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**The Dissertation Committee for Gladys Camacho Rios Certifies that this is the
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**VERBAL COMPLEXITY IN SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA:
INSIGHTS FROM THE SPEECH OF MONOLINGUAL ELDERS**

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speech of monolingual elders**

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Abstract

Verbal complexity in South Bolivian Quechua: insights from the speech of monolingual elders

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This dissertation analyzes the complexity of verbal morphology of Southern Bolivian Quechua (SBQ) variety as it is spoken by monolingual elders in a rural town of Southern Bolivia. It states that the verbal morphology is composed by two types of morphemes: simplex and complex. This analysis relies on L1 native speaker intuitions. The findings are different from what previous linguists found (*see*, Lastra 1968, Bills et al., 1971, Muysken 1986, Herrero & Sanchez 1978, Van de Kerke 1993, Plaza 2009). The simplex suffixes analyzed have a compositional meaning derivable from the individual suffix or from the context. The complex suffixes are units historically built up from simplex ones. Synchronously they lack compositional meaning and are no longer interpretable from their individual counterparts. The meanings of those complex suffixes are abstract and particular to spontaneous conversations and cultural knowledge. The functions of these complex suffixes range from associated motion, directionality, and others that remains uninterpretable. In this dissertation I argue that some of the meanings of some complex suffixes are culturally specific determined by L1 speakers of SBQ.

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Chapter I

Introduction

This dissertation describes verbal complexity in an undescribed South Bolivian Quechua variety as it is spoken in the rural town of Uma Piwra. The verbal word is composed of two minimal components, the verb stem and the inflectional system: STEM+INFL. The stem has an initial Lexical Verb Base to which non-inflectional derivational morphemes are combined to form a complex stem. In earlier studies such morphemes have been described as individual suffixes with compositional meanings (see, Muysken 1986, Muysken 1988, Van de Kerke 1993 or Plaza 2009). This dissertation proposes a different analysis of this verbal complexity, proposing instead a hierarchical analysis. It identifies two types of suffix units: simplex and complex. The meaning of simplex suffixes is compositional but complex suffixes function semantically as units in the verbal word synchronically. Furthermore, the analysis of this dissertation follows a different methodology. The data has been collected solely by interacting in SBQ. Likewise, the examination of the data collected is carried out by relying on the author's first language (L1) intuitions. The documented data involves spontaneous conversations in which there is not a specific topic. The recordings involve conversations of any topic that emerge in everyday life and the agricultural work. The motivation for writing this dissertation has been to understand the speech of monolinguals in SBQ.

As noted, the data collection and the analysis rely on my own native speaker intuitions. I am an L1 speaker of SBQ originally from Kalallusta, Cochabamba, Southern Bolivia. I acquired SBQ in a traditional way. Children in rural towns normally acquire

SBQ along with different cultural values. My early memories remind me only speaking SBQ in everyday life with my siblings, parents and grandparents. I only learned Spanish when I entered primary school. Traditional life in early childhood in rural towns is different. Children normally work during the day assisting with agricultural work. Boys labor or work the land alongside men. Girls assist women in different cultural and traditional life activities. When it comes to agriculture, the cultivation of crops, family members work collaboratively. My childhood memories of SBQ and cultural knowledge acquisition left me being exposed to traditional narratives, too. My grandfather, Faustino Camacho S., was a talented storyteller. He knew lots of traditional stories that he narrated to me and my siblings. His narrative as a storyteller, the authenticity of the traditional narratives complemented me to acquire SBQ as my first language and the cultural learning. My grandfather was also knowledgeable in craftsmanship and in ecological approaches to agriculture; beyond that, he was knowledgeable about natural phenomena as they are important for agriculture. Unfortunately, his unique cultural knowledge has not been passed to younger generations.

My motivations to study verbal complexity in the speech of monolingual elders was mostly inspired by the way my grandparents and parents spoke when I acquired SBQ. I first came to formally study language when I entered a BA in applied linguistics at San Simon University in Cochabamba, Bolivia. I studied French and English as foreign languages. I also studied SBQ, which was taught as a second language, as a requirement. Most of the students in this class were monolingual in Bolivian Spanish. There were only a few students like me, whose first language was SBQ. The SBQ program was divided

into in four levels, from basic to advanced. The first two levels were designed to teach the basics. I learned how to write some words and basic sentences in my native language. The grammar content was restricted to basic case marking suffixes such as *-pi* ‘locative’, *-ta* ‘accusative’, *-wan* ‘instrumental’, *-man* ‘allative’, and *-manta* ‘ablative’. I also learned the plural form as *-kuna*. I learned how to conjugate infinitive verbs. Term exams for the class involved being able to set up verb paradigms for different infinitive verb forms. These paradigms presented bimorphemic forms for each given verb *e.g.*, root-INFL, which are the two minimal components of a verb form in SBQ. The other two levels were dedicated to intermediate and advanced topics. I learned other verb paradigms, likewise, mostly using the root-INFL model. The class was designed for students to be able to read and understand stories. I was able to read and understand them. The fact that SBQ was my native language helped me to overcome any obstacles. The morphology of the SBQ forms I was taught was not complex or extensive: I only learned a small inventory of derivational suffixes such as *-ku* ‘reflexive’, *-chi* ‘causative’, *-ri* ‘affective’ and the aspectual progressive marker [-*ʃa*] that in the standard writing system was written as *-chka* ‘PROG’.

In Bolivia, it is common to take 'Diploma' courses before entering graduate school. This level of program can be understood as the transition between undergraduate and graduate school in the Bolivian system. At the end of my undergraduate program, between 2009 and 2010, I took two Diploma courses at the Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos (PROEIB ANDES) in Cochabamba. The first one covered methodologies for teaching SBQ. The second one

was for producing written texts in SBQ. For the second one, I produced a novel titled “Novela Historica en Quechua [Faustinu]”. Later, this work has been edited and passed to several SBQ speaking people for comments and revisions and improvement. Later on, in 2013, it was published.

Later, in 2014, I gained some experience when I taught SBQ at the Quechua Indigenous University. The SBQ teaching methodology at the Quechua indigenous University was challenging for several reasons. Most SBQ speaking teachers were Spanish dominant. Conversely, most of the students were SBQ dominant. A good teaching methodology that suits students’ needs --perhaps a methodology that could allow students to explore their cultural and linguistic background to produce texts in their native language-- did not exist. The first levels of SBQ as a subject were oriented to teaching basic grammar such as basic paradigms and a limited number of inflectional suffixes. Teaching the complexity of verbal morphology present in the speech of the students was not included in the curricula. The other barrier was going from Spanish into SBQ. The grammars of these languages are different. Most students were asked to produce their BA thesis thinking in their L2 (Spanish) then passing into their L1. Good translation practices in indigenous languages are still challenging to date. The written works produced were hard to follow for two reasons: the texts used lots of innovations to describe technical terminology that was originally written in Spanish, and the texts used pretentious vocabulary to suit ideologies of purism. To exemplify, the word in SBQ for ‘objective’ was translated as *jatun mask’ay* ‘to search

big, to search the big one', the word for 'methodology' was something like *puriyin* 'someone's walk, someone's way of walking'. There were many innovations that challenged and slowed down the teaching methodology of SBQ oriented towards L1 speakers. The documents produced under the supervision of SBQ teachers in this University stood as good examples of writing in a specialized, academically-supervised form of SBQ that an L1 speaker of SBQ who speaks the language naturally would not understand.

All the challenges faced at the Quechua Indigenous University led me to seek academic training to improve these issues in methodology and teaching. This is one of the reasons I decided to pursue an MA in Latin American Studies at New York University. The preliminary observation concerned suitable methodologies to teach SBQ that were still missing in different educational curricula in Bolivia. I had the motivation to improve the work that was missing to improve teaching methodologies, but my knowledge of linguistics was still limited. During the MA I became aware of the diversity of Quechuan languages. I interacted with a colleague who spoke Anchash spoken in Conchucos and it was a different language from the SBQ variety I spoke. We tried to communicate, but our Quechua languages were not mutually intelligible. She spoke one Quechua language, and I spoke a different one. These were my first intuitions of Quechua not being one language but a family of languages with a common history, yet were much too different to be called 'Quechua language'.

It was also in the MA that I got first immersed in the study of monolingual varieties. People in Cochabamba city, including native and non-native speakers of SBQ, have the impression that the purest, best-preserved varieties of Bolivian Quechua are spoken in Toro Toro, the North of Potosí, and the town of Tarabuco in Sucre. I wanted to see what I could learn by looking at the sound production of these speakers. In both towns, I worked with elders. I recorded stimuli to see the effects of velar and uvular consonants on high vowels. I learned two things from my research. There were substantial differences at the phonetic level. The two communities had the uvular phoneme uvular /q/ but it was pronounced as plain [q] in Sucre and it was pronounced as uvular fricative [χ] in Toro Toro. I realized that my variety was closer to this last town. There was also sound variation at a morphological level: the progressive marker suffix in Tarabuco was pronounced as [-xa] with a velar fricative consonant, but in Toro Toro as [-ʃa] with a postalveolar fricative. Likewise, my variety also uses [-ʃa]. The results of the production study revealed that monolingual speakers of SBQ in Tarabuco did not lower the high back vowel in a uvular context compared to SBQ-Spanish speakers. The F1 values for /u/ in both velar and uvular context remained low without showing a statistically significant difference (Camacho-Rios 2020). The findings suggest that SBQ spoken by monolingual elders in rural towns was different and it remained unexplored. I also encountered lexical and semantic differences among these varieties.

The experiences I gained conducting research throughout my MA was the starting point of my motivation to pursue linguistics. I wanted to continue studying monolingual varieties and better understand the grammar and culture of SBQ.

In my first years at UT Austin, I concentrated in studying the required linguistic courses and pursuing the study of sounds in South Bolivian Quechua. Later, I enrolled in the Morphological Typology class designed and taught by Dr. Anthony Woodbury and Dr. Patience Epps. All students enrolled in this class analyzed the languages they were studying for our weekly assignments. For the first time, I thoroughly examined the literature on South Bolivian Quechua morphology. The SBQ used in linguistic works was quite different from the variety I spoke, or that my grandparents spoke. The verbal morphemes were described as occurring in variable orders that were different from what is encountered in my variety, where variable ordering of verbal suffixes is much more limited. Several verbal suffixes were described in the literature as fully productive, whereas for me, they functioned as lexicalized morphemes. Indeed, I came out with a hypothesis of complex suffixes formed out of two or three individual suffixes that fossilized into units. Such morphemes bear complex meanings as units, and are not decomposable into the meanings of their component simplex suffixes, as current studies would have it. I came to the conclusion that the literature described a more uniform or standardized or idealized variety of SBQ. The morphological complexity of verbs was not explored in detail. In this class, I became aware of the linguistic diversity of SBQ. SBQ is not a single variety. This class was fundamental in my linguistic training because it made me value the way my grandparents used SBQ in a natural way.

In 2018 I started documenting natural speech of elders in the rural town of Uma Piwra. This town is inhabited by few elders. There are no children. In general, due to migration, rural towns are decreasing in population. The way elders speak is not being passed to younger generations nor being documented or preserved for future generations. The SBQ that is spoken by elders is different from what is presented in the written literature. Gathering naturally produced data was not difficult for me since I am fluent in SBQ. I had the benefit of interacting directly with elders solely in SBQ and capturing spontaneously produced speech data. Later, from 2019 to 2021, I video-and audio-documented approximately 50 hours of natural conversation. The other advantage I had as an L1 speaker of SBQ was that I could read, understand, and assess a large corpus in a short period of time. Verbs in the natural speech of elders make greater use of derivational morphology. Indeed, complex suffixes complement the aesthetics of SBQ in traditional narratives as they have a default meaning in culture. Beyond that, the speech of elders in Uma Piwra exhibit aesthetically driven morphological combinations such as recurrent figures of parallelism to create verbal art in spontaneous conversation.

The results I obtained after examining a large corpus of naturally produced data suggest that rural varieties of SBQ can bring new insights to the study of SBQ's verbal morphology, as well as that of Quechuan languages more generally. Particularly, the UPSBQ verbs bearing more complexity in the verbal system made this variety more appealing to analyze. The results not only allow us to better understand the way elders use the language naturally, but also, they contribute to the understanding of SBQ grammar and the variability between SBQ. Studying monolingual rural varieties also

allow to better understand the sociolinguistic endangerment of the linguistic diversity of SBQ. From an L1 speaker's perspective, this is crucial to improving the teaching and learning methodologies in different education institutions of Southern Bolivia.

In sum then, the goal of this dissertation is to propose an analysis of verbal complexity in Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua by bringing insights of monolingual elders. It presents an original analysis on an unexplored SBQ variety spoken in a rural town. The dissertation is composed of eight chapters, including this one. The chapters to come are summarized as follows:

Chapter II. This chapter gives context for South Bolivian Quechua. It discusses the history, the speakers, and the different varieties of SBQ. It is centered around two varieties of SBQ. The first one concerns a standardized variety that developed, or is in the process of developing, into a koine across metropolitan or urbanized areas. This variety is vital since the vast majority of SBQ speakers are settled in those areas, where Spanish is the dominant language. Conversely the local or rural varieties of SBQ like the Uma Piwra variety are used in everyday conversation in small towns located outside the cities.

Chapter III. This chapter provides an overview of SBQ grammar, based on the local variety of Uma Piwra. It introduces the basic linguistic structure of UPSBQ: its sound system, morphology and syntax. It begins by describing the phonological system. It then presents the basics of the word formation processes, including the derivational and inflectional suffixes and categories in this variety. This chapter distinguishes UPSBQ

from the emergent urban koine SBQ grammar in the sense that its grammar is different and complex at the morphological and morphosyntactic levels.

