna aywayaraiki.

qam-kuna aywa-ya-ra-iki

 $2_{PL,SUBJ}$ drink- $_{PL}$ - $_{PST}$ -2

'Y'all went.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(26) Qamkuna hakata mikuyaraiki.

qam-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-ra-iki

2_{PL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL}-_{PST}-2

'Y'all ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(27) Paykuna aywayaran.

pay-kuna aywa-ya-ra-n

 $3_{PL. SUBJ}$ go- $_{PL}$ - $_{PST}$ -3

'They went'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(28) Paykuna hakata mikuyaran.

pay-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-ra-n

3_{PL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL}-_{PST}-3

They ate guinea pig.

elicitation: 2024-02-07

It can be observed from the verbal paradigm that the suffix marker for the second-person, both in the singular and plural form, changes from /-nki/ to /-iki/ in the past tense form. Also, the past tense marker /-ra/ or /-ru/ occurs after the plural marker. WAA constantly indicated that swapping the positions of the plural marker /-ya/ and the past tense marker /-ra/ or /-ru/ was ungrammatical, as seen in the illustration (28a) and (28b)

(28a) *Paykuna aywarayan.

pay-kuna aywa-ra-ya-n

3_{PL. SUBJ} go-_{PST}-_{PL}-3

'They went'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

(28b) *Paykuna hakata mikurayan.

pay-kuna haka-ta miku-ra-ya-n

3_{PL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PST-PL}-3

'They ate guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-02-07

Future Tense

The future simple tense is used for predictions, spontaneous decisions, scheduled events, promises, offers, intentions, and predictions based on current evidence. The future tense in Ancash Quechua is marked differently based on agreement between the person and number. See the examples below:

(29) Nuqa aywashaa.

nuqa aywa-sha-:

 $1_{\text{SG. SUBJ}}$ go- 1_{FUT} -1

'I will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(30) Nuqa hakata mikushaa. nuqa haka-ta miku-sha-: 1_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-1_{FUT}-1 'I will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(31) Qam aywanki. qam aywa-nki $2_{SG. SUBJ}$ go-2 'You will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(32) Qam hakata mikunki.

qam haka-ta miku-nki

2_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-2

'You will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(33) Pay aywanqa. pay aywa-n-qa $3_{SG. SUBJ}$ go-3- 3_{FUT} 'He/she will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(34) Pay hakata mikunqa.

pay haka-ta miku-n-qa

2_{SG. SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-3-3_{FUT}

'He/she will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(37) Nuqantsik aywantsik.

nuqa-ntsik aywa-ntsik

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} go-1_{PL.INCL}

'We._{INCL} will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(38) Nuqantsik hakata mikuntsik.
nuqa-ntsik haka-ta miku-ntsik
1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-1_{PL.INCL}
'We._{INCL} will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(39) Nuqantsik aywashun.

nuqa-ntsik aywa-shun

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} go-1_{PL.INCL.FUT}

'We.INCL will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(40) Nuqantsik hakata mikushun. nuqa-ntsik haka-ta miku-shun

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-1_{PL.INCL.FUT}

'We._{INCL} will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(41) Nuqakuna aywayashaa.

nuqa-kuna aywa-ya-sha-:

1_{PL.EXCL. SUBJ} go-_{PL}-1_{FUT}-1_{EXCL}

'We.EXCL will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(42) Nuqa-kuna hakata mikuyashaa.

nuqa-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-sha-:

1_{PL.INCL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL}-1_{FUT}-1_{EXCL}

'We.EXCL will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(43) Qamkuna aywayanki.

qam-kuna aywa-ya-nki

 $2_{PL. SUBJ}$ go- $_{PL}$ -2

'Y'all will go.'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(44) Qamkuna hakata mikuyanki.

qam-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-nki

2_{PL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL-}2

'Y'all will eat guinea pig.'

elicitation: 2024-03-06

(45) Paykuna aywayanqa.

