

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/380067076>

(A sketch grammar of) Huaylas Quechua

Preprint · April 2024

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.20804.44167

CITATIONS

0

READS

190

1 author:



[Carlos Molina-Vital](#)

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

2 PUBLICATIONS 0 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Huaylas (Ancash) Quechua

Carlos Molina-Vital

4.1 General information

Huaylas Quechua (HQ) [ISO 639-3 qwh, Glottocode huay1240], is a dialect of the Ancash Quechua language [Glottocode huay1239]. People refer to this language mostly as *qichwa*. Only a few people call their language *nunashimi* ‘language of the people.’

The Huaylas variety of Ancash Quechua is one of the best described Central Quechua varieties, and has been studied particularly during the initial period of modern Andean linguistics (e.g. Parker 1967 and 1973a). Before that point, HQ terms were included, albeit not systematically, in the first Quechua grammar and lexicon by Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560a). Its author served as a priest in Yungay, and some terms from this variety of Ancash Quechua, known then as the Chinchaysuyo language, appeared in those foundational works. Another colonial source is the 1700 reedition of Torres Rubio’s *Arte de la lengua Quichua* (1st ed. 1619). There, Juan de Figueredo supplements the original, a description of Cuzco Quechua, with a list of lexical items and phrases from what is mainly, but not exclusively, an Ancash Quechua variety (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 89). More than 200 years later, the *Vocabulario Poliglota Incaico* (1905) included Ancash Quechua alongside the Quechuan languages from Cuzco, Ayacucho, and Junín. However, the Ancash variety it documented was the Southern Conchucos one, from the Huari province (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 386).

4.1.1 Geography, environment, and economics

During early colonial times, administrative documents already attested the widespread presence of the two ethnic groups who spoke the main dialects of Ancash Quechua: the Huaylas and the Conchucos (Chirinos 2001: 54). The Huaylas variety is spoken along the Callejón de Huaylas (lit. “Huaylas alley”) region, a stretch of temperate inter-Andean valleys located between the eastern *Cordillera Blanca* (“white-mountain range”) and the western *Cordillera Negra* (“black-mountain range”). This fertile area is irrigated by the Santa river, which runs northwards from its origin in the Conococha Lake in the southern province of Bolognesi. This river steadily lowers in altitude across the whole Callejón de Huaylas, which makes the northern provinces’ valleys warmer in climate. From north to south, the following provinces comprise this region: Huaylas, Yungay, Carhuaz, Huaraz, and Recuay.¹ The capital of the region and center of the administrative and political power is the city of Huaraz (population 118,836 in 2017).

Economically, the Callejón de Huaylas is very productive and diverse. Due to the beautiful ice-capped peaks in the Cordillera Blanca and its many glacial lakes, it is one of the most visited destinations in Peru. However, more traditionally, this region is an important center for production of tubers and corn (for internal consumption and to supply the city of Lima), as well as fruits and flowers (particularly blueberries). It also has a significant milk production in the lower altitude provinces. Intensive mining of silver, copper, and zinc has changed the social dynamics between Quechua communities, the Peruvian Government, and mining corporations.

4.1.2 Speaker population and endangerment

¹ Julca Guerrero (2010: 280) indicates that the Huaylas variety includes also a Huaylas-Vertientes variety spoken in the areas right outside of the Callejón de Huaylas, specifically the *vertientes* or areas located along the western slopes of the Black Mountain Range. This grammatical sketch does not include data from the Huaylas-Vertientes variety, only from the one spoken in the Callejón de Huaylas.

Ancash Quechua, as a whole, is the largest Central Quechua dialectal area in terms of speakers. It is spoken by no more than 900,000 people (Pozzi-Escot 1998; Julca Guerrero 2010). However, among them, the majority speak the northern and southern Conchucos variety, which is one of the most vital Quechua varieties in Peru when it comes to number of speakers (approx. 161,000 according to Ethnologue 2022) and transmission rates. The 2017 census shows that the lowest percentage of speakers for that variety is at 79,92% in Huari, and the highest at 92,54% for Mariscal Luzuriaga (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática 2018). In comparison, HQ appears to be a threatened variety. Its total number of speakers has declined since 1940, when 80% of the population was Quechua-speaking (Julca Guerrero 2010: 63). However, HQ can be considered a vital language. Children still learn it and most provinces in this region display a clear majority of speakers learning it before Spanish. Table 1 summarizes the findings of the 2017 National Census regarding number of speakers in the provinces where this variety is spoken.

<insert Table 4.1 here>

The total number of speakers of a Quechuan language who are five years and older in the provinces where HQ is present is approximately 139,543. It must be noticed that this number does not represent the actual amount of HQ speakers, but an approximation. This is because Quechua speakers in the eastern districts in the provinces of Huaylas (parts of Yuracmarca, Santa Cruz, and Caraz), Yungay (Yanama), and Carhuaz (San Miguel de Aco) belong to the Conchucos variety of Ancash Quechua.² Besides Julca Guerrero's (2010) comprehensive dialectological survey of this region, little work has been done for those specific varieties.³

The presence of Quechua speakers is strong in many small rural towns located along ravines and ridges between 2,100 and 3,000 masl. There it is still possible to find monolingual speakers of the Huaylas dialect. They tend to be elderly men and women, but if younger, it is almost exclusively women who remain monolingual. This is due to their more conservative economic role. Also, women still make up most of the illiterate population in the Central Andes, due to traditional prejudice against their education (cf. Julca Guerrero 2010: 270–7). In any case, it is evident that HQ is threatened by the widespread use of Spanish (Menacho López and Villari 2019).

4.2 Internal variation and classification

Ancash Quechua has been divided in four dialectal zones. Several studies (Torero 1974; Parker 1976; Landerman 1991; Julca Guerrero 2010) agree in dividing it in two main varieties, Huaylas and Conchucos, and two minor ones, the Sihuas-Corongo, and the Bolognesi-Vertientes dialects.

Within HQ, based on phonological, morphological, and lexical differences, Julca Guerrero (2010) distinguishes two areas: Southern and Northern Huaylas. The Southern variety is spoken in the high-altitude regions of the Callejón de Huaylas, in Recuay, Huaraz, and the southern extreme of Carhuaz, in the Marcará district, delimited by river of the same name, and

² Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Conchucos variety has been object of several specific studies by Daniel Hintz (2011, 2020), Diane Hintz (2003, 2006, 2007), and both together (Hintz and Hintz 2017). They have covered aspect, tense, modality, word order, and evidentiality.

³ An exception is the work of Francisco Carranza Romero (1979, 1998, 2003). He has produced several works based on his native Quechua variety spoken in Quitarcasa, a village located in the Yuracmarca district, on the north-eastern slopes of the Huaylas province. While the information in Carranza Romero (2003) shows that this variety is closer to the northern Conchucos one, it still has many lexical and syntactic commonalities with the Huaylas variety.

the Huasca Urán ravine. This dialectal zone also includes the communities located in the highlands of Carhuaz and Yungay, above 3,500 masl.

The Northern variety is spoken in the lower parts of the Callejón de Huaylas, in the provinces of Huaylas, Yungay, and Carhuaz (with the exception of its southernmost part). Its northern boundary is the area where the *Cordillera Blanca* and the *Cordillera Negra* meet: The *Cañón del Pato* (“Duck Canyon”), where the Santa river splits the mountains moving westwards into the Corongo and Santa provinces.

Based on phonological isoglosses,⁴ Southern and Northern HQ can be clearly distinguished because in the former the glottal fricative /h/ is used in word initial position, while in the latter that segment has disappeared in that position. Thus, *hirka* ‘mountain’ and *hatun* ‘big’ in Southern Huaylas correspond to *irka* and *atun*, without initial [h], in Northern Huaylas.

In addition to this, there are alternations for words that can be reconstructed with Proto-Quechua */s/ in word-initial position. Thus, reconstructed forms such as **sacha* ‘tree,’ **samay* ‘to breathe,’ and **saqiy* ‘to leave (something)’ became *hacha*, *hamay*, and *haqiy* in Southern Huaylas, and *acha*, *amay*, and *aqiy* in Northern Huaylas, where reduction of sibilants to Ø operates. However, it must be noticed that in both HQ varieties many terms maintain /s/ in word-initial position. For instance, *sutay* ‘to pull,’ *siqiy* ‘to bring down,’ and *suwa* ‘thieve’ are rendered with an initial [s] in all of HQ.

Finally, the other sibilant, the alveopalatal fricative *sh, has experienced irregular changes in the Huaylas variety. For instance, *shuti* ‘name’ and *shutu* ‘drip’ are produced with their initial [ʃ] in the Northern Huaylas variety, but they are *huti* and *hutu* in the Southern one (Julca Guerrero 2010: 153–4). The retention of /sh/ for those words in the northern dialect goes against its tendency towards the lenition and eventual suppression of sibilants. Conversely, other terms that show Proto Quechua *sh became Ø in Northern Huaylas. **shiqta* ‘mustard’ and **shuk* ‘one’ became *itka* and *uk* in that variety, while in the southern one the initial segment changed into /h/ (Julca Guerrero 2010: 155).

4.3 Phonology and Phonotactics

HQ has one of the most innovative phonologies within Central Quechua. Three distinctive sound changes in this variety are (i) diphthongs that result in monophthongization as long vowels and, in some cases, middle long vowels (e.g. /aw/ → [o:], /ay/ → [e:]), (ii) the existence of a voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ contrasting with a voiceless alveopalatal fricative /ch/ (e.g. *tsaqa* ‘dawn, dusk’ and *chaqa* ‘cup made of a gourd’), and (iii) widespread depalatalization of */ñ/ into alveodental /n/ (e.g. **ñawi* ‘eyes’ > *nawi*).

4.3.1 Vowels

The system of three phonological vowels (/i/, /a/ and /u/), common to every Quechuan language, is at the basis of HQ. However, as is the case for Central Quechua varieties, the full set of vowels also includes their corresponding long forms (/i:/, /a:/, and /u:/). Due to the continuous contact with Spanish, which led to widespread bilingualism between that language and HQ, it is common to find speakers who produce mid vowels like [e], [e:], and [o] with full regularity when using

⁴ Relevant morphological isoglosses will be pointed out when specific suffixes are introduced in this grammatical sketch. By way of illustration of lexical differences, Northern Huaylas speakers say *alla:pi* ‘much,’ which is *alla:pa* in the Southern variety. Likewise, ‘dirty’ is *qacha* in Northern Huaylas and *rakcha* or *taqra* in the South, while ‘to dance’ is *tushuy* in the North and *qatsway* in the South.

loans from Spanish. In any case, the native HQ vowel system has six vowels between short and long ones. The following table provides the inventory.⁵

<insert table 4.2 here>

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ tend to have a lax mid-high realization close to [ɪ] and [ʊ], respectively. As in other Quechuan languages, the presence of the post-velar stop /q/ brings out a coarticulation process by which high vowels are produced like mid-vowels [e] and [o] or mid-open vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively. Thus *tsiqlla* ‘waist’ becomes [ʔʂɛqʎa] and *shunqu* ‘heart’ becomes [ʔʂɨŋqɔ]. Notice that sonorant consonants (approximants, nasals, liquids, and rhotics) in between /q/ and a high vowel are no obstacle to the lowering process. This can be seen in *tsiwqa* [ʔʂɛwqʎa] ‘teapot,’ *sinqa* [ʔʂɛŋqʎa] ‘nose,’ *ullqu* [ʔʂɨʎqɔ] ‘male,’ and *murqu* [ʔʂɨrɔqɔ] ‘rusty.’ Compared to Southern Quechua varieties, HQ sibilants appear to block vowel lowering (e.g. *isqun* ‘nine’ is mostly [ʔʂɨqɔn]). Also, /i/ and /u/ are not always lowered in word-final position, something quite common in Southern Quechua. Moreover, some speakers do not lower them significantly even right after /q/ at the end of the word (thus, it is possible to hear [ʔʂɨŋqʊ] for *shunqu* ‘heart’).

Short vowels in HQ (like in other Central Quechua varieties), can be clearly perceived as shorter than their unstressed Spanish counterparts. This seems to be even more pronounced with /a/, the least similar vowel to its Spanish equivalent, particularly in syllable-final, word-final and before /m/ (Swisshelm 1971: 19; Parker 1976: 50–1).

Long vowels in HQ have an uneven distribution. In my corpus of approximately 100,000 words, /a:/ is found 16,149 times, while /i:/ and /u:/ only 2,375 and 423 times, respectively. Long vowels can open or close a syllable, but they never appear before a consonant in the same syllable. In other words, syllables ending in consonant only accept short vowels. Consequently, some roots or suffixes ending in a long vowel will frequently be rendered with a short one (e.g. *puri-yka:-lla-n* ‘he is just walking’ will shorten the continuous aspect marker *-yka:* in *puri-yka-n* ‘he is walking’). Also, long vowels are seldom found in word initial position. When this happens, it is either in a Spanish loan or a word based on onomatopoeia (specifically /a:/ expressing agreement, assertion, or an affirmative answer). In any case, there are (near) minimal pairs showing the phonological status of long vowels.

<insert table 4.3 here>

The particularly short quality of /i/, /a/, and /u/ can be considered the main reason why Spanish loans that are fully incorporated into HQ use a long vowel corresponding to the one in the stressed syllable in the source. Table 3 includes *i:gus*, a clear loan from Spanish *higo* ‘fig.’ Other examples are *caballo* ‘horse,’ rendered as *kawa:llu*, and *puro* ‘pure,’ which is employed by as *pu:ru* and functions as an augmentative modifier similar to ‘very.’

⁵ The official orthography for Quechuan languages spoken in Peru has been established through the Decree N. 1218-85-ED, issued on November 18th, 1985 by the Ministry of Education. The official orthography differs from the one used in this volume only in that long vowels are represented with a colon (<a:>, <i:>, <u:>), instead of double vowels (<aa>, <ii>, <uu>). Also, sounds that come from Spanish loans are written with their corresponding Spanish consonant if it is one not available in the native HQ inventory. Regarding Spanish vowels, loans are written using the native three-vowel system, including lengthening for stressed Spanish vowels, only if present in the corpus source. For instance *zapato* ‘shoe’ will be rendered *sapatu*, and *vida* ‘life’ will be *bida*. See Table 4.4 for the consonant inventory.

4.3.2 Consonants

As can be seen in Table 4.4, HQ has 17 phonemic consonants in its native inventory. In addition to those, five more consonants originating from Spanish loans are also considered (included between parentheses):

<insert Table 4.4 here>

While most of the native consonant sounds are fairly similar to the Proto-Quechua inventory, some changes have occurred. Perhaps the most noticeable is the change from the Proto-Quechua voiceless alveopalatal fricative */ch/ (also represented as /č/ in the Quechuanist literature) into the current voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/. This sound contrasted in Proto-Quechua with the voiceless retroflex affricate */čh/ (usually represented as /č/ in the literature). Furthermore, the latter sound lost its retroflex manner of articulation and became the alveopalatal affricate /ch/. Thus, Proto-Quechua pairs like ***ch**aki ‘dry’ and ***ch**aki ‘feet’ became respectively **ts**aki and **ch**aki in HQ.

It is also worth noticing that HQ tends to keep /p/, /t/, /k/, and /q/ as stops in syllable final position (i.e. they do not turn into a fricative). This can be heard in words like *qapchi* [ˈqapʃi] ‘thin,’ *putka* [ˈputka] ‘turbid,’ *tikpi* [ˈtikpi] ‘pin,’ and *suqpi* [ˈsoqpi] ‘loosely tied.’ Also, /ɾ/, a raised postalveolar non-sonorant trill (traditionally represented with /r̄/ in the literature), is used to represent loans using the Spanish voiced alveolar trill (e.g. *carro* ‘car’ is rendered as /ˈkaɾo/). This is fairly standard in Quechuan languages.

The alveolar nasal /n/ has a rather restricted distribution as an alveolar. Only at the beginning of a syllable it is produced as [n], e.g. *nina* [ˈnina] ‘fire’ or *nana* [ˈnana] ‘pain.’ Also, likely to be a case of assimilation of point of articulation, /n/ remains [n] before the alveolar sounds /t/, /s/, and /ts/ and the alveolo-palatal affricate /ch/. Before /p/, /n/ assimilates to a bilabial nasal [m], e.g. *mamanpis* [maˈmampis] ‘also her mother.’ Likewise, before the velar and uvular plosives /k/ and /q/ it takes their point of articulation, e.g. *yunka* [ˈjɔŋka] ‘coast,’ *qunqay* [ˈqɔŋqaj] ‘to forget.’ However, in several contexts where a conditioning environment for assimilation of the point of articulation is not apparent, /n/ is rendered as the velar nasal [ŋ]. This can be seen before other nasals, e.g. *pupunmi* [poˈpuŋmi] ‘his navel (I know)’, laterals, e.g. *pupunlla* [poˈpuŋla] ‘just his navel,’ rhotics, e.g. *rinri* [ˈriŋri] ‘ears,’ and semiconsonants, e.g. *warminwan* [waˈmiŋwan] ‘with his wife,’ *tsunyaq* [ˈtsɔŋjaq] ‘uninhabited.’ Also, in word final position, /n/ becomes [ŋ], e.g. *tamyán* [ˈtamyɔŋ] ‘it rains.’ To sum up, alongside the crosslinguistically well-known rule that assimilates a nasal’s point of articulation to that of the following obstruent (e.g. /np/ → [mp]), there seems to be another rule that connects the velar allophone [ŋ] with the continuous emission of airflow that characterizes sonorants and the syllable final position.

Finally, HQ has undergone a process of depalatalization of nasals (*ñ > /n/) and, to a much lesser extent, lateral segments (*ll > /l/). Thus, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ in syllable-initial position has become /n/ for many lexemes throughout the Callejón de Huaylas. However, the change is not complete for those segments. In particular, it is not clear what conditions the change from *ñ into /n/. For instance, older forms like *ñawi* ‘eye’ or *ñaña* ‘sister (of a woman)’ have completely depalatalized in HQ and are *nawi* and *nana*. However, *piña* ‘angry’ and *mañay* ‘to request,’ among many others, remain palatalized. Still, there seems to be a distinction between Southern Huaylas, where depalatalization is more widespread, and Northern Huaylas,

where forms with palatalized nasals alternate with their depalatalized equivalents (Julca Guerrero 2010: 121).

4.3.3 Syllable structure, root structure; and phonotactic constraints

Syllable structure in HQ does not differ from the typical Quechuan one. A vowel is always the head, and it can be a syllable on its own (V), e.g. *upa* /u.'pa/ 'deaf.' The most frequent combination is that of a consonant in the onset (CV), e.g. *pununa* /pu.'nu.na/ 'bed.' More uncommon, but still widely present, are syllables with just a consonant coda (VC), e.g. *uchpa* 'ashes,' and ones with two consonants surrounding the vowel (CVC), e.g. *atuq* 'fox.'⁶ Notice that this syllable structure excludes CCV syllables. Thus, Spanish loans following that pattern are incorporated into HQ without the initial consonant (e.g. Spanish *plátano* 'banana' becomes *latanús* /la.ta.'nus/).

The semiconsonants /y/ and /w/ behave like consonants for syllable structure. Thus *upyay* 'to drink' includes a CVC syllable at the end, and *wawqi* 'brother (of a man)' one at the beginning.

As is customary for Quechuan languages, two vowels cannot appear contiguously, neither in the same or different syllables. This is the reason why several words that can be reconstructed with an internal */s/ in Proto-Quechua ended up with a semiconsonant in HQ, e.g. *pusaq 'eight' > /'pu.haq/ > /'pu.waq/, *wasi 'house' > /'wa.hi/ > /'wa.yi/).

4.3.4 Important morphophonological processes

4.3.4.1 Syllable structure and the suffix *-ni* 'epenthetic (EP)'

If a suffix starting with a (semi)consonant is added to a stem ending also in a (semi)consonant, then a prohibited same-syllable CC sequence occurs. For instance, if *yawar* 'blood' were to take *-yki* '2.POSS' directly, it would yield impossible sequences such as *[ja.wa.rj.ki], *[ja.war.j.ki], or *[ja.war.jki], with CC, C, and CCV sequences respectively. To solve this, an empty-meaning suffix *-ni* is inserted as a "hinge" that helps restructure the syllable structure avoiding the forbidden sequences. Thus 'your blood' is expressed as *yawarniyki* with a syllabic structure /ja.war.'nij.ki/.

Notice that long vowels in HQ are considered consonants for syllabic structure. Consequently, following the monophthongization rules (see Section 4.3.4.1) *llumtsuy* 'daughter in law' is pronounced [ʎumtsi:] with a long vowel at the end. If we were going to say 'my daughter in law' the 1st person possessive is marked by lengthening the last vowel in the root. This would lead to the impossible form *[ʎumtsi:]. Instead, *-ni* is introduced to produce *llumtsi:ni*: /ʎumtsi:ni:/.

4.3.4.1 Monophthongization

Perhaps the most innovative phonological process in HQ is the reduction of virtually all diphthongs into long vowels, i.e. monophthongization. This process was explicitly reported in early works for this variety (Parker 1967; Escribens and Proulx 1970; Swisshelm 1971), and it is currently dominant throughout the Callejón de Huaylas (Julca Guerrero 2010: 126); it is thus at a more advanced stage than similar monophthongization processes in Chachapoyas Quechua (see

⁶ Swisshelm (1971: 141–4) correctly noticed that /n/ and /s/ could be syllable heads in the final syllable. Thus, *waqara:kun* 'she keeps crying' can be rendered as [wa.qa.'ra:kn], and *nuqapis* 'me too' as [no.'qa.ps]. This seems to be restricted to fast speech.

Chapter 7 by Jairo Valqui and Aviva Shimelman in this volume). Table 4.5 illustrates the instances of monophthongization and their contexts.

<Insert Table 4.5 here>

The first instance of monophthongization is the most widespread one: /ay/ → [e:]. Since the 60s it has been reported in lexemes and suffixes. The second instance, /aw/ → [o:], was reported as having restrictions such as a preference to occur in suffixes (e.g. the locative *-chaw* and the simulative *-naw*) and after palatal segments and /p/ (Parker 1976: 53–4). However, the process now is consummated through the region at the lexeme level (Julca Guerrero 2010: 128–9). Finally, the change /uy/ → [i:] is the most restricted one among the speakers of HQ. Specifically, monophthongization occurs when /y/ is the first segment in a suffix (e.g. infinitive *-y*, imperative *-y*, emphatic perfective *-yku*, continuous *-yka:*, and second person nominal *-yki*). However, this is not always the case, particularly in the Northern Huaylas variety where, according to Julca Guerrero (2010) the diphthong is still present. Furthermore, expansion into lexemes is still very restricted. Julca Guerrero (2010: 132) only found two lexemes showing monophthongization: *llumtsuy* ‘daughter in law’ and *luychu* ‘deer,’ but not consistently in the region.⁷

4.3.4.3 Vowel lowering in derivational morphology

Verbal derivational suffixes ending on /i/ or /u/ undergo a lowering process that turn their high vowel into [a]. This happens when those suffixes are followed by a member of the set of “triggering” suffixes: these include the cislocative/translocative suffix *-mu*, the causative suffix *-tsi*, the 1st person object suffix *-ma:*, and the benefactive suffix *-pu*.⁸ Triggering suffixes, with the exception of *-pu*, which does lower to *-pa*, do not undergo vowel lowering themselves. Some contrasting examples are in (1).

- (1) a. *Rika:rin.*
 {rika:-**ri**-n}
 see-PUNC-3.SBJ
 ‘S/he sees briefly.’
 b. *Rika:ramun.*
 {rika:-**ri**-mu-n}
 see-PUNC-CISL-3.SBJ

⁷ A related phenomenon is that the sequence /iy/ sometimes produces [i:] but most of the times is resolved as [i]. Thus, *yaskiykuy* /yas'kiykuy/ ‘answer, please’ is mostly produced as [jas'kikuj] and seldom as [jas'ki:kuj].

⁸ Parker (1973a: 40, 1976: 130) claimed that in HQ lowering effects were triggered also by the imperfective suffix *-yka:*, which lowers *-ri* and *-pu*; and by the reflexive suffix *-ku*, which lowers *-pu*. Those claims are incorrect. Regarding *-yka:*, Parker does not acknowledge the frequent combination of the durative suffix *-ra:* and the continuous *-yka:*, which due to shortening of low vowels followed by a consonant coda, is rendered as *-rayka:*. It is clear that this instance of *-ra* does not come from the punctual aspect suffix *-ri*. The lowering of *-pu* to *-pa* is more problematic. Parker suggests that *-yka:* and *-ku* lower *-pa*. However, neither *-yka:* nor *-ku* have been reported as a trigger suffix in other Central Quechua varieties, which casts doubts on that analysis. However, the main reason to reject the lowering of *-pu* before *-ku* or *-yka:* in HQ is that all the cases found in the corpus illustrate cases of *-pa* where this suffix has a different function from *-pu*: the latter is a benefactive, while the former could be a either general applicative that freely alternates with *-pa:*, or the first segment of the suffix *-paku*, which is cognate with the applicative (see Section 4.6.2.2.6 for the applicative suffix *-pa:* and Section 4.6.2.3.5 for *-paku*).

‘S/he comes see briefly.’

- (2) a. *Haqipu*y.
{haqi-**pu**-y}
leave-BEN-IMP
‘Leave it to him!’
- b. *Haqipamay*.
{haqi-**pu**-ma-y}
leave-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP
‘Leave it to me!’
- (3) a. *Pukllaykuntsik*.
{puklla-**yku**-ntsik}
play-EXCEP-1PL.SBJ
‘We played.’
- b. *Pukllaykatsintsik*.
{puklla-**yku**-tsi-ntsik}
play-EXCEP-CAUS-1PL.SBJ
‘We made them play.’
- (4) a. *Rikarkunki*.
{rika-**rku**-nki}
look.up-UW-2.SBJ
‘You look it up.’
- b. *Rikarkapunki*.
{rika-**rku**-pu-nki}
look.up-UW-BEN-2.SBJ
‘You look it for her.’

The trigger suffix does not need to be placed immediately next to the affected one, as the contrast between the examples in (5) shows.

- (5) a. *Rika:riyan*.
{rika:-**ri**-ya-n}
see-PUNC-3.SBJ
‘They see briefly.’
- b. *Rika:raya:mun*.
{rika:-**ri**-ya:-mu-n}
see-PUNC-TF-CISL-3.SBJ
‘They come see briefly.’

Also, the trigger suffix can affect a string of derivational suffixes. For instance, in Example (6), has *-rpu*, *-rku*, and *-ri* affected by *-mu*.

- (6) *hiqarparkaramuptin*
{hiqa-**rpu-rku-ri**-mu-pti-n}
grow-DW-UW-PUNC-CISL-SUBDS-3.SBJ

‘when it has germinated fully’ (lit. ‘when it grows downwards and upwards,’ like a plant does when it germinates)

4.3.5 Stress assignment

At the word level, the penultimate syllable is most generally stressed (as it is the norm for other Quechuan languages). Thus, adding suffixes will not displace stress from that position (e.g. *pu-sha-n* /'pu.shan/ ‘he guides’ and *pu-sha-lla-n* /pu.'sha.llan/ ‘he just guides’).

However, there are several cases in which the primary accent does not fall on the penultimate syllable. First, toponyms ending in /n/ consistently display final stress (e.g. *Tuspín* /tus.'pin/, *Parón* /pa.r'un/, *Huancapetí* /wan.ka.pi.'ti/). Julca Guerrero (2009: 142–3) provides evidence for short vowels in a final stressed syllable originally coming from unstressed long vowels in final position. Other terms alternate between penultimate and final stress, e.g. *turmanyay* /tur.man.'ye:/ or /tur.'man.ye:/ ‘rainbow’ (Swisshelm 1971: 167). Finally, final stress, as it is the case in other Quechuan languages, serves as an emotional device: vocatives and interjections are frequently associated with that stress pattern, e.g. *tayta:!* [te:'ta:] ‘Sir!’, *alláw!* [a.'llaw] ‘what a pity!’)

The most complete analysis of stress patterns in relation with the length of a syllable is in Swisshelm (1971: 163–75). His proposal acknowledges several instances where penultimate stress does not occur. For instance, he observes that if there is only one long syllable in a word (i.e. CVC, VC, V:, or CV:) and it occurs anywhere before the last syllable, that it will then carry the primary stress. Thus, *warmi* ['war.mi] ‘woman’ or *wara:nin* [wa.'ra:ni] ‘tomorrow’ follow this rule and have penultimate stress, while *ampipa* ['am.pi.pa] ‘at night’ or *hirkakunapa* ['hir.ka.ku.na.pa] ‘through the mountains’ have stress in their initial syllable, the long one. Other rules Swisshelm (1971) proposes are that when several syllables before the final one are long, then the last one of them will be stressed (e.g. *siqaykarinqa* [se.qe:ka.'ren.qa] ‘he will fall down’ or *aqaykaqtana* [a.qe:.'kaq.ta.na] ‘the one already grinding it’); and if there are no long syllables before the final one, then the initial syllable becomes stressed (e.g. *suwakuq* ['su.wa.kuq] ‘the one who steals,’ *waraka* ['wa.ra.ka] ‘sling’).

4.4 Parts of speech and transcategorical operations

4.4.1 Parts of speech

HQ is similar to other Quechuan languages in that it has four types of words: (i) nouns (e.g., *hirka* ‘mountain’), (ii) verbs (e.g., *chura-* ‘to put’), (iii) ambivalents (e.g. *suwa* ‘thief’ and *suwa-* ‘to steal’), and particles (e.g., *mana* ‘not’, *hina* ‘like, so’). Adjectives can be considered as a type of noun, since nothing in their morphosyntactic behavior distinguishes them from nouns. In Example (7), for instance, *chukru* ‘hard’ appears in object function without further modification.

- (7) *Manam pay chukruta mikuyta puwidintsu.*
{mana-m pay **chukru-ta** miku-y-ta puwidi-n-tsu}
not-EVD s/he hard-ACC eat-INF-ACC be.able.to-3.SBJ-NEG
‘He can’t eat hard things.’

Some adjectives come from stative verbal roots (e.g., *kushi* ‘happy’), while others arise from nominalizations, some of which ended up lexicalized. For instance, *shumaq* ‘pretty’ and *mushuq*

‘new’ have clearly lexicalized the agentive nominalizer *-q*. This is not different from how *lasa-q* ‘heavy’ is created from *lasa-* ‘to weight.’

The main formal indicator of wordclasshood is the type of suffixes a root can take. Nouns take nominal suffixes (e.g., possessive inflection, plural, case) and verbs take verbal suffixes (e.g., tense, person, aspect, voice). Ambivalent roots take nominal or verbal morphology. There are also independent suffixes, known traditionally in Quechuan linguistics as enclitics (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 287). They convey notions related to the nature of information (e.g., evidentials), topic, focus, and other types of (inter)subjective stance. They are important to determine parts of speech because they can attach to nouns, verbs, and particles. What distinguishes particles is that they only take independent suffixes, never nominal nor verbal ones (e.g. *mana-m* ‘no.’)

Interjections may be considered another type of word inasmuch as they do not seem to take any suffixes, and they have a consistent final-syllable stress pattern (e.g., *atatáw* ‘how ugly!’, *achalláw* ‘how pretty!’).

4.4.2 Transcategorical operations

In order to derive nouns from verbs, HQ uses the following nominalizers: potential *-na*, actual *-nqa*, agentive *-q*, resultative *-shqa*, and infinitive *-y*. Conversely, to turn nouns into verbs, the following suffixes are frequently used: transformative *-ya*., desiderative *-na*., factive *-tsa*., causative *-tsi*, middle *-ku*, and spontaneous *-ka*., (which is also described as a reflexive, medio-passive or passive in other varieties).