Chapter IV. This chapter is dedicated to describing the methods used in data collection. It describes the language documentation process from an L1 speaker's perspective. It discusses the procedure of collecting naturalistic or spontaneously produced data. Then it discusses the elicitation techniques working in a monolingual context. Finally, it presents methods of data manipulation and the different advantages and challenges that were associated with them.

Chapter V. This chapter analyses the verbal complexity of UPSBQ. It proposes a constituent-based analysis to recognize two types of productive suffixes in the derivational verbal morphology: simplex and complex; as well as lexicalized and less-than-productive lexeme-building suffixes. This chapter describes the organization of the verbal suffixes using phrase structure rules, and then presents each suffix one at a time, with exemplification and discussion. Finally, it discusses the UPSBQ system in light of the typology of languages with purely suffixing morphology

Chapter VI. This chapter discusses suffixes that function as associated motion (AM) and directional indicators. UPSBQ verbs can employ six suffixes that bear this function. This chapter details the meaning and function of each AM simplex and complex suffix.

Finally, it discusses their implications for the understanding of areal patterns of AM in South American languages.

Chapter VII. This chapter concerns the suffix formative shape -chi-, which is associated with causative meaning of various kinds. The productive suffix -chi-, occurring in slot 4, has two causative meanings, depending on the meaning of the verb stem it modifies; and the other -chi-, a semi-productive lexeme-building suffix, can have one of four meanings, depending on the verb base with which it occurs. Finally, there are also cases of lexeme-building -chi that do not have any assignable meaning.

Chapter VIII. This chapter provides a summary of this dissertation. It presents a summary of the main findings from the analysis of the complex verbal morphology. It discusses the value of documenting and studying rural or local varieties of SBQ. Similarly, it discusses future studies to be carried out.

Chapter II

South Bolivian Quechua Language background

2.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter provides background information and social context for South Bolivian Quechua (SBQ) and, specifically, the Uma Piwra variety of SBQ that is the focus of this dissertation. To date, SBQ varieties have been described as relatively uniform, without stressing their differences (see, Bills et al., 1971, Muysken 1986, Herrero & Sanchez 1978, Van de Kerke 1993, Plaza 2009). This chapter provides examples of dialectal variability within SBQ. There are at least two clearly marked dialectal differences between the varieties spoken in rural towns and the varieties spoken in urbanized or metropolitan areas.

This chapter will highlight the characteristics of the rural variety of SBQ of Uma Piwra. This variety corresponds to the SBQ spoken in rural towns that are located at further distances from the urbanized or metropolitan areas. Members of such rural towns have acquired SBQ natively as children and use it to communicate in their everyday life. Different from the rural varieties, the SBQ spoken in urbanized areas corresponds to a standardized variety of SBQ. Speakers of these varieties exhibit varying levels of SBQ fluency. Most of these speakers are settled in the urbanized areas where Spanish is the dominant language. South Bolivian Quechua also has a new emergent variety used only in academic spaces. This involves conscious manipulation of SBQ biased towards purism ideologies.

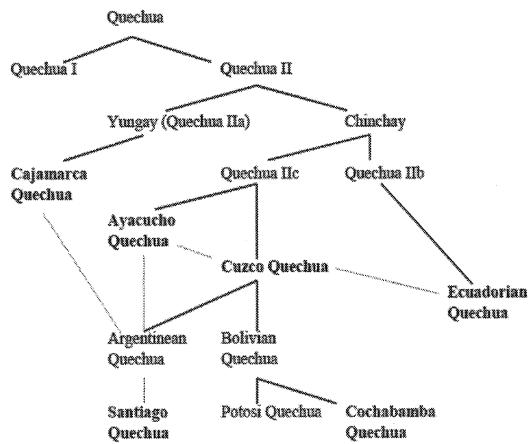
In this chapter I present the background of Uma Piwra Quechua in the context of SBQ's geographic, demographic and social variability. To identify the characteristics of the local variety, I examined a large natural corpus collected with monolingual elders in the rural town of Uma Piwra. The data revealed that the verbal morphology in this variety exhibits a larger class of functional categories than standardized SBQ varieties used in urbanized areas, on which most current studies have centered their attention. First originating in Spanish colonial cities in relation to the silver mining industry (see Pierrard 2019), standardized urban varieties are today used mainly by populations originating with migration from rural towns into the city. The SBQ varieties spoken in the cities can in this sense be considered to have many of the features of a *koiné*. A preliminary comparison of two equal size corpora between UPSBQ and urban SBQ spoken by younger generations suggests that the morphology of standardized SBQ is simpler and more uniform. In addition to their location, the differences between these two groups correlate with sociolinguistic factors such as age, language background, the origin of individuals, in cases of migration from rural towns to the cities, and the contexts in which individuals use SBQ.

This chapter is organized as follows; §2.2, gives an overview of the classification and history of Quechuan languages across the Andes. Section 2.3 presents the geographical distribution and the general cultural and social aspects of SBQ in a detailed way. Section 2.4 is dedicated to variability within SBQ. It lays out the main characteristics of Uma Piwra SBQ that distinguish it and other rural varieties from standardized SBQ. Section 2.5 discusses SBQ-Spanish bilingualism. Section 2.6

describes standardized SBQ in terms of *koiné* literary form. Finally, conclusions are presented in §2.7.

2.2. QUECHUAN LANGUAGES

Quechua languages are spoken across several countries in the Andes of South America including; Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and parts of Argentina and Colombia (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Adelaar & Muysken 2004). The traditional Quechuan classification originating with Parker (1963) and Torero (1964) divides Quechua into two branches often referred to as “Quechua I” and “Quechua II”, in Torero’s terms.



Torero (1964)

According to (Torero 1930:55) the Q-I dialect corresponds to the central Peru. Q-II subdivides in three groups A, B and C that account for minor linguistic differences among them with respect to Q-I. Q-IIA group conforms the northern branch in norther

Peru. Earlier classifications group Quechuan dialects based on regional linguistic differences. A recent classification proposes the development of Quechuan dialects into different languages based on unique patterns of innovation that makes these languages not mutually intelligible among them despite being in the same regions as earlier classifications (*see* Camacho Rios, Floyd and Julca Guerrero, *forthcoming*). The assessment of mutual intelligibility between the Quechua varieties spoken in Southern Peru and Bolivia, the Central Andes of Peru and Ecuador yields at least existence of at least thirteen different Quechua languages that are not mutually intelligible among them. Six languages are in the Northern Andes, four of them in the central area and three in the Southern Andes. The analysis of this work considers factors such as mutual intelligibility, sociolinguistic attitudes and the linguistics closeness that implies lexical, morpho-syntactic, and phonological differences. According to recent analysis, the classification that accounts for Quechua languages spoken across the Andes can be summarized as in

Table 1.

Region	Minimum number of languages	Potential languages
Northern	1. Ecuadorian highland Quichua 2. Ecuadorian lowland Quichua 3. Colombian Ingano 4. Lower Pastaza Inga 5. Chachapoyas-Lamas Quechua, 6. Cajamarca Quechua	7
Central	1. Huanca Quechua 2. Ancash Quechua 3. Huallaga Quechua	4+
Southern	1. Ayacucho Quechua 2. Cuzco-Bolivian 3. Argentinian Quechua 4. Yauyos Quechua	5
TOTAL	13	16+

Table 1: Classification of Quechuan languages in the Andes

In *Table 1*, Bolivian Quechua is counted among the other Quechuas as a single language together with southern Peruvian “Cuzco” Quechua spoken in places like Cuzco, Puno, and Apurimac. Within the southern group, Ayacucho, Santiago del Estero, and Yauyos are the other varieties considered distinct languages. While historically linked to Cuzco, the center of language standardization in the southern Andes, Bolivian Quechua has emerged from unique socio-historical factors discussed in the next section.

2.3. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL ASPECTS BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

Bolivian Quechua (BQ) emerged through a unique sequence of historical events (*see historical accounts in Pierrard 2016:276-277*). When Quechua first entered the area, Uru-Chipayan languages, Puquina and Aymara were already established in the region, and a massive Quechuanization occurred in connection to socio-economic factors of the mining industry in the early colonial period, like forced labor and migration. This led the language to be adopted first in the colonial cities and then widely in the rural areas, which, as will be discussed in detail in later chapters, retain some types of complexity that has been simplified in urban Quechua. BQ is currently spoken by approximately three million speakers across the country. It is most widely spoken in the Andean region of Bolivia, and sometimes in other areas due to migration. The literature describes two major varieties of Bolivian Quechua: northern and southern (Adelaar and Muysken 2014). The northern variety is spoken in La Paz and the Southern variety that is spoken in Oruro, Potosí, Cochabamba, Sucre, and part of Tarija, as illustrated in Figure 1 below, has around 1,610, 000 (2014 UNSD) speakers (Ethnologue 2018), (Plaza 2012). The northern and southern varieties are mutually intelligible with some moderate variation between them.

Artwork by Gallinate, 2022



Figure 1: Bolivian Quechua

The government of Evo Morales (2006-2019) declared Bolivia a “Plurinational” state with 37 languages officially recognized by the 2009 Political Constitution (CPE). However, in recent history the national language has been Spanish, which continues to be the dominant language despite the legal recognition of indigenous languages. The native languages spoken in the Andes, the Chaco and the Amazonian lowlands are minority languages, although in some parts of the Andes the majority of the population speaks Quechua or Aymara. The country is divided into nine departments, which are further divided into provinces. One of the provinces in each department is the urbanized or the

metropolitan area of the seat of departmental government. For instance, the department of Cochabamba has 16 provinces as seen in the following *Figure 2*. The urbanized area around the capital city of Cochabamba is called “Cercado”.

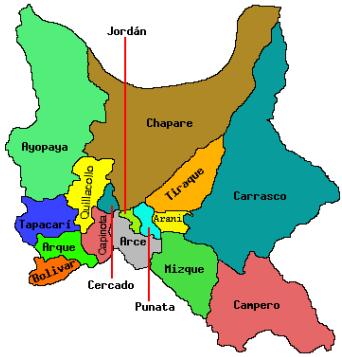


Figure 2: provinces of Cochabamba department

The department of Cochabamba has 1,938,401 inhabitants according to the most recent census (Census 2012). The vast majority of the total population is settled in the province of Cercado that is made up of the metropolitan area of the city of Cochabamba. Quillacollo province is also urbanized and dense in population and can be considered part of the metropolitan urban area. The dominant language in those regions is Spanish, and most people use it to communicate in their everyday life, and school and university instruction takes place in Spanish. The use of SBQ is more limited in these urbanized provinces. The other 14 provinces of the department of Cochabamba are in the periphery of Cercado as illustrated in *Figure 2* above. These provinces are less populated compared to Cercado. Each province has a Municipio, which is a central town area. Municipios are less dense in population compared to urbanized areas, although the population varies

from one Municipio to another. Schools are usually located in these central Municipios areas, and education there happens in Spanish. People living in those areas are normally SBQ-Spanish bilinguals. Municipios are urbanized and well connected by routes to Cercado. At further distances from the central areas of each Municipio, there are many rural towns. These towns are not always easily accessible by road from the Municipios. Rural towns are inhabited by relatively few people. The number will vary from town to town. People living in these rural towns use SBQ to communicate in their daily life. Elders above 70 in most cases only speak SBQ. Children in these towns (if there are children) grow up monolingually and they only learn Spanish at school at the age of 5. Most rural towns do not have schools. The rural towns that have schools normally offer up to third grade. If children need to continue school, they continue in the nearest town that has more grades or they have to go to the Municipios. To attend university, individuals must move to the urban area or the metropolitan area of Cercado Province. Although, there are some few universities or *Escuela de Maestros* “Specialized schools to train people to become schoolteachers” in selected Municipios.

2.3.1. Speakers of Bolivian Quechua

While language shift to Spanish is occurring in some areas, Bolivian Quechua is currently spoken by people of all ages, and children are still acquiring the languages in many cases.

The main Quechua-speaking populations are found in the western part of Bolivia, which includes the departments of Cochabamba, Potosí, Chuquisaca and certain zones of

Santa Cruz, the departments that have the largest population of the total of the speakers in the country as stated in Plaza (2009:217). The speakers of the northern variety of BQ in the department of La Paz make up a minority of the total BQ population. The environments where speakers live include both small ‘pueblos’ or larger rural communities as well as the city (Pierrard 2018). The larger communities are surrounded by small towns or rural villages. In the more rural areas, the monolingual use of BQ predominates (see Plaza 2009), whereas in more urbanized areas Spanish is the dominant language and the use of BQ is more restricted to spaces such as the homes of the speakers, a few specific public contexts, or open-air markets.

2.3.1.1. Vitality of Bolivian Quechua

Concerning the total number of speakers of SBQ presented in §2.3., we can state that SBQ, similarly to Aymara, has relatively high language vitality compared to the native languages of Bolivian Amazon, many of which have few speakers left, and which are not necessarily being transmitted to new generations. By comparison, SBQ is still being acquired by children in many communities. In rural towns that are located at further distances from the cities or metropolitan areas, children continue to acquire SBQ as their first language. But towns with this characteristic are less and less common these days because of migration. In most cases rural towns are inhabited primarily by monolingual elders. There are fewer and fewer speakers of monolingual SBQ as towns decrease in population and this phenomenon is leading to language endangerment in

many areas as the sociolinguistic context where SBQ has been historically spoken changes.