pay-kuna aywa-ya-n-qa

 $3_{PL. SUBJ}$ go- $_{PL}$ -3-3 $_{FUT}$

'They will go'

elicitation: 2024-03-20

(46) Paykuna hakata mikuyanqa.

pay-kuna haka-ta miku-ya-n-qa

3_{PL.SUBJ} guinea pig-_{OBJ} eat-_{PL}-3-3_{FUT}

They will eat guinea pig.

elicitation: 2024-03-06

From the verbal paradigms above, the following is observed. The first person is marked by the suffix /-sha/. This suffix is lengthened in the singular form and the plural suffix /-ya/ occurs before this future marker in the plural exclusive form. The second person form in the future tense remains the same as the simple present tense for both the singular and plural forms. The third-person future tense is marked by the addition of the suffix /-qa/. It can be observed that this suffix occurs after the third-person marker /-n/. There are also two ways of expressing the inclusive form of the first-person plural. The first-person plural can remain the same as the present tense first-person plural, that is *aywantsik* (example 37) and *mikuntsik* (example 38). The other future marker of the first-person plural is the addition of the suffix /-shun/ to form *aywashun* and *mikushun*, as seen in (40) and (41), respectively.

SYNCRETISM

Syncretism is a pattern in morphological analysis in which "the same phonological string is used to express distinct combinations of morphological features" (Trommer, 2012). For example, in English, the first-person and third-person pronouns differentiate between the singular and the plural forms, i.e., (*I* vs. we, he/she/it vs. them). Meanwhile, the second-person pronoun you does not differentiate between its singular and plural forms; it simply remains as you across both forms. Thus, the forms are syncretic because they do not have different forms the speaker would produce, but they differ in grammatical meaning (Caha, 2019).

In the case of Ancash Quechua, we see syncretism in situations where there is a subject acting on an object. Specifically, this happens when there is a transitive verb.³ In terms of number, a subject or object can either be singular or plural. In terms of person, a subject or object can either be first-person singular *nuqa*, second-person singular *qam*, third-person singular *pai*, first-person plural exclusive *nuqakuna*, second-person plural *qamkuna*, third-person plural *paikuna*, or first-person plural inclusive *nuqantsik*. If in the object position, the pronouns must take on the object marker *-ta*. The forms differ depending on the combination of the number and person subject with the number and person object. In total, there are 96 forms that can be derived from every subject and object combination. Of these 96, there are only 38 unique forms. Table 5 shows all 96 forms with the verb *mikutsi* 'to feed'. Table 6 shows the verb organized by the syncretic forms which have been color coded for ease of viewing.⁴ Those without color are unique forms that are not shared with other subject and object combinations.

Table 5

	mikutsi 'feed'				
	subject>object	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	
A	1s>2s	mikutsiruu	mikutsii	mikutsishayki	
В	1s>2pl	mikutsiruu	mikutsii	mikutsiyashayki	
С	1s>3s	mikutsiruu	mikutsii	mikutsishaa	
D	1s>3pl	mikutsiruu	mikutsii	mikutsishaa	
Е	1pl>2s	mikutsiyaruu	mikutsiyaa	mikutsiyashayk	
F	1pl>2pl	mikutsiyaruu	mikutsiyaa	mikutsiyashayk	
G	1pl>3s	mikutsiyaruu	mikutsiyaa	mikutsiyashaa	
Н	1pl>3pl	mikutsiyaruu	mikutsiyaa	mikutsiyashaa	
I	2s>1s	mikutsimaruyki	mikutsimakin	mikutsimanki	
J	2s>1pl	mikutsiyamaruyki	mikutsiyamanki	mikutsiyamank	

³ There could be more environments in which syncretism occurs in AQ, but we did not encounter them in the course.