4.4.2.1 Nominal derivation (nominalization)

4.4.2.1.1 *-na* ‘potential nominalizer (POT.NMLZ)’

-na nominalizes a verb from the perspective of its potential occurrence. Simply put, it expresses the possibility of an event. Frequently, it creates a referent that serves as an instrument, but also as an enabling location (e.g., *tsapa-na* ‘lid’ is the thing that allows the action denoted by the verb *tsapa-* ‘to cover’ to take place; but *puklla-na* denotes both the instrument ‘toy’ and the location ‘playground’). *-na*, expressing an irrealis event, is central to purpose constructions (see Section 4.8.4.2.3.4). It stands in direct contrast to *-nqa*, the actual or realis nominalizer, as Example (8) shows.

- (8) *Kanan musyarirqunki imanaw rurana:kanqanta.*
 {kanan musya-ri-rqu-nki imanaw rura-**na**-: ka-nqa-n-ta}
 now know-PUNC-REC.PST-2.SBJ how make-POT.NMLZ-1.POSS be-ACT.NMLZ-ACC
 ‘Now you know how my chores at home are.’

Here *rurana*: (lit. ‘my potential doing,’ i.e. ‘my chores’) serves as the modifier to *kanqanta* ‘what it actually is,’ the object of the cognition verb *musya-* ‘to know.’

4.4.2.1.2 *-q* ‘agentive nominalizer (AG)’

The nominalizer *-q* reifies an event based on the participant responsible for carrying out the event (the subject). For instance, in *wamra salba-q* ‘the savior of the child’ (from *wamra* ‘child’ and *salba-* ‘to save,’ a Spanish loan) the agentive nominalizer creates a referential noun. Notice that the modifier *wamra* corresponds to the object argument of *salba-*. Nominalizations with *-q*

serve also as modifiers (e.g. *qutsu-q yukis* ‘singing thrush,’ from *qutsu-* ‘to sing’ and *yukis* ‘thrush’). In this way, *-q* is used for relative clauses (see Section 4.8.4.2.1.1).

It is common to refer to *-q* as an “agentive nominalizer.” However, this is not entirely accurate. The argument which *-q* creates does not need to be volitional nor affected by the result of an event carried out by another participant. Consider *qishya-q* (from *qishya-* ‘to be sick’) a state verb whose subject is the affected participant. Nothing implies that something caused the participant to be sick, let alone that the subject is agentive/volitional.

4.4.2.1.3 *-shqa* ‘resultative nominalizer (RES)’

The nominalizer *-shqa* (commonly known also as “past participle”) creates a referential expression understood in terms of a resulting state. For this reason it is widely used not only to create a referent, but also a deverbal adjective. For instance, *wanu-shqa* (from *wanu-* ‘to die’) can mean ‘dead one’ or simply denote the resulting quality, as in *wanu-shqa allqu* ‘dead dog.’ Moreover, *-shqa* commonly refers to whatever entity is affected, or results created during the event. Thus, *murushqa-yki* ‘what you sowed’ (from *murushqa-* ‘to sow,’ and with the 2nd person possessive suffix *-yki*) refers to a sowed entity. Constructions with *-shqa* can also be used as modifiers, which makes them analogous to relative clauses (see Section 4.8.4.2.1.1).

4.4.2.1.4 *-nqa* ‘actual nominalizer (ACT.NMLZ)’

-nqa is used to express nominalized events corresponding to actual occurrences, either in the present or the past. In this sense, *-nqa* associates a “realis” modality to its referent. Parker (1976: 102) described it as an “imperfective nominalizer.” This description is rather odd, since Parker states that the nominalized event could also have ended (perfective aspect). In fact, *-nqa* is not used consistently as either a perfective or imperfective marker. Instead, what this suffix conveys is an event nominalization understood as an actual occurrence, which is frequently used with verbs of knowledge, communication, and perception. For this reason, the referred event can be in-progress or complete, as seen in Example (9).

- (9) *Tushunqanta musya:*
 {tushu-**nqa**-n-ta musya-:}
 dance-ACT.NMLZ-3.SBJ-ACC know-1.SBJ
 ‘I know that s/he is dancing / that s/he danced.’

-nqa is used less frequently in HQ because *-shqa* has taken over the function of expressing an actually occurring event (by focusing on the perfective profile of this suffix, see Section 4.6.3.2.5).

4.4.2.1.5 *-y* ‘infinitive (INF)’

The infinitive suffix *-y*, common to every Quechuan variety, is used as the basic verbal noun. In other words, it typifies an event without implying any temporal or modal information about it. Thus, *qutsu-y* is not only ‘to dance,’ but also ‘dancing’ and the equivalent to the noun ‘dance.’ Likewise, *achacha-y* (from *achacha-* ‘to be hot’) can mean ‘heat.’ The rather neutral properties of the infinitive make it very commonly used as objects of verbs like *muna-* ‘to want,’ ‘to like,’ and *yacha-* ‘to know’ (see Section 4.8.4.2.2.1).

4.4.2.2 Verbal derivation

Suffixes in this class, *-ya:*, *-na:*, and *-tsa:*, all end in a long vowel. However, they will be found with a short vowel whenever followed by a coda consonant in the same syllable (e.g. *yaku-na:-nki* ‘you feel thirsty’ becomes *yakunanki* [ja.ku.'nan.kɪ]).

4.4.2.2.1 *-ya:* ‘transformative (TF)’

As a productive suffix, transformative *-ya:* takes a noun in order to derive a spontaneous resulting state.⁹ This basic function can be clearly seen in forms like *puka-ya:-* ‘to turn red; to blush’ (from *puka-* ‘red’) or *waktsa-ya:-* ‘to get poor’ (from *waktsa-* ‘poor; orphan’). However, *-ya:* can be used in ways that are not transformative, but that imply a subject affected by the state resulting from an event having taken place. Thus, *qanyas* ‘the whole day’ and *karu* ‘far’ yield *qanyas-ya:-* ‘to spend the whole day,’ and *karu-ya:-* ‘to be far (from).’ Also, it is likely that this suffix is involved in turning onomatopoeic terms into verbs with imperfective lexical aspect (e.g. *puqpuq-ya:-* ‘to spurt out; to bubble with force’ and *karkar-ya:-* ‘to shiver’).

4.4.2.2.2 *-na:* ‘desiderative (DESR)’

This suffix indicates that a subject is affected by the desire or propensity to experience an event. This last sense also includes that of an impending aspect (‘to be about to’). When it takes nouns as its basis, the resulting verbs suggest that the subject wants the referent of the noun (e.g. *yaku-na:-* ‘to be thirsty,’ from *yaku-* ‘water,’ or *warmi-na:-* ‘to desire a woman,’ from *warmi* ‘woman’). However, *-na:* is more frequently found with two types of verbs. First, it combines with intransitive ones expressing an affected subject or an event whose direct object is produced or emitted by the subject (e.g. *ishki-na:-* ‘to feel like falling; to be about to fall,’ from *ishki-* ‘to fall,’ *waqa-na:-* ‘to feel like crying; to be about to cry,’ from *waqa-* ‘to cry,’ *ishpa-na:-* ‘to feel like urinating; to about to urinate’). Second, it is used with atmospheric verbs. In those cases the event is impending or ‘about to happen’ (e.g. *tamya-na:-* ‘to be about to rain,’ from *tamya* ‘rain,’ *ampi-na:-* ‘to be about to get dark,’ from *ampi-* ‘to be dark’).

4.4.2.2.3 *-tsa:* ‘factive (FACT)’

This suffix turns noun bases into verbs; the meaning of the base noun then denotes a resulting product, performance, or an extended state. These three uses can be respectively seen in *wayi-tsa:-* ‘to make a house’ (from *wayi* ‘house’), *haqa-tsa:-* ‘to collect a debt’ (from *haqa* ‘debtor’), *alli-tsa:-* ‘to improve’ (from *alli* ‘good’), and *puka-tsa:-* ‘to make red’ (from *puka* ‘red’). Notice the contrast between *-ya:* and *-tsa:*: the first one is spontaneous, while the second one implies a causer that brings the results referred by the base noun.¹⁰

4.4.2.2.4 *-ta:* ‘substance-covering (COV)’

This suffix has a very reduced distribution. It takes a nominal base referring to a substance (such as colors). The derived verb conveys the act of covering something with such substance (e.g. *yawar-ta:-* ‘to cover in blood,’ from *yawar* ‘blood,’ *kachi-ta:-* ‘to salt something, cover with salt,’ from *kachi* ‘salt,’ *yuraq-ta:-* ‘to paint white, to cover in white,’ from *yuraq* ‘white’).

⁹ Sometimes *-ya:* is labeled “inchoative,” which should be reserved for an aspectual function. Since it only applies to nominal bases, and not to verbs, as aspect suffixes do, “transformative” is a more accurate descriptor.

¹⁰ The combination of the transformative *-ya:* with causative *-tsi* is also frequently attested with a similar function to that of *-tsa:*. For instance *yana* ‘black’ yields *yana-ya:-tsi-* ‘to make turn black,’ whose meaning is analogous to that of *yana-tsa:-* ‘to make black.’ However, *-ya:-tsi-* does not imply a direct and sustained action from the subject in order to bring about a progressive change (e.d. an otherwise spontaneous transformation is triggered by the subject). On the other hand, *-tsa:* implies that the subject is making the object change through all the steps of the process.

4.4.2.2.5 Voice as verbalizer: *-tsi* ‘causative (CAUS),’ *-ku* ‘reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive (MID),’ and *-ka:* ‘passive-accidental (PASS.ACC)’

It is possible to find many instances of nouns that take suffixes that otherwise are used with verbs to mark voice alternations (see Section 4.6.2.2). The causative *-tsi* combines sometimes with nouns producing verbs similar to those using factitive *-tsa:*. Examples are *huti-tsi-* ‘to christen,’ from *huti* ‘name,’ *ladu-tsi-* ‘to put in one side,’ from *ladu-* ‘side,’ *misa-tsi-* ‘to have mass celebrated,’ from *misa* ‘Catholic mass,’ and *chichi-tsi-* ‘to breastfeed,’ from *chichi* ‘breast’).

The use of the reflexive voice suffix *-ku* as a verbalizer is a very productive mechanism in HQ. This construction indicates that the base noun is something procured, made, or worn by the subject. In this sense, the subject is always affected (as a beneficiary) by their own actions towards the noun referent. Examples are *yuyu-ku-* ‘to look for mustard leaves,’ *wayna-ku-* ‘to procure a lover for oneself,’ from *wayna* ‘lover, boyfriend,’ *aswa-ku-* ‘to prepare chicha,’ *masa-ku-* ‘to make dough (for bread)’ (from Spanish *masa*), and *tsuku-ku-* ‘to put on a hat.’

In few cases, the spontaneous voice suffix *-ka:* is used with nouns to create a verb: *qucha-ka:-* ‘to become a lake’ (i.e. ‘to result a water accumulation’), *kuta-ka:-* ‘to end in a corner,’ *tsillpi-ka:-* ‘to become splinters; for an object to decay,’ and *pirqa-ka:-* ‘to end up formed a wall’ (from *pirqa* ‘wall,’ although it is used as an ambivalent stem). In those verbalizations the progressive passing of time until a result referring to the base noun takes place is implied.

4.5 Nominals

4.5.1 Subclasses of nominals

HQ includes the typical classes of nouns found in other Quechuan languages. These include common nouns (e.g., *tika* ‘mud brick’), personal pronouns (*nuqa* ‘I,’ *qam* ‘you,’ *pay* ‘s/he, it’), demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *kay* ‘this,’ *tsay* ‘that’), quantifiers (*llapa* ‘all’), emphatic pronouns (*kiki* ‘self’), interrogative-indefinites (e.g., *pi* ‘who,’ *ima* ‘what,’ *imay* ‘when’), and numerals (e.g., *huk* ‘one,’ *ishkay* ‘two,’ *kima* ‘three’).

Traditionally, a small class of pre-adjectives has been proposed. They include *alla:pa* ~ *alla:pi* ‘much,’ *allibuweni* ‘very well’ (from Spanish *bueno* ‘good’), *limpu* ‘totally’ (perhaps from Spanish *limpio* ‘clean’), *pasaypa* ‘extremely’ (from Spanish *pasar* ‘to pass,’ ‘to surpass’), *sayllama* ([‘seɬama]) ‘very,’ *shumaq* ‘pretty; very,’ and *mas* ‘more’ (from Spanish). These terms profile the highest point of the scale implied by the term they modify. In other words, they stress a higher degree in, for instance, an adjective (e.g., *alla:pa chukru* ‘very hard’). Consequently, pre-adjectives are defined as adjective-modifying words. However, each and every one of the so-called pre-adjectives in HQ can be used with verbs too without changes (e.g., *pasaypa ranti-n* ‘he buys a lot,’ *limpu ampikurin* ‘it gets totally dark’).¹¹ For this reason, it is best to view pre-adjectives as a type of adverb: specifically, a modifier sensitive to scalar properties that are central to both the temporal profile of verbs and the degree of the quality implied in some specific nouns.

4.5.1.1 Pronouns

¹¹ The only exception is *mas*, which modifies verbs as *mas-ta*, in the accusative case.

HQ, like other Quechuan languages, includes personal pronouns (which can take case marking), demonstrative pronouns (also determiners), pronouns that only appear with nominal inflection (emphatic and quantifiers), and interrogative pronouns (which double as indefinite ones).

4.5.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

The main pronominal forms are *nuqa* ‘I,’ *qam* ‘you,’ and *pay* ‘s/he, it.’ As is common in most Quechuan languages, the 1st person plural distinguishes between *nuqa-kuna*, the exclusive form (i.e. the addressee is not included in the pronoun referent), and *nuqa-ntsik*, the inclusive form. The plural for the second and third person are *qam-kuna* and *pay-kuna*, respectively. Like every noun, personal pronouns are marked for case (*nuqa-ntsik-paq* ‘for us, including you’). If the subject has been made explicit and is maintained as topic, it is frequently left unmentioned, unless the speaker wants to emphasize the identity of the subject. It must be noted that personal pronouns are seldom used as direct objects (only if there is need to contrastively emphasize the referent of a direct object). Instead, as it is common in Quechuan languages, there is an object-person marking system (see Section 4.6.3.1.2).

4.5.1.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

These pronouns have a deictic function based on the location of the referent in relation to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons. While they can be used with the nominal plural suffix *-kuna*, this is infrequent. Thus, *kay* ‘this’ (e.g., **kay** *wamra* ‘this child’) points at a referent close to the speaker, but away from the speaker, and *tsay* ‘that’ (alternatively *hay*) indicates that the referent is close to the hearer, but away from the addressee (e.g., **tsay** / **hay** *shipash* ‘that young woman’). There are two evenly distributed 3rd person-based demonstratives. The first one, *wak* ‘that other,’ is based on the 3rd person considered as “the other” participant different from the speaker and the addressee (e.g., **wak** *warmi* ‘that other woman,’ **wak** *bida-chaw* ‘in the other life’ with *bida* ‘life,’ from Spanish, and locative *-chaw*.) The second one, *taqay* ‘that over there’ does not imply the notion of “other,” and it seems more aligned with the deictic function *kay* ‘this’ and *tsay* ‘that’ have since it points to a referent located away from both the speaker and the addressee (e.g., **taqay** *marka* ‘that town over there’). Other demonstratives are *wakin* ‘the other,’ and *huk* ‘a, another.’ *Wakin* ‘the other’ is related to *wak* ‘that other’ and it is much more frequently used than the latter. It refers to entities whose definiteness is relative to a previously defined part of the set. Thus *wakin* is best understood as ‘some’ or ‘the rest.’ The numeral *huk* ‘one’ in HQ can be used to indicate a definite referent that has not yet been made specific in speech.

Consequently, it could mean both ‘a’ and ‘another.’ Thus, **huk** *ra:tu* **huk** *sitiyuchaw*, **huk** *ra:tu* **huk** *sitiyuchaw* means ‘**one** time (*ra:tu*) at **one** place (*sitiyu*), **another** time at **another** place.’

4.5.1.1.3 Nominally inflected pronouns (emphatic and quantifiers)

Some pronouns must be inflected for nominal agreement in addition to case marking. The first one is the emphatic pronoun *kiki* ‘self.’ In this way, *kiki-*: ‘myself’, *kiki-yki* ‘yourself’ (pronounced most usually [kɨkɨ-kɨ] or [kɨkɨ:-kɨ] in careful speech), and *kiki-n* ‘him/her/itself’ indicate that their referent stands in sharp contrast to any other possible one (i.e. it is that person, and no other). In the 3rd person, this pronoun can be used as modifier (e.g., **kiki-n** *tiyu-ntsik-paq* ‘for our uncle himself’).

The second is the universal quantifier *llapa* ‘all’ (e.g. *llapa-*: ‘all of us,’ *llapa-yki-kuna* ‘all of you’). As a modifier it is found only in the third person singular, *llapa-n* (e.g. **llapa-n** *hara chakra* ‘all of the corn plot’). Notice that plural marking is absent in the quantifier when the

nominal head is marked (e.g. *llapa-n pumakuna* ‘all the cougars’). Thus, *llapankuna* only serves as a pronoun. Regarding the plural marking of *llapa-* ‘all,’ it seems that the presence of *-kuna* implies a precise reference to the individuals in a set. Thus, *llapa-* alternates with *llapa-:-kuna* ‘all of us,’ but examples of the latter are found connected with an enumeration of individuals.

4.5.1.1.4 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

To form open questions HQ uses the following basic set of interrogative pronouns: *ima* ‘what,’ *pi* ‘who,’ *imay* ‘when,’ *may* ‘where,’ *ayka* ‘how much/many,’ and *mayqin* ‘which.’ *Ima* ‘what’ is used with other suffixes or in composition with other words in order to create *imanaw* ‘how’ (using the simulative case *-naw*), and *imanir* ‘why’ (lit. ‘saying what,’ using the same-subject subordinate *ni-r* ‘saying’). *Imanir* must be considered a lexicalized form, since it yields the form *imanirpis* ‘for whatever reason’ (see below). While these pronouns can be used as free forms, that is considered too direct and even rude. Therefore, it is more common to find them in combination with the following suffixes: direct evidential *-m ~ -mi* for more frontal questions, where a specific answer is considered necessary (e.g., *Ima-m parla-nki?* ‘What are you saying?’, with *parla-* ‘to talk’); contrastive *-taq/-tan* is used more frequently to connect a question to the ongoing dialogue, as e.g. in Example (10).

- (10) *Aykatataq munanki?*
 {ayka-ta-**taq** muna-nki?}
 how.many-ACC-CONTR want-2.SBJ
 ‘How many do you want?’

The continuative suffix *-raq* is present if the question implies an adverse situation or something that should not have happened, as in Example (11).

- (11) *Imapaqraq takllata haqiramurqu:?*
 {ima-paq-**raq** taklla-ta haqi-ri-mu-rqu-u?}
 what-BEN-CONT foot.plow-ACC leave-PUNC-CISL-REC.PST-1.SBJ

Interrogative pronouns serve as the basis for indefinite ones. To do this, they take the additive suffix *-pis* (e.g., *ima-pis* ‘anything,’ ‘whatever,’ *may-chaw-pis* ‘in any place,’ ‘wherever’). Negative indefinite pronouns are tied to the use of *mana* ‘not’ in the sentence (e.g. *mana ima-pis* ‘nothing’). However, the particle *ni* ‘nor’ (perhaps a Spanish loan) is frequently used to introduce a negative indefinite pronoun (e.g., *ni ima-pis* ‘nothing’, *ni may-pis* ‘nowhere’). Sometimes, *ni* is used without *-pis* in the pronoun (e.g. *ni pi-pa haqa-n ka-a-tsu* ‘I am not anybody’s debtor,’ with *pi* ‘who’ in genitive case *-pa*, and *haqa* ‘debtor’ marked with the 3rd person possessive suffix *-n*, and *ka-* ‘to be’ inflected for the 1st person by vowel lengthening with negative *-tsu*). The following table provides a summary of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

<insert Table 4.6 here>

4.5.1.2 Numerals

HQ uses a decimal system. Once the number goes beyond a multiple of *chunka* ‘ten’ units start being added. To do this, this variety simply indicates the number of units right after the number of tenths. Thus, ‘eleven’ is *chunka huk*. A unit before *chunka* ‘ten,’ *pachak* ‘100,’ or *waranqa*

‘1,000’ is a multiplier. Thus, ‘25’ is *iskay chunka pitsqa* (lit. ‘two ten five’), ‘749’ is *qanchis pachak chusku chunka isqun*, and ‘2036’ is *iskay waranqa kima chunka huqta*. Hunu ‘1,000,000’ is mostly unknown in this variety. It is usual to find the agentive nominalizer *-q* combined with *ishkay* ‘two’ and *kima* ‘three.’ The forms *ishkaq* and *kimaq* mean ‘the two/three of them,’ and usually refer to people.

Ordinal numbers are not used as a derived set from ordinal numbers. Instead, speakers use terms like *punta* ‘first’ (but also ‘before’) and *yapay* ‘second’ (but also ‘increase’). For further ordinals, Spanish terms are widely used (*sigundu* ‘second,’ *tirsiru* ‘third,’ etc.)

The Spanish number system is widely used for keeping tally of produce and to carry on business. Native Quechua numbers are productive, but restricted to age, calendar (though years are frequently in Spanish), and to household activities. Table 4.7 presents the numeral system.

<insert Table 4.7 here>

4.5.1.3 Gender

As it is common for Quechuan languages, nominals are not marked for gender. However, some roots include gender as part of their core meaning. Thus, *shipash* is ‘young woman’ and *cho:lu* is ‘young man’ (from Peruvian Spanish *cholo*), while *chakwas* is ‘old woman’ and *awkis* is ‘old man.’ Also, it is frequent to introduce a gender distinction in terms of the biological sex of a person by using *ullqu* ‘male’ or *warmi* ‘woman.’ Thus, *ullqu wawa* and *warmi wawa* are ‘male baby’ and ‘female baby,’ respectively. For animals, *ullqu* is used, but for a female animal the term is *china*. Thus, *ullqu allqu* and *china allqu* are ‘male dog’ and ‘female dog.’

Many loans replicate the gender marking pattern of Spanish (e.g. *lo:k-u* ‘crazy-MASC’ and *lo:k-a* ‘crazy-FEM,’ *duktur* ‘doctor-MASC’ and *duktur-a* ‘doctor-FEM’).

4.5.1.4 Order of constituents in the nominal phrase

Even if there is relative freedom of constituents in the clause, the nominal phrase order is quite rigid (Example 12 is adapted from Parker 1976: 31):

- (12) *tsay llapan kima mana allapa allim uchuk hara chakra (-kuna)*
 DEM all three not very good little corn field (-PL)
 i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix
 ‘all three of those not very good little corn fields’

The position slots are thus: (i) demonstrative, (ii) quantifier, (iii) number, (iv) negator, (v) scalar adverb (i.e. pre-adjective), (vi) adjective (i.e. quality noun), (vii) adjective (i.e. size noun), (viii) attributive noun, and (ix) plural.

4.5.2 Nominal derivation

This morphological process derives a noun from a base noun. There are five suffixes used for this process, (i) *-yuq* ‘inalienable possession (INAL.POSS)’ and *-sapa* ‘multiple possession (MULT.ALL)’ use the base to indicate what is possessed. *-ntin* ‘accompaniment, adjacency (INCL)’ presents a relation of inclusivity. The suffix *-lla* ‘restrictive, limitative (LIM),’ which can also be found with verbs, restricts the reference of its base by making it unique. Finally, *-mayi* ‘partnership (PART)’ suggests that the base noun is a shared characteristic between members of a group.

4.5.2.1 -yuq ‘inalienable possession (INAL.POSS)’

As it is common in most Quechuan languages, there is no verbal root meaning ‘to have.’ One of the ways in which possession is expressed requires the use of the suffix -yuq with a noun base. Thus, *wayi* ‘house’ yields *wayi-yuq* ‘house owner, one who has a house.’ The possessive relation is expressed with the copula, as in Example (13).

- (13) *Qam shumaq wasiyuq kanki.*
 {qam shumaq wasi-**yuq** ka-nki}
 you pretty house-INAL.POSS be-2.SBJ
 ‘You have a pretty house.’ (lit. ‘You are a pretty-house-owner.’)

This suffix can be added to any type of nominal, including nominalizations, with the exception perhaps of personal pronouns (e.g. *tsay-ni-yuq* ‘that has that,’ *ima-yuq* ‘that has something,’ *kawa-y-yuq* ‘that has life,’ from *kawa-* ‘to live’ marked with the infinitive suffix -y.)

What defines -yuq is that it indicates that the nominal it marks is an inalienable possession of the nominal it modifies. In this way, the possessed entity is viewed as not freely transferrable, and it helps characterize its owner. Consequently, body parts (e.g., *piqa-yuq ka-*: ‘I have a head,’ from *piqa* ‘head’), family members (e.g., *warmi-yuq ka-nki* ‘you have a wife,’ from *warmi* ‘woman’), and inherent qualities (e.g., *chani-yuq* ‘that has value, costly,’ from *chani* ‘value,’ and *huti-yuq* ‘that has a name, named,’ from *huti* ‘name’) use this suffix. Example (14) shows that the nominal head *nuna* ‘person’ is characterized by having the name ‘Abraham.’

- (14) *Abraham hutiyuq nuna shamun.*
 {abraham huti-**yuq** nuna shamu-n}
 abraham name-INAL.POSS person come-3.SBJ
 ‘A person named Abraham has come.’ (lit. ‘an Abraham-name-having person’)

4.5.2.2 -sapa ‘multiple possession (MULT.ALL)’

This suffix also conveys a possessive notion. Thus, *wayi-sapa* indicates that someone possesses many houses. The difference between this suffix and -yuq is based on the quantity of the possessed entity: -sapa indicates a greater amount of it. This increased possession does not distinguish between individual entities (e.g., *wa:ka-sapa nuna* ‘person owner of many cows,’ from *wa:ka* ‘cow’) or substances (*qillay-sapa nuna* ‘rich person,’ from *qillay* ‘silver, money’).

4.5.2.3 -ntin ‘accompaniment, adjacency (INCL)’

This suffix indicates that its base referent is included together with another entity (e.g., *utsu-ntin* ‘with hot pepper,’ from *utsu* ‘hot pepper,’ *yawar-ni-ntin* ‘with blood,’ from *yawar* ‘blood,’ which requires the epenthetic suffix -ni). Example (15) shows a context of use.

- (15) *Kashkitapis rurantsik aytsallantin.*
 {kashki-ta-pis rura-ntsik aytsa-lla-**ntin**}
 soup-ACC-ADD make-1PL.SBJ meat-LIM-INCL
 ‘We also make soup with meat.’

-ntin also indicates that all the parts of the base referent are equally involved. This can be seen with the quantifier *llapa* ‘all’ (*llapa-ntin* ‘all together,’ ‘including everyone’), the particle *hina* ‘like, so’ (*hina-ntin* ‘everywhere’), and nouns like *ampi* ‘night’ (*ampi-ntin* ‘all night’).

4.5.2.4 *-mayi* ‘partnership (PART)’

A noun marked with *-mayi* indicates that its referent shares with another individual a partnership defined by the base. Examples are *marka-mayi* ‘fellow town person,’ from *marka* ‘town,’ *yawar-mayi* ‘relative’ (lit. ‘blood mate’), *llamkay-mayi* ‘co-worker,’ from *llamka-y* ‘work-INF,’ *wiñay-mayi* ‘contemporary; age peer,’ from *wiña-y* ‘grow-INF.’

4.5.2.5 *-lla* ‘restrictive, limitative (LIM)’

This suffix restricts the referent of the noun to either a single entity or a single class (e.g. *tanta-lla* ‘only bread,’ from *tanta* ‘bread,’ *qam-lla* ‘just you,’ from *qam* ‘you.’ The delimitative sense takes place right before case marking. When this suffix takes the position immediately after the nominal stem, it takes a diminutive meaning (e.g. *yanaqi-lla-n-kuna-lla-wan* ‘just with your little friends,’ from *yanaqi* ‘friend’ with 3rd person *-n*, plural *-kuna*, and instrumental case *-wan*.)¹²

4.5.3 Nominal inflection

As is customary for Quechuan languages, nouns are inflected for person, number, and case. The nominal suffixes are distributed in the following order: derivational, person, number, and case. The complete distribution of derivational and inflectional suffixes is illustrated in Table 8.

<insert table 4.8 here>

4.5.3.1 Person

Quechuan languages make extensive use of nominal person marking. Its most obvious function is that of indicating the possessor of an entity. For this reason, they are frequently labeled “possessive suffixes.” Table 9 presents the nominal agreement paradigm.

<Insert table 4.9 here>

The use of the plural marker *-kuna* produces ambiguity when combined with person. Thus, *wayi-i-kuna* (from *wayi* ‘house’) means not only ‘our (EXCL) house,’ but also ‘our (EXCL) houses’ with a plural possessed referent, as well as ‘my houses’ (where *-kuna* has scope only over the possessed referent, not the person/possessor.)

Person marking can be used with any nominal base, with the exception perhaps of personal pronouns (e.g. *kay-ni-*: ‘this thing of mine,’ *tsay-ni-n* ‘that thing of his/hers,’ *ima-yki* ‘what thing of yours,’ *ishka-*: ‘the two of us’). The quantifier *llapa* ‘all’ and the emphatic pronoun *kiki* ‘self’ must always be marked for person in HQ (see Section 4.5.1.1.3).

HQ, like most Quechuan languages, uses nominal person in several syntactic constructions. This is seen in the agreement between a genitive-marked person and the noun they are linked to (see Section 4.5.3.3.1), and in nominalized verbs using person marking to indicate grammatical relations (see Section 4.8.4.2.2.2)

¹² The status of *-lla* as a derivational suffix is not entirely clear. An almost identical form *-lla:* can be considered a verbal derivational suffix (see Section 6.2.3.2.) Perhaps *-lla* should be analyzed as an enclitic.

4.5.3.2 Number

The plural is marked through *-kuna* (e.g. *shipash-kuna* ‘young women,’ from *shipash* ‘young woman’). When another word indicating plurality is present, HQ speakers alternate between the use of *-kuna* and its absence. Thus, *atska nuna-kuna* and *atska nuna* are acceptable for ‘many people.’ Likewise, ‘four sheep’ can be *chusku u:sha* or *chusku u:shakuna*. Combining *-kuna* with person marking in a noun produces ambiguity with regards to what is pluralized, either the person, the base noun, or both (see Section 4.5.3.1).

4.5.3.3 Case

As in any Quechuan language, this variety has a rich case system. Every noun is overtly marked to provide information about its role in the phrase or sentence (subject, object, goal, possessor, among others). In some cases, case marker can be stacked (usually genitive *-pa*, instrumental *-wan*, similitude *-naw*). The nominative is zero-marked, as it is the case for the subject in nominative-accusative languages (see Section 4.8.1). There are twelve case markers in HQ, and I will describe all of them separately, except the nominative. Nominative case is unmarked, as in every Quechuan language, and it expresses the subject argument of transitive and intransitive verbs (see Section 4.8.1.) Table 4.10 introduces and exemplifies them

<Insert table 4.10 here>

4.5.3.3.1 *-ta* ‘accusative (ACC)’

This is the case of the object argument of a transitive verb, as in Example (16).

- (16) *Tantata rura:.*
{ tanta-**ta** rura-: }
bread-ACC make-1.SBJ
‘I make bread.’