There are efforts to preserve SBQ and disseminate the language in public spaces, radio, television, and social media through language activism. The production of literary works has also increased over the last decade. However, preservation efforts do not represent the varieties of SBQ that are in the most danger of disappearing. The varieties that are well represented in the media and writing are the kinds of SBQ spoken by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. In most cases this means Quechua spoken by people who are Spanish dominant. Variation between urban, bilingual SBQ and rural, monolingual SBQ is discussed in a more detailed in §2.4.

2.3.2. Bolivian Quechua teaching

In 1983, the Minister of Education and Culture established the teaching of Quechua and Aymara in public school education under the Ministerial Resolution 795. Today, SBQ is taught as a second language in different educational institutions, both in private and public schools and in universities. However, there are no educational programs to teach literacy to children who have SBQ as their primary language. In fact, most of the total SBQ population speak the language orally but they do not write or read it. Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers in Bolivia who are literate in Spanish can read written texts in SBQ since it uses the roman alphabet, like Spanish.

Over the last decade, a number of important decisions have been made concerning teaching indigenous languages in Bolivia. In August 2012, the government recognized an

official decree to protect, promote, diffuse, develop and regulate the linguistic rights of Bolivian citizens (Law 269 Bolivian Constitution). Article 19 of the same law implies citizens have the right to receive service in his or her native language in public schools. Thus, all public servants must speak Spanish and one indigenous language, usually the local language according to the territories of the specific indigenous languages as stated in article 5. Next, the same year, the Plurinational Institute for Indigenous Languages and Cultures was created by the government. This institution is responsible for carrying out research, revitalizing and teaching the indigenous languages of Bolivia. After the creation of this institution the teaching and learning of Bolivian Quechua has increased at a fast rate. Many public and private institutions started offering courses to learn SBQ. Public servants who only spoke Spanish in the departments where SBQ co-exists were the ones who most prioritized learning it. These individuals must pass a test to prove they are proficient in SBQ and can interact with native speakers. This process also led to several outcomes, however. Among the most common of these concerns the fact that the SBQ teaching methodology is heavily biased towards ideologies of purism. In fact, the Bolivian Quechua Institute has created new vocabulary, which most SBQ speakers cannot understand, to replace common Spanish borrowings. The tests to obtain the certificate involve learning how to write according to this norm, using only a “pure” vocabulary, constructed neologisms, and using only the basic paradigms as I discuss in chapter I, and not the more complex morphology seen in rural monolingual SBQ. To date, the way people use South Bolivian Quechua naturally in rural towns remains

marginalized and unrepresented in educational teaching spaces, and therefore in SBQ language revitalization efforts.

2.3.4. Standardization of Bolivian Quechua

In 1984 during the term of President Hernan Siles Huaso, the official written alphabet for Quechua and Aymara was created as stated in the Supreme Decree Number 20227. The goal was to unify the different alphabets that were supposedly obstructing written communication in those languages. The regulations for both languages follow the roman alphabet as illustrated in *Table 2* below.

CONSONANTS					
	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Posvelar
Oclusivas					
Simples	p	t	ch	k	q
Aspiradas	ph	th	chh	kh	qh
Glotalizadas	p'	t'	ch'	k'	q'
Fricativas		s	[sh]	j	[x]
Nasales	m	n	ñ		
Laterales		l	ll		
Semiconsonantes	w		y		

VOWELS					
	Anterior		Central		Posterior
Cerradas	i				u
Medias		[e]		[o]	
Abiertas			a		

Table 2: Unique alphabet for Bolivian Quechua and Aymara (Plaza 2014)

The alphabet contains 23 consonant letters and three vowels as shown in *Table 2* above. Most of the consonants are comparable to Spanish sounds with the exception of the phonemic contrast between plain, aspirates and ejectives seen in both Bolivian Quechua and Aymara. To distinguish this contrast, aspirates are orthographically indicated with the letter <h> and ejectives are distinguished with a single quotation mark <'>, following the single letters for plain stops. The variation in the pronunciation of consonants in final syllables is unified in writing following Northern Bolivian Quechua, since this variety is the one that most preserves these sounds. Southern varieties have a different pronunciation, however: the voiceless dental fricative [s] in place of [t], the voiceless velar fricative [x] and the voiceless uvular fricative [χ] in place of [k] or [q], and various pronunciations corresponding to [tʃ]. Most varieties have final syllable [s], but since the Northern variety preserves [t], the orthographical representation for [s] and [t] in final syllable is written with <t> as we can see in the following examples (1a-d) found in Plaza (2014:12).

(1)	Most BQ varieties	Northern Variety	Norm	Translation
a.	['mus.kij]	['mut.kij]	mutkiy	'to smell'
b.	['tʃus.kij]	['tʃut.kij]	ch'utkiy	'to peel off'
c.	['xus.k'u]	['xut.k'u]	jutk'u	'hole'
d.	['us.qaj]	['ut.qaj]	utqhay	'fast'

Both northern and southern Bolivian Quechua varieties no longer distinguish the pronunciation of the voiceless velar fricative [x] and the voiced uvular fricative [χ]

syllable-finally. However, according to the norm, in the written form <k> and <q> are both used in syllable-final position, creating some minimal pairs, as in (2a-b).

(2) Reference (Plaza 2014:13-14)

- | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------|
| a. ['wax.ta] | wakta 'another' | ['wax.ta] | waqt̪a 'rib' |
| b. ['wax.ra] | wakra 'cold-hearted' | ['wax.ra] | waqt̪ra 'horn' |

The palatal [tʃ] sound in syllable-final position in Northern varieties has three pronunciations in Southern varieties: [tʃ], [ʃ] and [s]. The orthographic rule also preserves the sounds of the Northern variety in which [tʃ] is maintained, and thus is written with the letters <ch> as in (3a-d).

(3) Reference (Plaza 2014:13)

<i>Northern Variety</i>	<i>Southern Pronunciation</i>	<i>Norm</i>	<i>Translation</i>
a. ['pʰutʃka]	['pʰuʃka]	phuchka	'spinning wheel'
b. ['atʃkʰa]	['aʃkʰa]	achkha	'a lot'
c. ['kʰitʃka]	['kʰiʃka]	khichka	'thorn'
d. ['katʃkaj]	['kaʃkaj]	khachkay	'to be'

Another variation in the pronunciation of Bolivian Quechua varieties includes the progressive marker, which is pronounced [tʃka] in the Northern variety and [xa], [sa], [ʃa], [ʃka], or [sja] in Southern varieties. Thus, the orthographic representation uses <chka>, again favoring the Northern variety's more conservative form (Plaza 2014). There are other orthographic rules aiming to unify the variation in written form as follows:

(4) Reference (Plaza 2014)

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. <i>Genitive suffix</i> | [x] or [χ] is represented as <p>. |
| b. <i>Consequence Suffix</i> | [χti] is represented as <pti> |

c. *IPL suffix* [tʃɪs], [tʃɪk], [ntʃex] and [ntʃax] is represented with <chik>

The central idea of the Bolivian Quechua written norm is to represent the historical phonemes as opposed to modern pronunciation, which means it is biased toward the northern variety that remains more phonologically conservative. This approach leads to some inconsistencies in the norm proposed for Bolivian Quechua, largely concerning the pronunciation of consonants in coda position. The norm proposes that three different letters <p>, <k> and <q> be used in coda position to represent what is in reality, in many dialects, just one sound: the voiceless velar fricative [χ]. It is still unclear whether the distinction between [χ] and [x] has been totally lost or whether it remains in some dialects, since in Plaza (2014:13) it is stated that the following words distinguish [x] and [χ], thus [x] should be written <k> and [χ] with <q>, as seen in (5a-c) and (6a-c).

- (5) Reference (Plaza 2014:13)
- (a) ['ax. ʎaj] akllay 'to select'
 - (b) ['tʃix.ʎaj] chikllay 'to separate'
 - (c) ['ux] juk 'one'
- (6) Reference (Plaza 2014:13)
- (a) ['ʎaχ.ta] llaqta 'town'
 - (b) ['soχ.ta] suqta 'six'
 - (c) ['ʎaχ.wa] llaqwa 'spicy sauce'

2.4. DIALECTAL VARIATION ON SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

South Bolivian Quechua has a larger population compared to the northern variety. It is spoken throughout the departments of Cochabamba, Sucre, and Oruro, and in the

north of Potosí. The varieties spoken in Oruro and Potosí coexist with Aymara and, as a result, there are some morphological borrowings that have passed from Aymara into the SBQ spoken in these two departments (Plaza 2009:220). A more recent dialectal differentiation concerns the SBQ spoken in the city and that spoken in the ‘pueblos’, or towns outside the city (Pierrard 2018). This classification is based on historical development, in which the cities were the first areas to adopt Quechua. Rural towns remained mainly Aymara-speaking and they adopted Quechua only later. Ever since then, rural towns have remained mostly Quechua-dominant with a minor presence of Spanish. Conversely, Quechua speakers in the cities tended to hispanicize their way of speaking to distinguish their speech from the varieties spoken in pueblos. For example, the pronunciation of the first person plural inclusive suffix [t̪sex] -*chex* and [t̪sax] -*chax* can distinguish Quechua from the city from the Quechua spoken in the pueblos or outside the cities where this suffix is pronounced as [t̪sis]. Another distinctive feature in the pronunciation of urban speakers is the use of the five-vowel system [a, e, i, o, u] (see Pierrard 2018). Currently, while Spanish is increasingly prominent everywhere, cities are more Spanish dominant than towns outside the city, which remain more SBQ dominant. The varieties of SBQ corresponding to ‘pueblos’ discussed in Pierrard (2018) are territories that belong to the *Municipios* outside the city, as described in §2.3. above. *Municipios* have a nucleus or central area that is usually surrounded by lots of rural towns. The types of SBQ spoken in those towns remains undescribed to date, since most research has focused on urban varieties. Older generations in rural towns remain monolingual in SBQ, although there are towns in the North of Potosí in which elders are

SBQ-Aymara bilinguals, as pointed out in Vega Vargas (*BA thesis to appear*). Despite these differences among local varieties, in most current research SBQ is treated as uniform. As of yet there are no existing sociolinguistic surveys that clearly delineate the differences between SBQ spoken in the city versus provincial pueblos or rural towns.

This dissertation concentrates on a variety that can be referred to as “Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua” (UPSBQ). The speakers consulted during the research are largely monolingual in this variety of SBQ. Their verb system is particularly different from that of urban SBQ speakers since the use of more complex morphology is common. In Pierrard (2018:183-184), it is pointed out that varieties like UPSBQ are challenging to work with due to this type of variation, however studying these varieties can be valuable for enhancing our understanding of Bolivia Quechua grammar. The following in-depth analysis of UPSBQ will demonstrate that rural SBQ varieties must be understood as being significantly distinct from already-described varieties spoken in the cities.

2.4.1. Geographic and social demographics of rural SBQ varieties

Rural towns are less accessible by road than urban areas. In fact, it is common for people to walk by foot to access the markets that are normally located in the central areas of the Municipios, where there may be better road connections. Rural towns are also less populated than the central areas of Municipios. The livelihood of the people living in such towns is based on growing a variety of crops, which allow local people to sustain their economy. The primary language used to communicate in daily life is the local form of Southern Bolivian Quechua. Some rural towns are only inhabited by very few people,

usually older monolingual speakers, as is the case in the town of *Uma Piwra*, discussed in a more detailed way in § 2.4.2. below. Other rural towns still have some children who usually grow up monolingually in SBQ until they enter school. Not all of these towns have schools, and even if a rural town has a school, it normally only goes up to third grade. To continue school beyond the third grade, children must go to a nearby town that has more grades or to the central area of the Municipio where all levels of high school are taught.

A common cause for rural towns to be increasingly less populated has to do with migration. This has been a common factor for decades, starting with seasonal migrations that eventually, in some cases, ended up in definitive migration (see Albó et al., 1989:40). These days it is still very common for people from rural towns to migrate to the central areas of the Municipios, to the big cities or metropolitan areas, or even abroad. The reasons for migrating normally include the search for a better economic situation or access to educational opportunities, among other social factors. Migrating families from rural towns arrive with SBQ as their primary language. Once they settle in the urban areas or big cities they get immersed in Spanish. Children continue primary and secondary education in Spanish. Thus, SBQ becomes less used by the younger generations. It is normally restricted to the language spoken at home or in certain contexts, such as open-air markets. Children tend to become dominant in Spanish in these contexts, and as they grow up, they use more and more Spanish to communicate with their siblings, neighbors and friends.

After definitive migration, the degree of maintenance of ties between the rural towns and the migrating families will vary. Some families do not cut their connections permanently. They often go back to their rural towns, especially in planting and harvesting seasons. This also keeps the next generation somewhat connected to their rural origins. Other migrating families do not return to their towns very frequently but may only visit every once and a while. Some of them sell all their land in their communities and move to the city. The future generations of these last families are likely to grow up disconnected from their rural origins. In most of these cases, the new generations only speak Spanish.