⁴ A table organized in the same style for the verb *rikay* 'to see' has been placed in the Appendix.

	mikutsi 'feed'				
	subject>object	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE	
K	2s>3s	mikutsiruyki	mikutsinki	mikutsinki	
L	2s>3pl	mikutsiruyki	mikutsinki	mikutsinki	
M	2pl>1s	mikutsiyamaruyki	mikutsiyamanki	mikutsiyamanki	
N	2pl>1pl	mikutsiyamaruyki	mikutsiyamanki	mikutsiyamanki	
О	2pl>3s	mikutsiyaruyki	mikutsiyanki	mikutsiyanki	
P	2pl>3pl	mikutsiyaruyki	mikutsiyanki	mikutsiyanki	
Q	3s>1s	mikutsimarun	mikutsiman	mikutsiman(qa)	
R	3s>1pl	mikutsiyamarun	mikutsiyaman	mikutsiyaman(qa)	
S	3s>2s	mikutsishuruyki	mikutsishunki	mikutsishunki(qa)	
Т	3s>2pl	mikutsiyashuruyki	mikutsiyashunki	mikutsiyashunki(qa)	
U	3pl>1s	mikutsiyamarun	mikutsiyaman	mikutsiyaman(qa)	
V	3pl>1pl	mikutsiyamarun	mikutsiyaman	mikutsiyamanqa	
W	3pl>2s	mikutsiyaruyki	mikutsiyashunki	mikutsiyashunki(qa)	
X	3pl>2pl	mikutsiyashuruyki	mikutsiyashunki	mikutsiyashunki(qa)	
Y	1pl.INC>2s	mikutsiruntsik	mikutsintsik	mikutsishun	
Z	1pl.INC>2pl	mikutsiruntsik	mikutsintsik	mikutsishun	
AA	1pl.INC>3s	mikutsiruntsik	mikutsintsik	mikutsishun	
BB	1pl.INC>3pl	mikutsiruntsik	mikutsintsik	mikutsishun	
CC	2pl>1pl.INC	mikutsiyamaruyki	mikutsiyamanki	mikutsiyamanki	
DD	2s>1pl.INC	mikutsimaruntsik	mikutsimantsik	mikutsimashun	
EE	3s>1pl.INC	mikutsimaruntsik	mikutsimantsik	mikutsimashun	
FF	3pl>1pl.INC	mikutsimaruntsik	mikutsimantsik	mikutsimashun	

elicitation (led by AK and LA): 2024-04-10 & 2024-04-29⁵

Table 6

.

⁵ Combinations with *nuqantsik* were elicited on the latter date.

		mikutsi 'feed'				
	subject>object	PAST PRESENT		FUTURE		
A	1s>2s			mikutsishayki		
В	1s>3s	mikutsiruu	mikutsii	mikutsishaa		
С	1s>3pl	IIIKutsiruu	IIIKUISII	mikutsisiiaa		
D	1s>2pl					
Е	1pl>2s			mikutsiyashayki		
F	1pl>2pl	milautaivaruu	milzutsiyoo			
G	1pl>3s	mikutsiyaruu	mikutsiyaa	milantaireachaa		
Н	1pl>3pl			mikutsiyashaa		
I	3s>1s	mikutsimarun	mikutsiman	mikutsiman(qa)		
J	3s>1pl			mikutsiyaman(qa)		
K	3pl>1s	mikutsiyamarun	mikutsiyaman			
L	3pl>1pl			mikutsiyamanqa		
M	3s>2s	mikutsishuruyki	mikutsishunki	mikutsishunki(qa)		
N	3pl>2s	mikutsiyaruyki	mikutsiyashunki m	mikutsiyashunki(qa)		
О	3s>2pl	mikutsiyashuruyki				
P	3pl>2pl	IIIKutsiyasiiuluyki				
Q	2s>1s	mikutsimaruyki	miku	tsimanki		
R	2s>1pl					
S	2pl>1s	mikutsiyamaruyki	mikuts	siyamanki		
Т	2pl>1pl					
U	2s>3s	milantaimuulei	ile	utsinki		
V	2s>3pl	mikutsiruyki	IIIIK	utsinki		
W	2pl>3s	milastaissams dai	mila	taivanlai		
X	2pl>3pl	mikutsiyaruyki mikuts		ısıyankı		
Y	1pl.INC>2s					
Z	1pl.INC>2pl					
AA	1pl.INC>3s	mikutsiruntsik	mikutsintsik	mikutsishun		
BB	1pl.INC>3pl					