It is common to use *-ta* to indicate the ultimate goal of a motion event (Example 17). In this sense, it contrasts with *-man*, which profiles the path that leads into the goal (see Section 4.5.3.3.3):

- (17) *Wayiyikita purishun.*
{ wayi-yiki-**ta** puri-shun }
house-2.POSS-ACC walk-1PL.INCL.SBJ.FUT
‘Let’s walk to your house’

HQ does not distinguish between direct and indirect object. The latter is the theme argument or the one affected in a way that is subordinate to another participant’s affectedness. Consequently, ditransitive verbs like *qu-* ‘to give,’ *qara-* ‘to serve,’ or *qatu-* ‘to sell’ yield double accusative constructions. Usually, in these constructions the argument closer to the verb is the theme, although sometimes it is located after the verb (even without *-ta*, making it a zero-marked object). (18) furnishes examples with *qu-* ‘to give.’

- (18) a. *Shanti tsurinta ruripata qurqan.*

{shanti	tsuri-n- ta	ruripa- ta	qu-rqa-n
Santiago	child-3.POSS-ACC	skirt-ACC	give-PST-3.SBJ
'Santiago gave his child a skirt.'			

- b. *Payta qun puka hilu.*
 {pay-**ta** qu-n puka hilu-**Ø**}
 s/he-ACC give-3.SBJ red thread-ACC
 'She gives him a red thread.'

While *-ta* is generally associated with the affected participant in an event, this suffix is found with nouns that are the source of the subject's experience. With this function, *-ta* is tied to verbs with low transitivity like perception and emotion. As illustrated in Example (19), *-ta* crucially is also found with intransitive verbs without any valency-increasing voice suffix (Parker 1973a:16):

- (19) a. *Na:nita rikaykaya:.*
 {na:ni-**ta** rika:-yka:-ya:-}
 road-ACC see-IPFV-PL-1.SBJ
 'We are seeing the road.'
- b. *Warma mamanta waqan.*
 {warma mama-n-**ta** waqa-n}
 child mother-3.POSS-ACC cry-3.SBJ
 'The child is crying for her mom.' (i.e. 'due to her mom')

HQ speakers sometimes leave the direct object unmarked. As already seen in Example (18b) above, ditransitive verbs can leave its theme object unmarked. Also, a stereotypical object, or just an inanimate one, can be left unmarked (e.g. *papa alla-* 'to dig out potatoes' from *alla-* 'to dig.')

Finally, *-ta* is used to turn quality nouns (i.e. 'adjectives') into verb modifiers (i.e. 'adverbs.'). This can be seen in *alli-ta mikuy* 'eat well' (from *alli* 'good' with *mikuy* 'eat,' a command) and *atska-ta upyay* 'drink a lot,' 'drink much' (from *atska* 'many' and *upyay* 'to drink,' a command).

4.5.3.3.2 *-pa* 'genitive (GEN)'

As in many Quechuan languages, the genitive *-pa* is used in agreement with the nominal person marking to indicate the possessor of the referred entity, as seen in Example (20).

- (20) *Peyupa warmin*
 {peyu-**pa** warmi-n}
 pedro-GEN woman-3.POSS
 'Pedro's wife'

As shown in Example (21), this agreement process can be recursive.

- (21) *Peyupa warminpa turin*
 {peyu-**pa** warmi-n-**pa** turi-n}

pedro-GEN woman-3.POSS-GEN brother.of.a.woman-3.POSS
 ‘Pedro’s wife’s brother’

This suffix also indicates a path for motion events, specifically ‘through’, or ‘along’ as in Example (22).

- (22) *Hirkakunapa hananpa aywan.*
 {hirka-kuna-**pa** hana-n-pa aywa-n}
 mountain-PL-GEN top-3.POSS-GEN go-3.SBJ
 ‘It goes through the top of the mountains.’

This function of *-pa* might be active in expressions like *ampi-pa* (‘at night,’ from *ampi* ‘night’) or *hunaq-pa* (‘during daytime,’ from *hunaq* ‘day’). Perhaps it is also related to the use of *-pa* to create modifiers indicating the condition in which the subject is when doing or experiencing an event. It can also be used to modify how the event takes place. In this function, *-pa* is frequently found alongside the delimitative *-lla*. Examples are *chaki-pa* ‘by foot, on foot’ (from *chaki* ‘feet’), *fiyu-pa* ‘badly; strongly’ (from *fiyu* ‘ugly,’ a Spanish loan), *waqa-lla-pa* ‘crying’ (from *waqa* ‘cry’), *paka-y-lla-pa* ‘hiddenly, sneakily’ (from *paka-* ‘to hide’ in the infinitive). The next example illustrates the use of genitive *-pa* with a nominalized verb with infinitive *-y*.

- (23) *Huanshi mantsapaypa puriykan.*
 {huanshi mantsa-pa:-y-**pa** puri-yka:-n}
 Juan fear-APPL-INF-GEN walk-IPFV-3.SBJ
 ‘Juan is walking afraid (of something).’

4.5.3.3.3 *-man* ‘allative (ALL)’

With this case speakers mark the direction and endpoint into/onto which something moves (e.g. *marka-man* ‘to town,’ from *marka* ‘town,’ or *uray-man* ‘downwards,’ from *uray* ‘down’). A further example is in (24).

- (24) *U:sa:kuna quchaman hiqaykurqun.*
 {u:sha:-kuna qucha-**man** hiqa-yku-rqu-n}
 sheep-1.POSS-PL lake-ALL fall-IW-REC.PST-3.SBJ
 ‘Our sheep have fallen into the lake.’

-man is never used to mark an indirect object in HQ (see Section 4.5.3.3.1).

4.5.3.3.4 *-chaw* ‘locative (LOC)’

This case makes its base noun a location. It is commonly translated as ‘in,’ ‘on,’ or ‘at.’ For instance, *chakra-chaw* ‘in the crop field’ (from *chakra* ‘crop field, plot’), *hunaq-chaw* (‘in the day,’ ‘during the day.’)

4.5.3.3.5 *-paq* ‘dative, allative, purposive (DAT)’

With animate referents, this case marks the beneficiary or maleficiary of an event, as in Example (23).

- (25) *Kallmi paninpaq takiyan.*
 {kallmi pani-n-**paq** taki-yka:-n}
 carmen sister.of.a.woman-3.POSS-BEN sing-IPFV-3.SBJ
 ‘Carmen sings for her sister.’

In general, *-paq* conveys that a noun is the goal towards which an action aims. In this allative sense, there is no implicit path, only the *-paq*-marked endpoint of the action. This is illustrated in the Examples in (26).

- (26) a. *Limapaq purikuya:shaq.*
 {lima-**paq** puri-ku-ya:-shaq
 lima-ALL walk-MID-PLV-1.SBJ.FUT
 ‘We will go to Lima.’ (i.e. ‘We go to Lima’)
- b. *Huk killana fiyistapaq faltan.*
 {huk killa-na fistiya-**paq** falta-n}
 one month-DISC party-ALL be.left-3.SBJ
 ‘There is already one month left for the party.’

-paq is also used to indicate the purpose of non-motion events (see Section 4.8.4.2.3.2). While an animate endpoint tends to be interpreted as a beneficiary, affectedness of a dative participant is not guaranteed. To indicate full beneficiary status in an animate participant, the voice suffix *-pu* is used. For this reason, it is best to see *-paq* as a dative, and not as a benefactive (see Section 8.6.2.2.5).

4.5.3.3.6 *-piq* ~ *-pita* ‘ablative (ABL)’

Either *-piq* or *-pita* mark a noun as the starting point of a motion, or the source of an event or state (e.g. *Huaras-piq* ‘from Huaraz,’ from the toponym Huaraz, *waray-pita* ‘since the morning,’ from *waray* ‘morning,’ or *quri-pita* ‘of gold,’ from *quri* ‘gold’) There is widespread alternation between *-piq* and *-pita*, which are indistinguishable in meaning. *-pita* is preferred in the Southern Huaylas variety, while *-piq* is preferred in the Northern one. Both forms originate from **-piqta*, which is still used by few elderly speakers in the Northern Huaylas variety (Julca Guerrero 2010: 165–74.) The ablative also indicates the reason for something, most frequently with nominalized clauses (e.g. *tsay-pita* ‘due to that; then or the Example in 27).

- (27) *aywakunqanpita*
 {aywa-ku-nqa-n-**pita**}
 go-MID-ACT.NMLZ-3.POSS-ABL
 ‘due to his leaving’

In this sense, *-pita* ~ *-piq* is replacing *-raykur* as a causal case (see Section 4.5.3.3.10).

4.5.3.3.7 *-naw* ‘simulative (SIMUL)’

The simulative case indicates that its base noun serves as the reference point in a comparison (e.g. *atuq-naw* ‘like a fox,’ from *atuq* ‘fox,’ *chukis-naw* ‘like someone from Conchucos,’ from *chukis* ‘person from Conchucos,’ or *kay-naw* ‘like this,’ from *kay* ‘this’).

4.5.3.3.8 -*yaq*, -*kama* ‘limitative (LIM)’

This case alternates in HQ between -*yaq* and -*kama*. They indicate that some path or time period is covered until the limit determined by the base noun. It is commonly translated as *until*, e.g. *hirka-yaq* or *hirka-kama* ‘until the mountain,’ from *hirka* ‘mountain,’ and *waray-yaq* or *waray-kama* ‘until dawn,’ from *waray* ‘dawn.’ While both forms are used in Northern and Southern varieties, -*kama* is more frequent in the Southern one. It is possible to use the ablative case meaning ‘while’ or ‘during.’ This seems to be possible only with the actual nominalizer -*nqa*, as illustrated in Example (28).

- (28) *Waska:ta apamunqa:yaq runkulla:ta umpakurillaqman.*
 {waska-:ta apa-mu-**nqa-:yaq**
 rope-1.POSS-ACC bring-CISL-ACT.NMLZ-1.POSS-LIM

 runkulla-:ta umpa-ku-ri-lla-q-man}
 bag-1.POSS-ACC entrust-MID-PUNC-LIM-1.SBJ.2.OBJ-COND
 ‘While I bring my rope, could I entrust you with my bag?’ (Lit. ‘I would entrust you with’)

As shown in Example (29), the combination -*kama-yaq* is possible in the same noun to emphasize a full duration of an event or a full covered path of a motion event.

- (29) *Tsayshi kanankamayaq waqayan suwirtillankunata.*
 {tsay-shi kanan-**kama-yaq** waqa-ya:-n suwirti-lla-n-kuna-ta}
 DEM-EVR now-LIM-LIM cry-PLV-3.SBJ luck-LIM-3.POSS-PL-ACC
 ‘Therefore, up until now they cry for their luck.’

4.5.5.3.3.9 -*wan* ‘comitative-instrumental (COM)’

This case suffix has two main functions. First, it marks a noun as an instrument, that is, a co-causer subordinate to the subject participant, as in Example (30).

- (30) *Llawiwan punku-ta kicharqa:.*
 {llawi-**wan** punku-ta kicha-rqa-:}
 key-COM door-ACC open-PST-1.SBJ
 ‘I opened the door with the key.’

The second function, comitative, is to indicate that a noun referent is co-present alongside some other entity. This interpretation is preferred with animate beings:

- (31) *Malli taytanwan qatswan.*
 {malli tayta-n-**wan** qatswa-n}
 maría father-3.POSS-COM dance-3.SBJ
 ‘María dances with her father’

Also, comitative -*wan* is used for coordinating more than one nominal. Usually, it marks the first member of the set (e.g. *ashnu-wan atuqkuna* ‘the donkey and the foxes’). However, it is also

possible to use it to mark all the members. In Example (32) *i* ‘and’ (from Spanish *y*) is used also as a coordinator.

- (32) *Yacha: Limachawmi papa:ni:wan, mama:ni:wan, wawqi:kunawan i pani:wan.*
 {yacha:- lima-chaw-mi papa:-ni:-**wan** mama:-ni:-**wan**
 reside-1.SBJ Lima-LOC-EVD dad-EP-1.SBJ-COM mom-EP-1.SBJ-COM
 wawqi:-kuna-**wan** i pani:-**wan**}
 brother.of.a.man-1.POSS-PL-COM and sister.of.a.man-1.POSS-COM
 ‘I live in Lima with my dad, my mom, my brothers, and sisters.’

4.5.3.3.10 -raykur ‘causal (CSL)’

This case makes its base noun a cause, reason, or motivation (e.g. *qillay-raykur* ‘for money,’ from *qillay* ‘silver, money,’ *yanasa-raykur* ‘due to a friend,’ from *yanasa* ‘female friend,’ or *tsay-raykur* ‘because of that,’ a frequent consequence connective from *tsay* ‘that’). The next example shows how the noun *tsuri-yki* ‘your child’ serves as the cause for the verb *urya-* ‘to work.’

- (33) *Tsuriykiraykur uryaykanki.*
 {tsuri-yki-**raykur** urya-yka:-nki}
 child-2.POSS-CSL work-IPFV-2.SBJ
 ‘You are working for your child.’

4.5.3.3.11 -pura ‘exclusive (EXCL)’

The exclusive *-pura* establishes that only the elements within the set determined by the base noun participate in some event. This suffix emphasizes the members of the noun-class in exclusion of any entity outside that class.¹³ For instance, forms like *yanaki-pura* ‘among friends’ (from *yanaki* ‘male friend’), *kiki-n-pura* ‘among themselves’ (from *kiki* ‘self’ with the 3rd person possessive suffix), and *marka-pura* ‘within towns’ (from *marka* ‘town’) specify who or what is exclusively involved in an event. Due to this involvement, *-pura* is labeled “interactive” by Julca Guerrero (2009a: 191). With numerals (including fractions), *-pura* indicates the number of participants among which the amount gets distributed (e.g. *pullan pura* ‘half and a half,’ ‘between two,’ from *pullan* ‘half,’ *pitsqa chunka pura* ‘fifty per person,’ from *pitsqa chunka* ‘fifty’). Parker (1976: 89) calls this use “adverbial” because it specifies how the distribution is done (i.e. the noun with *pura* modifies the verb). Arguably, *-pura* refers instead to the subject of the sentence to elaborate upon the number of participants exclusively involved. The distributive use of *-pura* and its relation to non-quantifying expressions still needs analysis.

4.6 Verbs

HQ’s verbs are bound stems which at least are inflected for person and tense. However, most frequently they are marked with aspect and voice derivational suffixes. As is usual in Quechuan languages, verbal stems are not a numerous class. My verbal database counts around a thousand of them. However, verbal derivational morphology allows for many meaning specifications that enhance a verb’s expressive potential. For example, *apa-* ‘to take’ yields *apa-mu-* ‘to bring’ (i.e. ‘to take towards the speaker,’ with *-mu* ‘cislocative’), and *apa-tsi-* ‘to send’ (i.e. ‘to make take,’

¹³ Some authors like Parker (1976: 89) consider *-pura* a particle. However, there is no clear indication that this form can be used independently of a nominal base immediately preceding it. Therefore, we classify it as a case suffix.

with *-tsi* ‘causative’), not to mention lexicalized derivational suffixes leading to forms like *apari-* ‘to carry on the back’ (likely from **-ri* ‘upwards, above.’)

4.6.1 Verb subclasses

Based on how they relate to other nominal arguments, three verb subclasses have been proposed for HQ and perhaps every other Quechuan language: (i) copulatives relate nouns with predicates (e.g. *ka-* ‘to be,’ *tuku-* ‘to become’), (ii) intransitives, which denote events that require a single participant to take place or being experienced (e.g. *aywa-* ‘to go,’ *wanu-* ‘to die’), and (iii) transitive verbs that require the interaction of two participants (e.g. *rura-* ‘to make,’ *chura-* ‘to put’).

4.6.1.1 Copulative verbs

Copulas are verbs that relate their subject to a nominal predicate. The most basic and frequent copula is *ka-* ‘to be, exist.’

- (34) *Nuqa chakra nunam ka:.*
 {nuqa chakra nuna-m **ka:-**}
 I crop.field person-EVD be-1.SBJ
 ‘I am a peasant.’ (i.e. ‘a farm person’)

As with most Quechuan languages, a 3rd person singular subject (*pay* ‘s/he, it’) does not take overt *ka-* in the present tense. Therefore, ‘he is my fellow townsman’ (with *llaqtamasi* ‘fellow townsman’) cannot use the 3rd person form *ka-n*. Instead, it must be rendered as in Example (35).

- (35) *Pay llaqtamasi:mi.*
 {pay **llaqtamasi:-mi**}
 s/he fellow.townsman-1.SBJ-EVD
 ‘He is my fellow townsman.’

However, whenever non-overt *ka-n* takes any other aspect, tense, or mood suffix, it gets overtly expressed, as in Example (36).

- (36) *Pay llaqtamasi:mi karqan.*
 {Pay llaqtamasi:-mi **ka-rqa-n**}
 s/he fellow.townsman-1.POSS-EVD be-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘He was my fellow townsman.’

It is common to find *ka-* marked in the continuous aspect *-yka:*. With this aspect, the copula is understood as an ongoing state that can be framed within an unbounded time period (see Section 4.6.2.1.1.1). Thus, *ka-yka-* conveys a predicate as a background. Example (37) illustrates this use.

- (37) *Wak bidachawmi almayki mula kaykan.*
 {wak bida-chaw-mi alma-yki mula **ka-yka:-n**}
 that.other life-LOC-EVD soul-2.POSS mule be-IPFV-3.SBJ

‘In the other life your soul is a mule.’

As shown in Example (38), when *ka-n* is overtly used, it only expresses the subject’s existence

- (38) *Allqu kan.*
{allqu **ka-n**}
dog be-3.SBJ
‘There is a dog.’

As shown in Example (39), in this function *ka-* remains uninflected for number.

- (39) *Atska fiyistakuna kan.*
{atska fiyista-**kuna ka-n**}
many party-PL be-3.SG
‘There are many parties.’

The existential function of *ka-* ‘to be’ is crucial for the expression of possession in HQ. As characteristic in most Quechuan languages, there is no verb meaning ‘to have.’ Instead, to say “X has something” speakers literally say: “X’s something exists.” The genitive-marked possessor is optional in this construction, as in Example (40).

- (40) *(Nuqapa) llanqi: kan.*
{(Nuqa-pa) llanqi-: **ka-n**}
I-GEN sandals-1.POSS be-3.SBJ
‘I have sandals.’ (Lit. ‘There are my sandals of mine.’)

It is possible to convey a stronger bond between the possessor and the possessed entity in HQ by using the benefactive suffix *-pu* with *ka-* ‘to be.’ Examples (41) and (42) illustrate this.

- (41) *Luis Pardopa kapunaq huk kumpa:rim.*
{Luis Pardo-**pa ka-pu**-naq huk kumpari-m}
Luis Pardo-GEN be-BEN-NARR.PST one compadre-EVD
‘Luis Pardo had one compadre.’ (Lit. ‘A compadre of Luis Pardo_i belonged to him_i’)

- (42) *Nuqapapis atskam kapaman.*
{nuqa-**pa-pis** atska-m **ka-pu**-ma:-n}
I-GEN-ADD many-EVD be-BEN-1.OBJ-3.SBJ
‘I also have a lot (of them)’ (‘A lot (of them) belong to me too’)

Notice that the subject of *ka-n* is the possessed entity. However, no nominal agreement exists between the genitive possessor and the possessed entity (as in *Luis Pardo-pa kumpari-n* ‘Luis Pardo’s compadre’). It seems that in this construction the possessor is an appositional nominal construction sharing the same referent as the possessed entity. As such, it is optional (both *huk kumpa:ri kapun* and *atska kapaman* are acceptable). Finally, this construction is closer in meaning to English ‘to belong’ since the possessor’s referent is given by an object introduced by

benefactive suffix *-pu*. In Example (41) it is a 1st person marked with *-ma:*, while in (42) it is a zero-marked 3rd person.

Besides *ka-* ‘to be,’ the only other copulative verb is *tuku-* ‘to pretend to be,’ as e.g. in the Example in (43).

- (43) *Qillaysapa tukunki.*
 {Qillaysapa **tuku-nki**}
 money-MULT.ALL pretend.to.be-2.SBJ
 ‘You pretend to be rich.’

In some sources (e.g. Pantoja et al. 1974), *tuku-* is used as a suffix attached to nouns and nominalized forms, as in Example (44).

- (44) *wanuqtukur*
 {wanu-q-**tuku-r**}
 die-AG-pretend.to.be-SUBIS
 ‘pretending to be dead’

4.6.1.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs require two arguments for its elaboration. As a nominative-accusative language (see Section 4.8.1), HQ’s transitive verbs have a subject in the nominative case, and an object in the accusative case (marked with *-ta*). Verbs expressing dynamic actions involving two participants, an agent, and a patient, are the most representative of this class (e.g. *taka-* ‘to hit, knock,’ *rura-* ‘to make,’ or *suwa-* ‘to steal.’)

Verbs that indicate a caused motion are prime cases of transitivity: the change of state they convey by placing the object in a different location or by causing a change in their posture is seen as mainly affecting the object participant. This is the reason why *-ku*, the middle-reflexive suffix that stresses the affectedness of the subject, and otherwise capable of combining with virtually every type of verb, seldom combines with caused motion events. Thus, caused motion verbs are at the very end of a semantic transitivity cline, fully distinguishable from intransitive ones.

Understanding verbal transitivity as the presence of two participants distorts the conceptual flexibility of HQ verbs. For instance, verbs of consumption like *miku-* ‘to eat’ or *upya-* ‘to drink’ are listed as transitive because they take a direct object marked with *-ta*. Still, the main affected participant is the subject, who experiences the effects of consuming an object that becomes something of an inalienable possession. Thus, verbs of consumption are closer to intransitivity: quite frequently they appear without a direct object, not even one previously mentioned. Moreover, the use of the middle suffix *-ku* is customary for them, because the subject’s affectedness is more prominent than the object’s. Similarly, several cognition verbs (including perception and emotion) are viewed as transitive because they take a *-ta*-marked object. The examples in (45) – (47) illustrate this.

- (45) *U:sha atuqta mantsan.*
 {u:sha atuq-**ta** mantsa-n}
 sheep atuq-ACC fear-3.SBJ
 ‘The sheep fears the fox.’

- (46) *Michi aytsata ma:kurinaq.*
 {michi aytsa-**ta** ma:ku-ri-naq}
 cat meat-ACC notice-PUNC-NARR.PST
 'The cat noticed the meat.'
- (47) *Peyu mankata rikaykan.*
 {peyu manka-**ta** rika:-yka:-n}
 pedro pot-ACC see-IPFV-3.SBJ
 'Pedro is looking at the pot.'

The use of a direct object in HQ is not restricted to typically transitive dynamic actions. Instead, objects are complements that elaborate an event as the interaction of two participants. However, for some verbs like those of emotion, cognition, and perception, those objects are not affected ones, but stimuli for their experiencing subject. As stimuli, they must be considered as a cause for the event. Consequently, transitivity goes beyond a simple agent-patient relation to include an experiencer-stimulus one. This is the reason behind Parker's (1973a: 16) pioneering observation regarding the possibility of using *-ta*-marked direct objects with intransitive verbs like *asi-* 'to laugh,' *waqa-* 'to cry,' *llaki-* 'to be sad,' *aha-* 'to be mad,' or *puklla-* 'to play' (which becomes 'to taunt' or 'to flirt with' with a direct object). Furthermore, *-ta* can be deployed in order to create this type of constructions with verbs that are otherwise basically intransitive (see Section 4.5.3.3.1 above, but also Section 8.6.2.2.6 for applicative voice.)

For ditransitive constructions involving double accusative marking, see Section 4.5.3.3.1.

4.6.1.3 Intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb denotes an event that can be carried out sufficiently by a single participant. Usually, motion events are considered prototypical instances of intransitive verbs. Translational motion events like *aywa-* 'to go,' *pa:ri-* 'to fly,' *hiqa-* 'to fall,' and non-translational ones like *ta:-* 'to sit,' *sha:ri-* 'to get up,' and *tuma-* 'to turn' all have a single subject participant acting on its own. Other dynamic events commonly considered as intransitive are atmospheric ones (e.g. *tamya-* 'to rain,' *wayra-* 'to be windy,' and *ampi-* 'to become night').

In spite of the more representative role given to dynamic intransitive events, non-dynamic or stative events are prominent among intransitives. They are events where the subject experiences an effect or state that comes from their own potential or tendency to experience it. Under this definition many subtypes of verbs can be included: emotions and their expression (e.g. *kushi-* 'to be happy,' *waqa-* 'to cry,' *tigna-* 'to be bored; to be fed up'), resulting states (*illa-* 'to be absent; to disappear,' *chichu-* 'for an animal to be pregnant,' *macha-* 'to be drunk'), and inherent states (e.g. *lasa-* 'to weight,' *alala:-* 'to be cold,' *ana:-* 'to be hard,' *pishi-* 'to be short of; to be not enough,' and *qamla-* 'to be insipid'). Furthermore, numerous spontaneous events expressing a change are seen in HQ as caused by their experiencing subjects (e.g. *wanu-* 'to die,' *puwa-* 'to boil,' *wayu-* 'to have abundant fruit, bear fruit,' *ismu-* 'to rot,' and *timpu-* 'to cook slowly').

Thus, many verbs listed as transitive in dictionaries because they can take a direct object are poor examples of transitivity. For instance, *taki-* 'to sing,' *ni-* 'to say,' and *yaski-* 'to answer' have their object (physical or cognitive) created through an action depending upon the subject

itself. This is also the case for so-called transitive events with cognate direct objects (e.g. *pirqa*- ‘to build a wall,’ from *pirqa* ‘wall,’ and *uchku*- ‘to make a hole,’ from *uchku* ‘hole’).

In sum, intransitive verbs are quite diverse and widespread in HQ. From a conceptual perspective, intransitivity is as prominent as transitivity. In my corpus I have counted 469 intransitive roots (including spontaneous, atmospheric, stative, verbs of emission, and those with cognate objects, besides typical dynamic actions) against 522 transitive roots. Intransitivity is, then, not significantly less represented in the lexicon.

4.6.2 Verbal derivation

There are 18 derivational suffixes that modify the basic meaning of the verbs stem. They can be classified as belonging to the categories of aspect, voice, and general manner (including direction, coverage of the action, and attention and carefulness). Based on their position and interaction with other suffixes (e.g. vowel lowering, see Section 4.3.4.3), the verbal plural suffix *-ya:* and the 1st person object suffix *-ma:* should be considered derivational suffixes. However, they will be described under inflection. Derivation always precedes inflection. While not obligatory, derivational suffixes are frequently present following a mostly strict patterning, but not without exceptions and alternations. Moreover, their combination creates complex and subtle meaning distinctions.

4.6.2.1 Aspect

Aspect can be easily classified in two main areas: imperfective (time-unbounded events) and perfectives (time-bounded ones). HQ has a rich aspectual system with many further distinctions.

4.6.2.1.1 Imperfectives

4.6.2.1.1.1 *-yka:* ‘continuous (IPFV)’

The most basic imperfective marker is continuous aspect *-yka:* (shortened to *-yka* when followed by a consonant in syllabic coda). It can be described as a progressive when combined with dynamic events. An example illustrating its use is in (48).

- (48) *Pintiykarqayki.*
 {pinti-**yka**:-rqa-yki}
 jump-IPFV-PST-2.SBJ
 ‘You were jumping.’

However, *-yka:* frequently combines with stative events to indicate that the situation is effectively going on, as in Example (49). For this reason, this suffix is best viewed as encoding continuous aspect.¹⁴

- (49) *Ama mantsaka:yaytsu, nuqaqa kawayka:mi.*
 {ama mantsa-ka:-ya-y-tsu nuqa-qa kawa-**yka**:-:-mi}
 PROH fear-SPON-PLV-IMP-NEG I-TOP live-IPFV-1.SBJ-EVD
 ‘Don’t be scared, I am alive.’ (Lit. ‘I am living’)

¹⁴ This characterization is indebted to Hintz’s (2011) analysis of *-yka:* as continuous aspect in Southern Conchucos Quechua.

Finally, it is frequent to use *-yka:* to introduce some implicit temporal boundaries to the event (i.e. an event is viewed as taking place as of a certain period), as in Example (50).

- (50) *Kananqa yachaykan Yungaychaw.*
 {kanan-qa yacha-**yka:**-n yungay-chaw}
 now-TOP reside-IPFV-3.SBJ yungay-LOC
 ‘She is currently living in Yungay.’

4.6.2.1.1.2 *-ykacha* ‘iterative (ITER)’

This aspectual suffix alternates with *-kacha* and it indicates that an event is done in a repetitive way. However, even if the event is composed of several episodes, it is different from the habitual aspect. *-ykacha* suggests that the event is divided into shorter episodes that are carried out in an unfocused manner, which makes their distribution somewhat unpredictable. Therefore, it suggests an action done carelessly (e.g. *rika-ykacha-* ‘to take a look around, here and there,’ from *rika-* ‘to see,’ *puklla-ykacha-* ‘to play around,’ from *puklla-* ‘to play’).

4.6.2.1.1.3 *-ra:* ‘durative (DUR)’

This suffix reduces to *-ra* when followed by a consonant in syllabic coda. It indicates that an event is extending through time without interruption. Thus, the durative aspect is commonly associated with states or actions done in ways that extend beyond normal, particularly resulting states (e.g. *puñu-ra-* ‘to stay asleep,’ from *puñu-* ‘to sleep,’ *apari-ra-* ‘to remain carrying something on the back,’ from *apari-* ‘to carry on the back’). This resultative sense is somewhat implicit in the way the event is presented: the subject remains doing or experiencing what the verbs indicates for an extended period. This leads to *-ra:* being used as a resultative passive voice, although restricted to transitive verbs whose object experiences a change in position or location. This is illustrated in the Example in (51).

- (51) *kiri: wichqaran.*
 {kiri:- wichqa-**ra:**-n}
 wound-1.POSS close-DUR-3.SBJ
 ‘My wound remains closed.’ (cf. *kiri:-ta wicha-* ‘to open my wound’)

Finally, *-ra:* is frequently found combined with *-yka:* as *-rayka:*. The meaning of the combination is perfectly predictable from its parts: it indicates that a continuous event extends beyond what is assumed to be its basic implicit boundary. However, because *-rayka:* is always placed before the causative suffix *-tsi*, even when *-yka:* can occur before or after *-tsi*, it can be considered a fused form.

- (52) *I wayichawqa arupakurayka:yan. I warmi cha:rin mana kasashpa.*
 {I wayi-chaw-qa aru-paku-**ra:-yka:**-ya-n
 and house-LOC-TOP cook-ATTEN-DUR-IPFV-PLV-3.SBJ
 I warmi cha:-ri-n mana kasa-shpa}
 and woman arrive-PUNC-3.SBJ not marry-SUBIS
 ‘And in the house, they kept cooking (for the party). And the woman arrived without being married.’

4.6.2.1.2 Perfectives

4.6.2.1.2.1 *-ri* ‘punctual (PUNC)’

The most basic perfective marker in HQ is punctual *-ri*. It indicates that an event takes place in a brief and immediate manner. It is very frequently found with events that involve a quick change (e.g. *qimtsi-* ‘to close eyes’ > *qimtsi-ri-* ‘to blink,’ from *qimtsi-* ‘to close eyes’,’ or *tupa-ri-* ‘to bump into,’ from *tupa-* ‘to run into’). Other examples showing how *-ri* conveys shorter duration and immediate occurrence are *pa:tsa-ri-* ‘to lay down’ (from *patsa:-* ‘to lay on the ground’), *rika:-ri-* ‘to notice; to glance’ (from *rika:-* ‘to see’), *yarpa-ri-* ‘to recall’ (from *yarpa-* ‘to remember’), *cha:-ri-* ‘to get there’ (from *cha:-* ‘to arrive’), *ayllu-ri-* ‘to get together’ (from *ayllu-* ‘to gather’).