2.4.2. Uma Piwra SBQ rural variety

UPSBQ is different from other types of SBQ in several ways. The town of Uma Piwra is populated by about 15 elders. The speakers of UPSBQ grew up monolingual in SBQ and they are not currently proficient in Spanish. They use SBQ in every aspect of their everyday life. They have not migrated from their town to live in more urbanized areas. Their variety of SBQ, together with other rural varieties, remains marginalized in educational contexts and therefore is almost entirely unrepresented in linguistic studies. As an L1 speaker of SBQ and as someone who grew up monolingually during the early stages of my life, varieties like UPSBQ sound like authentic L1 Quechua compared to urban varieties that have many L2, Spanish-influenced aspects. Speakers of rural SBQ use the language naturally without any ideological bias from influence of institutions like the bilingual education system, which uses standardized Quechua. Their use of figurative

speech is more prominent than in urban varieties. The verbal morphology commonly expresses various kinds of grammatical information that is not usually found in urban SBQ. The grammatical features that are idiosyncratic to UPSBQ will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

The social and political structure of rural towns is different from that of the cities. Rural towns are organized in collective community organizations known as *Sindicatos*. After the land reform in 1953, rural towns were organized in *Sindicatos* that had their origins in communities formerly belonging to haciendas, whose mission was to recover the community lands. After gaining independent lands, the *Sindicatos* quickly became an important organizational level used to group different rural communities together as political units (Albó et al., 1989). In general, rural towns are characterized by the unity of residents in their participation in collective management. They are communally shared territories belonging to groups of several families that grow crops individually on specific plots according to internal agreements. During agricultural work, families assist each other, especially when a massive task needs to be done quickly. In such towns, traditional festivity celebrations are still practiced faithfully and enthusiastically. These celebrations are closely linked to the agricultural cycle where members of communities express, through public ritual, aspects of the distress and happiness that are part of their everyday life (Albó et al., 1989:55). Uma Piwra is one such small village where people have a more traditional lifestyle and continue to engage in such traditions.

2.4.3. Urban SBQ varieties and speakers

This section takes into account migration and social spheres of language use as factors to characterize speakers of standard SBQ. In Pierrard (2018), two varieties are distinguished: SBQ spoken in ‘pueblos’ or outside the cities and SBQ spoken in the cities. The varieties in the cities are perceived as more hispanized versions of SBQ. Speakers in the city pronounce certain suffixes in a different way and they have the tendency to use a five-vowel system rather than the three-vowel system mainly used in more rural areas.

Over the last several decades, cities have become increasingly Spanish dominant (Albó 1970). SBQ varieties spoken in the cities are in intense contact with Spanish. Its speakers have different levels of competence in SBQ that largely depend on the age of migration to the urban areas. Speakers have migrated from rural towns at different stages of their lives. Some of them are more dominant in Spanish, others are more dominant in SBQ, and others can communicate fluently in either of those languages. The degree of SBQ and Spanish bilingualism in the city is still hard to determine because SBQ is used mainly in homes and each case is different.

The next section discusses possible ways to classify the levels of proficiency of SBQ speakers in the urbanized areas. The classification relies on my own observations, variables such as age of migration, and language proficiency in both Spanish and SBQ. The main claim is: the younger an SBQ speaker is when they migrate from a rural town to the urban area, the more the speaker will end up less proficient in SBQ, because they will tend to prioritize Spanish in their everyday life. If a speaker migrates at a later stage

of his or her life, the individual remains more proficient in SBQ and achieves less proficiency in Spanish. At least three variants of standard SBQ can be distinguished based on age of migration, correlating with language proficiency, and place of origin (more rural versus more urban).

2.4.3.1. SBQ – Spanish proficient

Speakers who are SBQ dominant with some Spanish knowledge are originally from rural towns, and they remain in their towns during their childhood instead of migrating to the cities. They acquire SBQ in their communities as small children and they learn Spanish when they enter school in their rural town. Rural towns do not have schools that offer school grades beyond elementary level. If children from rural towns want to continue school, they move to the nearest Municipio. Although Municipios offer school training in Spanish, the everyday language may be either SBQ or Spanish. In some Municipios, SBQ continues to be dominant, while in others Spanish has gained ground. After finishing high school in Municipios, if they wish to continue university studies, they move to the urbanized area. The age of migration to the city is between 18 and 19 years old in those cases. These speakers come to be fully competent in both SBQ and Spanish. However, speakers belonging to this group are the minority of the SBQ speakers who are originally in rural towns. This section and the sociolinguistic typology of speakers could use a little clarification.

2.4.3.2. SBQ dominant

These speakers are born in rural towns where SBQ is used as the everyday language. They acquire SBQ as their first language. Their levels of school education vary from one person to another: some of them attended primary school until the first grade, second grade or third grade. Since they attended some school, they received some education in Spanish, and have some command of the language. Speakers of these groups may migrate to the urbanized areas in search of better economic opportunities. Some of them migrate alone and others go with their families. Despite living in urbanized areas or the cities, however, they do not tend to fully master Spanish. Even living in the city, speakers under this classification still use SBQ in their homes for daily communication, and work in manual labor jobs where not very much Spanish is necessary.

2.4.3.3. Spanish dominant

Speakers who are Spanish dominant are mostly children of migrating individuals described in §2.4.3.2, above. Families migrate along with their children, and the children of migrating families continue school education in urban areas where Spanish is the main language. The age of migrating children varies. Children can migrate as early as one or two months old, as toddlers, small children, teenagers, and so on. When their parents and families migrate, some of them have already acquired some SBQ in their rural towns before moving to the city. After children arrive in the city, they are completely immersed in Spanish. They start attending or continuing education in Spanish, which will become their everyday language. SBQ becomes less used in their families in the younger

generation. The use of SBQ is normally reduced to certain contexts such as the home, since their parents are SBQ dominant. In most cases, when their parents attain a passive level of Spanish comprehension, children will address their parents in Spanish and parents respond in SBQ. The children of those families, despite speaking SBQ sometimes with older people, tend to interact entirely in Spanish with their siblings, who are also Spanish dominant.

2.4.3.4. Academic SBQ

Academic SBQ is a consciously manufactured standardized variety of SBQ. It is used only in formal or academic spaces by speakers who are mostly Spanish dominant. These speakers represent a relatively small number of people who favor the use of the standardized version of SBQ both orally and in written documents. The strictest proponents of academic SBQ belong to the governmental institution that is in charge of conducting research on Bolivian Quechua language and culture, and of implementing curricula to teach BQ in schools. The second group concerns individuals seeking an undergraduate degree to become SBQ teachers at a public university or at the Escuela Normal, an institution where people study to become teachers. Academic SBQ is biased towards ideologies of purism and of the uniformization of Bolivian Quechua. The goal of proponents of this type of speech is supposedly to recover the “most preserved” Bolivian Quechua that has not been influenced by Spanish in any way. For example, speakers of this kind of SBQ will consciously change the common Spanish-origin plural *-s* into *-kuna* which is the original marker in the Quechuan languages. The following examples

illustrate this process. The plural is marked with *-s* in natural use in UPSBQ as in (7), but speakers of academic SBQ will change *-s* into *-kuna* resulting as (8). Likewise, they will write following the written norm firmly, although their pronunciation sounds different.

- (7) *mujustapis rantikunkuchu á*

muju-s-ta-pis ranti-ku-nku=chu á
seed-PL-ACC-also buy-REF-3PL=NEG ah

‘Others (in the town) didn’t buy (potato tuber seed to plant) yet’ (UPSBQ)

- (8) *mujustapis* → *muju****kunatapis***

Different from what has been discussed for unification processes across Andean nations in (Hornberger and King 1998), the ideologies of purism adopted by speakers can be quite contradictory, being a new way of speaking that is claimed to be the older, original variety. Speakers consciously use specific emblematic features like the plural marker *-kuna* as a way to feel like they are recovering the most preserved BQ variety. Nevertheless, Bolivian Quechua does not mark plural with such form in regular use when a noun ends in a vowel, and has not done historically. Historically, the Quechua spoken in Villa Imperial of Potosí probably gained a lot of Spanish influence and later on it diffused, bearing its hispanized version of plural marking. This involved the use of plural *-s* rather than *-kuna*. Some common lexical items from Spanish also diffused during the early colonial period e.g., <parlay> ‘speak’ compared to its Quechua version <rimay> ‘speak/tell of’ (see discussion accounting for historical documents in Pierrard 2018:183). Another characteristic of this variety involves its association with the use of a normalized

writing system that has been proposed for Bolivian Quechua. This variety is currently found in most written documents, such as books or other educational materials produced by people who have adopted this ideology of purism in their variety of BQ, which is used in academic spaces.

2.5. URBAN SBQ VARIETIES RESULTING FROM KOINEIZATION

SBQ spoken in urbanized areas is the result of different SBQ varieties in close co-existence with Spanish. SBQ spoken in the cities or metropolitan areas is developing into a koiné form of speech, compared to a more traditional way of using SBQ like that seen in Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua. UPSBQ is a rural variety that remains morphologically more complex than urban Quechua, something that is potentially also true of other rural varieties that are still unstudied in the current literature.

Koineization is a process in which one simplified variety forms out of many different local dialects. The SBQ spoken in urbanized areas is losing morphological complexity compared to rural varieties. This change is most visible in the verbal morphology, as verbs are reducing to just simple combinations of root+INFL, when typically they might have many more morphemes. Rural varieties like Uma Piwra still use wider productive derivational morphology in their verbs as exemplified in (9) and (10). Conversely, in the speech of younger people in urban areas, complex verbal morphology is not very common, the verb does not present the same degree of complexity as rural varieties would. Urban varieties do not include quite elaborate forms of verbs like (9) and (10).

- (9) *Nuqapuni kutiyurichikampusharqani*
 nuqa=puni kuti-yu-ri-chi-kampu-sha-rqa-ni
 1SG=certainly return-PFV-AFF-CAUS-DIR-PROG-PST-1SG.NF
 'It was certainly me who was bringing (my sheep) back home' (UPSBQ)
- (10) *i? chay t'akarikamushallanñataq*
 i? chay t'aka-ri-kamu-sha-lla-n=ñña=taq
 you see? DEM fall-INCH-DIR-PROG-LIM-3SG=already=and
 'You see? It (rain) is starting to fall downwards once again' (UPSBQ)
- As already noted, two equal sized naturalistic corpora of monolingual speakers in Uma Piwra and SBQ-Spanish younger speakers in the city of Cochabamba show that for the younger speakers, verbs are mostly composed by the two minimal components stem+INFL. Stem is only composed by a mono-morphemic lexical verb base as it is explained in further detail in chapter V. The verbs of these speakers have undergone contact-driven simplification and they are shrinking in complexity (Polinsky and Scontras 2020). Their verbs have less multi-suffix strings compared to Uma Piwra SBQ variety.

2.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at language background for Quechua in Bolivia and at dialectal variation within SBQ. It argued that SBQ is not uniform, as it is treated in the current literature. The arguments for higher degrees of variation come from the

examination of a previously unstudied rural SBQ variety spoken by elders who have not migrated from their community. Analysis of two equally sized data sets from these two groups of SBQ speakers found that Uma Piwra verbs exhibit more morphology than those of younger speakers in the city of Cochabamba. Morphologically less complex verbs of younger SBQ speakers in the city show how urban SBQ speakers are adopting a form of standardized literary koiné relative to the variability still found in rural towns.

This chapter also aimed to highlight the point that monolingual SBQ varieties like the one spoken in Uma Piwra have not yet been investigated thoroughly. Thus, it is necessary to stress prioritizing the documentation and description of monolingual varieties within Bolivia. Since regional varieties of SBQ are not uniform, understanding the grammar of monolingual varieties will enhance our understanding of Bolivian Quechua, which remains relatively narrow in the current literature. Another important aspect of this issue concerns the need for L1 rural Quechua speakers to be involved in the documentation work. The fact that most literature is based on standard urban SBQ varieties has to do with a number of complex social issues like the skepticism of people in rural towns about participating in ethnographic studies with outsiders (*see details in* Albó 1970). The documentation for the current research has been carried out by an L1 speaker originally from a rural town near Uma Piwra. Insider researchers have the advantage of accessing rural towns and conducting fieldwork without causing this kind of skepticism in community members. Chapter IV of this dissertation discusses in more detail the advantages of being an insider language researcher.

Chapter III

Sketch of Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua grammar

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a basic introduction to Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua (UPSBQ) grammar. It presents an overview of the phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as a brief discussion of how grammar is relevant in speech play and verbal art. It highlights the most salient features in the UPSBQ variety that distinguishes it from prior studies on South Bolivian Quechua (SBQ). This description analysis is supported by a large corpus of natural speech collected from elders in Uma Piwra rural town.

3.2. OVERVIEW

Quechuan languages are spoken across several countries in the Andes of South America, as presented earlier in chapter II. They are characterized as agglutinative and polysynthetic, with SOV as the basic word order. The grammar of South Bolivian Quechua has been the subject of a good number of studies. Most of them overlap with regards to complex verbal morphology: Lastra (1964), Bills et al. (1971), Muysken (1986) and Van de Kerke (1993). Verbs are composed of a minimal root, an optional lexical suffix, optional syntactic suffixes and, finally, inflectional suffixes. Certain syntactic suffixes are variable in order. This variation challenges the slot matrix model proposed earlier for Southern Quechua, and no single alternative is available. It is stated

that affix order, like word order, results from a number of different components Muysken (1986:639).

Morphology is a salient aspect in the grammar. Earlier descriptions of Southern Quechua describe for two types of suffixes: restricted and unrestricted. The first type is added to both verbs or nouns, and they have a fixed order of occurrence. The second type is freely added to nouns, verbs, adverbs, or other particles. Verbal derivational suffixes belong to the first type that follow a slot matrix model. They are optional, and their order occurs from left to right in a fixed order (Yokohoma 1951:43-45).