	mikutsi 'feed'			
	subject>object	PAST PRESENT		FUTURE
CC	2pl>1pl.INC	mikutsiyamaruyki	mikutsiyamanki	
DD	2s>1pl.INC			
EE	3s>1pl.INC	mikutsimaruntsik	mikutsimantsik	mikutsimashun
FF	3pl>1pl.INC			

elicitation (led by AK and LA): 2024-04-10 & 2024-04-29⁶

In both tables, the second column represents the subject acting on the object. The person is described with 1 being first-person, 2 being second-person, and 3 being third-person. The number is described with s being singular and pl being plural. The third column represents the verb forms in the past tense, the fourth column represents the verb forms in the present tense, and the fifth column represents the verb forms in the future tense.

In Table 6, the syncretic forms share the same subject number and person, with the exception of Row D 1s>2pl. Additionally, the plural morpheme -ya can be seen occurring wherever there is a plural subject or object, with the exception of Rows C, Y-BB, and DD-FF. This shows omnivorous agreement, where the verb agrees in number but does not choose between the subject or object to agree with. In other words, if there is a plural subject or object, then the plural morpheme -ya will occur.

With these syncretisms in mind, we can form the following sentences.⁸ These tables are distinguished by tense.

Table 7

PAST

⁶ Combinations with *nuqantsik* were elicited on the latter date.

⁷ The first column is the name of the row.

⁸ As can be seen, AQ employs SOV word order, however the class did encounter instances where other word orders were permitted.

		PAST				
1s>2s	Nuqa	qamta				
1s>3s	Nuqa	payta	mikutsiruu.			
1s>3pl	Nuqa	paykunata	mikutsiruu.			
1s>2pl	Nuqa	qamkunata				
1pl>2s	Nuqakuna	qamta				
1pl>2pl	Nuqakuna	qamkunata	mikutsiyaruu.			
1pl>3s	Nuqakuna	payta	illikutsiyai'uu.			
1pl>3pl	Nuqakuna	paykunata				
3s>1s	Pay	nuqata	mikutsimarun.			
		T	1			
3s>1pl	Pay	nuqakunata				
3pl>1s	Paykuna	nuqata	mikutsiyamarun.			
3pl>1pl	Paykuna	nuqakunata				
		_				
3s>2s	Pay	qamta	mikutsishuruyki.			
			1			
3s>2pl	Pay	qamkunata	mikutsiyashuruyki.			
3pl>2pl	Paykuna	qamkunata	111111111111111111111111111111111111111			
		ı	1			
2s>1s	Qam	nuqata	mikutsimaruyki.			
		1	1			
2s>1pl	Qam	nuqakunata				
2pl>1s	Qamkuna	nuqa	mikutsiyamaruyki.			
2pl>1pl	Qamkuna	nuqakuna				
2s>3s	Qam	payta	mikutsiruyki.			
2s>3pl	Qam	paykunata				

PAST					
3pl>2s	Paykuna	qamkunata			
2pl>3s	Qamkuna	payta	mikutsiyaruyki.		
2pl>3pl	Qamkuna	paykunata			
1pl.INC>2s	Nuqantsik	qamta			
1pl.INC>2pl	Nuqantsik	qamkunata	mikutsiruntsik.		
1pl.INC>3s	Nuqantsik	payta	illikutsii ulitsik.		
1pl.INC>3pl	Nuqantsik	paykunata			
2pl>1pl.INC	Qamkuna	nuqantsikta	mikutsiyamaruyki.		
2s>1pl.INC	Qam	nuqantsikta			
3s>1pl.INC	Pay	nuqantsikta	mikutsimaruntsik.		
3pl>1pl.INC	Paykuna	nuqantsikta			