By conveying a punctual event, *-ri* marks the event as complete. However, this is not the same as completive aspect, where an event develops thoroughly to completion. Instead, *-ri* profiles the minimal instance of an event that can be considered complete. Consider *hita-* ‘to throw.’ Its broad meaning gets refined through the punctual aspect, so in Example (53), *hita-ri-* points at the final step in the process of throwing something (i.e. ‘to expulse’):

- (53) *Tsaytanash hitaraya:mun linu yakuta upurir.*
{tsay-ta-na-sh hita-ri-ya:-mu-n linu yaku-ta upu-ri-r
DEM-ACC-DISC-EVR throw-PUNC-PLV-CISL-3SBJ flax water-ACCdrink-PUNC-SUBIS
‘Then they expulse it [the fetus] by drinking flax water.’

This example also shows the combination of a subordinating suffix *-r* with *-ri*. Subordinating suffixes are immediately preceded by this aspectual suffix to indicate that the event in the subordinate clause is completed. This is evidence of the basic perfective status of *-ri*.

With stative or copulative verbs *-ri* profiles the point in which a state or experience comes to be, as in Example (54).

- (54) *Ichikllachawmi imayka karin.*
{ichik-lla-chaw-mi imayka ka-ri-n}
little-LIM-LOC-EVD any.type be-PUNC-3.SBJ
‘In a little bit, anything comes up.’ (i.e. ‘problems appear.’)

Example (54) could be considered an example of the inceptive or inchoative function of *-ri*. However, my observations agree with Parker’s (1973a: 20) position that this suffix does not clearly convey the initial stage of an event. The inceptive function of *-ri* is the result of focusing on an abbreviated and perfective construal of the event. In Examples (53) and (54) *-ri* portrays those events as punctual changes. However, they are no equivalent to the beginning of those events. The inceptive function is best represented through a construction involving the auxiliary *qalla-* ‘to begin’ and the same subject subordinator *-r* (see Section 4.8.4.2.3.1, and Examples 107 and 176 in Sections 4.6.2.3.1 and 4.8.4.2.3.1 respectively)

4.6.2.1.2.2 *-yku* ‘exceptional performance (EXCEP)’

One of the most frequently used suffixes in HQ is *-yku*. Its meaning is notoriously difficult to pinpoint, not only for this Quechuan variety (see Chapter 5 by Aviva Shimelman in this volume for Yauyos Quechua). Its origin is in a directional non-productive suffix *-yku* ‘inwards and downwards motion.’ With this function it is only found with lexicalized verbs (e.g. *yayku-* ‘to

enter’) and a few motion events (e.g. *muchki-yku*- ‘to bow down and into something,’ from *muchki*- ‘to bow.’)

Parker (1973a: 22–3) proposes that the directional sense of *-yku* is part of a Proto-Quechua directional paradigm based on the use of the proto-verb **ya-* ‘to be at; to move into.’ Alongside *yayku-* ‘to enter,’ there are forms like *yarku-* ‘to go up,’ *yarqu-* ‘to exit,’ and *yarpu-* ‘to go down.’ Thus, *-yku* ‘into,’ *-rku* ‘up,’ *-rqu* ‘out,’ and *-rpu* ‘down’ can be reconstructed.¹⁵ *-rpu* ‘down’ is seldom used with its directional sense and it has not developed in HQ an aspectual function.¹⁶ On the other hand, *-rku* ‘up’ and *-rqu* ‘out’ are still found with their directional sense in limited instances of motion event; however, like *-yku* ‘into,’ they have evolved into new functions, an aspectual for *-rku* and a tense reading for *-rqu* (see Sections 4.6.2.1.2.3 and 4.6.3.2.3.)

Based on the modal or subjective undertones it gives to an event, Parker (1973a: 34–5, 1976: 129) and Swisshelm (1974: 499–504) describe *-yku* not as an aspectual marker. It can express carefulness, hastiness, unexpectedness, politeness, adverseness, or some type of particular importance or effort when carrying out the event. The following examples illustrate the frequent use in commands (Example 55), a special way of behaving (Example 56, based on the copula *ka-* ‘to be’), an adversative/accidental punctual event (Example 57), and an action carried out after no previous expectations (Example 58).

(55) *Munarqa tsayllachaw haqiriykuy yanasa.*

{munar-qa	tsay-lla-chaw	haqi-ri- yku -y	yanasa}
want-SUBIS-TOP	DEM-LIM-LOC	leave-PUNC-EXCEP-IMP	friend.of.a.woman

‘If you want, please drop it here, friend.’

(56) *Yapay tsaynawlla kaykunki.*

{yapay	tsay-naw-lla	ka- yku -nki}
again	DEM-SIMUL-LIM	be-EXCEP-2.SBJ

‘Again, you act in this way.’ (i.e. ‘you are particularly in this way’)

(57) *Alfredo kasi ishkiykun.*

{alfredo	kasi	ishki- yku -n}
alfredo	almost fall-EXCEP-3.SBJ	

‘Alfredo almost falls.’ (Context: Alfredo almost faints and falls down).

(58) *Felismante payqa kichaykamarqan.*

{felismante	pay-qa	kicha- yku -ma:-rqa-n}
fortunately	s/he-TOP	open-EXCEP-1.OBJ-PST-3.SBJ

‘Fortunately, he opened (the door) for me.’ (Context: The narrator had gone to a place he was supposed lodge, but no one opened, so he goes unannounced to another friend’s place, and he opens his door.)

¹⁵ Other verbs that display the full directional paradigm of Proto Quechua are *qayku-* ‘to put into a pen,’ *qarku-* ‘to hill a plant to earth up,’ *qarqu-* ‘to expel,’ and *qarpu-* ‘to push down’. Parker and Chávez Reyes (1976: 138) propose **qa-* with the meaning ‘to make go.’

¹⁶ In Southern Conchucos Quechua, *-rpu* has developed a clear perfective-completive aspectual function (Hintz 2011: 27–9).

The diverse readings of *-yku* aside, it must be stressed that it is a perfective marker. This can be inferred from its complementary distribution with continuous the continuous aspect suffix *-yka:*. They are never found in the same verb (unless *-yku* is used with its non-productive directional sense). Even if perfective *-rku* also is in complementary distribution with *-yka:* (see Section 4.6.2.1.2.3), it also cannot combine with *-yku*. From this evidence, it can be proposed that *-yku* must be a perfective whose meaning is also opposed to that of *-rku*.¹⁷

The combination of modal/subjective interpretations and its perfective nature suggests that *-yku* is actually a durative telic aspect (i.e. an accomplishment): the event is presented as requiring some duration that leads to its endpoint (its perfective boundary).

The implicit duration in *-yku* has experienced several semantic extensions. First, it is linked to the effort it takes to go through the process in order to reach the result. This can be read as carefulness, emphasis, higher than normal degree in what is done, or any intensified subjectivity associated with the event. From this focus on the duration, it is possible to move into the notion of ‘contrary to what it is expected.’ Additionally, an event marked for the effort it requires is easily recruited as a politeness device (the speaker uttering the command acknowledges how a subject will do something that costs them an unexpected effort, hence the ‘please’ translation). In sum, the “duration-as-effort” meaning of *-yku* extends to a politeness function, and a “contrary-to-expectation” meaning. From there, it moves on to include the ‘unexpected outcome’ (without referring to the basic duration of the event). This motivates the use of *-yku* with accidental situations, as in Example (57) and, arguably also Example (58).

4.6.2.1.2.3 *-rku* ‘perfective of achievement (UW)’

The suffix *-rku* originates in the locational suffix **-rku* ‘upwards motion’ (see Section 4.6.2.1.2.2.). From this meaning, now restricted to motion events (e.g. *hita-rku* ‘to throw upwards,’ from *hita* ‘to throw’), and a few lexicalized verbs (*yarku* ‘to go up,’ *qarku* ‘to hill plants; to earth up.’) As an aspectual marker, the meaning of *-rku* is directly opposite to that of the perfective of emphasis function of the exceptional performance marker *-yku* discussed in Section 4.6.2.1.2.3. It conveys a punctual telic aspect (i.e. an achievement). Since there is no need to imply the duration of the event, the results are achieved without reference to any effort implied in the process. This semantic characteristic of *-rku* was first elaborated in Parker (1973a: 23–6). He concluded that *-rku* expressed an event that is completed “without resistance.” Examples (59) – (61) illustrate the way in which *-rku* is used.

(59) *Pukyuman cha:rirnash yakuta chaqarkamun.*

{pukyu-man cha:ri-r-na-sh yaku-ta chaqa-**rku**-mu-n}
spring-ALL arrive-PUNC-SUBIS-DISC-EVR water-ACC gourd.ladle-UW-3.SBJ
‘She arrived at the spring and took water with a gourd recipient.’

(60) *Shiminta hirarkapurqunaq.*

{shimi-n-ta hira-**rku**-pu-rqu-naq}
mouth-3.POSS-ACC sew-UW-BEN-REC.PST-NARR.PST
‘He sewed his mouth up.’

¹⁷ These arguments for the aspectual nature of *-yku* were first exposed for Southern Conchucos Quechua in Hintz (2011), who followed intuitions about the distribution of *-yku* in Huallaga Quechua from Weber (1989). Hintz (2011) considers *-yku* a “completive-perfective” that implies an obligation.

- (61) *Kumpari, ma: upurkushun.*
 {kumpari ma: upu-**rku**-shun}
 compadre come.on drink-UW-1PL.INCL.SBJ.FUT
 ‘Compadre, come on, let’s drink (up).’

These examples confirm that *-rku* conveys an action carried out in a straightforward manner. Completion is achieved with little effort or resistance that could delay or make the action difficult. With stative events *-rku* indicates that the event is fully experienced, as shown in Example (62).

- (62) *Takllanqa lasaparkunaq.*
 {taklla-n-qa lasa-pa:-**rku**-naq}
 foot.plow-3.SBJ-TOP weight-APPL-UW-NARR.PST
 ‘His_i foot plow was heavy for him_i.’ (i.e. ‘was weighting him down’)

Observe how in Examples (63) and (64) *apa-yku-r* is connected to something done under pressure, while *apa-rku-r* points at an event done under the acceptance of everyone involved.

- (63) *Paytana rogarqunaq atskata rurun apaykur.*
 {pay-ta-na roga-rqu-naq atska-ta rurun-n apa-**yku**-r}
 he-ACC-DISC beg-REC.PST-NARR.PSTmany-ACC egg-3.POSS take-EXCEP-SUBIS
 ‘Carrying a lot of eggs, he begged him.’

- (64) *Tsaynin aparkur kushishqa hiqariq bruhoqa.*
 {tsay-ni-n apa-**rku**-r kushi-shqa hiqari-q bruho-qa}
 DEM-EP-3.POSStake-UW-SUBIS happy-RES go-HAB shaman-TOP
 ‘Thus the shaman left happy, taking that.’ (i.e. ‘his payment’)

In contrast with *-ri* and *-yku*, which combine productively, *-ri* and *-rku* do not.¹⁸ Being already a type of punctual aspect, it is incompatible with *-ri*. However, despite its clear punctual perfective nature, *-rku* can be found with durative aspect *-ra:* and with iterative *-ykacha*. This is impossible for *-yku*, which rejects any imperfective. For instance, among several examples with *-ykacha*, we have *chunka-kacha-rku-* ‘to roll something around’ (from *chunka-* ‘to roll by pushing’), or *hicha-kacha-rku-* ‘to throw away,’ ‘to wastefully discard something’ (from *hita-* ‘to throw’). With durative *-ra:* only *chukru-ra:-rku-* ‘to stay hardened up’ (from *chukru-* ‘to be hard’) is registered. This type of data needs further analysis.

4.6.2.2 Voice

Voice suffixes in HQ includes those in charge of altering the valency in the verb, as well as the grammatical relations of their arguments. Valency increasing suffixes are *-tsi* ‘causative,’ *-pu* ‘benefactive,’ and *-pa:* ‘applicative.’ On the other hand, *-ku* ‘reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive,’ *-naku* ‘reciprocal,’ and *-ka:* ‘passive, accidental’ can reduce valency. However, as for aspect, voice suffixes tend to convey subtle alternative ways in which the event is developed by

¹⁸ Six cases of *-ri-rku* appear in our corpus. Five clearly show a use of *-rku* as indicating upwards motion. The only unaccounted instance is *yarqu-ri-rku-r* ‘going out’ marked also with same subject subordinator *-r*.

their participants. Those interpretations are many times at odds with their assumed basic valency-altering function.

4.6.2.2.1 -*tsi* ‘causative (CAUS)’

Causative voice is marked with *-tsi*, which introduces a participant in the subject position with the role of causer, the ultimate responsible for the occurrence of the event. As is common in many Quechuan languages, the causer does not need to forcefully enact causation upon the affected participant (direct causation). It is possible for it to simply let the event to occur (permissive causation). Moreover, the causer can also act through a proxy or in any other way that separates them from the exact moment in which the caused effect occurs (indirect causation). These types of causation are exemplified in Examples (65) – (67) with *wanu-* ‘to die,’ with Example (65) showing direct causation, Example (66) permissive causation, and Example (67) indirect causation.

- (65) *Tsay taksha wambrakuna mas wanutsiyan taksha pishqukunata.*
 {tsay taksha wambra-kuna mas wanu-**tsi**-ya-n taksha pishqu-kuna-ta
 DEM little child-PL more die-CAUS-PLV-3.SBJ little bird-PL-ACC
 ‘Those little children kill smaller birds.’ (Context: little children use BB-guns or slings to kill smaller birds)
- (66) *Hampikuqkuna qishyaqkunata wanutsinaq.*
 {hampi-ku-q-kuna qishya-q-kuna-ta wanu-**tsi**-naq.
 cure-MID-AG-PL be.sick-AG-PL-ACC die-CAUS-NARR.PST
 ‘The doctors killed the sick ones.’ (Context: The doctors didn’t have the resources to cure anybody, so they just let them die.)
- (67) *(Paykuna) mishita wawantin wanutsiyarqan.*
 {(paykuna) mishi-ta wawa-ntin wanu-**tsi**-ya-rqa-n}
 {they cat-ACC baby-INCL kill-CAUS-PLV-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘They killed the cat along with her kittens.’ (Context: The enemies of the cat chopped down a tree upon which she lived with her kittens so that they all died with the fall)

The participant affected by the caused event is the causee. There are different ways in which the causee relates to the causer, and this is reflected in the morphosyntax of causatives. First, the most basic and frequent causative construction uses an intransitive verb. Examples (65) – (67) illustrated this with the spontaneous intransitive verb *wanu-* ‘to die.’ Example (68) uses a motion event.

- (68) *Kallu Shantita pintitsiyan.*
 {kallu shanti-ta pinti-**tsi**-yka:-n}
 carlos santiago-ACC jump-CAUS-IPFV-3.SBJ
 ‘Carlos is making Santiago jump.’

This basic construction is frequently extended to transitive verbs in order to express that the causer gets the caused event done, as in the Examples in (69) and (70).

(69) *Huwanshi runkukunata paka:tsirqan.*
 {huwanshi runku-kuna-ta paka:-**tsi**-rqa-n}
 juan bag-PL-ACC hide-CAUS-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘Juan made his bags be hidden.’ (i.e. ‘had his bag hidden’)

(70) *Mama:ni: tantata rantitsirqun.*
 {mama:-ni-: tanta-ta ranti-**tsi**-rqu-n.
 Mom-EP-1.POSS bread-ACC buy-CAUS-REC.PST-3.SBJ
 ‘My mom had bread be bought.’ (or ‘she ordered bread to be bought’)

The basic function of causativity in those examples is to express that the subject gets something done and the means by which this happens are not relevant: there is no need to mention any other participant besides the causer and the direct object of the verb. Thus, a transitive verb marked with *-tsi* is close in meaning to a spontaneous or passive event because their agent is defocused. However, if the agent in the caused event must be overt, HQ, as is the case in other Quechuan languages, can code it as a secondary causer through comitative-instrumental case *-wan*. This secondary causer does not oppose the control of the causer, making it an unaffected participant. Example (71) illustrates this.

(71) *Ana paninwan waytata apatsirqan.*
 {ana pani-n-**wan** wayta-ta apa-**tsi**-rqa-n}
 ana sister.of.a.woman-3.POSS-COM flower-ACC take-CAUS-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘Ana had her sister take a flower.’

As in Example (72), this construction can also be used with any intransitive verb.

(72) *Allquta puritsin yanaqinwan.*
 {allqu-ta puri-**tsi**-n yanaqi-n-**wan**}
 dog-ACC walk-ACC-3.SBJ friend-3.POSS-COM
 ‘She has her friend walk the dog.’

Another way to code what appears to be a secondary causer is through accusative *-ta*. In this case, this participant not a secondary causer, but a causee: they are forced to carry out the event. Thus, they oppose the causer’s control, which makes them an affected participant. Example (73) illustrates.

(73) *Ana paninta waytata apatsirqan.*
 {ana pani-n-**ta** wayta-ta apa-**tsi**-rqa-n}
 ana sister.of.a.woman-3.POSS-ACC flower-ACC take-CAUS-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘Ana made her sister take a flower.’

It is impossible to use this type of construction with an intransitive verb. Since intransitive verbs have only one participant, their argument structure cannot accommodate two affected ones. This suggests that this is a double accusative construction where the first object (*panin-ta* ‘her sister-ACC’) is the most prominently affected participant, while the other object (*wayta-ta* ‘flower-ACC’) is analogous to the theme in ditransitive constructions.

4.6.2.2.2 -ku ‘middle (MID)’

The suffix *-ku* is not only the most frequently used derivational suffix in HQ, but the most polysemous one. This suffix is present in every Quechuan language, and in most of them it is labeled as “reflexive” (e.g. by Aviva Shimelman in Chapter 5 of this volume for Yauyos Quechua and by Jairo Valqui and Aviva Shimelman in Chapter 6 for Chachapoyas Quechua). This is also the case in many descriptions of HQ (e.g. Swisshelm 1974: 479; Julca Guerrero 2009a: 238), according to whom *-ku* indicates that the subject and object of a verb are co-referential. This purported reflexive function is found in self-care actions such as those in Examples (74) – (76).

- (74) *Malli naqtsakuykan.*
{malli naqtsa-**ku**-yka:-n}
maría comb-MID-IPFV-3.SBJ
‘María is combing (herself)’
- (75) *Mayuchaw armakurqantsik.*
{mayu-chaw arma-**ku**-rqa-ntsik
river-LOC bathe-MID-PST-1PL.SBJ
‘We bathed in the river.’
- (76) *Bruhoqa hampikurqan.*
{bruho-qa hampi-**ku**-rqa-n}
shaman-TOP cure-MID-PST-3.SBJ
‘The shaman healed himself.’

Parker (1973a: 9) rejected the idea that *-ku* is a reflexive marker. Reflexivity requires an action that can only be carried out as if involving an external object participant, fully distinguishable from the subject. Under this basic definition, no actual reflexives can be linked to the used on *-ku* in HQ. First, grooming verbs are fully compatible with a body-part direct object. Thus, in the previous examples *naqtsa-* ‘to comb’ could take *aqtsa-n-ta* ‘hair-3.POSS-ACC’ or *piqa-n-ta* ‘head-3.POSS-ACC,’ while *hampi-* ‘to cure’ could use *rikra-n-ta* ‘arm-3.POSS-ACC’ as its direct object. A verb like *arma-* ‘to bathe’ is best viewed as an event performed through the use of the subject’s entire body, like any other intransitive motion event. However, it could also take *kuwirpu-n-ta* ‘body-3.POSS-ACC’ as its direct object and still be marked with *-ku*. Note that these possible direct objects are inalienable possessions of the subject. Thus, they cannot be considered external and fully distinguishable from the subject.

Other verbs that have been used to exemplify reflexivity like *kuchu-ku-* ‘to cut oneself’ or *rupa-ku-* ‘to burn oneself’ do not yield true reflexive constructions. Their basic transitive action never gets to be transmitted upon a different direct object when a body part of the subject is affected. Crucially, all of the previous examples illustrate how anytime an inalienable object becomes affected, the subject becomes automatically affected too. Although not a true reflexive, *kuchu-ku-* ‘to cut oneself’ shows that *-ku* still reduces the transitive valency of an event by restricting the way this event is carried out to the subjects own body. Example (77) illustrates this even when an inalienable object is not involved.

- (77) *Tsay machay rurinllaman alli paka:kuyay.*
 {tsay machay ruri-n-lla-man alli paka:-**ku**-ya-y}
 DEM cave inside-3.POSS-LIM-ALL good hide-MID-PLV-IMP
 ‘Hide yourselves well inside of that cave!’

Pa:ka- ‘to hide’ is transitive in HQ. However, *pa:ka-ku-* ‘to hide (oneself)’ involves a single participant doing the hiding. Since this action is done by moving into any location that serves as a hideout, it is not truly reflexive, but an intransitive construal of this event. One central function of *-ku* is to indicate that the subject is also the most affected participant. However, the subject must be at the same time responsible for what it experiences. The overlap of affectedness and control is automatic, and not obtained through a subject acting upon itself. Therefore, *-ku* is a middle voice marker that does not include reflexivity among its functions. Instead, it gives an event a meaning analogous to that of intransitive verbs. This middle construal of transitive verbs can be seen in *paki-ku-* ‘to experience a fracture’ (from *paki-* ‘to break something’) and *alista-ku-* ‘to get ready’ (from *alista-* ‘to prepare something,’ a loan from Spanish).

Another common function of *-ku* is to indicate the subject’s self-benefit. This involves a direct object that is external to the subject. In those cases, a middle interpretation is present because the direct object becomes a possession of the subject. Also, *-ku* emphasizes how this object produces a prominent affectedness in the subject, which becomes a beneficiary. This is shown in the examples in (78) and (79).

- (78) *Puma u:shantsikta apakurqun.*
 {puma u:sha-ntsik-ta apa-**ku**-rqu-n}
 cougar sheep-1PL.INCL.POSS-ACC take-MID-REC.PST-3.SBJ
 ‘The cougar took our sheep away.’

- (79) *Qam mishki aytsata mikukukunki.*
 {Qam mishki aytsa-ta miku-**ku**-nki}
 you tasty meat-ACC eat-MID-2.SBJ
 ‘You eat tasty meat.’ (Lit. ‘you eat for yourself’)

There are virtually no restrictions in how *-ku* is used: it takes transitive or intransitive verbs, and it can be used with animate or inanimate beings (see Section 4.6.1.2 for a restriction in the use of *-ku* with caused motion transitive events). With intransitive verbs, and especially those in which the subject is an experiencer, *-ku* seems redundant. However, *aywa-ku-* (from *aywa-* ‘to go’), *yacha-ku-* (from *yacha-* ‘to know; to learn,’) and *rika:-ku-* (from *rika:-* ‘to see’) suggest that their subject performs with deliberate intention in connection with an enhancement of what is experienced. Thus, *aywa-ku-* means ‘to leave, go away,’ *yacha-ku-* ‘to study,’ and *rika:-ku-* ‘to watch something fun,’ i.e. ‘to spectate.’

A deliberate engagement reading of *-ku* is impossible with inanimate subjects. However, the basic middle function remains in that the subject has a clear tendency or propensity to experience the effects of a verb. Moreover, those effects are considered more prominent (complete, total, or even lasting for an extended period). In Example (80), *-ku* indicates that the floor (an inanimate entity) moved noticeably due to the effect of an earthquake:

- (80) *Ampipapis kada ratu kuyukarayka:muqan.*

{ampi-pa-pis kada ratu kuyu-**ku**-ra:-yka:-mu-rqa-n}
 night-GEN-ADD every time move-MID-DUR-IPFV-CISL-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘(The floor) at night kept moving there every time.’

The use of *-ku* to indicate the propensity of a subject to experience the effects of the event has evolved into imperfective aspectual functions such as conveying that the event is customary of the subject. This motivates the frequent association of the agentive nominalizer *-q* with *-ku* (e.g. *yacha-tsi-q* ‘one who teaches’ becomes *yacha-tsi-ku-q* ‘teacher, one who customarily teaches,’ from *yacha-tsi-* ‘to make learn’).¹⁹

In sum, whatever its specific function, *-ku* indicates that the semantic roles of affectedness and control overlap on the subject participant. Moreover, *-ku* also emphasizes those roles by making them more prominent (i.e. adding deliberateness or propensity in inanimate subjects, as well as an effect that is subjectively stronger or more pronounced or long-lasting). My analysis is not much different from Parker’s (1973a): *-ku* emphasizes the role of the subject. However, this is a twofold role, based on (i) the subject’s control in the development of the event and on (ii) its affectedness in an event that never fully projects upon a different entity.

4.6.2.2.3 *-na* and *-ku* ‘reciprocal (RECP)’

Reciprocals are closely related to the middle voice. Alongside the middle suffix *-ku*, they require the presence of the distributive suffix *-na*, which only functions in this construction. It indicates that the members of plural subject are acting reciprocally upon each other (e.g. *maqa-naku-* ‘to fight; to hit each other,’ from *maqa-* ‘to hit;’ *riqi-naku-* ‘to meet; to become acquainted with each other,’ from *riqi-* ‘to know, be acquainted’).

While the combination *-naku* is the way in which this suffix is mostly used, it is possible to insert the causative suffix in between. This will produce different interpretations regarding where the reciprocal interaction occurs.

- (81) *I yanaqinkunawanqa llapanmi pampatsa:natsikuyan.*
 {i yanaqi-n-kuna-wan-qa llapa-n-mi pampatsa:-**na-tsi-ku**-ya-n}
 and friend-3.POSS-PL-COM-TOP all-3.POSS-EVDpair.up-RECP-CAUS-MID-PLV-3.SBJ
 ‘And with their friends, all of them_i makes each other_i match.’

In Example (81), *pampatsa:-na-tsi-ku-* ‘let each other pick a pair among themselves’ (from *pampatsa:-* ‘to even out; to match up’) includes the causative *-tsi* followed by *-ku*. This combination indicates that the subject allows something to happen to themselves (e.g. *hayta-tsi-ku-* ‘to let oneself be kicked,’ from *hayta-* ‘to kick.’) Thus, in *-na-tsi-ku* the distributive scope of *-na* is restricted to those causing the event. On the other hand, *pampa:tsa-tsi-naku-* ‘to make each other match up with someone else’ suggests that the subjects are letting or making each pair up with another participant outside of the plural subject.

4.6.2.2.4 *-ka:* ‘spontaneous (SPON)’

When followed by a consonant forming a syllabic coda, *-ka:* becomes *-ka*. This suffix has been documented in most Central Quechua varieties (the exception are the Huanca varieties in central and southern Junín), in Northern Peruvian varieties, and in Yauyos Quechua (see Chapter 5 by

¹⁹ The aspectual function of *-ku* was extended to its extreme in Ecuadorian Kichwa, where *-ku* is effectively an imperfective aspect marker (Cole 1982).

Aviva Shimelman in this volume, who labels it, in contrast to the analysis for HQ offered here, ‘accidental’).

For HQ, *-ka:* has been analyzed as a passive or semi-passive in all the previous grammatical descriptions. Accordingly, this suffix shows a clear preference to combine with transitive verbs. For instance, a transitive verb like *paqa-* ‘to wash’ yields *paqa-ka:-* ‘to be washed.’ Contrast the unmarked form, using *kinwa* ‘quinoa’ as the *-ta* marked direct object in Example (82), and the form with *-ka:*, where *kinwa* is the nominative subject, in Example (83).

- (82) *Kinwata paqarqantsik.*
 {kinwa-**ta** paqa-rqa-ntsik}
 quinoa-ACC wash-PST-1INCL.SBJ
 ‘We washed the quinoa.’

- (83) *Kinwa paqakarqantsik.*
 {kinwa paqa-**ka:**-rqa-ntsik}
 quinoa wash-SPON-PST-1INCL.SBJ
 ‘The quinoa was washed.’

Paqa-ka:- suggests that the quinoa was washed, but there is no way to indicate a specific agent involved. Thus, the use of *-ka:* is similar to the English get-passive: the quinoa “got washed” because something happened that produced such change (e.g. rainfall). In fact, a definite animate individual serving as the agent is neither implied nor retrievable as an adjunct when *-ka:* is used. The sentence (83) could use an instrumental adjunct like *tamya-wan* ‘with the rain’ to indicate what caused the event, but this is unusual.

An animate subject in a verb marked with *-ka:* is interpreted as not fully in control of the action they experience, as Example (84) shows. For this example, even a reflexive translation is possible.

- (84) *Ashnu watakaykan.*
 {ashnu wata-**ka:**-yka-n}
 donkey tie-SPON-CONT-3.SBJ
 ‘The donkey is getting tied’ or ‘the donkey is getting itself tied.’

While many transitive verbs combine with *-ka:*, there are numerous instances of verbs where this suffix is never found or considered odd. This is particularly noticeable with verbs that specify a way of doing things that requires a sentient subject in care of the event. Thus, verbs like *lapta-* ‘to touch with the hand,’ *taki-* ‘to sing,’ *aru-* ‘to work,’ *muna-* ‘to want,’ and *qu-* ‘to give’ are quite difficult to elicit with *-ka:* and never found in the corpus.²⁰

To sum up, *-ka:* combines interpretations where (i) no external causer can be clearly identified, particularly as an animate individual, (ii) the subject is clearly affected as a result of the event taking place, (iii) it is possible to assign some level of responsibility to the subject, particularly if it is animate, however (iv) this responsibility (i.e. the subject’s control) seems to be hampered or diminished.

Based on those characteristics, *-ka:* is best defined as spontaneous voice. This type of voice is conceptually related to other passive constructions (cf. Shibatani 1985; Toyota 2011).

²⁰ These restrictions can be overturned by the impersonal function of *-ka:*, as shown further below in this section.

Canonical passive voices (e.g., *John was seen*) promote the patient argument of the active voice to the subject position, which leaves their original agent argument implicit. On the other hand, spontaneous voice constructions introduce a subject that experiences the event due to some external factor in the background. This factor is never an individual, but some force, situation, or context triggering the event experienced by the subject. Furthermore, the subject must find itself in a condition that makes it susceptible to experience the change brought by the external factor. In Example (85), a fox had his mouth stitched by a trickster bird. After walking around in pain for some time (the external factor), the stitches loosened up and the fox's mouth tore open. This is represented by *lliki-ka:-* (from *lliki-* 'to tear a thin surface'):

- (85) *I tsayna shimin llikika:kurinaq allibuwenu hatun.*
 {i tsay-na shimi-n lliki-**ka:-**ku-ri-naq
 and DEM-DISC mouth-3.POSS tear-SPON-MID-PUNC-NARR.PST
 allibwenu hatun}
 very big
 'And then his mouth tore open very big.'

-ka: also conveys true reflexivity in HQ. This means that it is used with transitive verbs representing events that strongly imply a transmission of force from one participant onto another. Thus, in order to reduce the valency of a prototypical transitive verb, only *-ka:* is used, not *-ku*. Reflexive uses of *-ka:* are common for caused motion events. Examples are *chura-ka:-* 'to put oneself' (from *chura-* 'to put'), *suta-ka:-* 'to stretch oneself, extend one's own body' (from *suta-* 'to pull something'), and *ayllu-ka:-* 'to get together, form an assembly' (from *ayllu-* 'to group things'). Example (86) provides further illustration.