Previous studies of SBQ have centered their attention on standardized varieties that are spoken by Spanish-SBQ bilingual speakers. The current analysis looks at a particular variety spoken by monolingual elders who live in the rural town of Uma Piwra, Southern Bolivia. This variety of SBQ is characterized by distributing more morphology to create verb stems. Current SBQ literature describes the verbal morphology as organized in an agglutinative way, linking meaning and form independently (Van de Kerke 1993, Plaza 2009 and Adelaar and Muysken 2009). The verbal complexity in UPSBQ sheds light on a different analysis by using a hierarchical model to describe verbal suffixes. UPSBQ displays two types of suffixes: simplex and complex. The distribution of simplex suffixes overlaps with previous analysis because they bear a meaning independently. In contrast, complex suffixes are lexicalized units composed of two or three suffixes that bear a non-compositional meaning as a unit. Section § 3.5.3. of this chapter will provide a basic analysis and Chapter V expands the analysis in a more detailed way.

3.3. GRAMMAR SKETCH

The grammar of the rural variety of Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua has been undocumented. As stated earlier, this variety is spoken by monolingual elders who use it to communicate in everyday life. This section presents an overview of the three main aspects of UPSBQ. Section §3.2. discusses the sound system and stress. Section §3.3. presents the nominal and verbal morphology. Section §3.4. presents a brief discussion on the syntax and finally §3.5. highlights the grammatical aspects of speech play and verbal art.

3.3.1. Sound System

The sound system in UPSBQ is similar to what has been reported in earlier studies of SBQ. It has 25 phonemic consonantal sounds and three phonemic vowels. This variety has many lexical borrowings from Spanish that have been imported along with the original sounds from Spanish. Hence, the phonetic inventory of UPSBQ contains sounds like [b, d, g] and consonant clusters like [pl], [pr] along with other clusters in loan words. The default stress system is penultimate, but the natural speech of elders also shows final stress assignment triggered by a suffix deletion rule.

3.3.2. Consonants

One remarkable feature in the consonant inventory of Bolivian Quechua concerns the phonemic contrast between plain, aspirate and ejective sounds (Herrero and Sanchez 1978, Bills et al., 1960). UPSBQ also presents this contact at five places of articulation as

specified in *Table 3*. In UPSBQ, similar to other SBQ varieties, the phoneme /q/ is also pronounced as a continuant [χ], (see Gallagher 2019) for Cochabamba city Quechua and (Camacho-Rios 2020) for South Bolivian Quechua spoken in Toro Toro, the North of Potosí, Bolivia.

	Labial	Dental	Postalveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plain	p	t	tʃ	k	q	
Aspirate	p ^h	t ^h	tʃ ^h	k ^h	q ^h	
Ejective	p'	t'	tʃ'	k'	q'	
Fricative		s		ʃ		h
Nasal	m	n	n			
Liquid		l r	ɺ			
Glide	w		j			

Table 3: South Bolivian Quechua PHONEMIC inventory

The following minimal pairs in (11) to (14) exemplify the phonemic contrast in place of articulation between plains, aspirated and ejectives.

- (11) a. /tanta/ ['tan.ta] ‘together’
b. /t'anta/ ['t'an.ta] ‘bread’
- (12) a. /tʃ'aka/ ['tʃ'aka] ‘hoarse’
b. /tʃ^haka/ ['tʃ^haka] ‘big ant’
- (13) a. /tʃaki/ ['tʃa.ki] ‘foot’
b. /tʃ'aki/ ['tʃ'a.ki] ‘dried’
- (14) a. /p'atʃa/ ['p'a.tʃa] ‘cloth’
b. /patʃa/ ['pa.tʃa] ‘time’

Another salient characteristic in the phonological system of SBQ is the restriction on stop combinations (Gallagher 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016b). Stops are only licit in prevocalic position and no stops can occur in preconsonantal position *mitk'i, *λakta, *t'aṣta (Gallagher 2019). UPSBQ follows these parameters: stops only occur in prevocalic position as seen in (15a-c).

- (15) a. /tʃuqu/ ['tʃu.qu] ‘twisted’
 b. /tʃaki/ ['tʃaki] ‘foot’
 c. /tata/ ['tata] ‘father’
 d. /sapi/ ['sapi] ‘root’

3.3.3. Vowels

The most salient phonological feature in the CII Quechua group concerns the effects of uvular consonants on high vowels (Yokoyama 1951, Cusihuamán 1976). Similar statements have been reported for SBQ in (Herrero and Sanchez 1978, Bills et al., 1960, Plaza 2019). Likewise, Cochabamba Quechua is stated to bear three underlying phonemic vowels /i u a/ corresponding to the five surface vowels [i u e o a]. Mid vowels are found in the vicinity of a uvular consonant, either immediately preceding or following a uvular (Gallagher 2016). Although Pierrard (2018) claims that the five-vowel system distinguishes SBQ spoken in the cities, while varieties outside the cities have a three-vowel system with no modifications surrounding a uvular consonant. Similar to Pierrard’s description, Camacho-Rios (2020) claims that for monolingual speakers in the province of Tarabuco, Sucre, Bolivia, the high back vowel /u/ does not get lowered in a uvular context, as the F1 value for /u/ in both, velar and uvular contexts remain low,

without showing a significant difference statistically. UPSBQ has three vowel phonemes, but vowel formant measurements are still needed to determine whether vowels are modified in a uvular context (as in (17), or not as in (16)).

	Front	Central	back
high	i		u
low		a	

Table 4: South Bolivian Quechua phonemic vowel inventory

- (16) a. /q'iλu/ ['q'i.λu] ‘Yellow’
b. /q'untʃa/ ['q'un.tʃa] ‘Traditional oven’
- (17) a. /q'iλu/ ['q'e.λu] ‘Yellow’
b. /q'untʃa/ ['q'on.tʃa] ‘Traditional oven’

3.3.4. Syllable structure

SBQ allows four types of syllables V, CV, VC, or CVC. Syllables of V and VC only occur word initially. Complex onsets and complex codas are not permitted. Nouns are disyllabic or multi-syllabic as in (18) and verb roots can be monosyllabic as in (19a) or disyllabic as in (19b-c).

- (18) a. /itʃ^hu/ ['i.tʃ^hu] ‘hay’
b. /p^huʃka/ ['p^huʃ.ka] ‘spinning wheel’
c. /qararank^ha/ [qa.ra.raŋ. 'k^ha] ‘lizard’
d. /kiλkina/ [kiλ. 'ki.na] ‘wild green herb used for spicy sauce’
- (19) a. /rini/ ['ri-ni] ‘go-1SG.NF’
b. /takini/ [ta. 'ki-ni] ‘sing-1SG.NF’

c. /λank'anku/	[λaŋ.'k'a-ŋku]	'work.the.land/plow-3PL.NF'
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3.3.4. Stress

Stress in Southern Quechua is penultimate (Parker 1965, Adelaar 1984 y Palomino 1993). Similar statements have been made for South Bolivian Quechua (Bills G., et al 1971, Herrero & Sanchez 1978). Although, Plaza (2009:223) remarks on some exceptions to this penultimate default system.

UPSBQ marks pitch accent in two ways: penultimate and final. The core stress is realized on the penultimate syllable. The second type corresponds to pitch accent in final syllable. This last one can be sub-divided into two: a phonemic final stress conditioned by certain morphemes that attract the pitch accent and a final stress conditioned by final suffix deletion rule.

Uma Piwra Quechua normally marks penultimate stress in a single noun form as in (20a-c). A verb form occurring by itself can also be marked with penultimate stress, as in (21a-b). Likewise, penultimate stress is also observed at a phrase level as in (22a-b) below. Primary stress, secondary stress and intonation at a phrase level are still unexplored.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (20) | a. | /maki/ | [ˈma.ki] | 'hand' |
| | b. | /waλpa/ | [ˈwaλ.pa] | 'hen' |
| | c. | /pilipintu/ | [pi.li.ˈpin.tu] | 'butterfly' |
| (21) | a. | /purini / | [pu.ˈri.ni] | 'I walk/walked' |
| | b. | /qarasun/ | [qa.ˈra.sun] | 'we will feed' |
| (22) | a. | /[rup ^h aj karqa/ | | |

[*z̥u.pʰaj* 'kar.ka]
 'It was sunny'

- b. /*tʃaj nit'ixtijaq misituj katſaritſikun/*
 [*tʃaj ni.t'ix.tij.tax mi.si.tuj ka.tʃa.rɪ'tʃɪ.kun*]
 'And when I pushed it (the snake) (with my cane) let my cat go out'

UPSBQ also displays final syllable stress that applies to some enclitics. There are also cases in which final stress occurs by a monosyllabic suffix deletion rule (similar observations are made in Camacho-Rios and Tallman *forthcoming*). If we consider the example in (23), the evidential enclitic =chá ['tʃa] inherently bears pitch accent, the stress does not occur in penultimate but in final syllable as represented in *Figure 3*.

- (23) [mi.kʰuŋ.ku 'tʃa imanaŋkutsus]
 mikhu-nku=chá imana-nku=chus
 eat-3PL=DUB do.whatever-3PL=DUB
 'Perhaps they (birds) eat (verdulaga), I don't know what they do'

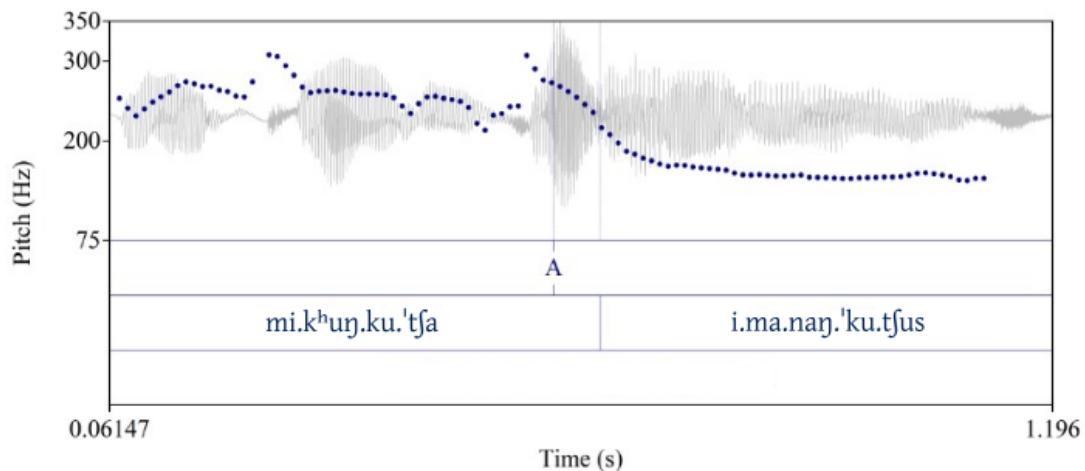


Figure 3: Pitch accent track for =chá ['tʃa]

The other enclitic that bears stress inherently is the interrogative marker =rí exemplified in (24). The pitch accent is represented in the following *Figure 4*.

- (24) [salbakun^kat^sus manat^sus saqirpan^ka para tʃaj 'rí]
 salbaku-nqa=chus mana=chus
 save-3SG.FUT=DUB NEG=DUB
 saqi-rpa-nqa para chay=rí?
 leave-suddenly-3SG.FUT rain DEM=if
 'It is unknown whether it (crops) will grow well or not, why if the rain stops it?'

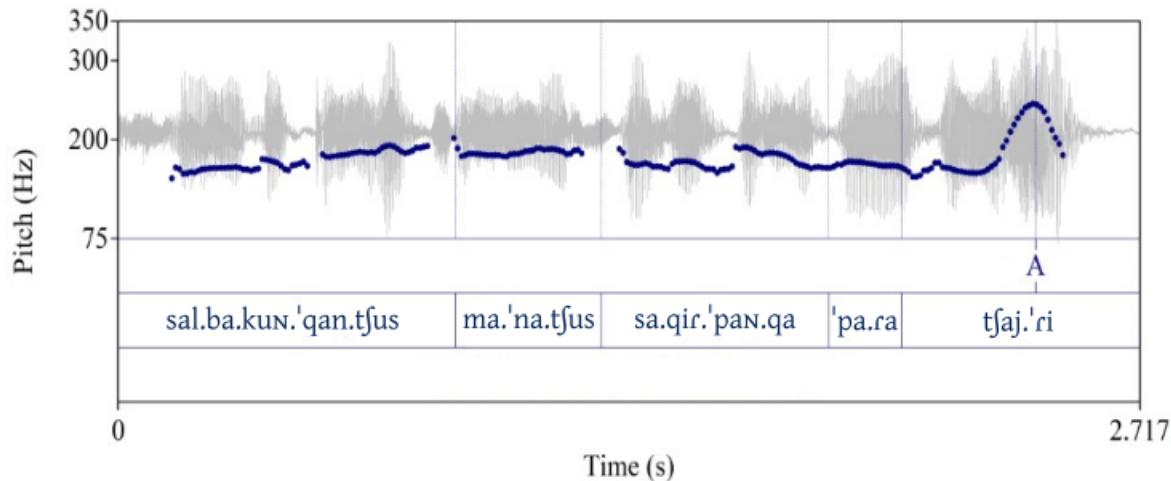


Figure 4: Pitch accent track for =rí ['rí]

UPSBQ has one exceptional suffix that attracts pitch accent when the last syllable has a heavy onset CCVC. This type of syllable is observed when the suffix *-rpa* 'suddenly' is followed by *-n*, an obligatory inflectional suffix marking third person singular non-future. The following examples in (25) and (26) exemplify this uncommon stress assignment in UPSBQ that is not common in standard SBQ.

- (25) [sa.ru.'rpan]
 saru-rpa-n

step-suddenly-3SG.NF
'he/she/it step/stepped on'

- (26) [waj.k'u. 'rpan]
wayk'u-rpa-n
cook-suddenly-3SG.NF
'he/she cooks/cooked'

3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.4.1. Suffix deletion rule

UPSBQ presents final stress triggered by a monosyllabic suffix deletion rule. Certain monosyllabic suffixes in final position can be partially or entirely deleted. This deletion rule will cause the noun or part of the clause to bear the stress in the final syllable.