Table 8

PRESENT Nuqa 1s > 2sqamta Nuqa 1s>3spayta mikutsii. 1s>3pl Nuqa paykunata 1s>2p1qamkunata Nuqa 1pl>2sNuqakuna qamta 1pl>2pl Nuqakuna qamkunata mikutsiyaa. 1pl>3s Nuqakuna payta 1pl>3pl Nuqakuna paykunata 3s>1sPay mikutsiman. nuqata 3s>1plPay nuqakunata Paykuna 3pl>1snuqata mikutsiyaman. 3pl>1plPaykuna nuqakunata 3s > 2sPay mikutsishunki. qamta 3pl>2sqamkunata Pay 3s>2plmikutsiyashunki. Paykuna qamkunata 3pl>2plqamkunata Qam 2s > 1smikutsimanki. nuqata Qam 2s > 1plQamkuna nuqakunata 2pl>1smikutsiyamanki. Qamkuna nuqa 2pl>1pl nuqakuna Qam

PRESENT					
2s>3s	Qam	payta	mikutsinki.		
2s>3pl		paykunata	mikutsiiki.		
	Paykuna				
2pl>3s	Qamkuna	payta	milautaivanlai		
2pl>3pl	Qamkuna	paykunata	mikutsiyanki.		
1pl.INC>2s	Nuqantsik	qamta			
1pl.INC>2pl	Nuqantsik	qamkunata	mikutsintsik.		
1pl.INC>3s	Nuqantsik	payta	mikutsiitsik.		
1pl.INC>3pl	Nuqantsik	paykunata			
2pl>1pl.INC	Qamkuna	nuqantsikta	mikutsiyamanki.		
2s>1pl.INC	Qam	nuqantsikta			
3s>1pl.INC	Pay	nuqantsikta	mikutsimantsik.		
3pl>1pl.INC	Paykuna	nuqantsikta			

Table 9

FUTURE			
	i	1	
1s>2s	Nuqa	qamta	mikutsishayki.
	_	1	
1s>3s	Nuqa	payta	mikutsishaa.
1s>3pl	Nuqa	paykunata	mikatoisilaa.
	1	T	
1s>2pl	Nuqa	qamkunata	
1pl>2s	Nuqakuna	qamta	mikutsiyashayki.
1pl>2pl	Nuqakuna	qamkunata	
1pl>3s	Nuqakuna	payta	mikutsiyashaa.
1pl>3pl	Nuqakuna	paykunata	ilikutsiyasiiaa.
	•		
3s>1s	Pay	nuqata	mikutsiman(qa).
	,	_	
3s>1pl	Pay	nuqakunata	mikutsiyaman(qa).
3pl>1s	Paykuna	nuqata	minutory aman (qu).
	1	1	
3pl>1pl	Paykuna	nuqakunata	mikutsiyamanqa.
	1	1	
3s>2s	Pay	qamta	mikutsishunki(qa).
0.1.5	T	1 .	
3pl>2s	Paykuna	qamkunata	
3s>2pl	Pay	qamkunata	mikutsiyashunki(qa).
3pl>2pl	Paykuna	qamkunata	
	i	i	
2s>1s	Qam	nuqata	mikutsimanki.
	1	1	
2s>1pl	Qam	nuqakunata	mikutsiyamanki.