- (86) *Wamra kanastaman winaka:rqunaq.*
 {wamra canasta-man wina-**ka:-**rqu-naq}
 child basket-ALL fill-SPON-REC.PST-NARR.PST
 'The child got herself into the basket.' (Lit. 'filled herself into the basket')

The impersonal function of *-ka:* is the only way in which an animate agent can be implied in an otherwise spontaneous event. In impersonal situations, it is assumed that someone must have carried out the event, but its identity is irrelevant. With this function, any transitive verb can take *-ka:*. This seems to be a recent development in this variety, and it is found with some regularity in formal texts as in Example (87), perhaps under the influence of Spanish

- (87) *Ayan llapan hirkapa ashikaykayarqan.*
 {aya-n llapan hirka-pa ashi-**ka:-**yka:-ya:-rqa-n-mi}
 corpse-3.POSS all-3.POSS mountain-GEN look.for-SPON-IPFV-PLV-PST-3.SBJ-EVD
 'His corpse was sought through all the mountains.'

Finally, although *-ka:* is generally associated with transitive verbs, it can be found with some intransitive verbs. Those cases have been regularly described as idiomatic expressions and deemed exceptional. Examples are *punu-ka:-* 'to fall asleep' (from *punu-* 'to sleep'), *wanu-ka:-* 'to wilt; to be exhausted' (from *wanu-* 'to die'), and *yacha-ka:-* 'to become accustomed' (from *yacha-* 'to know'). Other apparent lexicalized, and quite frequent, forms are *mantasa-ka:-* 'to get

scared’ (from *mantša-* ‘to fear something’) and *usha-ka-* ‘to get finished.’ With the exception of *yacha-ka-* ‘to become accustomed to,’ all of these forms imply an adversative result. In other words, something overcame the subject and led to this result. In my corpus, there are at least 50 other cases of intransitive verbs and nouns that can take *-ka-* (to mention only a couple, *tsaki-ka-* ‘to heal a wound by forming a scab,’ from *tsaki-* ‘to be dry,’ and *pasa-ka-* ‘to pass a long time,’ from *pasa-* ‘to pass’). Virtually all of them combine the passing of time as the most common external factor with an adversative result.

4.6.2.2.5 *-pu* ‘benefactive (BEN)’

This suffix alternates with *-pa* due to vowel lowering when followed by the cislocative suffix *-mu* and the 1st person object marker *-ma-* (see Section 4.3.4.3). The main function of *-pu* is to introduce an extra participant besides the basic arguments of a verb. This participant is interpreted as prominently affected by being the beneficiary or maleficiary of the event.²¹ In this sense, *-pu* introduces not only a goal of an event, but a highly affected one. The Examples in (88) – (90) illustrate the use of *-pu*.

(88) *Hushi mamanpaq wayinta rurapun.*

{Hushi	mama-n-paq	wayi-n-ta	rura- pu -n}
José	mother-3.POSS-DAT	house-3.POSS-ACC	make-BEN-3.SBJ

‘José makes her mother a house.’ (Lit. ‘made a house for his mother.’)

(89) *Wa:kaykikunata ta:papushunki.*

{wa:ka-yki-kuna-ta	ta:pa- pu -shunki}
cow-2.POSS-PL-ACC	take.care-BEN-3SBJ.2.OBJ

‘She takes care of your cows for you.’

(90) *Nunaqa pallarkapamurqun huk quri hachata.*

{nuna-qa	palla-rku- pu -mu-rqu-n	huk	quri	hacha-ta}
person-TOP	pick-UW-BEN-CISL-REC.PST-3.SBJ	one	gold	ax-ACC

‘The person picked up a golden ax for him.’

The way in which *-pu* introduces the affected participant is based on the object person system (see Section 4.6.3.1.2). Thus, *-pu* uses *-shu-nki* to indicate that a 2nd person is the beneficiary in Example (89), while in Example (90) *-pu* refers to an unmarked 3rd person object. However, contrary to what we would expect, in Example (88) the overt beneficiary is not introduced by an object marked with the accusative suffix *-ta*, instead *-paq* is used (*mama-n-paq* ‘for his mother’). It appears as if only the basic direct object is marked with *-ta*, not the beneficiary.

-pu is also frequently used with the copula *ka-* to express possession. The beneficiary marked with *-pu* is the possessor for whom something exists (see Section 4.6.1.1).

There are two possible positions for *-pu* among derivational suffixes. In the examples above, it is in the second position. There, it can be preceded by aspect suffixes, the causative *-tsi*, and the inflectional verbal plural *-ya-*. In this position, its interpretation is based on the existence of an additional affected participant. However, when *-pu* takes the position next to the verbal stem, it implies that the event produces a negative or adversative affectedness towards a non-

²¹ Authors like Parker (1973a: 17) used the term “interpersonal” in order to avoid the positive connotation associated with “beneficiary.” However, due to its more widespread used in the literature, I will use the latter.

subject participant. An adversely affected direct object is introduced in Example (91), while in (92), the adverse reading of *-pu* applies to the core direct object or *tari-* ‘to find.’²²

- (91) *Parlayarqan manana iglesyatapis kichapuya:ma:nanpaq.*
 {parla-ya:-rqa-n mana-na iglesya-ta-pis
 talk-PL-PST-3.SBJ not-DISC church-ACC-ADD
 kicha-**pu**-ya:-ma:-na-n-paq}
 open-BEN-PL-1.OBJ-POT.NMLZ-3.POSS-DAT
 ‘They talked so that they didn’t even open the church for us anymore.’

- (92) *Warmin amiganwan taripuykunaq.*
 {warmi-n amiga-n-wan tari-**pu**-yku-naq}
 wife-3.POSS mistress-3.POSS-COM find-BEN-EXCEP-NARR.PST
 ‘His_i wife caught him_i with his_i mistress.’

Finally, the combination between *-pu* and *-ku* has three interpretations. First, it can convey that an action is carried out for the benefit of the subject in a way that is against the interests of another participant. This is an adversative reading. Thus *miku-* ‘to eat’ yields *miku-pu-ku-* ‘to eat someone else’s food; to drop uninvited to eat at someone’s place,’ and *punu-* ‘to sleep’ yields *punu-pu-ku-* ‘to crash at someone’s place.’ The second interpretation is based on transitive events that imply both self-benefit for the subject and benefit for a third-party. Thus, *naqtsa-* ‘to comb (someone)’ yields *naqtsa-pu-ku-* ‘to cut hair for a living,’ and *urya-* ‘to work’ yields *urya-pu-ku-* ‘to work (as an employee).’ This could be related to the customary action function of the middle *-ku* (see Section 4.6.2.2.2). Finally, *-pu-ku-* also indicates that an adverse or unexpected situation is brought upon an object and a subject, but due to the subject’s own responsibility. Thus, as expected in a middle voice, the subject is both the affected participant and the main responsible for what happens. However, the presence of *-pu* determines that what the subject experiences is whatever a beneficiary (or maleficiary) does. Examples (93) and (94) illustrate the contrast between a malefactive reading of *-pu* and the third function of *-pu-ku*, which conveys an adverse or unexpected situation that affects both the subject and an object:

- (93) *Mamanta wanupurqan.*
 {mama-n-ta wanu-**pu**-rqa-n}
 mother-3.POSS-ACC die-BEN-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘He died on his mother.’ (i.e. ‘his death affected his mother’)
- (94) *Wanupukuya:nanpaqqa sigarunkuna uchkurinshi.*
 {wanu-**pu-ku**-ya:-na-n-paq-qa sigaru-n-kuna uchku-ri-n-shi}
 die-BEN-MID-PLV-POT.NMLZ-3-DAT-TOPcigarettes-3.POSS-PL be.a.hole-PUNC-3.SBJ-EVR

²² Parker (1976: 118) presents a different instance of a suffix *-pu* and labels it “directive.” According to this author, this suffix only combines with verbs of bodily emission. Thus *ishpa-* ‘to urinate,’ *isma-* ‘to defecate,’ and *tuqa-* ‘to spit’ yield *ishpa-pu-*, *isma-pu-*, and *tuqa-pu-*, respectively. Clearly these cases are instances of adding *-pu* in the closest position to the stem to obtain an adversative interpretation: the subject has the intention to soil (or even to show contempt for) the target of those emissions.

‘They say that, in order to have someone die on them, their cigarette gets a hole.’
(Context: Shamans cast a deadly spell by smoking their cigarettes in a way that it gets a hole. If this happens, their enemies will die, which benefits the shamans.)

4.6.2.2.6 *-pa*: ‘applicative (APPL)’

This suffix loses its long vowel when followed by a consonant in a syllabic coda. However, in the Huaraz province it is frequent to find *-pa* alternating freely with *-pa:*. The only stable manifestation of *-pa* seems to be in the fused form *-paku* (see Section 4.6.2.3.5).

-pa: has been described as conveying a repetitive, intermittent event, a careful or slow action, or an action directed to another participant (analogous to the benefactive suffix *-pu*). In addition to this, it can involve several affected objects. Clear aspectual properties for *-pa:* have been proposed (Julca Guerrero 2009a: 240 and Parker 1976: 123–5). In the Examples in (95) – (97) the iterative function is illustrated:

- (95) *waqtanta ashpipa:nanpaq.*
 { waqta-n-ta ashpi-**pa:**-na-n-paq }
 back-3.POSS-ACC scratch-APPL-POT.NMLZ-3.POSS-DAT
 ‘...so that he scratched her back’
- (96) *Warminqa llullunta chichipa:rir punuratsinaq.*
 { warmi-n-qa llullu-n-ta chichi-**pa:**-ri-r
 woman-3.POSS-TOP new.born-3.POSS-ACC breastfeed-APPL-PUNC-SUBIS
 punu-ri-tsi-naq }
 sleep-PUNC-CAUS-NARR.PST
 ‘His wife was making their new-born sleep after breastfeeding him.’
- (97) *Wawantana kutapan: riyakuy, nishpa.*
 { wawa-n-ta-na kuta-**pa:**-n riya-ku-y ni-shpa }
 child-3.POSS-ACC-DISC hit-APPL-3.SBJ wake.up-MID-IMP say-SUBIS
 ‘She shook her son saying: ‘wake up.’’ (Larsen 1976: 4)

The directional function of *-pa:* is most apparent with verbs of emotion and communication. The former are considered typically intransitive, and the latter are arguably lower in their semantic transitivity. Examples of the directional function include e.g., *asi-pa:*- ‘to laugh at; to mock someone,’ from *asi*- ‘to laugh,’ *aha-pa:*- ‘to scold someone,’ from *aha*- ‘to feel mad,’ *anku-pa:*- ‘to feel compassion towards someone,’ from *anku*- ‘to feel nostalgic; to miss,’ *tapu-pa:*- ‘to question, inquire,’ from *tapu*- ‘to ask,’ or *parla-pa:*- ‘to talk to someone, to chat with,’ from *parla*- ‘to talk.’ Some uses of *-pa:* are listed in the dictionaries as lexicalizations too (e.g. *taripa:*- ‘to catch up with someone,’ from *tari*- ‘to find,’ or *yachapa:*- ‘to imitate, mimic,’ from *yacha*- ‘to know; to learn.’) Many cases of *-pa:*, however, do not fit the previous descriptions. In Example (98), *kuti*- ‘to go back,’ a motion verb, takes *-pa:* without involving any iteration, carefulness, several affected objects, or a directional function:

- (98) *Tsaytanam kutipantsik huk killatanaw, mas allpan ayllupashpana i qurakunataqa hina ushaka:tsishpa.*
 { tsay-ta-na-m kuti-**pa:**-ntsik huk killa-ta-naw, mas

DEM-ACC-DISC-EVD	return-APPL-1INCL.SBJ	one	month-ACC-SIMUL	more
allpa-n	ayllu- pa :-shpa-na	i	qura-kuna-ta-qa	hina
dirt-3.POSS	gather-APPL-SUBIS-DISC	and	weed-PL-ACC-TOP	so
usha-ka:-tsi-shpa}				
finish-SPON-CAUS-SUBIS				

‘Later, we come back approximately in a month, and we lump more dirt (around the plant) and in the same way we exterminate the weed.’

Here *kuti-pa*:- suggests an action done to take care of the plants. The subject returns due to some motivation, but it does not suggest ‘coming back again and again.’ It only states that approximately after a month they go back to till the plants. Contrast this with *ayllu-pa*:- (from *ayllu* ‘to gather’) in the same sentence, where an iterative meaning is evident. The notion of a motivation behind the event helps better understand the function of *-pa*:. Example (99) shows how an intransitive stative verb such as *lasa*- ‘to weight’ takes *-pa*:- in order to add an object that motivates an experience associated with the weight of the subject *taklla* ‘foot plow’:

- (99) *Takllaqa lasaparkunaq, Wallichuqa ninaq: “¿Imanirtaqshi taklla:qa lasapa:man?”*
 {taklla-qa lasa-**pa**:-rku-naq wallichu-qa ni-naq
 foot.plow-TOP weight-APPL-UW-NARR.PST valentín-TOP say-NARR.PST
 imanir-taq-shi taklla:-qa lasa-**pa**:-ma-n}
 why-CONTR-EVR foot.plow-1.POSS-TOP weight-APPL-1.OBJ-3.SBJ
 ‘The foot plow weighted down on him, and Valentín said: ‘Why could it be my foot plow weighs me down?’’

lasa-pa:- ‘to weight’ seems to have a directional function in Example (99) because it points at the experiencer of the weight of the foot plow. However, such function falls under what *-pu* does (see Section 4.6.2.2.5, Example (94), *wanu-pu*- ‘to die on someone’). The reason why *-pa*:- and not *-pu* is used in Example (99) is that the participant affected by the weight is not just receiving such weight; instead, the foot plow’s remarkable weight (the state it is in) comes from the perspective of the person feeling it (the 3rd person implicit direct object, and then *-ma*:, the 1st person direct object.) Thus, it is only out of the object’s experience that subject can be perceived in a certain state (in this case, as a particularly heavy foot plow).

Every case of *-pa*:- with an emotion or communication verb suggests that its object is the motivation behind what the subject does or experiences. Thus, *asi-pa*:- is not only ‘to laugh at something or someone that produces laughter.’ that participant must also be affected by the subject’s laughter. Likewise, *tapu-pa*:- is to ask someone because they are a source of information; but this questioning is impertinent or inquisitive, which affects the object serving as source. This directive function of *-pa*:- is more productive than acknowledged by Parker (1976). For instance, it appears in *medi-pa*:-, from *medi*- ‘to measure.’ Even if someone receives what the subject measures, *-pu* is not used, as shown in Example (100).

- (100) *I imallatapis siemprish warminta medipa:kuykaq.*
 {i ima-lla-ta-pis siempre-sh warmi-n-ta
 and what-LIM-ACC-ADD always-EVR woman-3.POSS-ACC
 medi-**pa**:-ku-yka:-q}

‘And he was always measuring anything he gave to his wife.’

The context for Example (100) is that a notoriously stingy man measured whatever he gave to his wife for cooking. By being given such limited ingredients she was very inconvenienced. Thus, *medi-pa:-* is not directional because the subject gives something that affects the object (beneficiary or maleficiary); instead, the subject is acting out of what he thinks the object deserves (i.e. is motivated by the object.)

The applicative voice turns oblique participants expressing circumstantial notions into core arguments of a verb. I argue that in HQ *-pa:-* is an applicative that turns a participant serving as motivation or source into a prominently affected participant. Therefore, *-pa:-* is the opposite of benefactive *-pu*, which introduces a participant as an affected goal. This contrast is not too different from that between *por* and *para* in Spanish, which both mean ‘for,’ but the former closer to ‘due to,’ and the latter to ‘in order to.’ This subtle but real distinction can be confusing.²³

By considering *-pa:-* an applicative introducing an affected source or motivation for the subject’s actions or experiences its iterative function can be accounted for: *-pa:-* suggests that an event iterates as long as it is required to achieve what the affected participant motivated. This is exactly what the “careful action” function of *-pa:-* suggests, but previous accounts failed to connect it to the iteration of the event. Thus, *rika:-pa:-*, from *rika:-* ‘to see,’ is ‘to watch carefully,’ which can be achieved by looking several times because of a reason that makes the subject pay such attention.

Finally, the lack of a definition of *-pa:-* in terms of its applicative voice function prevented previous accounts to recognize its conceptual proximity with the benefactive *-pu*. This made Parker (1973a, 1976) mistakenly identify some cases of *-pa* as lowering of *-pu* before the middle suffix *-ku* or the imperfective aspect marker *-yka:-*. The only cases that correctly reflect *-pu*-lowering are cases where it has a clear beneficiary reading, and it is followed by *-ma:-*. All other examples Parker provides are either *-pa:-* rendered as *-pa* because of vowel shortening (before *-yka:-*), or instances of *-paku*. The latter form clearly uses *-pa* with an applicative sense, but it seems to have been competing with *-pu-ku*, at least in the Huaraz province (see Section 4.6.2.3.5).²⁴ In any case, all of those cases are uses of *-pa:-* or a cognate conveying an affected source, and not cases of underlying *-pu*.

4.6.2.3 Other derivational suffixes

Here I include derivational suffixes like the cislocative *-mu*, the delimitative *-lla:-*, and other forms that have a limited distribution like downward direction *-rpu*, stationary event *-rpa:-*, attentive action *-paku*, and careful action *-chaku*.

4.6.2.3.1 *-mu* ‘cislocative (CISL)’

As discussed in Section 4.3.4.3, *-mu* is one of the suffixes that trigger vowel change into /a/ in derivational suffixes ending with /u/ placed in any preceding position. This suffix indicates that

²³ It is likely that *-pa:-* originates from **-pa-ya*, a form that is commonly used in contrast with *-pa* in Southern Quechua varieties. In any case, the fact that *-pa* has taken over the functions of *-pu* in Huallaga Quechua (cf. Weber 1989), or that in HQ adversative functions of *-pu-ku* are now virtually indistinguishable from *-pa:-ku* is evidence in favor of the strong connection between those two voice suffixes.

²⁴ Swisshelm (1974: 491) was the first to voice doubts about *-pa:-* lowering to *-pu* before *-ku*.

the event conveyed by the verbal stem is oriented towards the realm of a 1st person/speaker implicit in the sentence. This is not the same as “directed towards the subject” (which is associated with the middle *-ku*, see Section 4.6.2.2.2). With motion or caused-motion events its basic function is clear: *apa-mu*- ‘to bring’ (from *apa*- ‘to take; to carry’); *ayllu-mu*- ‘to gather and bring here’ (from *ayllu*- ‘to gather’); *kuti-mu*- ‘to come back’ (from *kuti*- ‘to return’). Motion events without *-mu* have their endpoint somewhere outside the realm of the 1st person. *-mu* is common with non-motion events, which makes them orient towards the speaker, as in the Examples in (101) or (102).

- (101) *Manam ni pi tsaynawqa ruramushqatsu.*
 {mana-m ni pi tsay-naw-qa rura-**mu**-shqa-tsu}
 not-EVD nor who DEM-SIMUL-TOP make-CISL-3.SBJ.PRF-NEG
 ‘Nobody has come making it that way.’

- (102) *Paniykita ashiya: murqun.*
 {pani-yki-ta ashi-ya:-**mu**-rqu-n}
 sister.of.man-2.POSS-ACC search-PLV-CISL-REC.PST-3.SBJ
 ‘They have come looking for your sister.’

The 1st person does not need to be a physical endpoint, but it could be a psychological one. Therefore, the subject’s interest can motivate using *-mu*. This is central to its use with verbs where the 1st person is not directly or even obviously aimed in the motion, as in the Examples in (103) – (106)

- (103) *Qullqapita hicharpamurqun chuskun sakuta kachita i utsuta.*
 {qullqa-pita hicha-rpu-**mu**-rqu-n chusku-n saku-ta
 storage.room-ABL throw-DW-CISL-REC.PST-3.SBJ four-3.POSS sack-ACC
 kachi-ta i utsu-ta}
 salt-ACC and hot.pepper-ACC
 ‘From the storage room upstairs he was throwing down four sacks of salt and hot peppers.’

- (104) *Nikar nikarllanam tsuqllu yuriramun.*
 {nika-r nika-r-lla-na-m
 be.immediate-SUBIS be.immediate-SUBIS-LIM-DISC-EVD
 tsuqllu yuri-ri-**mu**-n}
 corn.cob appear-PUNC-CISL-3.SBJ
 ‘In no time, a young corn ear appears.’

- (105) *Tsaynam rogayapti: bahamurqan kima waranqaman.*
 {tsay-na-m roga-ya:-pti:- baha-**mu**-rqa-n kima waranqa-man}
 DEM-DISC-EVD beg-PLV-SUBDS-1.SBJ lower-CISL-PST-3.SBJ three thousand-ALL
 ‘Then when we begged he brought (the price) down to three thousand.’

- (106) *Sharayka:mu:mi.*
 {sha-ra:-yka:-**mu**:-mi}

come-DUR-IPFV-1.SBJ-EVD
 ‘I am coming (for you)!’

Example (106) with *shamu-* ‘to come’ is revealing. *-mu* is virtually lexicalized to the stem *sha- (cognate with *sha-* ‘to stand’). The position of *-mu*, however, can change in *shamu-*, particularly when the durative *-ra:* and imperfective *-yka:* suffixes appear, as seen in Example (106). The context of this sentence is as follows: A cougar has been challenged by a ram that wants to cross a bridge. The cougar is charging at the ram and says *sharayka:mu:mi*. Still, the actual motion moves away from where the speaker enunciates (the cougar is moving towards the ram). The cislocative suffix here implies the goal which the subject, who is also the speaker in (106), wants to reach. The reference point is construed in a subjective way, based on the speaker’s aim.

This observation is crucial to other uses of *-mu* where it also indicates that, according to the speaker, the subject manages to do something. This is evident when the event’s occurrence is contrary to expectation, which affects in some way the speaker and those in their group. This is shown in the examples in (107) and (108).

- (107) *Warmikunapis, tomar qallaykuyan... machashqana, warmikuna qallaykaya:mun takirnin.*
 { warmi-kuna-pis toma-r qalla-yku-ya:-n...
 woman-PL-ADD drink-SUBIS begin-EXCEP-PL-3.SBJ
 macha-shqa-na warmi-kuna qalla-yku-ya:-**mu**-n taki-r-ni-n}
 drunk-RES-DISC woman-PL begin-EXCEP-PLV-CISL-3.SBJ sing-SUBIS-EP-3.SBJ
 ‘The women begin drinking... and once drunk, they begin to sing.’

- (108) *Waray mana mikuyta tarimuptiykiqa kikikitam mikushqayki.*
 { waray mana miku-y-ta tari-**mu**-pti-yki-qa
 morning not eat-INF-ACC find-CISL-SUBDS-2.SBJ-TOP
 kiki-yki-ta-m miku-shqa-yki}
 self-2.SBJ-ACC-EVD eat-FUT-1.SBJ.2.OBJ
 ‘If tomorrow you don’t manage to find food, I will eat you and nobody but you.’

Furthermore, use of *-mu* as indicating that the subject manages what is denoted by the verb might be related to other uses of *-mu* where the action is regarded as urgent or pressing for the speaker. In this sense, *-mu* is still connected with the basic notion of an action moving towards the speaker, although in an entirely subjective way. In Example (109) the speaker is the one giving the command using *-mu*, *tsariya:muy* ‘you guys catch it!’ Nothing in the example suggests an actual motion towards the speaker. Instead, the speaker is interested in whatever the subjects in the imperative verb manage to do. Likewise, Example (110) indicates that the subject, who is also the speaker, is not simply going to spin something, but whatever they spin is motivated by a specific necessity pertaining to the speaker.

- (109) *Kuchintsik tsariya:muy!*
 { kuchi-ntsik tsari-ya:-**mu**-y}
 pig-1PL.INCL.POSS grab-PLV-CISL-IMP
 ‘Catch our pig!’
 (adapted from Larsen 1976: 34)

- (110) *Imatataq puntata putskamushaq?*

{ima-ta-taq	punta-ta	putska- mu -shaq}
what-ACC-CONTR	before-ACC	spin.yarn-CISL-1.SBJ.FUT
‘What (yarn) will I spin first?’		(adapted from Larsen 1976: 35)

4.6.2.3.2 -lla: ‘limitative (LIM)’

This suffix seems to be the same as the limitative *-lla* for nominal derivation (see Section 4.5.2.5). In a few sources, *-lla:* becomes *-lla* before a consonant in coda position, but mostly, this suffix is always *-lla*. Its function with verbs includes that of restricting the event to a single instance or type (*miku-lla-nki* ‘you will only eat,’ from *miku-* ‘to eat’). However, a subjective function is more frequently found: The action is viewed as less face-threatening, implying reservations towards another participant, and general politeness (e.g. *yayku-lla:-ya-nki* ‘you will come in, please,’ from *yayku-* ‘to enter,’ inflected with the verbal plural *-ya:* and *-nki* 2nd person future.)

4.6.2.3.3 -rpu ‘downward (DW)’

This suffix is productive mainly, but not exclusively, with motion events. It indicates that the action is carried out downwards (e.g. *yaka-rpu-* ‘to store at the bottom,’ from *yaka-* ‘to put inside; to put away,’ *cha-rpu-* ‘to come down to,’ from *cha:-* ‘to arrive,’ *qawa-rpu-* ‘to watch downwards,’ from *qawa-* ‘to watch’).

4.6.2.3.4 -rpa: ‘stationary (STN)’

This unproductive suffix indicates that the subject remains affected for a long time or permanently. Its use is marginal in my corpus (*hita-rpa:-* ‘to remain laying down,’ from *hita-* ‘to throw,’ and *kicha-rpa:-* ‘to remain open,’ from *kicha-* ‘to open’). Parker (1976: 120) records it as *-rpa* in a couple of roots beside *hita-* ‘to throw:’ *chura-rpa-* ‘to place oneself permanently,’ from *chura-* ‘to put,’ and *hama-rpa-* ‘to rest (as a group),’ from *hama-* ‘to rest,’ which indicates a collective action. *-rpa:*, like the durative suffix *-ra:*, produces a resultative passive: It makes the direct object of the base verb appear as subject experiencer (see Section 4.6.2.1.1.3).

4.6.2.3.5 -paku ‘(ATTN)’

According to Julca Guerrero (2009: 245) *-paku* has a function similar to that of *-chaku* (see Section 4.6.2.3.6): it indicates that the action is carried with special attention to a direct object that includes multiple details. However, this author suggests that *-paku* can refer also to an event performed without volition and circumstantially (e.g. *wiya-paku-* ‘to pay attention to any message,’ from *wiya-* ‘to hear,’ and *rika-paku-* ‘to look around with attention,’ from *rika:-* ‘to see.’)

Larsen (1976: 7) is the only other author who considered *-paku* as an independent derivational suffix. In her view, this suffix suggests that the action has been carried to completion, done in a total manner, usually through multiple objects (something implied in Julca Guerrero’s previous definition). Examples (111) – (113) illustrate how a multiple object is fully affected, how a subject becomes a prominent experience through acting upon several objects, and how the subject is affected as a whole.

(111) *Tiyanqa uchkukunata latupakuq.*

{tiyan-qa	uchku-kuna-ta	latu- paku -q}
aunt-TOP	hole-PL-ACC	fill-ATTN-HAB

‘Her aunt filled the holes’ (i.e. ‘all the holes that were out there’)

(adapted from Larsen 1976: 7)

(112) *Atalláw, upupakurishaqchi.*

{atalláw upu-**paku**-ri-shaq-chi}

nice drink-ATTEN-PUNC-1.SBJ.FUT-CONJ

‘How nice! It looks like I will drink as much as I can.’ (adapted from Larsen 1976: 7)

(113) *Virginqa hiqarpamun yana enteru limpu wankupakushqa.*

{virgin-qa hiqa-rpu-mu-n yana enteru limpu wanku-**paku**-shqa}

virgin-TOP fall-DW-CISL-3.SBJ black whole totally wrap-ATTEN-RES

‘The Virgin fell from the skies completely wrapped in black.’

(adapted from Larsen 1976: 7)

As Parker (1976: 123) noticed, *-pa* is non-existent as an independent suffix in HQ, and it alternates with *-pa:*, which is considered the base form in that variety. It is possible, then, that *-paku* is but an alternation of *-pa:ku*. Compare Example (114) with (113) above:

(114) *Alli aqshupa:kurkur hiqarinaq uqi punchurishqa nunawan.*

{alli aqshu-**pa:ku**-rku-r hiqari-naq uqi punchu-ri-shqa}

good blanket-ATTEN-UW-SUBIS go-NARR.PST grey poncho-PUNC-RES

nuna-wan}

man-COM

‘Wrapping up well (with her blanket), she left with the man in the grey poncho.’

Example (114) comes from a HQ author (and consultant) whose texts shows no alternation between *-pa:* and *-pa* (as found in corpus data from the Huaraz province). However, that very consultant still provides examples with *-paku*. The source participant in the event exists, but it is not prominently affected. As a source, it only provides some type of motivation (or support) for what the subject experiences. In this sense, *paku* is exactly what would be expected from the combination of *-pa* (different from *-pa:*, which requires an affected source-object) and *-ku* (which places affectedness on the controlling subject).

(115) - *¡Ananáw, wawqi! Alla:pataq kayqa nanaykun, ¡ananáw!*

- *Tsarapakuy wawqi, waray waratinga puka qasqunam puriykanki.*

{ananáw wawqi alla:pa-taq kay-qa nana-yku-n}

ouch brother a.lot-CONTR DEM.PROX-TOPhurt-EXCEP-3.SBJ

ananáw tsara-**paku**-y wawqi waray waratin-qa

ouch hold-ATTEN-IMP brother tomorrow day.after.tomorrow

puka qasqu-na-m puri-yka:-nki}

red chest-DISC-EVD walk-IPFV-2.SBJ.FUT

‘- Ouch, brother! This hurts a lot, ouch!’

‘-Hold yourself, brother, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow you will be walking sporting a red chest.’ (Context: The fox complains because a red-chested bird is skinning him, so he also has a red chest.)

- (116) *U:sha, kuchi, kakashqa mallaqa:yaqtsu qurakunata mikupakur.*
 {u:sha kuchi kakash-qa mallaqa:-ya:-q-tsu qura-kuna-ta miku-**paku**-r}
 sheep pig rooster-TOP hunger-PL-HAB-NEG herb-PL-ACC eat-ATTEN-SUBIS
 ‘The sheep, the pig, and the rooster were not hungry because they ate herbs.’

Perhaps the productive contrast that Parker (1976: 122, 124) found in Northern Conchucos Quechua between *-pa* (an action directed to multiple objects but not protracted, even immediate) and *-pa:* (virtually identical, but implying a protracted iteration) is still present in the combination *-paku* in HQ. It is as if the use of *-pa* involves the full use of a source that motivates or supports the action, without this involving a prominent affectedness of the source, as implied by *-pa:*. Clarifying if *-paku* is actually different from *-pa:-ku* requires further analysis.

4.6.2.3.6 *-chaku* ‘(CARE)’

This suffix has an extremely reduced distribution, and it suggests that the action is done carefully, but also through repetition. In this regard, is similar to the applicative *-pa:* (see Section 6.2.2.6). In my corpus it only appears as *rika-**chaku***- ‘to spot; to descry’ (from *rika:-* ‘to see’) and as *yarpa-**chaku***- ‘to deliberate, reflect on,’ (from *yarpa-* ‘to remember’). Other instances provided in previous works (Parker 1973a: 35 and Swisshelm 1974: 573) include *wiya-**chaku***- ‘to be attentive to any sound,’ from *wiya-* ‘to hear’), *apa-**chaku***- ‘to carry (a baby)’ (from *apa-* ‘to carry’), and *muski-**chaku***- ‘to snoop’ (from *muski-* ‘to smell.’)

4.6.2.4 Order of derivational suffixes

Table 4.11 shows my proposal for the default distribution of HQ derivational suffixes. While Parker (1973a) and Swisshelm (1974) provided the foundations for my analysis, several modifications have been introduced.