In most cases the entire suffix is deleted after stress assignment on the penultimate syllable. In example (27) below, the accusative *-ta* is entirely deleted. This deletion rule will result in stress in final position. The most common suffixes that undergo deletion are the accusative *-ta*, the topicalizer *=qa*, and the negative particle *=chu*. Deletion normally applies to monosyllabic CV suffixes.

- (27) [nuqa pa. 'pa wajk'ujni hamunqa kunan nispa]
nuqa papá (-ta → -o) wayk'u-yu-ni,
1SG potato.ACC cook-PFV-1SG.PST,
“jamu-nqa kunan”, ni-spa
Come-3SG.FUT now say-GER
'I cooked potato while thinking “she will come”

The CCV gerund marker *-spa* also undergoes changes, but only part of the suffix is deleted. In example (28), the gerund *-spa* gets reduced to *-s*. The second chunk *-pa* is deleted denoting the stress in final syllable in the verb form [xa.'p'is.pa] becomes [xa.'pis]. The last vowel and the immediately preceding vowel of the CCV syllable is reduced. The remaining part of the consonant forms a stressed CVC syllable with the preceding syllable that is normally of CV type.

- (28) [ja.ku.ta.wan xa.'p'is a.pa.ʃa.rqa]
 yaku-ta-wan jap'ís(*pa* → *-ø*) apa-sha-rqa
 water-ACC-COM get.GER carry-PROG-3SG.PST
 'She was carrying water, after getting it'

Partial deletion in other suffixes is also common in the natural discourse of UPSBQ. Some disyllabic suffixes are also reduced to one single stressed syllable. The ablative case marking suffix *-manta* ['man.ta] gets reduced to *-man* ['man], the second part *-ta* is deleted as in (29).

- (29) [xa.ʃaj.'man a.pa.tʃi.mu.rqa.ni kar.li.tus.nij a.'pa.mun]
 Jaqay-man(*-ta* → *-ø*) apa-chi-mu-rqa-ni
 DEM-ABL carry-CAUS-DIR-PST-1SG

 carlitus-ni-y apa-mu-n
 Carlos.DIM-EUPH-1SG.POSS carry-DIR-3SG
 'I sent from there (the city), my little child Carlitos brought it (wiñapu)'

The suffix deletion rule only applies when the noun phrase is before the verb (see Camacho-Rios & Tallman *forthcoming*). Suffix deletion cannot occur after the verb, as seen in (30). When the noun phrase follows the verb form the suffix deletion rule does not apply and the accusative *-ta* is overtly marked as in (31).

- (30) *[nuqa wajk'ujuni pa. 'pa]
 *nuqa wayk'u-yu-ni, *papá* (-ta → -θ)
 1SG cook-PFV-1SG.PST, potato.ACC
 *‘I cooked potato’
- (31) [nuqa wajk'ujuni pa. 'pa.ta]
 nuqa wayk'u-yu-ni, papa-ta
 1SG cook-PFV-1SG.PST, potato-ACC
 ‘I cooked potato’

3.5. MORPHOLOGY

UPSBQ has five open word classes: nouns, compounds, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. The first four types are free classes, but verbs are not. Verbs are a class of bound roots that necessarily require the inflectional morphology to account for the two mandatory components of a verb form stem+INFL.

3.5.1. Word classes

3.5.1.1. Nouns

Nouns can freely stand by themselves representing a concrete meaning as in (32). They are characterized by being marked accusative with the suffix *-ta* to indicate the direct object of a transitive verb, as in (33). In natural speech, if the noun precedes the verb in a clause, it is common to mark the accusative with final stress eliding the suffix *-ta* as in (34).

- (32) a. wasi ‘house’
 b. usqullu ‘andean cat’
 c. inti ‘sun’

d. wayra	‘wind’
e. sara	‘corn’
f. yaku	‘water’

- (33) *sarata aparqani*
 sara-ta apa-rqa-ni
 corn-ACC carry-PST-1SG
 ‘I carried corn’

- (34) *kay papá uqushan*
 kay papá(-ta → -θ) uqu-sha-n
 DEM.PROX potato.ACC devour-PROG-3SG
 ‘It (quail) is eating these potatoes (these plantations here)’

3.5.1.2. *Adjectives*

Adjectives in SBQ are free classes. They occur before the noun they modify. Condori-Arias, Aguilar and Gallinate (2021) state that adjectives in SBQ do not agree in gender and number with the noun they attribute. In UPSBQ adjectives are also free classes and do not have grammatical gender. However due to Spanish contact adjectives can be used as noun phrases and they agree in number as in (35).

- (35) k’ach-itu-s
 beautiful-DIM-PL
 ‘pretty ones’

3.5.1.3. *Independent pronouns, possessive pronouns and demonstratives*

There are seven personal pronouns as in *Table 5*. Personal pronouns are free morphemes. They mark number differences for first, second and third persons, but gender is not distinguished. The first-person plural pronouns distinguish clusivity between inclusive *nuqanchik* and exclusive *nuqayku*. Pronouns are not mandatory in a phrase.

They can be omitted because person and number are marked in the obligatory inflectional suffix to which a verb root is necessarily combined to form the minimal verb form *verb stem* + *INFL*, as in (36). The second singular pronoun *qan* is also marked in the inflectional constituent *-nki* that stands for second person singular past, present and future.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	nuqa	nuqanchik (inclusive) nuqanyku (exclusive)
Second	qan	qankuna
Third/impersonal	pay	paykuna

Table 5: Inventory of personal pronouns in UPSBQ

- (36) *ulupikata kunan qan puquchishankichu?*
 ulupika-ta kuman (**qan**) puqu-chi-sha-**nki**=chu
 ulupika-ACC now 2SG cultivate-CAUS-PROG-2SG=INT
 ‘Are you now cultivating Ulupica (wild spicy pepper)?’

UPSBQ displays possession through suffixation as detailed in *Table 6*. Possessive suffixes distinguish person and number but not gender. Third person singular possessive also stands for impersonal possessive pronoun. The difference of *-n* for third person singular possessive and the impersonal is demonstrated in examples (37) *wasi-n* ‘her house’ and (38) *runtu-n* ‘its eggs’.

Person	Singular	Plural
first	-y	-nchik (inclusive) -yku (exclusive)
second	-yki	-ykichik
third	-n	-nku

Table 6: Inventory of possessive pronouns in UPSBQ

- (37) *chay wasin pampallapisina pay ch'uñun*
 chay wasi-n pampalla-pi=sina pay
 DEM house-3SG.POSS flatland-LOC=maybe 3SG

ch'uñu-n
 make.dried.potato-3SG

'I think she makes dried potatoes in the flatland in front of her house'

- (38) *q'alatachus runtun pasarayushan*
 q'alata=chus runtu-n pasara-yu-sha-n
 totally=maybe egg-3SG.POSS become.rotten-PFV-PROG-3SG
 'Perhaps its eggs (laying hen's eggs) are becoming rotten'

In UPSBQ there are three demonstrative pronouns: *kay* 'this', *chay* 'that' and *jaqay* 'there'. These pronouns specify distance between the speaker and the object or place the speaker is referring to. The deictic center is important since in all cases the deictic center is the speaker, or the surrounding area where the speaker is located. Another important parameter is the distance from the speaker. In (39) *kay* specifies the closest distance of the object to the speaker and the addressee as they are crossing the potato plantation. In (40) *chay* denotes that the object *tutuma* 'traditional bowl to drink chicha' is not right next to the speaker. There is some distance between the object and the speaker.

- (39) *kay papitapis, pichus tarpukurqa*
kay *pap-ita-pis*, *pichus* *tarpu-ku-rqa*
DEM.PROX potato-DIM-also whom plant-REF-3SG.PST
‘This here is potato plantation, I wonder who planted it’
- (40) *k'achitu pero chay tutumaykiga*
k'ach-itu *pero* **chay** *tutuma-yki=q*
beautiful-DIM but **DEM** *tutuma-2SG=TOP*
‘But that your *tutuma* is very beautiful’

The third demonstrative is *jaqay* ‘there’. It implies further distance from the speaker and the addressee. In this case, the speaker normally points to refer the location. In (41), the speaker points to show that a certain piece of land over there belongs to Ambrosio.

- (41) *jaqay laduntaq Ambroshoqta*
jaqay *ladu-n=taq* *Ambrosho-q-ta*
DEM.DIST side-3SG.POSS-and Ambrosho-GEN-ACC
‘That side (piece of land) belongs to Ambrosio’

The three demonstratives can form demonstrative locatives by allowing the locative suffix *-pi* as in (42). These demonstratives will specify the location where the speaker is referring. In (43) *kay-pi* refers to the town where the speaker is currently living. The speaker is informing the addressee that Carnival festivities in the town where they are both currently located take place only at nights.

- (42) a. *kay-pi* this-LOC ‘here’
b. *chay-pi* that-LOC ‘there’
c. *jaqay-pi* that-LOC ‘over there’
- (43) *tutalla kaypi carnavales*
tuta-lla **kay-pi** *carnavale-s*
night-LIM **DEM-LOC** carnival-PL
‘Carnivals here (this town) take place only at nights’

3.5.1.4. *Verbs*

As mentioned earlier, verbs are bound roots that cannot freely stand alone. They necessarily require the obligatory inflectional suffix that provides information about T/A/M, person, number and object marking. Verbs only allow suffixation, there are no prefixes or circumfixes in this language. Verbs are suffixed by three types of affixes: simplex and complex suffixes, inflectional suffixes and enclitics. There are two types of verb roots that I will call Lexical Verb Bases (LVB). The first type is a bare root as in (44a-c), and the second is a lexical verb base that is derived from a noun, an adjective or from another verb, as in (45). The formation of derived LVBs in UPSBQ occurs by suffixing an unproductive or lexemic suffix to a verb as in (45a), to an adjective (45b-c) or to a noun (45d).

- (44) a. para- ‘rain’
b. mikhu- ‘eat’
c. tusu- ‘dance’

- (45) a. yachay ‘to know’ yachapaya- ‘to imitate’
b. ila ‘cold’ ilaya- ‘to cool down’
c. q’illu ‘yellow’ q’illura- ‘to become yellow’
d. rumi ‘rock’ rumiya- ‘to harden’

3.5.1.5. *Verbs derived from nouns*

The verbs in (46) are derived from free nouns. Nouns can stand freely but the derived verb roots necessarily require inflectional morphology. These verbs commonly take the nouns they derive from as their own subject. In examples (46) and (47), the subject of the verbs is necessarily performed by the impersonal third singular nouns they

are derived from. (46a-d) the verbs are restricted to proper nouns related to agriculture. Similarly, in (47a-h) most of the verbs are impersonal and the subject of those verbs is restricted to third person. The example in (48) is unrestricted. Finally, the adjectives can only attribute the impersonal subject of derived verb as in (49).

	Noun		Verb	
(46)	a. lip'a b. chhuqlлу c. yura d. phuñi	'broad bean' 'corn' 'herb' 'corn hair'	lip'ay chuqllyu yuray phuñiy	'(for b. bean) to grow' '(for corn) to grow' '(for herb) to grow' '(for hair corn) to grow'
(47)	a. llanthu b. q'usñi c. t'ika d. chhulla e. chhullunka f. iphu g. para h. wayra	'shadow' 'smoke' 'flower' 'dew' 'ice' 'drizzle' 'rain' 'wind'	llanthuy q'usñiy t'ikay chhullay chhullunkay iphuy paray wayray	'(for shadow) to shade' '(for smoke) to smoke' '(for flower) to bloom' '(for dew) to dew' '(for ice) to freeze' '(for drizzle) to drizzle' '(for rain) to rain' '(for wind) to blow'
(48)	a. <i>ch'uñu</i>	'dried potato'	ch'uñuy	'to make dried potato'
(49)	Adjective		Verb	
	a. phancha b. qhalla	'bloomed' 'leafy'	phanchay qhallay	'(for flower) to open' '(for plants) to reach leafy aspect'

3.5.1.6. Adverbs

Adverbs in SBQ remain little explored. In Bills et al., (1969), adverbs are described as being either single free forms or derived. The accusative *-ta* is attached to an adverb to refer to the duration of an event or to the frequency of occurrence of an event. Likewise, there are many ways of forming manner adverbials. The most common is by

adding the accusative *-ta* to adjectives or to adverbial type words as stated in Bills et al., (1969:218). UPSBQ displays adverbs of time, locative adverbs, adverbs of frequency and manner. Adverbs of time are mostly single word forms as in (50). Some adverbs of time are formed by taking two adverbs. In (51) the combination of *qayna* ‘yesterday’ plus *paqarin* ‘this morning’ will result in another adverbial construction specifying time *qayna paqarin* ‘yesterday morning’ as in (51c). Locative adverbs are formed by adding the locative suffix *-pi* to a demonstrative as in (52).

- (50) a. unay ‘a long time ago’
 - b. qayna ‘yesterday’
 - c. ch’isi ‘last night’
 - d. paqarin ‘this morning’
 - d. kunan ‘today’
 - e. q’aya ‘tomorrow’
 - f. minchha ‘the day after tomorrow’
- (51) a. qayna ‘yesterday’
 - b. paqarin ‘this morning’
 - c. qayna paqarin ‘yesterday morning’
- (52) a. kay-pi here-LOC near the speaker
 - b. chay-pi there-LOC proximal
 - c. jaqay-pi there-LOC further distance

Adverbs of frequency are constructed by adding the adjective form *sapa* ‘every’ before the noun as in (53).