2pl>1s	Qamkuna	nuqa		
2pl>1pl	Qamkuna	nuqakuna		
2s>3s	Qam	payta	mikutsinki.	
2s>3pl	Qam	paykunata	illikutsiiki.	
2pl>3s	Qamkuna	payta	mikutsiyanki.	
2pl>3pl	Qamkuna	paykunata	illikutsiyaliki.	
1pl.INC>2s	Nuqantsik	qamta		
1pl.INC>2pl	Nuqantsik	qamkunata	mikutsishun.	
1pl.INC>3s	Nuqantsik	payta	illikutsisiiuli.	
1pl.INC>3pl	Nuqantsik	paykunata		
2pl>1pl.INC	Qamkuna	nuqantsikta	mikutsiyamanki.	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
2s>1pl.INC	Qam	nuqantsikta		
3s>1pl.INC	Pay	nuqantsikta	mikutsimashun.	
3pl>1pl.INC	Paykuna	nuqantsikta		

As seen in Table 6, Rows I-K and M-P (where the subjects are third-person) contain an optional morpheme /-qa/ at the end of the future tense conjugation. Notably, Row L shows the suffix /-qa/ must be attached as a part of the morphology in order to be acceptable. WAA rejected *mikutsiyaman as the predicted future tense form of 3pl>1pl. Otherwise, for Rows I-K and M-P, the omission of /-qa/ was accepted. With this omission, the future tense forms would be syncretic with their present tense counterparts for Rows I-K and M-P, bringing the number of unique forms from 38 to 34.

In Weber (1989), the morpheme /-qa/ has been associated with "focus" and "topic". Though /-qa/ is never used to introduce a new topic, it is used on elements of a sentence to mark them as the topic of the sentence. /-qa/ can also bring a constituent into focus with its attachment, making it act as a focus marker (Weber, 1989, p. 400). Weber explains the various uses of /-qa/, including its use "to indicate relevance to context" and on main verbs (Weber, 1989, p. 404).

Relevance to Context

In the scenario proposed by Weber, the first speaker may initiate a topic, prompting the second speaker's reply to contain /-qa/. The second speaker uses /-qa/ on the constituent he regards "as making his response most appropriate in the context of the first speaker's lead" (Weber, 1989, p. 405). This establishes the constituent marked by /-qa/ as the topic of the conversation.

Main Verbs

Weber refers to Coombs et al. (1976), suggesting that "when /-qa/ occurs on a verb, the action of that verb has been mentioned previously in the discourse." However, /-qa/ would have to be used adequately in order to fulfill this.

These uses are possible explanations for why /-qa/ can be omitted from the third-person subject forms. If the speaker produces a sentence omitting /-qa/, it would indicate that the sentence is not relevant to the context of the discourse, and/or the action has not been mentioned previously. However, if the speaker includes /-qa/, the sentence would be relevant to the context of the discourse, and/or the action has been mentioned previously. The addition of /-qa/ can also

⁹ Weber's book is on Huallaga Quechua, another dialect of the Quechuan language family. Due to the underdocumentation of AQ, the class has sourced information from Weber's book and confirmed it with WAA for acceptability within AQ. Therefore, this interpretation of /-qa/ is based on Weber's description of Huallaga Quechua.

mark the verb as the topic of the sentence or as the focus of the sentence, emphasizing the future tense, or mark the verb as the focus of the sentence.

It should be noted that when eliciting Rows Y-FF in Table 6, WAA was presented with possible scenarios these subject and object combinations may occur, but the produced forms still remained awkward to him. Though they are awkward, they are not ungrammatical. This complication is due to the inclusive property of *nuqantsik*. In the subject position, it is awkward for one to imagine a scenario where we.INC feed you, he/she, you.PL, or them. The awkwardness remains the same in the object position when one imagines a scenario where you/he/she/you.PL/they feeds us.INC, in which the subject is also included in the object. This complication is eased when imagining the scenario as the subject seeing the object in a mirror, however it was still awkward for WAA to produce.¹⁰

Additionally, during the elicitation of *nuqantsik* subject and object combinations, WAA was very consistent in his productions where the subject was third-person and the object was *nuqantsikta*. However, when met with the second-person subject and *nuqantsikta* object combinations, WAA grimaced during his production of the forms. Though he confirmed they are grammatically acceptable, he acknowledged that they sound very awkward. This creates a complication in which we are not sure whether these forms are ungrammatical and not generated by the morphological rules that WAA innately has, or whether they are grammatical and extremely awkward pragmatically that they barely pass as acceptable. Therefore, these forms could act as true gaps in the AQ verbal paradigm, indicating there are no acceptable forms for when a second-person subject acts on a first-person plural inclusive object. This means in comparison to the rest of the paradigms, for which WAA gave consistent acceptability judgments, the second-person>*nuqantsikta* forms contrast greatly.