<Insert table 11 here>

In this table I include the plural suffix *-ya:* and the 1st person object suffix *-ma:*. This is required because, even if these function as inflectional suffixes, their formal distribution is that of derivational ones. There are 12 slots, which are classified based on their overarching grammatical function (voice or aspect), their dynamic or stative meaning, or their specific function (plural, cislocative, and object marker.) The following list introduces clarifications on how to read table 4.11, as well as some specific restrictions that cannot be visually represented:

- (i) The distribution reads from left to right. For instance *-pa:-ku*, *-ka:-ku*, and *-tsi-ku* are valid combinations. **-ku-pa:*, **-ku-ka:*, and **-ku-tsi* (i.e. *-ka-tsi*, with vowel lowering) are not.²⁵
- (ii) A suffix’s meaning has scope over the items located to its left.
- (iii) Suffixes located one above the other, or in the same column do not combine.
- (iv) Suffixes in the same cell do not combine. This specifically applies to the “inverted-L” shaped cells covering columns one and two.
- (v) Suffixes in different colored zones do not combine with each other due to their inherent semantic incompatibility.

²⁵ Some exceptions can be found for *-ku + -tsi* (e.g., *pinqa-ka-tsi-* ‘to make someone ashamed’), but they are few and likely to be lexicalized instances of *-ku* preceding the causative *-tsi*.

- (vi) Suffixes located in the dark gray zone can't combine among them, even if they appear in different columns. For instance, with its directional meaning, the upward suffix *-rku* can't combine with the benefactive *-pu* when it has an adversative meaning. Likewise, the outward suffix *-rqu* can't combine with careful action *-chaku*, nor *-ykacha*, nor with directional *-yku*.
- (vii) Columns have been grouped based on their shared function:
 - (a) Columns 1 and 2 contain suffixes located next to the verb stem. The light gray area includes those with a stative meaning that imply subject's passive-like affectedness (*-pa:*, *-ka:*, *-rpa:*, *-ra:*, and *-na:*). The dark gray zone includes suffixes that indicate some dynamic and/or volitional meaning like direction of motion, as well as manner of activity.
 - (b) Columns 3–5 include causative, reflexive, the reciprocal construction *-naku*, and the fused form *-paku*. They can be considered voice suffixes. The case of *-paku* as a fused suffix needs further study.
 - (c) Columns 6 and 7 include suffixes that have a clear aspectual meaning: Perfective (*-ri*, *-rku*, and *-yku*) or basic imperfective (continuous *-yka:*).
 - (d) Columns 9 and 12 include those suffixes that are best understood as inflectional in terms of their function, but that align with derivational ones due to their formal properties (the plural suffix *-ya:* and the 1st person object suffix *-ma:*).
 - (e) Column 10 includes the cislocative suffix *-mu*, which always occurs towards the end of the sequence of derivational suffixes, but never after the benefactive suffix *-pu* when it introduces an extra participant.
- (viii) The reciprocal suffix *-na* (column 4) must be combined with *-ku* (column 5) to form the reciprocal suffix *-naku*. While no other suffix occurs in between them, some exceptions with the aspect markers *-tsi* and *-yka:* are possible (see Section 4.6.2.2.3).
- (ix) In the same verb, *-chaku* never combines with *-ku* or *-paku*; nor does *-rku* and *-yku*; nor *-mu* and *-ma:*.

4.6.3 Inflectional categories of the verb

HQ verbs inflect for person, number, and tense. Conditionals and imperatives instantiate grammatical mood, and they can be considered inflectional in their distribution. Table 4.12 presents the inflectional paradigms for the basic forms.

<Insert table 4.12 here>

There are also periphrastic verbal constructions used to convey the present perfect (which can also use a basic paradigm), the non-experienced or narrative past, the habitual past, and the perfect conditional. All of those forms use *ka-* 'to be' as their auxiliary. Table 4.13 presents the inflectional paradigms for the periphrastic forms.

<Insert table 4,13 here>

4.6.3.1 Person and number

A three-person system, plus the distinction between the 1st person inclusive (*-ntsik*) and 1st person exclusive (*-ya-*) is used (see also Section 4.5.1.1.1 on personal pronouns). HQ verbs use -

ya: as their exclusive marker of plurality (the exception being 1st person inclusive *-ntsik*, itself a plural form). Its position aligns it with other derivational suffixes (specifically, it must be placed before the cislocative suffix *-mu:*) Tables 4.12 and 4.13 illustrate the use of the verbal plural suffix *-ya:* with basic and periphrastic paradigms. Some alternations in the position of *-ya:* occur in the habitual past (see Section 4.6.3.2.6). As expected with other derivational suffixes with long vowel, it shortens if followed by a consonant coda.

4.6.3.1.1 Subject marking

As is customary for Central Quechua languages, the 1st person subject is marked through vowel lengthening. The 2nd person subject uses *-nki*, except in the experienced past tense *-rqa* and one of the forms of the past perfect *-shqa*, where *-yki* is preferred. The 3rd person subject is marked with *-n*. However, periphrastic forms like non-experienced past, habitual past, and the past perfect do not use *-n* because their 3rd person depends on the unexpressed 3rd person form of *ka-* ‘to be,’ their auxiliary.

4.6.3.1.2 Object marking

As usual in many Quechuan languages, person inflections include a paradigm for object marking. The traditionally labeled “transitions” system conveys the interaction between subject and object. Thus a verb like *kuya-* ‘to love’ takes *-q* to indicate a 1st person subject and a 2nd person object: *kuya-q* ‘I love you.’ Conversely, if a 2nd person targets a 1st person, *-ma:* is used to indicate the 1st person object, while the basic 2nd person subject marking *-nki* remains: *kuya-ma-nki* ‘You love me’ (*-ma:* undergoes vowel shortening). If a 3rd person targets a 2nd person, then *-shu-nki* is used: *kuya-shu-nki* ‘s/he loves you.’ Although *-shu-nki* appears as a single suffix, it is actually divided in two suffixes, one before the tense marker, and the other right after it (e.g. *kuya-shu-rqa-yki*, from *kuya-* ‘to love’ in past tense *-rqa*). Also, with non-inflected forms like different-subject subordinator *-pti* and other nominalizers, *-shu-yki* is used. Finally, a 3rd person object is never marked in the verb (zero marking). Thus, if its object referent is implicit, the verb is only marked for subject.

This marking system is irregular. The 1st person object marker *-ma:* combines with the regular person subject markers. However, *-q* (1st person subject to 2nd person object) and *-shu-nki* (3rd person subject to 2nd person object) fulfill the subject and object function and are the only person marker allowed. Furthermore, in the future tense *-yki* is used instead of *-q*. Finally, in order to indicate interaction between plural subjects or objects, only *-ya:* is used. This produces several instances of ambiguity. For instance, *kuya-ya:-ma-nki* (2nd person subject and 1st person object) yields ‘you (PL) love me,’ ‘you love us,’ and ‘you (PL) love us.’ Table 4.14 shows the distribution of subject-object person markers including plurals.

<Insert table 4.14 here>

4.6.3.2 Tense

HQ, like other Quechuan languages, distinguishes between three basic tenses: Present (*aywa-n* ‘s/he goes,’), past (*aywa-rqa-n* ‘s/he went,’) and future (*aywa-nqa* ‘s/he will go’). This system shows a high degree of regularity with little fusion of tense and person. Tense suffixes are used first among inflectional suffixes, with the exception of *-shu-nki*, whose first part immediately precedes tense (see Section 4.6.3.1.2).

4.6.3.2.1 Present

Present tense is zero-marked, and it just needs person agreement added to the stem. Since the present is not strictly anchored in a precise time coinciding with the enunciation moment, it is frequently used to express an event located in the near past. This is common in narrations, where the present is deployed to create a sequence of events. Also, the present can express habitual situations such as customary actions or situations that extend through time, as for example in (117).

- (117) *Tsay tsaka kawan.*
 {tsay tsaka kawa-**n**}
 DEM bridge live-3.SBJ
 ‘That bridge exists.’ (lit. ‘lives’)

4.6.3.2.2 -*rqa* ‘experienced past (PST)’

-*rqa* refers to an experienced event that is located clearly in a previous moment without impinging in the current moment of enunciation. -*rqa* conveys only tense, not aspect. Thus, its interpretation can be that of a perfective or imperfective past based on the context of use. In Example (118) *uryarqan* is best viewed as an imperfective that provides background to the events in the narration:

- (118) *Tsaypita uryayarqan pagadunam munaq kaqkuna.*
 {tsay-pita urya-ya:-**rqa**-n pagadu-na-m muna-q ka-q-kuna}
 DEM-ABL work-PLV-PST-3.SBJ paid-DISC-EVD want-AG be-AG-PL
 ‘After that, only those who wanted worked, but for pay.’ (Context: Changes in contracts were enforced, so from that point onwards only those wanting to work were doing it and getting paid).

It is characteristic for -*rqa* to refer to an event whose occurrence is considered certain by the speaker (see 6.7.3.2. for the notion of direct knowledge in evidentials). Example (118) above refers to the process of road constructions in Huaraz during the early 20th century.

4.6.3.2.3 -*rqu* ‘recent past/perfective of immediateness (‘REC.PST)’

The inflectional suffix -*rqu* originated from the derivational outwards movement -*rqu*. It is a perfective past tense that points at a past that is close to the moment of enunciation, or that impinges upon a current time. It takes the same position as -*rqa*, with which it never combines (e.g, *rika-rqu-ntsik* ‘we just saw, have seen,’ *rika-rqa-ntsik* ‘we saw.’) It is often found in combination with the non-experienced past -*naq*, giving it a perfective interpretation (see Section 6.3.2.4).

4.6.3.2.4 -*naq* ‘non-experienced past or narrative past (NARR.PST)’

-*naq* indicates that an event belongs to a narration (i.e., is fictional), or it took place with its subject not being completely aware of it (e.g., dreams, hallucinations, drunkenness, or early childhood.) Like the experienced past -*rqa*, it is not marked for aspect. To obtain a perfective interpretation, -*rqu* is used before -*naq*. This is a periphrastic form that requires the auxiliary *ka-* ‘to be’ (e.g. *punu-naq ka-*: ‘I slept,’ *punu-naq ka-nki* ‘you slept,’ and *punu-naq* ‘s/he slept;’

see Table 4.13 for the full paradigm). Examples of *-naq* are in (7), (10), (24), and (50), among others.

4.6.3.2.5 *-shqa* ‘past perfect (PRF)’

The form *-shqa* is cognate with *-sqa*, the narrative or non-experienced past present in southern and northern varieties (see Chapter 5 by Aviva Shimelman in this volume for Yauyos Quechua). The past perfect shows three different patterns in the Ancash region (Parker 1976: 109–10); in my HQ corpus shows only two of them are instantiated. The non-periphrastic one combines person agreement with the perfect suffix *-shqa* (e.g. *miku-shqa-* ‘I have eaten,’ *miku-shqa-nki* ‘you have eaten,’ and *miku-shqa* ‘s/he has eaten’). The periphrastic pattern is also attested, where *-shqa* co-occurs with the auxiliary *ka-* ‘to be’ conjugated for subject person (e.g. *miku-shqa ka-* ‘I have eaten,’ *miku-shqa ka-nki* ‘you have eaten,’ and *miku-shqa* ‘s/he has eaten’). The past perfect has been considered as quite similar in meaning to the recent past *-rqu* (Parker 1976: 109; Julca Guerrero 2009a: 207). My analysis is that this is a perfective past that does not make any assumptions about its proximity to a current situation. However, affectedness of the subject seems to be relevant up to what is the current time of enunciation, as Examples (119) and (120) show.

(119) *Tayta:, maychawtaq tarishqa kanki?*

{tayta-:	may-chaw-taq	tari-shqa	ka-nki}
father-1.POSS	where-LOC-CONTR	find-PRF	be-2.SBJ

‘Sir, where have you found it?’ (Context: The speaker is impressed with the beautiful horse a stranger has arrived with.)

(120) *Llapan yachaynikiwanmi limpu trampaman ishkishqa kanki.*

{llapa-n	yacha-y-ni-yki-wan-mi		
all-3.POSS	know-INF-EP-2.POSS-COM-EVD		
limpu	trampa-man	ishki-shqa	ka-nki}
fully	trap-ALL	fall-PRF	be-2.SBJ

‘With all your knowledge, you have completely fallen into the trap.’

4.6.3.2.6 *-q + kay* ‘habitual past construction (HAB)’

A habitual event in the past can be expressed with a periphrastic construction involving the agentive nominalizer *-q* with the main verb, and the copulative verb *ka-* ‘to be’ in the present tense and marked for subject (e.g. *kuya-q ka-* ‘I used to love,’ *kuya-q ka-nki* ‘you used to love,’ *kuya-q* ‘s/he used to love;’ see Table 4.13 for the full paradigm.)

The use of the verbal plural marker *-ya-* in the habitual past construction shows dialectal variation, and my corpus reflects this. Some speakers use the plural marker with the main verb, before *-q*, others with the auxiliary *ka-*, while still others use it with both. Sometimes, even the same source shows those three distributions. For instance, ‘we (EXCL) used to play’ can be expressed as *puklla-ya-q ka-*, *pukllaq ka-ya-*, or *puklla-ya-q ka-ya-*.

Regarding the use of subject-object marking, they go with the main verb (e.g. *kuya-ma-q ka-nki* ‘you used to love me,’ *kuya-shu-q ka-nki* ‘s/he used to love you,’ *kuya-ma-q ka-ntsik* ‘s/he/they used to love us (INCL)’). Due to the coincidence between the nominalizer *-q* and the 1st person subject and 2nd person object marker *-q*, only an accusative-marked overt pronoun marked accusative (e.g., *qam-ta kuya-q ka-* ‘I used to love you’).

4.6.3.2.7 ‘future (FUT)’

The future is the only irregular tense in HQ (see Table 4.12). The 2nd person is the same as the one in the present tense. Each other person has their own future marker (1st person *-shaq*, 1st person inclusive *-shun*, 3rd person *-nqa*), which makes the future a case of fusional morphology. See Table 4.12 for its full paradigm. The 1st person future suffix *-shaq* alternates with *-shqa* and with *-sha* when combined with the irregular 1st subject to 2nd object marker *-yki* (e.g., *maqa-shqa-yki* or *maqa-sha-yki*, ‘I will hit you’).

4.6.3.3 ‘conditionals (COND)’

This irrealis mood category is translated through the auxiliaries *would* and *could* in English, as in Example (121). They express situations considered less likely than those marked with future tense.

(121) *Puklla:man paywan.*

{puklla:- man	pay-wan
play-1.SBJ-COND	s/he-COM
‘I would/could play with her.’	

While its formation follows a regular pattern, this inflectional category comes from the regularization of a periphrastic pattern. Arguably, the illative case *-man* became the conditional marker. As such, it follows the normal person markers (1st person *-:*, 2nd person *-nki*, 1st person inclusive *-ntsik*, and 3rd person *-n*). See Table 4.12 for the full conditional paradigm. In my corpus the 1st person inclusive is expressed only through the fusional form *-shwan* (e.g. *puwidi-shwan* ‘we would be able to,’ from *puwidi-* ‘to be able to’).

The perfective aspect is marked in the conditional by means of the invariably auxiliary *karqan* (i.e. *ka-* ‘to be’ in the 3rd person singular.) Thus, forms like *miku-u-man ka-rqa-n* ‘I would have eaten,’ *miku-nki-man ka-rqa-n* ‘you would have eaten,’ and *miku-n-man ka-rqa-n* ‘s/he would have eaten’ are used (see Table 4.13 for the full paradigm).

Regarding subject-object person markers, they take the place of the subject person markers (e.g. *parla-* ‘to talk’ produces *parla-ma-n-man*, ‘s/he would talk to me,’ *parla-ya-q-man* ‘I would talk to you (PL),’ ‘we would talk to you,’ ‘we would talk to you (PL),’ and *parla-shu-nki-man* ‘s/he would talk to you.’)

4.6.3.4 ‘imperatives (IMP)’

Imperative mood is marked for the 2nd person with the suffix *-y*, the 1st person plural inclusive with the suffix *-shun* (which is the corresponding future form), and for the 3rd person (injunctive) with the suffix *-tsun*. Plural forms are created with *-ya:*, which is placed before the imperative suffix. The full paradigm is available in Table 4.12. Examples of imperatives are in (55), (77), and (84), among others. HQ has a prohibitive construction combining the imperative suffixes with the particle *ama*, ‘do not,’ which requires the use of the negative suffix *-tsu*. It is illustrated in Example (122).

(122) *Ama parlayaytsu!*

{ ama parla-ya- y-tsu }
PROH speak-PLV-IMP-NEG
‘Don’t you (PL) speak!’

4.7 Independent suffixes (enclitics)

As in all Quechuan languages, HQ uses independent suffixes (or “enclitics” in traditional grammatical description). They can attach to nouns, verbs, or particles. Enclitics come after nominal or verbal inflectional suffixes. I follow Parker’s (1976: 145-149) three-way organization of independent suffixes based on their distribution. The first group includes those that connect the information in the sentence where they are placed to information in another sentence or considered implicit. These include the continuative *-raq*, the discontinuative *-na*, the additive *-pis*, and the contrastive *-taq*. The second group features suffixes that provide a negative or interrogative focus to any part of the sentence. These include the negative *-tsu* and the interrogative *-ku*. The final group includes those suffixes conveying the stance a speaker has regarding the statement produced and whether that information is old or new. This group includes the topic *-qa*, and the evidentials *-mi ~ -m*, *-shi ~ -sh*, *-chi*, *-cha:*, and *-ri*.) Enclitics can be used only once per sentence; however some exceptions can be found.

4.7.1 Connectors of sentence information

4.7.1.1 *-raq* ‘continuative (CONT)’

-raq conveys the notion of continuity. As such, it is commonly translated as ‘yet’ or ‘still,’ as in Example (123).

- (123) *Punuykanraq.*
 {punu-yka:-n-**raq**}
 sleep-IPFV-3.SBJ-CONT
 ‘She is still sleeping.’

However, this suffix is best understood in relation with some previous condition or assumption in spite of which something (an event or a nominal) is brought into the current focus of attention. *Punuykanraq* implies that sleeping time should be over, and *manaraq*, that something should be the case already, but it is not yet. This type of contrastive notion associated with *-raq* yields the idea of priority or even recentness, as illustrated in Example (124).

- (124) *Na:nitaraq ruramuy.*
 {na:ni-ta-**raq** rura-mu-y}
 road-ACC-CONT make-CISL-IMP
 ‘Make the road first.’

In this example, the scope of the continuative is not on the action *rura-* ‘to make,’ but on the object nominal. What the speaker has in mind, here *na:* ‘road,’ takes precedence over anything else, thus the meaning intended is that of ‘first the road.’ Likewise, *tsay-raq* (from *tsay* ‘that’) is best understood as an adverbial modifier meaning ‘recently, just,’ or even ‘at last.’ In Section 4.5.1.1.4, we saw that *-raq* combines with interrogative pronouns. A form like *ima-paq-raq* ‘what for?’ (from *ima* ‘what’ and dative *-paq*) implies that some previous condition should not be expected to hold at the moment of the question, thus the uncertainty or rhetorical quality with which it has been described (Parker 1976: 146; Julca Guerrero 2009a: 260).

4.7.1.2 *-na* ‘discontinuative (DISC)’

This enclitic can be considered as having the opposite meaning as *-raq*. It conveys the idea of discontinuity: an assumption of continuity is contradicted by the term marked with *-na*. In other words, whatever is marked with *-na* stands in sharp contrast with information previously assumed or mentioned. Common translations are ‘already, anymore, now’ (e.g. *paqas-na* ‘already night,’ from *paqas* ‘night,’ *mana-na* ‘not anymore,’ from *mana* ‘no’). Another example is in (125).

- (125) *Sha:rikuyna.*
 {sha:ri-ku-y-**na**}
 get.up-MID-IMP-DISC
 ‘Get up now!’

-na is also used frequently with nominals. Arguably, in those cases the referent of the noun marked with *-na* is a new instance in a sequence and it contrasts with whatever or whoever took place before. This seems to be the case in *tsay-na* ‘therefore’ (from *tsay* ‘that’). In Example (126), different animals are making noises together in order to scare some people. The first instance, *ashnu* ‘donkey,’ is unmarked. Then, every animal making a noise is marked with *-na*.

- (126) *Ashnu llapan kallpanwan ha:chinyarqan. Allquna anirqan... Mishina ñawyarqan.*
Galluna kantarqan.
 {ashnu llapa-n kallpa-n-wan ha:chinya-rqa-n
 donkey all-3.POSS force-3.POSS-COM bray-PST-3.SBJ
 allqu-**na** ani-rqa-n mishi-**na** ñawya-rqa-n
 dog-DISC bark-PST-3.SBJ cat-DISC meow-PST-3.SBJ
 gallu-**na** kanta-rqa-n}
 rooster-DISC sing-PST-3.SBJ
 ‘The donkey brayed with all his strength. And the dog barked... And the cat meowed.
 And the rooster sang.’

4.7.1.3 *-pis* ‘additive (ADD)’

The function of this suffix is to indicate that a term is also the case or also present alongside other information in the sentence (e.g. *ruripa-n-pis* ‘also her skirt,’ from *ruripa* ‘skirt,’ *kanan-pis* ‘also now,’ from *kanan* ‘now;’ *qatsawa-n-pis* ‘he also dances,’ from *qatswa-* ‘to dance’ in the 3rd person *-n*.) However, this notion of addition is not restricted to objectively adding a new referent or notion. Instead, it can be used with the sense of something that gets added despite of a previous notion. Thus, the previous examples could also be translated as ‘although’ or ‘even’ (Example 91 clearly shows this function of *-pis*.) For the use of *-pis* with interrogative pronouns to create indefinite pronouns, see Section 6.5.1.1.4.

4.7.1.4 *-taq* ‘contrastive (CONTR)’

This suffix conveys the idea that some information in the sentence contradicts previous information. In other words, *-taq* adds new information whose function is to be in contrast with some old information. *-taq* never appears with the topic marker *-qa* in the same word, since the latter links a term with current relevance to co-referential old information. The contrastive use of *-taq* is clearly illustrated in Example (115) above. In the narration, a fox says *Alla:pa-taq kayqa*

nanaykun, jananáw! ‘This hurts **a lot**, ouch!’ *Alla:pa* ‘a lot’ is marked with *-taq* because the fox was not expecting the process to be painful.

The contrastive enclitic is frequently associated with interrogative pronouns as a way to link the question to previous information. *-taq* attaches to the head of the interrogative phrase, as in the Examples in (127) and (128).

(127) *Imataq tsay?*

{ima-**taq** tsay}
what-CONTR DEM
‘What is that?’

(128) *Ima ninataq tsayqa?*

{ima ni-na-**taq** tsay-qa}
what say-POT.NMLZ-CONTR DEM-TOP
‘What does that mean?’

The accusative suffix *-ta* can be omitted when *-taq* is used (*Ima-ta-taq* / *Ima-taq rura-nki*? ‘What do you do?’, with *rura-* ‘to do, make’ marked for 2nd person *-nki*.)

Finally, there is alternation between *-taq* and *-tan*. The latter is preferred in the Northern Huaylas variety (Julca Guerrero 2009a: 260). Parker (1976: 147) argues that they are not exactly interchangeable because *-taq* has more contexts of use. I have not observed enough instances of *-tan* to determine what could differentiate it from *-taq*.

4.7.2 Negative and interrogative

4.7.2.1 *-tsu* ‘negative (NEG)’

This suffix makes any word the focus of a negation (e.g. *alli-tsu* ‘not good,’ from *alli* ‘good,’ *alla:pa-raq-tsu* ‘not much yet,’ from *alla:pa* ‘much’ and continuative *-raq*.) The negated term with *-tsu* can be introduced by a negator like *mana* ‘no’ or the prohibitive *ama* ‘do not,’ but only the second is mandatory. *-tsu* can combine in the same word with enclitics in the first group, with the exception of *-taq*. However, it seems that it never combines in the same word with enclitics in the third group (topic and evidentials), but more analysis is required. See Section 6.8.3.2 for examples and information on the use of *-tsu* in negative sentences.

4.7.2.2 *-ku* ‘interrogative (Q)’

-ku is added to any word to make it the focus of a question whose answer can only be *awmi* ‘yes’ or *mana* ‘no.’ For instance, the question in Example (129) is asking whether that is your destination or not by marking the goal with *-ku*.

(129) *Tsaymanku aywanki?*

{tsay-man-**ku** aywa-nki}
DEM-ALL-Q go-2.SBJ
‘Do you go there?’

On the other hand, Example (130) focuses on whether you live or not at a place (*ta:-* ‘to live’ with middle *-ku* in the 2nd person *-nki* and *tsay* ‘that’ with locative *-chaw*.)

- (130) *Tsaychaw ta:kunkiku?*
 {tsay-chaw ta:-ku-nki-**ku**?}
 DEM-LOC live-MID-2.SBJ-Q
 ‘Do you live there?’

When the negator *mana* ‘no’ takes *-ku* the resulting expression is a negative question, as exemplified in (131).

- (131) *Manaku munanki?*
 {mana-**ku** muna-nki}
 NEG-Q want-2.SBJ
 ‘Don’t you want (it)?’²⁶

4.7.3 Modality: topic and evidentials

4.7.3.1 *-qa* ‘topic (TOP)’

The main function of the topic marker *-qa* is to keep track of whatever has been mentioned before in the discourse, and that is brought back to the attention of the addressee. Thus, the function of marking old, known, or active information suits most uses of *-qa*. In Example (132) *-qa* marks *takla:qa* ‘my footplow,’ which refers to the previously mentioned term *takllallata* ‘a foot plow’ (old information).

- (132) *¿Manaku takllallata rikarqunki?, ;takllalla:qa manataq kantsu!*
 {mana-ku **taklla**-lla-ta rika-rqu-nki **taklla**-lla-:-**qa**
 no-Q foot.plow-LIM-ACC see-REC.PST-2.SBJ foot.plow-1.POSS-TOP
 mana-taq ka-n-tsu}
 no-CONTR be-3.SBJ-NEG
 ‘Haven’t you seen a foot plow? My foot plow is not there!’

Although the topic marker can appear with any word class, most of the times nominals are marked. Very few instances are inflected verbs (unless they are nominalized). Subordinate constructions with *-pti* or *-r* (see Sections 4.8.4.2.3.1 and 4.8.4.2.3.3), and particles like *itsan* ‘instead’ or *kanan* ‘now’ are also frequently combined with *-qa*, and they take more specific meanings, arguably contrastive (*itsan-qa* ‘however,’ and *kanan-qa* ‘right now.’) In my corpus *-qa* is mostly used once per sentence (considered in terms of the presence of a main inflected verb). However, some exceptions exist. In Example (133), each instance marked with *-qa* stands in clear contrast to the way in which the person addressed by the speaker was cultivating potatoes:

- (133) *Kananpitaqa kaynaw pachankunachawqa uraymanpam murunki...*
 {kanan-pita-**qa** kay-naw pachan-kuna-chaw-**qa**
 now-ABL-TOP DEM.PROX-SIMUL slope-PL-LOC-TOP
 uray-man-pa-m muru-nki}
 down-ALL-GEN-EVD sow-2.SBJ
 ‘From this moment on, in this way you will sow (potatoes) downwards on the slopes...’

²⁶ The negator *-ku* has no relation with middle voice *-ku*. They are homonyms.

Perhaps this contrastive function of *-qa* is related to bringing the attention of the hearer to something the subject considers important to elaborate upon. This is essentially the function of marking some information as the topic about which some comments are offered. In any case, it should be noticed that *-qa* does not combine with *-raq*, *-na*, or *-taq* in the same word.

4.7.3.2 *-mi* ‘evidential – direct experience (EVD)’

While *-qa* provides the topic or currently considered piece of information in a text, evidentials convey the information the speaker considers most relevant in order to comment upon the provided topic. In HQ, as in all Quechuan languages, the comment information is marked based on levels of certitude the speaker assigns to that information. The first evidential is *-mi* (*-m* after a short vowel). It indicates that the information offered comes from the speaker’s direct experience. By using it, the speaker presents themselves as a worthy source, a witness, or confident enough to vouch for the information. Frequently, it marks the information that answers a question, as in Example (134).

- (134) *Pitaq tsay shipash? —Payqa churi:mi.*
 {pi-taq tsay shipash pay-qa churi:-**mi**}
 who-CONTR DEM young.woman she-TOP child-1.POSS-EVD
 ‘Who is that young woman? —She is my daughter.’

As with any enclitic, *-mi* is placed in any word the speaker marks as the comment. Thus, a sentence like *Leonel tsay-man away-n* ‘Leonel goes there’ could place the direct evidential on each word. *Leonel-mi* would stress that it is **Leonel** who goes there; *tsay-man-mi*, that it is **there** that Leonel goes. If placed on the verb, the whole sentence is considered the scope of the evidential (Julca Guerrero 2009a: 252). Other examples with *-mi* are in (1) and (120).

4.7.3.3 *-shi* ‘evidential – reportative/quotative (EVR)’

-shi (*-sh* after a short vowel) indicates that the information provided comes not from direct experience of the speaker, but from someone else’s testimony or report, hence the term “reportative” or “quotative evidential.” This source is a 3rd person who does not directly participate in the speech act. Like *-mi*, it is possible to place *-shi* on any word in a sentence, but only once. This evidential marker is closely associated with the meaning of *-naq*, the non-experienced past tense. In few cases, they are used together to emphasize the non-experienced nature of what is narrated, as Example (135) below illustrates.

- (135) *Achikaypapis kapunaqshi huk warmi wamran.*
 {achikay-pa-pis ka-pu-**naq-shi** huk warmi wamra-n}
 achique-GEN-ADD be-BEN-NARR.PST-EVRone female child-3.POSS
 ‘They say that Achiqué had a daughter.’

Some degree of uncertainty is associated with *-shi*. Therefore, it can be used with interrogative pronouns to suggest perplexity from the person asking the question (e.g., in Example 99 *imanir-taq-shi* ‘why could it be?’) Examples of *-shi* in narrations (i.e. non-witnessed events) are found in (94) and (99). Uses of the indirect evidential *-shi* with *tsay* functioning as a connective of consequence (‘therefore, they say’) can be found in Examples (29) and (53).

4.7.3.4 *-chi* ‘evidential – conjectural (EVC)’

-chi conveys an attitude the speaker has towards the source of the information that is being presented. In this case, the information comes from a conjecture. This means that there is some degree of certainty associated with what is said, although not a complete one. Example (112) provided a use of *-chi* in *upu-paku-ri-shaq-chi* ‘it seems like I am going to drink a lot’ to express something that the speaker believed possible. Example (136) offers a case of likely conjecture:

- (136) *Tsuri:taqa alla:pachi ankushaq.*
 {tsuri:-ta-qa alla:pa-**chi** anku-shaq}
 child-1.POSS-ACC-TOP much-EVC miss-1.SBJ.FUT
 ‘I will miss my daughter surely a lot.’

When used with an interrogative pronoun, *-chi* indicates that there is no complete certainty about what is being asked. The person asking is unsure about what they ask or think that there is no answer to the question (*ima-chi?* ‘what could it be?’)

Finally, the conjectural evidential *-chi* can be followed by *-ya:*, an emphatic suffix increasing the certainty of the information. This use is barely present in my corpus, but Julca Guerrero (2009a, 2010) registers its use in the Huaraz province, see Example (137).