- (53) a. sapa wata ‘every year’
- b. sapa p’unchay ‘every day’
- c. sapa ratu ‘every time’
- d. sapa paqarin ‘every morning’
- e. sapa ch’isi ‘every night’

In Bills et al. (1969:218), it is stated that manner adverbs can be formed in several ways. The most common is with the suffix *-ta* to refer to the duration of an event or the frequency of occurrence of an event. In UPSBQ, similar to earlier statements, manner adverbs are formed by adding the accusative *-ta* morpheme to the adjective as in (54).

- (54) a. usqay-ta fast-ACC ‘quickly’
 b. apura-ta rapid-ACC ‘rapidly’
 c. alliy-ta slow-ACC ‘slowly’
 d. sinchi-ta loud-ACC ‘loudly’
 e. k’achitu-ta beautiful-ACC ‘beautifully’
 f. ñak’ay-ta difficult-ACC ‘barely’

In UPSBQ, manner adverbs formed by adding the accusative *-ta* may also be followed by the enclitic *=puni* ‘always/certainly’ as in (55). This new combination with the enclitic *=puni* will intensify the way the verb is performed. The speaker is stressing the intensity of the verb.

- (55) a. sinchi-ta=puni loud-ACC ‘heavily’
 b. k’achitu-ta=certainly beautiful-ACC ‘intensely beautiful’

If we consider examples (56) and (57) below, in both examples the main verb is *parasqa* ‘it has rained’ is modified by two different adverbs *sinchitapuni* ‘heavily’ and *kusatapuni* ‘intensely beautiful/good’. In both examples the enclitic *=puni* adds the nuance of intensifying the performance of the verb event.

- (56) *sinchitapuni parasqa*
 sinchi-ta=puni para-sqa
 strong-ACC=certainlyrain-3SG.PST
 ‘It has rained heavily’

- (57) *kay kusatapuni parasqa qhawariy sarata*
 kay kusa-ta=puni parasqa
 DEM good-ACC=certainly rain-3SG.PST
 qhawari-y sara-ta
 look-IMP corn-ACC
 'It has rained beautifully, look at the corn (field)'

Finally, it is important to highlight that UPSBQ uses two adverbials of time in a metaphoric way to indicate the future is not metaphorically in front, but rather behind. Similar statements have been made for Aymara in Núñez and Sweetser (2006). In UPSQB there are two adverbials that can be used in a parallel way to talk about either the past or the future. In (58a), *qhipa* means 'behind' or 'later times' and in (58b) *ñawpa* means 'before, anterior/after/later'. In (59), *qhipa* describes the object located behind the speaker. However, the same adjective is used to talk about a later event that can happen in the future.

- (58) a. *qhipa* 'behind/later times'
 a. *ñawpa* 'before, anterior/after/in front'
- (59) *kay qhipaypi karishan lisas, aceite, uqa*
 kay qhipa-y-pi ka-ri-sha-n lisas, aceite, uqa
 DEM behind-1SG.POSS-LOC be-AFF-PROG-3SG lisas, oil uqa
 'The lisas potato, oil and uqa potato is behind me'

Now, if we consider *ñawpa* 'before/after/in front'. In (60), *ñawpa* is used to talk about the past. The speaker narrates how carnivals were in earlier times. Conversely, in (61) *ñawpa* is used to talk about the position in front of the speaker. The speaker claims that the dancers who will come to the carnival festivities in the upcoming carnivals will dance in front of him.

- (60) *ñawpaqtaqa, guitarrasninkú phirinanku kama takikuq kanku á*
 ñawpa-q-ta=qá, guitarra-sni-nku phiri-na-nku
 before-NOMLZ-ACC=TOP guitar-PL-3PL.POSS break-NOMLZ-3PL
- kama taki-ku-q ka-nku á
 until sing-REF-used be-3PL ah
- ‘In earlier times, people had to play the guitar until they broke them (guitars)’
- (61) *takirinqanku ñawpaqiyipi tuyús tusuringanku*
 taki-ri-nqanku ñawpaqi-y-pi
 sing-AFF-3PL.FUT in front-1SG.POSS-LOC
- muyús tusu-ri-nqanku
 spin.GER dance-AFF-3PL.FUT
- ‘They will dance spinning round in front of me (at the next carnival)’

3.5.2. Nominal and adjectival morphology

Nouns, like verbs, are suffixing only. Number inflectional suffixes occur closer to the noun root, which is always initial. Case marking suffixes follow plural marking suffixes. Enclitics occupy the last position as presented in the following *Table 7*. The functions and grammar of nominal morphology and enclitics still need further investigation.

root	Number marking	Grammatical case		Enclitics		
base	1 st position	2 nd position	3 rd position	4 th position	5 th position	6 th position
NOUN	-s -kuna (restricted)	-lla	-ta -ACC -man -ALL -manta -ABL -paq -BEN	-wan -COM, INS	=ña	=raq

Table 7: Noun structure

Enclitics						
7 th position	8 th position	9 th position	10 th position	11 th position	12 th position	13 th position
=puni	=taq	=sina	=pis	=chu =má =chá =chus	=ri =rí	=qa

Table 8: Enclitics

Number inflection has two forms *-kuna* and *-s*. *-kuna* only occurs when a noun ends in a consonant, e.g., *atuq-kuna* ‘foxes’ in (62), otherwise the plural form is *-s*, from Spanish, as in *usqullu-s* ‘Andean cats’.

- (62) *atuqkuna usquillus jamun á*
 atuq-kuna, usqullu-s jamu-n á
 fox-PL andean cat-PL come-3SG ah
 'foxes come, Andean cats come ah'

Nouns can form various types of nominal phrases by combining with different grammatical case suffixes from position three, as schematized in *Table 5* above. Example (63) illustrates the accusative *-ta* in a nominal phrase. Enclitics come last in a nominal phrase. The enclitic *=puni* meaning 'certainly' follows the accusative *-ta*.

- (63) *libi yikitustapuni jatarirquchin*
 libi yak-itu-s-**ta=puni** jatari-rqu-chi-n
 ADV water-DIM-PL-ACC=**certainly** appear-nimbly-CAUS-3SG
 'Certainly, the rain made puddles appear'

Enclitics can attach to noun phrases or in some cases to verb phrases, e.g., *=puni=chá* 'certainly, dubitative' as in (64). In UPSBQ, combinations of two or three enclitics are also observed, e.g., *=puni=sina=qa* in (65). Their grammatical functions still deserve further investigation to see the differences in the string combination when it appears combined to nominal, verbal, or adverbial phrases.

- (64) *"jamunqapunichá" nirqani*
 "jamu-nqa=**puni=chá**", ni-rqa-ni
 come-3SG.FUT=**certainly=DUB** say-3PST-1SG
 'I said, I hope she comes'
- (65) *jamurishallanpunisinaqa?*
 jamu-ri-sha-lla-n=**puni=sina=qa**?
 come-AFF-PROG-LIM-3SG=**certainly=DUB=TOP**
 'It seems it keeps coming, doesn't it?'

In UPSBQ grammar, nominalization is morphologically complex. Five types of nominalizers are prominent in this variety of SBQ: *-na* ‘obligative’, *-q* ‘habitual’, *-sqa* ‘preterite’, *-spa* ‘gerund’, *-ytawan* ‘prior event’. Nominalized clauses are verb final, but they do not take clitics (Camacho-Rios and Tallman *forthcoming*). The fact that morphology is prominently distributed in UPSBQ verbs means that the analysis of nominalized forms will be morphologically more complex as compared to earlier accounts of SBQ, in which nominalized forms take a bare verb root plus the nominalizer suffix. In (66), the suffix *-ytawan* ‘prior event’ nominalizes a verb stem with two derivational suffixes: *-chi* ‘causative’ and *-mu* ‘directional toward here’. Similarly, in (67), the nominalizer *-spa* ‘gerund’ nominalizes a verb stem that has a simplex suffix *-chi* ‘causative’ and a complex suffix *-kamu* -GO&DO ‘associated motion’. Nominalized forms like this are prominent in the UPSBQ variety that is still loosely understood.

- (66) *apachimuytawan chiqlachisaq*
 apa-**chi-mu-ytawan** chiqla-chi-saq
 take-CAUS-DIR-NOMLZ select-CAUS-1SG.FUT
 ‘I will make (someone) select it (wheat) after making them carry it here’
- (67) *jak'uchikamuspa nayku wakinta vendekuyku*
 jak'u-**chi-kamu-spa** na-yku
 grind-CAUS-GO&DO-NOMLZ do-1PL.EXCL
 wakin-ta vende-ku-yku
 some-ACC sell-REF-1PL.EXCL
 ‘We, do it, we go and grind it (wheat) and sell some of it’

3.5.2.1. Compounding

South Bolivian Quechua presents compounds that can be adjectives or nouns. The most prominent compounds are of adjective type that are formed out of *verb+noun*, *noun+noun*, *noun+verb*, and *adjective+noun* as stated in Condori-Arias, Aguilar, Gallinate (2021). The criteria they take to account for compounds of adjective type involves five characteristics as follows:

- i. They are composed out of two roots, or a root and a stem.
- ii. The nucleus is the one on the right.
- iii. They form a prosodic unit.
- iv. They can be either exocentric or endocentric in the meaning.
- v. Some compounds are sensitive to derivation or inflection.

Compound formation in UPSBQ is similar to what has been stated in Condori-Arias, Aguilar, Gallinate (2021). UPSBQ also forms compounds of adjective and noun types. In (68) the compound of noun type *misq'i q'ita* 'corn syrup' is formed out of an adjective *misq'i* 'sweet' and *q'ita* 'maize pudding'. In (69) the adjective type *pisi umá* 'silly' is formed out of the adjective *pisi* 'few' and *umá* 'head'.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (68) <i>misq'i+q'ita</i> | sweet+maize pudding | Adj+N → N | 'corn syrup' |
| (69) <i>pisi+umá</i> | few+head | Adj+N → Adj | 'silly' |

The compounds in UPSBQ follow similar accounts. They are composed out of two roots. The nucleus is to the right to satisfy the endocentric type. They form a

prosodic unit. Additionally, nothing can interrupt a compound, examples in (70) are not allowed.

- (70) a. *misk'i+pisi+q'ita *sweet + few + maize pudding
 b. *pisi+yana+uma *few + black + head

In UPSBQ, N+V combinations can yield a noun, as in (71a-b) *uma nanay* ‘headache’, *sunqu nanay* ‘distress’. These types of compounds take the infinitive form of the verb. They also combine with other morphology, including the accusative *-ta*. When compounds take these types of morphology, they behave as adverbs. They occur before the verb they modify. In (72), *sunqu nanay* ‘distress’ takes the accusative *-ta* (which is elided in running speech) and modifies the verb. In (73), the same compound combines with *-lla* ‘limitative’ and the accusative *-ta*, which is again elided. In this case *sunqu nanay* is also modifying the verb *kay* ‘to be/live’.

- (71) a. *uma + nanay* head+pain N+V → N ‘headache’
 b. *sunqu + nanay* heart+pain N+V → N ‘distress’
 c. *sunqu + nanay* heart+pain N+V+(-suffix(es)) → Adv ‘distressingly’

(72) *sunqu nanáy waqanku*
 sunqu nanáy waqa-nku
 distressingly.ACC cry-3PL
 ‘They (animals when they are hungry) distressingly cry’

(73) *sunqu nanayllá kakuni*
 sunqu nanayllá ka-ku-ni
 distressingly-LIM.ACC be-REF-1SG
 ‘I distressingly are/live’

3.5.2.3. *Adjective morphology*

Adjectives in UPSBQ can be compounds, as presented earlier in §3.5.2.1. Adjectives can also be derived from verbs with the suffix *-sqa*, which is also used for the reportative past tense. The derived adjective will mean ‘to reach the state of the verb’, as we observe in the following examples. In (74a), the adjective *ismusqa* ‘rotten’ derives from the verb *ismuy* ‘to rot’. Likewise, examples (74b-f) also derive from a verb. The other functions of the inflectional suffix *-sqa* still need further investigation.

(74)	a. <i>ismuy</i>	‘to rot (vegetables)’	<i>ismusqa</i>	‘rotten (vegetables)’
	b. <i>miq’aray</i>	‘to rot (for hen egg)’	<i>miq’arasqa</i>	‘empty’
	c. <i>sayk’uy</i>	‘to get tired’	<i>sayk’usqa</i>	‘tired’
	d. <i>phutiy</i>	‘to depress’	<i>phutisqa</i>	‘depressed’
	e. <i>llik’iy</i>	‘to rip (clothing)’	<i>llik’isqa</i>	‘ripped (clothing)’
	f. <i>punkiy</i>	‘to swell’	<i>punkisqa</i>	‘swollen’

3.5.3. *Verb morphology*

A verbal word in UPSBQ uses suffixation. The type of suffixes exhibited in the verbal morphology are non-inflectional suffixes, inflectional suffixes and enclitics. A verbal word is composed by a stem and the obligatory inflectional constituent STEM+INFL. A verb stem’s minimal component is a lexical verb base. Lexical verb bases can be derived by one or up to four non-inflectional suffixes to form a complex verb stem, as follows:

STEM ==> LVB + (suffix(es))

A verb stem combines with the obligatory inflectional suffixes that mark T/A/M and person, number and object marking. Finally, inflection can be followed by enclitics as schematized below. The suffixes that form complex verb stems are characterized as simplex or complex constituents. The characteristic of suffix types involved in forming complex stems will be discussed in Chapter V of this dissertation. Likewise, the obligatory inflectional system will be discussed in a more detail in chapter V.