¹⁰ This scenario is how the *nuqantsik* forms in Table 13 in the Appendix were elicited.

CONCLUSION

As discussed, these are the verbal paradigm forms for the present, past, and future tenses, summed up in Tables 10-12 below.

Table 10

	PRESENT			
	SINGULAR	PLURAL		
	nuqa -:	INCL nuqantsik -ntsik		
1ST		EXCL nuqakuna -ya:		
2ND	qam -nki	qamkuna -ya- nki		
3RD	pay -n	paykuna -ya-n		

Table 11

PAST			
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	nuqa -ra:	INCL nuqantsik -ra-ntsik	
1ST		EXCL nuqakuna -ya-ra:	
2ND	qam -ra-iki	qamkuna -ya-ra- iki	
3RD	pay -ra-n	paykuna -ya-ra-n	

Table 12

FUTURE		
SINGULAR	PLURAL	

	nuqa -sha:	INCL nuqantsik -shun / -ntsik
1ST		EXCL nuqakuna -ya-sha:
2ND	qam -nki	qamkuna -ya- nki
3RD	pay -n-qa	paykuna -ya-n-qa

The different subject and object combinations in a sentence with a transitive verb yielded in 96 forms, 38 of which are unique. With the omission of /-qa/ on future tense forms with a third-person subject, there are 34 unique forms. Within the syncretic forms, it can be seen that they usually share the same subject number and person. There is also evidence of omnivorous agreement, in which the verb agrees in number, i.e. singular or plural, but it does not pick between the subject or the object to agree with. Therefore, the omnivorous agreement creates the phenomenon where if either the subject or the object is plural, the verb will contain the plural morpheme -ya.

We also experienced complications with *nuqantsik* combinations due to the complexity of imagining such contexts. Though these forms are awkward, they are not ungrammatical. However, due to the extreme awkwardness WAA conveyed when producing second-person>*nuqantsikta* forms, it can be concluded that these forms act as true gaps within the AQ paradigms.

Next Steps

Though the class encountered instances of these, we would like to further research negation, mood, other tenses, and loanword morphology. Ancash Quechua is an underdocumented language, therefore, more than one semester is needed in order to adequately document it. This paper, as well as the class' findings, is only a small portion of what contributes

to describing the language's characteristics. More research will benefit the language and the Quechua language family as a whole. Further research should also include more speakers of various ages and genders to have a more comprehensive understanding of the language in terms of generational differences and the lexicon.

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APPENDIX

Table 13

	rikay 'to see'			
	subject>object	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
A	1s>2s	!rikaruu		rikashayki
В	1s>3s	m:1	rikaa	wilso also o
С	1s>3pl	rikaruu	пкаа	rikashaa
D	1s>2pl	!rikaruu		
Е	1pl>2s			rikayashayki
F	1pl>2pl	luilrassamss	uilvava a	
G	1pl>3s	!rikayaruu	rikayaa	.:1
Н	1pl>3pl			rikayashaa
I	3s>1s	!rikamarun	rikaman	rikaman(qa)
J	3s>1pl			:1
K	3pl>1s	!rikayamarun	rikayaman	rikayamanqa
L	3pl>1pl			!rikayamanqa
M	3s>2s	!rikashuruyki	rikashunki	!rikashunki(qa)
N	3pl>2s	!rikayaruyki		
О	3s>2pl	lmilrovyo abyymyydri	!rikayashunki !rika	!rikayashunki(qa)
P	3pl>2pl	!rikayashuruyki		
Q	2s>1s	!rikamaruyki	rikam	anki
R	2s>1pl			
S	2pl>1s	!rikayamaruyki	rikayamanki	
T	2pl>1pl			
U	2s>3s	luiteamardai	مانيا.	1.:
V	2s>3pl	!rikaruyki !ril		HKI
W	2pl>3s			onlei
X	2pl>3pl	!rikayaruyki	!rikay	анкі
Y	1pl.INC>2s			
Z	1pl.INC>2pl	rikaruntsik	rikantsik	rikashun