- (137) *Allquykichiya: wamralla:ta kanishqa.*
 allqu-yki-**chi**-ya: wamra-lla:-ta kani-shqa.
 dog-2.POSS-CONJ-EMPH child-DIM-ACC bit-3.SBJ.PERF
 ‘It is quite likely that your dog has bitten my child.’
 (adapted from Julca Guerrero 2009a: 256)

4.7.3.5 *-ri* ‘corroborative (CORR)’

This enclitic is not an evidential like *-mi*, *-shi*, or *-chi*, since it does not relate to the quality or validity of the information. Instead, it conveys the idea that the speaker is in agreement with some information the interlocutor has presented, as illustrated in Example (138).

- (138) —*Aywankiku?* —*Aywashaqri!*
 {aywa-nki-ku aywa-shaq-**ri**}
 go-2.SBJ-Q go-1.SBJ.FUT-CORR
 ‘Are you going? -I will go, of course!’

As in Example (139), *-ri* can also imply that the addressee should agree with what the speaker thinks addressee.

- (139) *Amari pinqakuytsu, qichwa shimintsikta parlakushun.*
 {ama-**ri** pinqa-ku-y-tsu qichwa
 PROH-CORR shame-MID-IMP-NEG quechua
 shimi-ntsik-ta parla-ku-shun}
 language-1.INCL.POSS-ACC speak-MID-1.PL.INCL.SBJ.FUT
 ‘Do not feel embarrassed, let’s speak our Quechua language.’ (Implicit: There is nothing to be embarrassed about speaking Quechua)

In a way, *-ri* also indicates that something is the current focus of attention. As such, it doesn't seem to combine with *-qa*, but it combines with the evidentials (e.g. *tsay-mi-ri* 'therefore, of course' from *tsay* 'that' or *wawa-yki-sh-ri* 'they say that your child, of course, from *wawa-yki* 'your child').

4.7.3.6 *-tsuraq* 'dubitative (DUB)'

The combination of interrogative *-tsu* and the continuative *-raq* can be considered a fused element *-tsuraq*. This suffix is used for yes/no questions. However, what the question implies is considered unlikely (e.g. *ka-n-tsuraq?* 'could there be?,' from *ka-n* 'there is,' or *qam-tsuraq?* 'perhaps it is you?,' from *qam* 'you').

4.8 Basic syntax

4.8.1 Grammatical relations

Like every Quechuan language, HQ can be considered a typical instance of nominative-accusative alignment. The A (agent-like subject) argument of a transitive verb and the S (single argument) of an intransitive verb are marked equally in the zero-marked nominative case. The P (patient-like) argument receives the accusative case suffix *-ta*. Examples (140) illustrates the pattern with an intransitive sentence, while (141) presents a transitive one.

(140) *Malli puriyan.*

{malli- \emptyset puri-yka:-n}
 María-NOM walk-IPFV-3.SBJ
 'María is walking.'

(141) *Malli hakata aruyan.*

{malli haka-**ta** aru-yka:-n}
 María guinea.pig-ACC cook-IPFV-3.SBJ
 'María is cooking a guinea pig.'

4.8.2 Constituent order

HQ places the modifier before the head. This is clearly illustrated in Section 4.5.1.4 through the order of constituents in the nominal phrase, where the nominal head is preceded by different types of modifiers (e.g., demonstratives, numerals, property terms, or adjectives.) This ordering takes place also with the genitive possessor preceding the possessed nominal, which is marked with a nominal possessive suffix (see Sections 4.5.3.1 and 4.5.3.3.2). Relative clauses (formed with nominalizers like *-q*, *-shqa*, *-nqa*, and *-na*) also precede the modified head (however, appositional modifiers are always found after the head, see Section 4.8.4.2.1.2). Likewise, adverbs (as well as so-called pre-adjectives) precede their head (see Section 4.5.1).

The unmarked constituent order is SOV. Most examples including accusative-marked arguments illustrate this (see Examples (1) and (12) to mention only the first ones with SOV order). However, it is not uncommon for the object to appear after the verb. This can be seen in Examples (29), (65) and (90). No instances of OSV have been found in my corpus. As it seems to be the norm for Quechuan languages, subordinate clauses (nominalized or using same-subject *-r* or different subject *-pti*) are much stricter regarding OV order. Examples (7) and (91) illustrate this.

4.8.3 Major clause types

4.8.3.1 Assertions

Regarding assertions, also known as declarative clauses, Sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.3 offer several examples of how they are expressed through enclitics like the continuative *-raq*, the discontinuative *-na*, the contrastive *-taq*, the topic *-qa*, evidentials, and emphatic markers. While those enclitics are by no means mandatory to express an assertion, they are frequently associated with maintaining the flow of information. Also, HQ speakers, as is common in other Quechuan languages, tend to perceive the lack of enclitics as something that weakens the clarity of what is being said.

4.8.3.2 Negations and prohibitions

Negative clauses are formed by using the enclitic *-tsu* (see Section 4.7.2.1). This suffix can mark any term in a sentence with a negative focus; however, if *-tsu* is on an inflected verb, then the scope of the negation will be the whole sentence. Examples in (142) – (145) illustrate the different words or phrases to which *-tsu* can attach.

(142) *Tsayshi mana allitsu kanqa.*

{tsay-shi mana alli-**tsu** ka-nqa}
DEM-EVR no good-NEG be-3.SBJ.FUT
'Therefore, they say, it will be no good.'

(143) *Kikinkuna pura mana akwirdutsu kayarqan.*

{kiki-n-kuna pura mana akwirdu-**tsu** ka-ya-rqa-n}
self-3.POSS-PL EXCL no agreement-NEG be-PLV-PST-3.SBJ
'They were in no agreement among themselves.'

(144) *Mana allita rurarqantsu.*

{mana alli-ta rura-rqa-n-**tsu**}
No good-ACC make-PST-3.SBJ-NEG
'She didn't do it well.'

(145) *Rukusqa kakashta mana willashqatsu.*

{rukus-qa kakash-ta mana willa-shqa-**tsu**}
sparrow.hawk-TOP rooster-ACC no tell-3.SBJ.PRF-NEG
'The sparrow-hawk has not told it to the rooster.'

-tsu is used only within a sentence (i.e. a clause with an inflected verb.) *Mana* 'no' becomes the mandatory negative operator outside of the sentence level (e.g. *alli* 'good' > *mana alli* 'bad, no good.'). The absence of *-tsu* and the need for *mana* 'no' can be seen in Example (146) with a nominalized purpose subordinate (on which see Section 4.8.4.2.3.4):

(146) *Mana atuq rika:ma:nanpaq punchuykillawan tsapaykamay.*

{**mana** atuq rika:-ma:-**na-n-paq**
no fox see-1.OBJ-POT.NMLZ-3.POSS-DAT
punchu-yki-lla-wan tsapa-yku-ma:-y}

poncho-2.POSS-LIM-COM cover-EXCEP-1.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Cover me with your poncho please, so that the fox doesn’t see me.’

Despite the frequent use of *mana* in agreement with *-tsu*, it is common to find sentences in which only *-tsu* is used (e.g. *musya-:-tsu* ‘I don’t know,’ from *musya-* ‘to know’) Optionality in the use of *mana* can be considered as part of a diachronic cycle (Pineda-Bernuy 2014) in which languages with one negative marker (e.g. *mana* ‘no’) develop a negative agreement (e.g. *mana* + *-tsu*), and then reduce to a single marker (only *-tsu*.) According to Villari’s (2017: 70) study of negation in the Huaraz province, a plausible synchronic motivation for the absence of *mana* ‘no’ before *-tsu* could be the presence of that negator or *ni* ‘nor’ (see Section 8.5.1.1.4) in the previous co-text.

HQ uses the negative particle *ama* ‘do not’ as a prohibitive. This is observed with all the imperative forms, which must be negated with *-tsu*. See Section 4.6.3.4 and Examples (49), (122), and (139) for the use of *ama*.

4.8.3.4 Questions

Interrogative sentences have been presented in Sections 4.5.1.1.4 on interrogative pronouns and Section 4.7.2.2 on the interrogative enclitic *-ku* for yes/no questions.

HQ, like several other Quechuan languages, has an interrogative verb, *imana-* ‘to happen; to do.’ It is used to ask about an indefinite action. As such, it can be used as an intransitive verb meaning ‘what’s going on?’, as in Example (147).

- (147) *Imanaykan?*
 {**imana**-yka-n}
 happen-CONT-3.SBJ
 ‘What’s going on?’

However, it also works with an overt or implied direct object, as in the Examples (148) and (149)

- (148) *Nuqa imana:taq payta?*
 {nuqa **imana-:-taq** **pay-ta**}
 I happen-1.SBJ-CONTR s/he-ACC
 ‘What do I do to her?’

- (149) *Imanankitaq?*
 {**imana**-nki-taq}
 do-2.SBJ.FUT-CONTR
 ‘What will you do?’

This question does not ask about a concrete thing that the addressee will do. Instead, it refers to a whole action as a response to some issue. This is analogous to the role of the direct object as stimulus (see Section 4.6.1.2), which makes *imana-* a type of semantically intransitive verb (see Section 4.6.1.3.)

Subject-object agreement marking is also possible with *imana-*, see Example (150).

- (150) *Imanashunkitaq?*

wallqa-**taq** kay-qa rusaryu-**taq** }
 necklace-CONTR DEM.PROX-TOProsary-CONTR
 ‘Sweet! Nice! This is a necklace! And this a rosary!’

- (154) *Piru tsaychawtaq nuqaqa ka:. Apamurqa:taq mikuyniyki.*
 {piru tsay-chaw-**taq** nuqa-qa ka-:
 but DEM-LOC-CONTR I-TOP be-1.SBJ
 apa-mu-rqa-:-**taq** miku-y-ni-yki}
 carry-CISL-PST-1.SBJ-CONTR eat-INF-EP-2.POSS
 ‘But I was there, and I brought you your food.’

In HQ the use of coordinating conjunctions from Spanish is widespread. Thus, *i* (from *y* ‘and’), *piru/pero* (from *pero* ‘but’), *u/o* (from *o* ‘or’), and *purki/porke* (from *porque* ‘because’), among others are found throughout the corpus, many times combined with the original HQ connecting enclitics. An example of disjunctive coordination using *o* is in (155).

- (155) *Itsa kawan o wanushqa?*
 {itsa kawa-n **o** wanu-shqa}
 Perhaps live-3.SBJ or die- 3.SBJ.PRF
 ‘Maybe they live or maybe they have died?’

Disjunctive expressions in HQ are viewed as closely related to adversative ones. *Itsa* is a connective that alternates with the Spanish loan *pero* as in Example (156) (see Section 4.7.3.1 about *itsanqa* ‘however’):

- (156) *Qamqa allilla kaykay; itsa nuqaqa hutsaykiraykurmi nakamushaqaq.*
 {qam-qa alli-lla ka-yka:-y **itsa** nuqa-qa
 you-TOP good-LIM be-IPFV-IMP but I-TOP
 hutsa-yki-raykur-mi naka-mu-shaq-raq}
 sin-2.POSS-CISL-EVD suffer-CISL-1.SBJ.FUT-CONT
 ‘You stay calm; but I will suffer longer due to your sins.’

4.8.4.2 Subordination

Subordination is obtained, like in most Quechuan languages, through the use of nominalized forms. They create relative, complement, or adverbial clauses. Still, the main function of nominalizers is to turn verbal stems into nominal referents, be they lexical (i.e. an entity) or grammatical (i.e. an argument or an event). The infinitive *-y*, the agentive *-q*, the resultative nominalizer *-shaqa*, the potential nominalizer *-na*, and the less frequently used actual nominalizer (realis) *-nqa* are the HQ nominalizers (see Section 4.4.2.1). Although they share formal properties with nominalizers, the suffixes *-pti*, *-r*, and *-shpa*, discussed in Section 4.8.4.2.3.1, are not considered part of that category, but as “subordinating inflections” introducing adverbial clauses.

4.8.4.2.1 Relative clauses

The first type of subordinate clauses are relative or adjective clauses. They can use any nominalizer to create a clause that specifies the referent of the noun they modify, or that can be used as an apposition to explain or elaborate upon that referent. There are no restrictions

regarding the grammatical function of the relativized constituent. This means that the co-referent in the relative clause can be a subject, object, or an oblique.

4.8.4.2.1.1 Specifying or restrictive relative clauses

Example (157) illustrate how nominalizers can be used to restrict the referent of the nominal head they modify. First, I will show that the infinitive can be used to create a nominal that can modify another one. These are not usually presented as relative clauses, but they are not formally different from those created with other nominalizers:

- (157) *Wayipita yarquyniyki kanan hunaqmi.*
 {wayi-pita yarqu-**y**-ni-yki hunaq-mi kanan}
 house-ABL exit-INF-EP-2.POSS day-EVD now
 ‘The day of your departure from the house is today.’

Examples (158) – (161) illustrate relative clauses with the remaining nominalizers. It should be noticed that *-na* is only seldom used with this function:²⁷

- (158) *...kakashyuq nunaqa alla:pa qishyaq nunata rika:rinaq...*
 {kakash-yuq nuna-qa alla:pa qishya-**q** nuna-ta rika:-ri-naq}
 rooster-INAL.POSS man-TOP very sick-AG man-ACC see-PUNC-NARR.PST
 ‘...the man with a rooster saw a very sick man...’

- (159) *Murushqan kinwapaq manana yakuta apayankitsu.*
 {muru-**shqa**-n kinwa-paq mana-na yaku-ta
 sow-RES-3.POSS quinoa-DAT no-DISC water-ACC
 apa-ya:-mu-nki-tsu}
 carry-PLV-CISL-2.SBJ-NEG
 ‘You won’t bring water anymore for the quinoa that he sowed.’

- (160) *Alla:pam mikuyanayki qurata muruyan.*
 {alla:pa-m miku-ya:-**na**-yki qura-ta muru-ya:-n.
 many-EVD eat-PL-POT.NMLZ-2.POSS plant-ACC sow-PLV-3.SBJ
 ‘They sow a lot of the plants that you eat.’

- (161) *Yurikunqa: wayita tayta: rantikushqana.*
 {yuri-ku-**nqa**:- wayi-ta
 be.born-MID-ACT.NMLZ-1.POSS house-ACC
 tayta:- ranti-ku-shqa-na}
 father-1.POSS trade-MID-3.SBJ.PRF-DISC
 ‘My father has already sold the house I was born (in).’

In (158), (159), and (160) nominal agreement indicates the subject argument of the relative clause. If the subject has to be overt, it will be marked with genitive *-pa*, as in Example (162).

²⁷ Weber (1983: 27–31) discusses that Huallaga Quechua differs from Ancash Quechua varieties in that the former cannot use nominalizations with *-na* as adjective clauses.

- (162) *qampa mikushqayki papa*
 {qam-**pa** miku-shqa-**yki** papa}
 you-GEN eat-RES-2.POSS potato
 ‘the potato you ate’

However, with the agentive nominalizer *-q*, nominal agreement indicates the object argument, as in Example (163).

- (163) *kuyaqniyki*
 {kuya-**q-ni-yki**}
 love-AG-EP-2.POSS

Other examples of nominalizers as relative clauses are found with *-q* in (119), and with *-shqa* in (64) and (115).

Finally, internally headed relative clauses are frequent in HQ with all the nominalizers, except the infinitive *-y*. Example (164) shows a nominalized sentence with no overt modified nominal present. It is obvious, however, that this nominal must be *wamra* ‘child,’ the subject of the nominalized clause with *-q*.

- (164) *Hurqurkaraya:mun nunakunata, warmikunata, wamra aywakuykaqta.*
 {hurqu-rku-ri-ya:-mu-n nuna-kuna-ta warmi-kuna-ta
 take.out-UW-PUNC-PLV-CISL-3.SBJ man-PL-ACC woman-PL-ACC
 wamra aywa-ku-yka:-**q-ta**
 child go-MID-IPFV-AG-ACC
 ‘They took out men, women, and the children that were going (to that school).’

4.8.4.2.1.2 Appositional relative clauses

The use of nominalized clauses after a nominal head to provide extra information about that head is common in HQ. Those appositional relative clauses should be considered as autonomous nominals sharing the same referent of the previously mentioned nominal they describe. Appositions must share the same case marker as their co-referential head. Example (165) shows the use of an apposition with *-q* introduced through a perception event:

- (165) *Manam rikarqu:tsu ni pita kaypa pasaqta.*
 {Mana-m rika-rqu:-tsu ni **pi-ta**
 no-EVD see-REC.PST-1.SBJ-NEG nor who-ACC
 kay-pa pasa-**q-ta**}
 DEM.PROX-GEN pass-AG-ACC
 ‘I didn’t see anyone who passes through here.’

Although perception events are commonly associated with this type of relative clause, other types of verbs can use them too. In Example (166), *tishqa-* ‘to dock something on an island’ (more commonly, *tishqu-*) takes two co-referential direct objects marked with *-ta*.

- (166) *Tsaynash yakuqa wamrakunata aparaykashqanta, tishqaykurqunaq.*
 {tsay-na-sh yaku-qa wamra-kuna-**ta**

DEM-DISC-EVR	water-TOP	child-PL-ACC
apa-ra:-yka:-shqa-n- ta		tishqa-yku-rqu-naq}
take-DUR-IPFV-RES-3.POSS-ACC		dock.on.an.island-EXCEP-REC.PST-NARR.PST

‘Then the water docked the children, which were being taken (by the water).’

Example (167) illustrates how this type of appositional construction (also known as “case-floating”) can occur even without a nominalization involved.

(167) *Pitsqa rapranta kukata tsarikun.*

{pitsqa	rapra-n- ta	kuka- ta	tsari-ku-n}
five	leaf-3.POSS-ACC	coca-ACC	grab-MID-3.SBJ

‘He takes five leaves of coca.’ (lit. ‘five leaves, the coca ones’)

Other probable instances of appositional modifiers were given in (41) and (42) with existential *ka-n* and the benefactive suffix *-pu* expressing possession (see Section 4.6.1.1). Also, Example (114) could be a case of apposition with *-shqa* further elaborating what the co-referential noun looks like.

4.8.4.2.2 Nominal clauses (embedding)

In HQ, embedded nominal clauses are possible with any nominalizers described in Section 4.4.2.1. It is possible to find cases of embedding in subject position with verbs like *gusta-* ‘to like,’ as e.g. in Example (168).

(168) *Parlanqayki gustan.*

{parla- nqa -yki	gusta-n}
talk-ACT.NMLZ-2.POSS	like-3.SBJ

‘S/he likes that you talked.’

However, this is uncommon with other verbs. Thus, I will focus here on direct object embedding.

4.8.4.2.2.1 Complement clauses with infinitive -y

This common type of complement clause requires that the subject of the main (inflected) verb is also the A (agent-like) argument of the embedded infinitive verb. It is illustrated in Example (169).

(169) *Yarquyta munaya:.*

{yarqu-y- ta	muna-ya-:}
exit-INF-ACC	want-PLV-1.SBJ

‘We want to go out.’

Verb classes that commonly take an infinitive embedded object are cognition (e.g. *gusta-* ‘to like,’ *yacha-* ‘to know; to learn,’ *musya-* ‘to think,’ *yarpa-* ‘to remember’), deontic (*puwidi-* ‘to be able to,’ a Spanish loan that has replaced *ati-* completely in HQ), and in very few cases, the aspectual auxiliary *qalla-* ‘to begin’ (see Section 4.8.4.2.3.1).

4.8.4.2.2.2 Embedding with other nominalizers (*-shqa*, *-na*, and *-nqa*)

When the main verb and the embedded clause have different subjects, the nominalizers *-shqa*, *-na*, and *-nqa* are used. The agentive nominalizer *-q* could only appear in object position in a relative clause. Examples (170) shows how *-shqa* profiles the affected object, Example (171) how *-na* profiles an event as a future occurrence, and Example (172) how *-nqa* profiles the fact that something took place:

- (170) *Qutsushqanta yarpankiku?*
 {qutsu-**shqa**-n-ta yarpa-nki-ku}
 sing-RES-3.POSS-ACC remember-2.SBJ-Q
 ‘Do you remember what she sang?’
- (171) *Yarqunaykita munaya:.*
 {yarqu-**na**-yki-ta muna-ya-:}
 exit-POT.NMLZ-2.POSS-ACC want-PLV-1.SBJ
 ‘We want you to go out.’
- (172) *Mikuyanqa:ta yachan.*
 {miku-ya:-**nqa**-:ta yacha-n}
 eat-PLV-ACT.NMLZ-1.POSS-ACC know-3.SBJ
 ‘She knows that we ate.’

Against Parker’s (1976: 164) observations, no limitations seem to exist for regarding verbs that can take an embedded clause. While this type of complex construction is not frequent in oral styles, they are found more often in written text with a wider variety of verbs:

- (173) *Cooperacion Popular kalaminata a:niya:mashqanta mana apuradu kumpli-tin...*
 {cooperacion popular kalamina-ta a:ni-ya:-ma-**shqa**-n-ta
 Cooperation public tin.roof-ACC agree-PLV-1.OBJ-RES-3.POSS-ACC
 mana apuradu kumpli-pti-n}
 no hurried fulfill-SUBDS-3.SBJ
 ‘When Cooperacion Popular (a government agency) didn’t hurry up to fulfill their agreement with us to a tin roof...’ (lit. ‘that they had said yes to us to a tin roof’)

Finally, I include among nominalized embedded clauses the basic obligation construction expressing ‘to have to.’ It uses the potential nominalizer *-na* to indicate the probable nature of an event. In addition to this, in the present tense it uses a zero 3rd person singular form of *ka-* ‘to be.’ For other tenses, a 3rd person singular form of *ka-* is overtly used. Examples of this construction were offered in (91), (94), (95), and (139). See Table 4.15 for the obligation construction paradigm in the three basic tenses.

<Insert table 15 here>

4.8.4.2.3 Adverbial clauses

In order to provide information surrounding an event’s occurrence such as cause, consequence, location, duration, among others, HQ uses specific subordinating suffixes or nominalized forms (with the exception of the agentive nominalizer *-q*) marked with case suffixes. In this Section, I

will present first the subordinating suffixes *-r* (same subject), *-shpa* (gerund), and *-pti* (different-subject). Then, I will move onto purpose adverbial construction using nominalizers.

4.8.4.2.3.1 *-r* and *-shpa* ‘same-subject subordinator (SUBIS)’, *-pti* ‘different-subject subordinator’ (SUBDS)

Adverbial subordinate clauses present a situation in a temporal or logical relation depending on the inflected (main) verb. They are translated with *when*, *while*, and *because*. Like most Quechuan languages, HQ uses a switch-reference system: *-r* and *-shpa* require that the subject in the main and subordinate clauses are the same; if they are different, *-pti* is used.

The subordinating suffix *-r* is not marked for nominal agreement, since it has the same subject as the main clause. As illustrated in Example (174), it marks a subordinate event as taking place prior to the main one, sometimes as a cause to the main clause.

- (174) ...*tikakunata hurqur, allibwenu sasata paskaykurqa:*.
 {tika-kuna-ta hurqu-**r** allibwenu sasa-ta paska-yku-rqa-:}
 bricks-ACC extract-SUBIS very difficult-ACC release-EXCEP-PST-1.SBJ
 ‘...when I took out the bricks, I released her with a lot of difficulty.’ (i.e. ‘by taking out the bricks’)

As mentioned in Section 4.6.2.1.2.1 in connection with Example (53), the presence of *-ri* immediately before *-r* (as well as *-pti*) indicates that the subordinate has taken place as a completed event. An example of this is in (175).

- (175) *Llapanta alistarirnam, qallaykuyan amararna.*
 {llapanta alista-ri-**r**-na-m qalla-yku-ya:-n amara-**r**-na}
 all-3.POSS-ACCprepare-PUNC-SUBIS-DISC-EVDbegin-EXCEP-PL-3.SBJ3 tie-SUBIS-DISC
 ‘After having prepared everything, they began to tie it up.’

The previous example also illustrates how *qalla-* ‘to begin’ takes a subordinate clause with *-r* (*amara-r-* ‘tying’) as its complement instead of taking an infinitive complement. A very frequent type of coordination in HQ presents the main clause as immediately following the event marked with *-r*, as in Example (176).

- (176) *Huklla takllayki katarkur uryaq ayway!*
 {huklla taklla-yki kata-rku-**r**
 at.once foot.plow-2.POSS carry.on.back-UW-SUBIS
 urya-q away-y}
 work-AG go-IMP
 ‘Hurry up, put your foot plow on your back and go to work!’

While nominal agreement is not required for same-subject reference, object agreement can be coded with *-r* by using the following combinations: *-ma-r-ni-* (1st person object singular), *-ma-r-ni-ntsik* (1st person inclusive object), *-r-ni-yki* (2nd person object), *-shu-r-ni-yki* (3rd person subject and 2nd person object.) Their plural forms take *-ya:* in its default position, before the object marker. Notice that if the subordinate sentence has a 3rd person object, then it can

optionally take the form *-r-ni-n*, which is equivalent to just *-r*. Example (177) illustrates the use of *-r* with 1st person object marker *-ma*:

- (177) *Imanirtan mantsamarni: ayqinki?*
 { imanir-tan mantsa-**ma:-r-ni-** ayqi-nki }
 why-CONTR fear-1.OBJ-SUBIS-EP-1.SBJ flee-2.SBJ
 ‘Why do you run away fearing me?’

The same-subject subordinator *-shpa* is less frequent than *-r*, and its use is restricted to the Huaraz province in the Callejón de Huaylas (cf. Parker 1976: 144). In contrast with *-r* or *-pti*, it never takes any type of subject or object agreement markers. While less frequent than *-r*, it is still common in my corpus. The relation between *-shpa* and the main clause is ambiguous, and it can be interpreted as simultaneous, consecutive, or previous to the main clause. In Example (178), due to context, only simultaneous and consecutive readings are possible:

- (178) *Tsaynaw nirshi, mana mantsashpa pumapa wayinman hiqarinaq.*
 { tsay-naw ni-r-shi mana mantsa-**shpa**
 DEM-SIMUL say-SUBIS-EVR not fear-SUBIS
 puma-pa wayi-n-man hiqari-naq }
 cougar-GEN house-3.POSS-ALL leave-NARR.PST
 ‘Having said this, he left for the cougar’s house without being afraid.’

The different-subject subordinator *-pti* is always marked for nominal person agreement to indicate the subject of the subordinate clause, as in Example (179).

- (179) *Tsayshi patsa wara:riptin kuntuta rika:rinaq.*
 { tsay-shi patsa wara:-ri-**pti-n**
 DEM-EVR world be.dawn-PUNC-SUBDS-3.SBJ
 kuntu-ta rika:-ri-naq }
 jug-ACC see-PUNC-NARR.PST
 ‘Then, right after it was dawn, he looked at the jug.’

-pti can also be marked with subject-object agreement. Example (180) uses the person marker *-q*, which indicates a 1st person subject acting on a 2nd person object.

- (180) *Yachatsiyka:yaptiq allinta yachanki.*
 { yacha-tsi-yka:-ya-**pti-q** allin-ta yacha-rqa-nki }
 know-CAUS-IPFV-PLV-SUBDS-1.SBJ.2.OBJ good-ACC learn-PST-2.SBJ
 ‘When we were teaching teach you, you learned well.’

A subordinate clause with *-pti* is viewed as occurring before the main verb. However, the use of aspectual suffixes further delimits the temporal relation between clauses. In Example (179), the punctual aspect suffix *-ri* indicates that the subordinate takes place right before the main event.

On the other hand, continuous *-yka*; in Example (180) suggests that the main event took place while the subordinate event was unfolding.²⁸

4.8.4.2.3.4 Purpose constructions with nominalizers (*-na-paq* and *-q* with motion event)

Many types of verb modifiers can be created in HQ through the use of infinitives with case markers. Alongside use of the genitive case *-pa* and the accusative case *-ta* to do this (see Section 4.5.3.3.1 and 4.5.3.3.2), the ablative case *-pita* or the locative case *-chaw* can be used to specify causes or specific circumstances connected to any event, e.g. in Examples (181) or (182).

- (181) *yarquyniykipita*
{*yarqu-y-ni-yki-pita*}
depart-INF-EP-2.POSS-ABL
'because of your departure'

- (182) *papa allaychaw*
{*papa alla-y-chaw*}
potato harvest-INF-LOC
'at the potato harvest.'

Case-based constructions include any nominalizer, except the agentive *-q*.

The most frequent subordinate clause based on a case marker is the purpose construction with the potential nominalizer *-na* and the dative case *-paq*. The potential nominalizer indicates that the event has not taken place yet, but it is possible. At its most basic, *-na-paq* indicates a generic goal, e.g. in Example (183).

- (183) *papata murunapaq*
{*papa-ta muru-na-paq*}
potato-ACC sow-POT.NMLZ-DAT
'in order to sow potato'

The nominal agreement markers specify the subject of the subordinate clause. However, if an overt subject is added, it remains in the nominative case (or as a modifier of the nominalizer), but it is never marked genitive, as usual with embedded clauses. This is illustrated in Example (184).

- (184) ...*mana gendarmikuna tsariya:nanpaq*.
{*mana gendarmi-kuna tsari-ya:-na-n-paq*}
no police-PL catch-PLV-POT.NMLZ-3.POSS-DAT
'...so that the police didn't catch him.'

This frequent purpose adverbial construction has been illustrated before in Examples (91), (94), (95), and (146). However, *-na-paq* is never used with verbs of motion. For those cases, a purpose construction with the agentive nominalizer *-q* conveys the goal. The subject is always identical for the motion verb and the nominalized form. An example of this construction can be found in Example (176), where the form *urya-q ayway* 'go to work' (lit. 'go worker') indicates the goal of

²⁸ See Example (28) in Section 4.5.3.3.8. for other ways to convey simultaneous events using the limitative case *-kama*.

the motion. The *-q* purpose subordinate can be before or after the main verb, as in Example (185).

- (185) *yarqunki pukllaq*
 {yarqu-nki puklla-**q**}
 exit-2.SBJ play-AG
 ‘You went out to eat.’

4.8.4.2.3.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional subordinate clauses introduce the logical condition for the main clause. There are two ways to introduce the conditional clause in HQ. First, the conjunction *sitsun* introduces this subordinate with an inflected verb. This conjunction comes from Spanish *si* ‘if’ and the irrealis/subjunctive marker *-tsun* (likely to be cognate with the injunctive marker discussed in Section 4.6.3.4). Although Example (186) uses a perfect conditional in the subordinate, forms in the present, past, or future are allowed too:

- (186) *Sitsun mana padrinu: kankiman karqan, ushaka:tsiqmanmi.*
 {**sitsun** mana padrinu: **ka-nki-man** **ka-rqa-n**}
 if no godfather-1.POSS be-2.SBJ-COND be-PST-3.SBJ
 usha-ka:-tsi-q-man-mi}
 finish-SPON-CAUS-1.SBJ.2.OBJ
 ‘If you hadn’t been my godfather, I would destroy you.’

Conditional clauses are also introduced with subordinators *-r* and *-pti* marked with the topic suffix *-qa*. Examples (55) and (108) illustrate *muna-r-qa* ‘if you want’ and *tari-mu-pti-yki-qa* ‘if you don’t manage to find (food),’ both conditional subordinate clauses.

4.9 Text sample

The following text is taken from *Voces Quechuas* (Julca Guerrero 2017: 169), a collection of texts in Ancash Quechua, adapted to the orthography used in this volume and minor adjustments for clarity. The translation is mine.