	rikay 'to see'			
	subject>object PAST PRESENT			FUTURE
AA	1pl.INC>3s			
BB	1pl.INC>3pl			
CC	2pl>1pl.INC	rikayamaruiki	rikayanki	rikayamanki
DD	2s>1pl.INC	rikaruiki rikanki		nki
EE	3s>1pl.INC			mil some o olkssom
FF	3pl>1pl.INC	rikamaruntsik	rikamantsik	rikamashun

Note: The ! at the beginning of some forms indicate that they are untested, therefore unconfirmed by WAA. They are predictions of the forms based on what was given when Table 6 was tested.¹¹

Other Verbal Paradigms (IPA Form)

'cook'			
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	noga aro-:	INCL nogantsik a	ıru-ntsik
1ST		excl nogakuna a	ıru-ya :
2ND	Gam aru-ŋki	Gamkuna a	ıru-ya-ŋki
3RD	par aru-ŋ	parkuna a	ıru-ya-ŋ

elicitation: 2024-01-30

¹¹ The majority of this data was organized by Dr. Singerman, with the exception of the past tense column, the *nuqantsik* combinations, and the 3s>2s, 3pl>2s, 3s>2pl, 3pl>2pl, 2s>3s, 2s>3pl, 2pl>3s, 2pl>3pl forms.

-

'drink'			
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	noga upo:	INCL nogantsik	upuntsik
1ST		excl nogakuna	upuya:
2ND	Gam upuŋki	Gamkuna	upuyaŋki
3RD	paı upuŋ	paikuna	upuyaŋ

elicitation: 2024-01-30

'read'			
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	noga ñawe:	INCL nogantsik	ñawintsik
1ST		excl nogakuna	ñawi ya:
2ND	Gam ñawiŋki	Gamkuna	ñawi ya ŋki
3RD	pa ı ñawiŋ	parkuna	ñawi ya ŋ

elicitation: 2024-02-07

'read' (past)			
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	noga ñawi-ra:	INCL nogantsik	ñawi- ra- ntsik
1ST		excl nogakuna	ñawi- ya-ra :
2ND	Gam ñawi- ra- iki	Gamkuna	ñawi- ya-ra- iki
3RD	paı ñawi- ra- ŋ	paɪkuna	ñawi- ya-ra- ŋ

elicitation: 2024-02-07

'will read' - confirmed					
	SINGULAR	PLURAL			
	noga ñawi-∫a:	INCL nogantsik	ñawi- ∫un / ñawi-ntsik		
1ST	noga ñawi-fa-:-tfi (mom)	EXCL nogakuna	ñawi- ya-ʃa:		
2ND	Gam ñawi-ŋki	Gamkuna	ñawi- ya- ŋki		
3RD	paı ñawi-ŋ-Ga	paikuna	ñawi- ya- ŋ- Ga		

elicitation: 2024-03-20

'like'				
	SINGULAR	PLURAL		
	noga kuya-:	INCL nogantsik	kuya-ntsik	
1ST		excl nogakuna	kuya- ya:	
2ND	Gam kuya-ŋki	Gamkuna	kuya- ya- ŋki	
3RD	pa ı kuya-ŋ	paikuna	kuya- ya- ŋ	

elicitation: 2024-02-16