- (187) *Kay ashmaqa ampipapis allim rikan.*
 {kay ashma-qa ampi-pa-pis allí-m rika-n}
 DEM.PROX animal-TOP night-GEN-ADD good-EVD see-3.SBJ
 ‘This animal also sees well at night.’
- (188) *Atuqpaqa chupanchawmi upaya:tsikuqnin kapun,*
 {atuq-pa-qa chupa-n-chaw-mi upa-ya:-tsi-ku-q-ni-n ka-pu-n}
 fox-GEN-TOP tail-3.SBJ-LOC-EVD stupid-TF-CAUS-MID-AG-EP-3.SBJ be-BEN-3.SBJ
 ‘On its tail, the fox has something that stuns,...’
- (189) *tsaywanmi runakunata punuka:tsin.*
 {tsay-wan-mi runa-kuna-ta punu-ka:-tsi-n}
 DEM-COM-EVD person-PL-ACC sleep-SPON-CAUS-3.SBJ
 ...with which it makes people fall asleep.’

- (190) *Payqa allqukunatapis pantatsinmi.*
 {pay-qa allqu-kuna-ta-pis panta-tsi-n-mi}
 s/he-TOP dog-PL-ACC-ADD err-CAUS-3.SBJ-EVD
 ‘It also makes dogs confused.’
- (191) *Atuq hirkwan llallinakuyan.*
 {atuq hirka-wan llalli-naku-ya-n}
 fox mountain-COM defeat-RECP-PLV-3.SBJ
 ‘The fox and the mountain compete against each other.’
- (192) *Manaraq tamya cha:muptyn, atuq waqyaptinga,*
 {mana-raq tamya cha:-mu-pti-n atuq waqya-pti-n-qa}
 not-CONT rain arrive-CISL-SUBDS-3.SBJ fox cry-SUBDS-3.SBJ-TOP
 ‘If the fox howls before the first rain comes,...’
- (193) *mana alli watapaqmi willamantsik; hirka llalliptinga,*
 {mana alli wata-paq-mi willa-mantsik hirka llalli-pti-n-qa}
 not good year-DAT-EVD tell-3.SBJ.1.INCL.OBJ mountain win-SUBDS-3.SBJ-TOP
 ...it announces a bad year. If the mountain beats [the fox]...’
- (194) *ñawpatam tamya cha:mun, tsayqa alli wata kananpaqmi.*
 {ñawpa-ta-m tamya cha:-mu-n tsay-qa
 before-ACC-EVD rain arrive-CISL-3.SBJ DEM-TOP
 alli wata ka-na-n-paq-mi
 good year be-POT.NMLZ-3.SBJ-DAT-EVD
 ‘...and the rain comes before, then it is for a good year.’
- (195) *Tsaytam “puspa” patsa niyan.*
 {tsay-ta-m ‘puspa’ patsa ni-ya-n}
 DEM-ACC-EVD puspa time say-PLV-3.SBJ
 ‘This is called “puspa” time.’
- (196) *Kayqa wayra killakunachawmi qallan.*
 {kay-qa wayra killa-kuna-chaw-mi qalla-n}
 DEM.PROX-TOP wind month-PL-LOC-EVD begin-3.SBJ
 ‘This begins in the windy months [August and September].’
- (197) *Kay yachayqa, chakra nunakunapa rurayninkuna pushaqninmi.*
 {kay yacha-y-qa, chakra nuna-kuna-pa.’

 DEM.PROX know-INF-TOP farm person-PL-GEN
 rura-y-ni-n-kuna pusha-q-ni-n-mi}
 make-INF-EP-3.POSS-PL guide-AG-EP-3.SBJ-EVD
 ‘This knowledge is a guide for the actions of the rural man.’

HQ has been the object of many studies, grammars, vocabularies, and texts since the late 1960s. I can only mention here the most influential works and those that have served as sources for those analysis and descriptions offered in this chapter that diverge from those found in the previous literature. Parker (1976) is the first substantial reference grammar for Ancash Quechua, and it is based on HQ. Julca Guerrero (2009a) is a reference grammar that considers numerous contexts for dialectal variation. It also includes a chapter devoted to the current phonological orthography of Ancash Quechua. While this work includes data from all the Ancash Quechua varieties, HQ is the main source. Early grammars and sketches of HQ are Escribens and Proulx (1970), Levengood de Estrella and Larsen (1972), and the extensive introduction in Swisshelm (1972).

Regarding dictionaries, Swisshelm (1972) organized extensive fieldwork notes done by José [Joseph] Ripkens in the Huaraz province. Parker and Chávez Reyes (1976) is a revision of Parker (1971). Amancio Chávez Reyes contributed terms from the Conchucos variety into a collection that was mostly a HQ lexicon. Carranza Romero's (2003) dictionary, while based on a variety closer to the northern Conchucos ones, also includes terms from the Callejón de Huaylas. More recently, Julca Guerrero and C. Julca Guerrero (2016) have published a study of the lexical diversity and expressiveness in Ancash Quechua, based mostly on the Huaylas variety.

Early works on phonology are Parker (1967, 1970) and Swisshelm (1971). The latter is a pioneering work containing many insights on stress, pitch, and phonotactics. Unfortunately, due to its limited availability, those observations have not been reviewed with modern methods yet. Vivas Bravo's (2005) MA thesis studies vowel length using data from the Huaraz province.

Morphosyntax has been studied mainly from a descriptive and typological perspective. Parker's (1973a) groundbreaking work on verbal derivational morphology is based mainly on the Huaylas dialect, but he also uses data from his extensive fieldwork through Ancash during the 1960s. Swisshelm (1974) is also a study of verbal derivational morphology. It has the distinction of being the first corpus-based study ever done in Quechuan linguistics, and it is one of the most comprehensive analyses of the distribution of those suffixes in any Quechua variety. Larsen (1976), also a study of derivational morphology, deserves mention due to the diversity of examples it includes. Villari's dissertation (2017) studies the form and function of negation in the Huaraz province, while stressing the importance of shared knowledge and sociocultural settings. Villari and Menacho (2015) offer a general description of the middle voice suffix *-ku*. This topic is expanded in Molina-Vital's dissertation (in preparation), where this category is analyzed in terms of control and affectedness and in relation with causatives and the proposed category of spontaneous voice. The interaction between environment and spatial orientation in the southern Callejón de Huaylas is explored in Shapero's (2017) dissertation. While not based on HQ, but on the closely related Southern Conchucos variety, Daniel Hintz's (2011) exhaustive monograph on verbal aspect, and Diane Hintz's (2007) dissertation on the form and function of past tense markers under an interactional perspective are fundamental contributions to those areas of verbal morphosyntax.

Many texts have been published in HQ. This includes not only collections aimed for linguistic research, but textbooks for intercultural bilingual education (e.g. Camones Maguiña 2018), and numerous basic reading materials created by SIL and their associates (e.g. Granados Barreto 1995 and Colonia Macedo 2002, to mention a couple). Among collections created to help linguistic research, Proulx and Méndez (1967) collects stories from the Yungay province. Pantoja Ramos et al.'s (1974) monumental collection of stories, memoirs, folklore, and instructive texts from the Huaraz province is still the most valuable source of data for HQ. More recently, Julca Guerrero and Chávez (2009) and Julca (2017) collected academic, narrative,

poetry, and instructional texts from different varieties of Ancash Quechua, with a significant majority from the Callejón de Huaylas.

References

- Camones Maguiña, Margot. (2016). *Quechua para un diálogo intercultural*. Huaraz: Killa.
- Carranza Romero, Francisco. (1979). 'Funciones, combinaciones y distribución de la partícula verbal 'ku' en el quechua ancashino,' *Lenguaje y ciencias* 19: 19–28.
- Carranza Romero, Francisco. (1998). 'Asimilación de morfemas españoles en el quechua,' in Benjamin F. Elson (ed.), *Language in Global Perspective: Papers in Honor of the 50th anniversary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1935–1985*. Dallas: SIL International, 417–20.
- Carranza Romero, Francisco. (2003). *Diccionario quechua ancashino–Castellano*. Ed. by Wolf Lustig. Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. (1987b). *Lingüística quechua*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos 'Bartolomé de Las Casas.'
- Chávez Gonzales, Óscar, and Félix Julca Guerrero. (2009). (eds.). *Qichwa marka qichwa shimichaw: El pueblo Quechua en lengua quechua*. Lima: Diaconía.
- Chirinos Rivera, Andrés. (2001). *Atlas lingüístico del Perú*. Cuzco: Ministerio de Educación/Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos 'Bartolomé de las Casas.'
- Cole, Peter (1982a). *Imbabura Quechua*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Colonia Macedo, Próspero (2002). *Achiquë: la vieja que comía niños*. Huaraz: Academia Regional de Quechua de Áncash/Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Filial Huaraz, Ancash.
- Escribens, Augusto, and Paul Proulx (1970). *Gramática del quechua de Huaylas: Plan de fomento lingüístico*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.
- Granados Barreto, Leocadia (1995). *Wandï Wascar: La leyenda de Huandoy y Huascarán. Quechua del Callejón de Huaylas, Ancash*. Huaraz: Asociación Alli Willaqui.
- Hintz, Daniel J. (2011). *Crossing Aspectual Frontiers: Emergence, Evolution, and Interwoven Semantic Domains in South Conchucos Quechua Discourse*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Hintz, Daniel J., and Diane M. Hintz. (2017). 'The Evidential Category of Mutual Knowledge in Quechua,' in Monica Laura Lau and Willem Adelaar (eds.), *Essays on Evidentiality. Lingua* 186/187 (Special Issue): 88–109.
- Hintz, Diane M. (2003). *Word Order in South Conchucos Quechua*. MA thesis, University of California at Santa Barbara.
- Hintz, Diane M. (2006). 'Stress in South Conchucos Quechua: a Phonetic and Phonological study,' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 72 (4): 477–521.
- Hintz, Diane M. (2007). *Past Tense Forms and their Functions in South Conchucos Quechua: Time, Evidentiality, Discourse Structure, and Affect*. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática. (2018). *Censos nacionales 2017: xii de población, vii de vivienda y iii de comunidades indígenas*. Lima: Redatam (Recuperación de Datos para Áreas Pequeñas por Microcomputadoras) Database.
- Julca Guerrero, Félix. (2009a). *Quechua ancashino: Una mirada actual*. Lima: CARE-Perú/Fondo Editorial del Pedagógico San Marcos
- Julca Guerrero, Félix. (2009b). 'Estudio gramatical y semántico de la ditransitividad en el Quechua de Ancash,' *Aporte Santiaguino* 2 (1): 193–7.

- Julca Guerrero, Félix Claudio. (2010). *Variación dialectal del Quechua en el Callejón de Huaylas desde las perspectivas de la lingüística y de los hablantes*. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Julca Guerrero, Félix. (2017). *Voces Quechuas. Qichwa Willakuykuna. Antología de cuentos, poesías, canciones, chistes, adivinanzas, trabalenguas, textos instructivos, descriptivos, académicos y artículos de investigación*. Huaraz. Instituto Ancashino de Estudios Andinos/Killa.
- Julca Guerrero, Félix, and Cervantes Julca Guerrero (2016). *Quechua: riqueza léxica y expresiva*. Huaraz: Instituto Ancashino de Estudios Andinos/Killa
- Landerman, Peter Nelson. (1991). *Quechua Dialects and their Classification*. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Larsen, Helen. (1976). *Los sufijos derivacionales del verbo en el quechua de Ancash*. Lima: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano/Ministerio de Educación.
- Levengood de Estrella, Margaret, and Helen Larsen. (1972). *Bosquejo descriptivo del quechua de Huaylas*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación/Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig. (2016). (eds.). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 19th ed. Dallas: SIL International.
- Menacho López, Leonel and Cristina Villari. (2019). 'Cuando la educación familiar andina se interrumpe en la educación inicial: los PRONEIs (Programas no Escolarizados de Educación Inicial) en la sierra de Ancash (Perú),' *Indiana* 36 (1): 141–54.
- Molina Vital, Carlos. (In preparation). La voz media en el sistema de voz gramatical del quechua de Ancash (Huaylas). Dissertation, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Pantoja Ramos, Santiago, José Ripkens and Germán Swisshelm. (1974). *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz*. Estudios culturales benedictinos. Huaraz: Priorato de San Benito
- Parker, Gary J. (1967). 'Fonología y morfofonémica del quechua de Caraz,' in A. Escobar, G. Parker, J. Creider, and R. Cerrón. (1967). *Cuatro fonologías quechuas*. Lima: Plan de Fomento Lingüístico, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 27–40.
- Parker, Gary J. (1970). 'Huaylas Quechua Phonology: A Preliminary Generative Statement Using Markedness Theory,' *University of Hawaii Working Papers in Linguistics* 2 (4): 143–76.
- Parker, Gary J. (1973a). *Derivación verbal en el quechua de Ancash*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada.
- Parker, Gary J., and Amancio Chávez Reyes. (1976). *Diccionario quechua: Ancash-Huailas*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/Ministerio de Educación.
- Parker, Gary J. (1971). *An Ancash Quechua – English dictionary*. Manuscript.
- Parker, Gary J. (1976). *Gramática quechua: Ancash-Huailas*. Ministerio de Educación.
- Pineda-Bernuy, Edith. (2014). 'The Development of Standard Negation in Quechua: A Reconstruction,' in Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen and Jacqueline Visconti (eds.), *The Diachrony of Negation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 83–130.
- Pozzi-Escot, Inés. (1998). *El multilingüismo en el Perú*. Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos 'Bartolomé de Las Casas.'
- Proulx, Paul, and Joel Méndez. (1967). *Ancash Quechua Texts and Sentences*. Manuscript.
- Santo Tomás, Domingo de. (1994a [1560]). *Grammatica de la lengua general del Peru*. Ed. by Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino. Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica.
- Shapero, Joshua A. (2017). *Speaking Places: Language, Mind, and Environment in the Ancash Highlands (Peru)*. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

- Shibatani, Masayoshi. (1985). 'Passives and Related Constructions: A Prototype Analysis', *Language* 61 (4): 821–48.
- Swisshelm, Germán. (1971). *Un análisis detallado de la fonología del quechua de Huaraz*. Lima: Priorato de San Benito.
- Swisshelm, Germán. (1972). *Un diccionario del quechua de Huaraz (quechua–castellano/castellano–quechua)*. Huaraz: Estudios Culturales Benedictinos.
- Swisshelm, Germán. (1974). 'Los sufijos de derivación verbal en el quechua de Huaraz,' in Santiago Pantoja Ramos, José Ripkens, and Germán Swisshelm (eds.): *Cuentos y relatos en el quechua de Huaraz*. Huaraz: Priorato de San Benito, 471–577.
- Torero, Alfredo. (1974). *El quechua y la historia social andina*. Lima: Dirección Universidad de Investigación, Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Toyota, Junichi (2011). *The Grammatical Voice in Japanese: A Typological Perspective*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
- Villari, Cristina, and Leonel Menacho López (2015). 'La voz media en el quechua de Huaylas: las funciones semánticas del sufijo -ku,' *Aporte Santiaguino* 8 (2): 301–18.
- Villari, Cristina (2017). *Forms and Functions of Negation in Huaraz Quechua (Ancash, Peru): Analyzing the Interplay of Common Knowledge and Sociocultural Settings*. Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin.
- Vivas Bravo, Carmita Pilar. (2005). *La cantidad vocálica en la variedad quechua Huailas*. MA thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Weber, David John. (1983). *Relativization and Nominalized Clauses in Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Weber, David John. (1989). *A Grammar of Huallaga (Huánuco) Quechua*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

Tables

Province	Population	Percentage of Spanish speakers (age 5 and beyond)	Percentage of Quechua speakers (age 5 and beyond)	Number of Quechua speakers (age 5 and beyond, rounded up)
Huaylas	46,649	42.50%	57.05%	26,613
Yungay	46,426	24.49%	74.85%	34,750
Carhuaz	15,855	27.60%	71.78%	11,381
Huaraz	149,713	60%	39.11%	60,050
Recuay	15,855	55.88%	42.57%	6,749

Table 4.1. Number of speakers of Huaylas Quechua in the Callejón de Huaylas provinces, Ancash region. Source: INEI 2018

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	i:			u:	u:
Mid	(e)	(e:)			(o)	o:
Low			a	a:		

Table 4.2. Vowel inventory of Huaylas Quechua. Vowels from Spanish loans are in parentheses.

	/a/	/a:/	/i/	/i:/	/u/	/u:/
Word initial	<i>ashiy</i> ‘to look for’	<i>aashi</i> ‘they say yes’ (idiomatic expression)	<i>ikiy, ikay</i> ‘to chop (food) in little pieces’	<i>iigus</i> ‘fig’ (from Spanish <i>higo</i>)	<i>Ushan</i> ‘she finishes it’	<i>Uushan</i> ‘her sheep’
End of syllable	<i>qara</i> ‘skin’	<i>qaara</i> ‘plant similar to agave’ (<i>furcraea andina</i>)	<i>mitu</i> ‘mud’	<i>miitu</i> ‘forest papaya’ (<i>vasconcellea candicans</i>)	<i>pukay</i> ‘to turn red’	<i>puukay</i> ‘to blow’

Table 4.3. Phonemic contrast between short and long vowels in Huaylas Quechua.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Post-	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
--	----------	-------------	----------	-------	---------	-------	--------	---------

				alveolar				
Voiceless plosive/affricate	p		t, ts	ch		k	q	
Voiced plosive	(b)		(d)			(g)		
Fricative		(f)	s	sh				h
Nasal	m		n		ñ			
Lateral			l		ll			
Tap			ɾ	(ɽ)				
Approximant					y	w		

Table 4.4. Consonant inventory of Huaylas Quechua. Consonants from loans are in parenthesis.

	/ay/ → [e:]	/aw/ → [o:]	/uy/ → [i:]
Lexemes	<i>aytsa</i> /'ajtsa/ > ['e:tsa] 'meat'	<i>awkish</i> /'awkiʃ/ > ['awkiʃ] ~ [o:kiʃ] 'old man'	<i>luychu</i> /'luychu/ > ['lujʃu] ~ ['li:ʃu] 'deer' <i>llumtsuy</i> /'llumtsuy/ > ['ʎumtsɪ:] ~ ['ʎumtsuj] 'daughter in law'
Morphemes	<i>takaykan</i> /ta'kaykan/ > [ta'ke:kan] 'she is hitting' <i>nanayki</i> /na'nayki/ > [na'ne:ki] 'your sister'	<i>tsaychaw</i> /'tsaychaw/ > ['tse:ʃo:] '(in) there' <i>allqunaw</i> /allqu'naw/ > [aʎqo'no:] 'like a dog'	<i>mikuy</i> /mi'kuy/ > ['miki:] 'to eat,' 'eat!' <i>punuykun</i> /punuy'kun/ > [puni:'kuŋ] 'she slept'

Table 4.5. Monophthongization in Huaylas Quechua.

Interrogative pronoun	Gloss	Indefinite	Indefinite gloss
<i>ima</i>	'what'	<i>ima-pis</i>	'anything, whatever'
<i>pi</i>	'who'	<i>pi-pis</i>	'anyone, whatever'
<i>imay</i>	'when'	<i>imay-pis</i>	'any time, whenever'
<i>may</i>	'where'	<i>may-pis</i>	'anywhere, wherever'
<i>ayka</i>	'how many'	<i>ayka-pis</i>	'any amount'

<i>mayqin</i>	‘which’	<i>mayqin-pis</i>	‘whichever’
<i>imanaw</i>	‘how’	<i>imayna-pis</i>	‘anyhow, however’
<i>imanir</i>	‘why’	<i>imanir-pis</i>	‘whatever reason’

Table 4.6. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Huaylas Quechua.

Number	Term
‘one’	<i>huk</i>
‘two’	<i>ishkay</i>
‘three’	<i>kima</i>
‘four’	<i>tawa</i>
‘five’	<i>pitsqa</i>
‘six’	<i>huqta</i>
‘seven’	<i>qanchis</i>
‘eight’	<i>puwaq</i>
‘nine’	<i>isqun</i>
‘ten’	<i>chunka</i>
‘100’	<i>pachak</i>
‘1,000’	<i>waranqa</i>

Table 4.7. Numerals in Huaylas Quechua.

		Inflection		
Nominalizers	Derivation	Person	Number	Case
<i>-na</i> ‘POT.NMLZ’ <i>-q</i> ‘AG’ <i>-shqa</i> ‘RES’ <i>-nqa</i> ‘ACT.NMLZ’	<i>-yuq</i> ‘POSS’ <i>-sapa</i> ‘MULT.ALL’ <i>-ntin</i> ‘INCL’ <i>-mayi</i> ‘MATE’	-: ‘1.POSS’ -yki ‘2.POSS’ -n ‘3.POSS’ -ntsik ‘1PL.POSS’	<i>-kuna</i> ‘PL’	<i>-chaw</i> ‘LOC’ <i>-kama</i> / <i>-yaq</i> ‘LIM’ <i>-man</i> ‘ALL’ <i>-naw</i> ‘SIMUL’ <i>-pa</i> ‘GEN’ <i>-paq</i> ‘BEN, ALL, PURP’ <i>-piq</i> ~ <i>-pita</i> ‘ABL’ <i>-pura</i> ‘EXCL’ <i>-raykur</i> ‘CSL’ <i>-ta</i> ‘ACC’ <i>-wan</i> ‘COM’ -∅ ‘NOM’

Table 4.8. Distribution of nominal suffixes in Huaylas Quechua.

Person	Nominal agreement		
	SG		PL
1	-:	INCL EXCL	<i>-ntsik</i> <i>-:-kuna</i>
2	<i>-yki</i>		<i>-yki-kuna</i>
3	<i>-n</i>		<i>-n-kuna</i>

Table 4.9. The nominal person paradigm in Huaylas Quechua.

Case	Suffix	Example	Gloss
Locative	<i>-chaw</i>	<i>Wayi-chaw uryanki.</i>	‘You work at home.’
Limitative	<i>-kama / -yaq</i>	<i>Markaraa-kama/-pita aywayarqaa.</i>	‘We went until (up to) Marcará.’
Allative	<i>-man</i>	<i>Chuntayuq-man aywaykan.</i>	‘He is going to Chontayoc.’
Simulative	<i>-naw</i>	<i>nuqa-naw</i>	‘like me’
Genitive	<i>-pa</i>	<i>Shanti-pa wawqi -n.</i>	‘Santiago’s brother.’
Benefactive, allative, purposive	<i>-paq</i>	<i>Nuqantsik-paq uryaykayan.</i>	‘They work for us.’
Ablative	<i>-piq ~ -pita</i>	<i>Waras-pita/-piq shamuu.</i>	‘I come from Huaraz.’
Interactive	<i>-pura</i>	<i>yanasa-pura</i>	‘among friends’
Causal	<i>-raykur</i>	<i>yamta-raykur</i>	‘because of the firewood’
Accusative	<i>-ta</i>	<i>Kashki-ta mikuu.</i>	‘I eat soup.’
Instrumental- Comitative	<i>-wan</i>	<i>Allqu-wan purinki.</i>	‘You are walking with a dog.’
Nominative	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>Peyu-Ø tushun.</i>	‘Pedro dances.’

Table 4.10. Case marking in Huaylas Quechua.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Voice and stative meaning		Voice			Perfective aspect		LIM	PL	CISL	Voice	OBJ
-pa:	-ka:	-tsi	-na	-ku	-ri	-yku	-lla:	-ya:	-mu	-pu	-ma:
-na:	-rpa(:)				-rku						
	-ra:			Imperfective aspect							
Dynamic meaning				-paku		-yka:					
-rku	-pu										
-yku	-ykacha										
-rpu	-chaku										
-rqu											

Table 4.11. Distribution of verbal derivational suffixes in Huaylas Quechua.

Number	Person	Tense				Mood	
		Present -Ø	Experienced past -rqa	Recent past -rqu	Future	Conditional -man	Imperative -y
Singular	1	kuya-: 'I love.'	kuya-rqa-: 'I loved.'	kuya-rqu-: 'I have loved.'	kuya-shaq 'I will love.'	kuya-:-man 'I would love.'	
	2	kuya-nki 'You love.'	kuya-rqa-yki 'You loved.'	kuya-rqu-nki 'You have loved.'	kuya-nki 'You will love.'	kuya-nki-man 'You would love.'	kuya-y '(You) love.'
	3	kuya-n 'S/he loves.'	kuya-rqa-n 'S/he loved.'	kuya-rqu-n 'S/he have loved.'	kuya-nqa 'S/he will love.'	kuya-n-man 'S/he would love.'	kuya-tsun 'Let him/her love.'
Plural	1. INCL	kuya-ntsik 'We (INCL) love.'	kuya-rqa-ntsik 'We (INCL) loved.'	kuya-rqu-ntsik 'We (INCL) have loved.'	kuya-shun 'We (INCL) will love.'	kuya-ntsik-man kuya-shwan 'We (INCL) would love.'	
	1. EXCL	kuya-ya-: 'We (EXCL) love.'	kuya-ya-rqa-: 'We (EXCL) loved.'	kuya-ya-rqu-: 'We (EXCL) have loved.'	kuya-ya-shaq 'We (EXCL) will love.'	kuya-ya-:-man 'We (EXCL) would love.'	
	2	kuya-ya-nki 'You love.'	kuya-ya-rqa-yki 'You loved.'	kuya-ya-rqu-nki 'You have loved.'	kuya-ya-nki 'I will love.'	kuya-ya-nki-man 'You would love.'	kuya-ya-y '(You) love.'
	3	kuya-ya-n 'They love.'	kuya-ya-rqa-n 'He loved.'	kuya-ya-rqu-n 'They have loved.'	kuya-ya-nqa 'They will love.'	kuya-ya-n-man 'They would love.'	kuya-ya-tsun 'Let him/her love.'

Table 4.12. Basic inflectional paradigms in Huaylas Quechua.

Number	Person	Tense			Mood
		Non-experienced past -naq + ka-	Habitual past -q + ka-	Past perfect -shqa or-shqa + ka-	Perfect Conditional -man karqan
Singular	1	kuya-naq ka-a 'I had loved.'	kuya-q ka-: 'I used to love.'	kuya-shqa-a or kuya-shqa ka-a 'I have loved.'	kuya-a-man karqan 'I would have loved.'

	2	<i>kuya-naq ka-nki</i> 'You had loved.'	<i>kuya-q ka-nki</i> 'You used to love.'	<i>kuya-shqa-yki</i> or <i>kuya-shqa ka-nki</i> 'You have loved.'	<i>kuya-nki-man karqan</i> 'You would have loved.'
	3	<i>kuya-naq</i> 'S/he had loved.'	<i>kuya-q</i> 'S/he used to love.'	<i>kuya-shqa-n</i> or <i>kuya-shqa</i> 'S/he has loved.'	<i>kuya-n-man karqan</i> 'S/he would have loved.'
	1. INCL	<i>kuya-naq ka-ntsik</i> 'We (INCL) had loved.'	<i>kuya-q ka-ntsik</i> 'We (INCL) used to love.'	<i>kuya-shqa-ntsik</i> or <i>kuya-shqa ka-ntsik</i> 'We (INCL) have loved.'	<i>kuya-ntsik-man karqan</i> or <i>kuya-shwan karqan</i> 'We (INCL) would have loved.'
Plural	1. EXCL	<i>kuya-ya:-naq ka(-ya)-:</i> 'We (EXCL) had loved.'	<i>kuya-ya-q ka(-ya)-:</i> 'We (EXCL) used to love.'	<i>kuya-ya-shqa-a</i> or <i>kuya-shqa ka-ya-a</i> 'We (EXCL) have loved.'	<i>kuya-ya-a-man karqan</i> 'We (EXCL) would have loved.'
	2	<i>kuya-ya:-naq ka-ya-nki</i> 'You had loved.'	<i>kuya-ya-q ka-nki</i> 'You used to love.'	<i>kuya-ya-shqa-yki</i> or <i>kuya-shqa ka-ya-nki</i> 'You have loved.'	<i>kuya-ya-nki-man karqan</i> 'You would have loved.'
	3	<i>kuya-ya:-naq</i> 'They had loved.'	<i>kuya-ya-q</i> 'They used to love.'	<i>kuya-ya-shqa-n</i> or <i>kuya-ya-shqa</i> 'They have loved.'	<i>kuya-ya-n-man karqan</i> 'They would have loved.'

Table 4.13. Periphrastic inflectional paradigms in Huaylas Quechua. Plural markers that are frequent, but optional are given in parentheses.

Subject-Object Agreement (Singular)		OBJECT						
		1		2		3		
SUBJECT	1	–		-q (-yki)		V-: <div>Ø</div>		
	2	<div>-nki (-yki) -ma:</div>		–		<div>-nki/-yki Ø</div>		
	3	<div>-n -ma:</div>		<div>-shu-nki(-yki)</div>		<div>-n Ø</div>		
Subject-Object Agreement (Plural)		OBJECT						
		1		2		3		1.INCL
SUBJECT	1.INCL	–		–		–	<div>ntsik Ø</div>	–
	1.EXCL	–		-ya:	<div>-q(-yki)</div>	-ya:	<div>V-: Ø</div>	–
	2	-ya:	<div>-nki -ma:</div>	–		-ya:	<div>-nki Ø</div>	–
	3	-ya:	<div>-n -ma:</div>	-ya:	<div>-shu-nki (-yki)</div>	-ya:	<div>-n Ø</div>	-ma:-ntsik

Table 4.14. Singular and plural subject-object agreement marking in Huaylas Quechua.

Number	Person	Present Auxiliary: Ø	Past Auxiliary: <i>ka-rqa-n</i>	Future Auxiliary: <i>ka-nqa</i>
Singular	1	<i>rima-na-:</i> 'I have to speak.'	<i>rima-na-: karqan</i> 'I had to speak.'	<i>rima-na-: kanqa</i> 'I will have to speak.'
	2	<i>rima-na-yki</i> 'You have to speak.'	<i>rima-na-yki karqan</i> 'You had to speak.'	<i>rima-na-yki kanqa</i> 'You will have to speak.'
	3	<i>rima-na-n</i> 'S/he has to speak.'	<i>rima-na-n karqan</i> 'S/he had to speak.'	<i>rima-na-n kanqa</i> 'S/he will have to speak.'
Plural	1.INCL	<i>rima-na-ntsik</i> 'We have to speak.'	<i>rima-na-ntsik karqan</i> 'We had to speak.'	<i>rima-na-ntsik kanqa</i> 'We will have to speak.'
	1.EXCL	<i>rima-ya:-na-na</i> 'We have to speak.'	<i>rima-ya:-na-a karqan</i> 'We had to speak.'	<i>rima-ya:-na-a kanqa</i> 'We will have to speak.'
	2	<i>rima-ya-na-yki</i> 'You have to speak.'	<i>rima-ya-na-yki karqan</i> 'You had to speak.'	<i>rima-ya-na-yki kanqa</i> 'You will have to speak.'
	3	<i>rima-ya:-na-n</i> 'They have to speak.'	<i>rima-ya:-na-n karqan</i> 'They had to speak.'	<i>rima-ya:-na-n kanqa</i> 'They will have to speak.'

Table 4.15. Obligation construction with potential nominalizer *-na* and auxiliary *ka-* in Huaylas Quechua.

List of table captions

Table 4.1 Vowel inventory of SYQ

Table 4.2. Vowel inventory of Huaylas Quechua. Vowels from Spanish loans are in parentheses.

Table 4.3. Phonemic contrast between short and long vowels in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.5. Monophthongization in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.6. Interrogative and indefinite pronouns in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.7. Numerals in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.8. Distribution of nominal suffixes in Huaylas Quechua (only some case suffixes are illustrated).

Table 4.9. The nominal person paradigm in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.10. Case marking in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.11. Distribution of verbal derivational suffixes in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.12. Basic inflectional paradigms in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.13. Periphrastic inflectional paradigms in Huaylas Quechua. Plural markers that are frequent, but optional are given in parentheses.

Table 4.14. Singular and plural subject-object agreement marking in Huaylas Quechua.

Table 4.15. Obligation construction with potential nominalizer *-na* and auxiliary *ka-* in Huaylas Quechua.