Verb STEM + INFL+(enclitics)

The non-inflectional derivational suffixes in UPSBQ are of two types: simplex and complex. Simplex suffixes bear a compositional meaning. Complex suffixes are lexicalized units, they bear a meaning as a unit. They are lexicalized bound morphemes resulting from the combination of two or three simplex suffixes (Camacho-Rios 2019). Both simplex and complex suffixes display different functional categories in UPSBQ grammar.

Earlier studies of SBQ focus on standardized varieties. The verbs of these varieties tend to display a verb stem composed only by a lexical verb base combined to the obligatory inflection, as, for example, for Cochabamba Quechua observed in (75). In this example, the verb stem is only composed by *puklla-* ‘play’. Conversely, UPSBQ exhibits more morphologically complex verb stems as exemplified in (76). UPSBQ’s morphological complexity will be described in detail in chapter V of this dissertation.

- (75) *nuqa sumax kusisqa puklla-ni*
Me, good happy play-1SG

‘Me, I play very happily’ (UCB Archive)¹

- (76) *i? chay t'akarikamushallanñataq*
í? chay t'aka-ri-kamu-sha-lla-n=ña=taq
you see? DEM fall-INCH-DIR-PROG-only-3SG=already=and
‘You see? It (rain) is starting to fall downwards once again’.

A verb stem necessarily combines with the inflectional constituent. There are two types of inflectional suffixes: optional inflectional suffixes and obligatory inflection. The non-obligatory inflectional suffix occurs before the obligatory inflection as follows:

INFL == > (non-obligatory inflectional suffix(es)) + obligatory INFL

Optional inflectional suffixes separate the boundary between a verb stem and the obligatory inflectional constituent. They provide different grammatical information that will be presented in more detail in §5.1.2. of chapter V. Some of these examples involve progressive aspect, adverbials, or object marking, as in (77). In this example, the verb stem ends with the causative suffix *-chi*, *-sha* marks the progressive, *-lla* means ‘again’ and *-wa* marks the first-person object. The obligatory inflection in (77) is marked with the suffix *-n* meaning third person singular in present.

- (77) *allin umáy nanarquchishallawanñataq ɿ?*
allin umáy
ADV head.ACC

nana-rqu-chi-sha-lla-wa-n=ña=taq ɿ?
pain-nimbly-CAUS-PROG-LIM-OBJ-3SG=already=CONJ right?
‘It (the crying sheep) is causing me to have a headache, isn’t it?’

¹ Transcriptions of three short narratives, 2016-13.214, in "Berkeley Field Methods: South Bolivian Quechua", Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California, Berkeley, <http://cla.berkeley.edu/item/24193>

The obligatory inflectional constituent is followed by enclitics. Enclitics also convey different grammatical information such as adverbial, evidential and various types of conjunctions as seen in (78). *=ñā* means ‘already’, *=taq* is the coordinating conjunction ‘and’, and finally *=chu* is the interrogative enclitic.

- (78) *Máy kunán k'askamushallanñataqchu?*
Máy kunan k'aska-mu-sha-lla-n=ñā=taq=chu?
Where now burn-DIR-PROG-again-3SG=already=and=INT
'Is it (frying pan) now burning again?'

UPSBQ exhibits more complex verb forms compared to the SBQ spoken in urbanized areas. Beyond complexity in the verbal morphology, this variety of SBQ also displays emotive elements in daily speech in the rural context. Figurative speech is prominently observed in the speech of this variety. Their speech commonly exhibits the use of rhetorical figures, the use of aesthetically driven morphological combinations, such as recurrent figures of parallelism, to create verbal art in SBQ. These forms are found in daily conversations, traditional narratives, and carnival songs. The next Section presents those characteristics that will distinguish the UPSBQ variety spoken in a rural area from those varieties spoken in metropolitan areas.

3.6. SYNTAX

This section will briefly show the types of noun phrase arguments that have been identified in UPSBQ. Likewise, it presents the basics of word order.

3.6.1. Noun Phrase syntax

Noun phrases in UPSBQ are formed through suffixation. A noun is marked accusative with the suffix *-ta* to indicate the relationship of the direct object to the verb as in (79). In natural speech it is common to delete the accusative *-ta* and represent it with final stress as in (80).

- (79) *Saratachá tipimunkuña*
sara-ta=chá tipi-mu-nku=ña
corn-ACC=DUB peel.off-GO&DO-3PL.NF=already
'I guess they went to peel off the skin of corn'
- (80) *kunanpis papá allamunay kashan*
kunan-pis papá alla-mu-nay ka-sha-n
now-also potato.ACC harvest-GO&DO-have be-PROG-3SG
'Even now, I have to go harvest potatoes'

UPSBQ also forms other types of noun phrases with case marking suffixes. The following examples (81) to (84) represent the most usual types of noun phrases in a clause.

- paq dative noun phrase**
(81) *nuqá paranán munayusharqani papaypaq*
nuqá paranán muna-yu-sha-rqa-ni
1SG.TOP rain.IMP.ACC want-PFV-PROG-PST-1SG
- papay-paq**
potato-1SG.POSS-DAT
'I was desiring for it to rain for my potato (fields)'
- wan instrumental noun phrase**
(82) *uj ratuchá ch'aki llant'awan rupharpachin á*
uj ratu=chá ch'aki llant'a-wan rupha-rpa-chi-n á
one fast=DUB dried wood-INST burn-suddenly-CAUS-3SG ah
'With dried wood, I guess he burned it (*q'uwa*) fast ah'

- wan comitative noun phrase**
- (83) *kaypi parlakunkichik paywan diyantinta*
 kaypi parla-ku-nkichik pay-wan diya-ntin-ta
 here-LOC talk-REF-2PL 3SG-COM day-all-ACC
 'You will talk with her here all day long'
- ta-wan accusative + comitative**
- (84) *mikhuy kay papatawan mikhuykuy*
 mikhu-y kay papa-ta-wan
 eat-1SG>2SG.IMP DEM potato-ACC-COM
- mikhu-yku-y
 eat-PFV-1SG>2SG.IMP
 'eat, eat (that salad) with this potato here'

UPSBQ also uses ablative and allative case to specify movement or direction from one point towards another point. *-manta* 'ablative' normally involves the point of origin and *-man* the direction towards which the action of a verb is performed. In example (85), the ablative *-manta* specifies the school as the starting point from which the running used to start in competitions. In (86) the suffix *-manta* marks the top of the tree from which the snake was observing the speaker.

- (85) *Iscuila wasimanta quchik kayku á*
 Iscuila wasi-manta qu-chi-q ka-yku ah
 school house-ABL run-CAUS-GEN be-1PL.INCL ah
 'We used to run from the school (towards the mountain)'
- (86) *Mulli sach'amanta ajna pataymanta qhawaririmushawasqa.*
 Mulli sach'a-manta ajna pata-y-manta
 Molle tree-ABL like top-1SG.POSS-ABL
- qhawa-ri-ri-mu-sha-wa-sqa.
 observe-INCH-AFF-DIR-PROG-1OBJ-3SG.PST.NAR
 'From the top of a Molle tree, from above me, like this, it (the snake)
 was observing me'

UPSBQ also uses allative case to mark a point towards which the action of the verb is performed, as in (87). The suffix *-man* involves the top of a tree as the point towards which the action of the verb is performed.

- (87) *li sach'a puntamanpis wasarin ari, chay finoqa.*
 li sach'a punta-**man**-pis wasari-n ari,
 ADV tree top-ALL-also stroll-3SG ah,
 chay fino=qa
 DEM elegant=TOP
 'It (the elegant snake) also scrolls the top of a tree ah, that elegant (snake)'

3.6.2. Clausal syntax

Most studies state that SOV is the basic word order for South Bolivian Quechua. UPSBQ does not obey strictly this structure since the order in natural speech varies. If we consider example (88), the direct object comes after the verb (VO). However, in (89) the verb is final (OV). The role of information structure in governing word order still needs further research.

- (88) *mju kuma yutha aqná pusayacharin uñasta á*
 mju kuma yutha aqná
 yeah lady quail like-ACC
 pusa-yacha-ri-n uña-s-ta á
 take-DIR-AFF-3SG.NF kid-PL-ACC ah
 'Yeah, the lady quail walks around the little (quails) like that'
- (89) *arritusllá wayk'upuni*
 arr-itu-s=llá wayk'**u**-pu-ni
 rice-DIM-PL=LIM.ACC cook-BEN-1SG.NF
 'I cook just rice for it (cat)'

3.6.3. Linkage between phrases and Clause linkage

Clause and phrase linkages in UPSBQ remains understudied. Among the most common types of clause or phrase linkages, we can name coordination, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. In UPSBQ, two noun phrases can be coordinated by doubling the comitative *-wan* ‘-COM’ in each NP, as in (90) and (91). Another coordinating conjunction is marked by doubling the enclitic *=chus*, meaning ‘or’, as in (92) and (93). Other types of coordination still need to be explored. The enclitic *=chus* normally involved doubt.

- (90) *Warmiwan qharillawan kasqanku, nin*
 warmi-wan qhari-lla-wan ka-sqa-nku, ni-n
 woman-COM man-LIM-COM BE-PST.REP-3PL say-3SG.PST
 ‘It is said, that only one man and one women were there
 (small plane that crashed at the top of the mountain once upon a time)’
- (91) *Maqanayukusqanku q’alata caraju. Alqu. Atuqwan alquwan, caraju.*
 maqa-nayuku-sqa-nku q’alata caraju.
 fight-REC-PST.REP-3PL totally caraju
 Alqu. Atuq-wan alqu-wan, caraju.
 dog fox-COM dog-COM caraju
 ‘They fight against a lot, caraju. Dog. The fox and the dog *caraju*’
- (92) *kay jawapichus maypichus piru rikuni, piru*
 kay jawa-pi=chus may-pi=chus piru riku-ni, piru
 DEM outside-LOC=DUB where-LOC=DUB but see-1SG.PST but
 ‘I don’t know where I saw it outside or inside, I don’t know where.’
- (93) *jaqay chimpapichus maypichus t’uqyarqayachinku á*
 jaqay chimpa-pi=chus may-pi=chus
 DEM front-LOC=DUB where-LOC=DUB
 t’uqya-rqaya-chi-nku á
 burst-forcefully-CAUS-3PL ah
 ‘I don’t know if I it is over there, or

I don't know where they bust them (firework) ah'

Two ways of marking relative clauses in UPSBQ are with the forms *pichus* 'who' as in (94) and *mayqinchus* 'which' as in (95).

- (94) *Kay papitapis, pichus tarpukurqa, papitapis tiyasqa*
kay pap-ita-pis, **pichus** tarpu-ku-rqa,
DEM potato-DIM-also **who** plant-REF-3SG.PST
- pap-ita-pis tiya-sqa
potato-DIM-also exist-3SG.PST.REP
'This potato here, I wonder who planted it, a potato field existed there too'
- (95) *T'uqyachinku ashkhata pullaschá kankuman uqllayurqanku nillani mayqinchus pullapis.*
T'uqya-chi-nku ashkha-ta
hatch-CAUS-3PL a lot-ACC
- pulla-s=chá ka-nkuman
hen-PL=DUB be-3PL.COND
- uqla-yu-rqa-nku ni-lla-ni
brood-PFV-PST.REP-3PL say-LIM-1SG
- mayqinchus** pulla-pis.
which hen-also
'They hatched a lot, I suppose they are hens (laying ones),
I suppose they brooded.
I don't know which one is the hen (laying one).

3.7. GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS OF SPEECH PLAY AND VERBAL ART

One salient characteristic of UPSBQ everyday speech and different texts is Speech Play and Verbal Art (SPVA). SPVA are the manipulation of elements and components in speech (Sherzer 2002). Indeed, in any speech activity linguistic signs gain special salience in the production and interpretation of discourse (Epps, Webster and

Woodbury 2021). UPSBQ commonly exhibits metaphors, repetition, and parallelisms in the verbal morphology.

3.7.1. Figurative speech

Figurative speech in UPSBQ is salient. Sherzer (2002:113) states that metaphors are a way not only of talking but of thinking about the world. The metaphors observed in this variety are straightforwardly related to culture. These forms are observed in different lexical categories: nouns, adjectives or verbs. In (96), the compound *p'isqu uma* ‘head of a bird’ is equivalent to corn. This compound is used in a context of talking about agriculture. The speaker remembers a sad situation in which the corn did not grow big enough the year before. The fact that crops were not good enough the year before didn’t please the speaker.

- (96) *p'isqu umitas jinalla karqa*
p'isqu *um-ita-s* *jina=lla* *ka-rqa*
bird *head-DIM-PL* *like=only* *be-3SG.PST*
‘(the corn last year) was small as the heads of little birds’

The use of metaphors is also observed in verb roots. The verb *luqhi-* is normally used to describe a very old wall that tumbles by itself over the years. However, in example (97) the verb root *luqhi-* ‘tumble’ is manipulated in a humorous way. The speaker manipulates the verb *luqhi-* in a humorous way to claim that she is no longer able to walk because she is very old and can barely walk.

- (97) *jajaja eh maypichá luqhirpakusaq nuqa imatataq jajaja*
 jajaja eh maypi=chá **luqhi-rpa-ku-saq**
 hahaha nah somewhere=DUB tumble-suddenly-REF-1SG.FUT
 nuqa imata=taq jajaja
 1SG what-ACC-CONJ
 'hahaha I will tumble all of a sudden somewhere, nah hahaha'

It is common for speakers to also manipulate sentences in a humorous way in daily conversation. In (98), the speaker makes fun of the addressee who has a habit of eating less than the other people in the community. The speaker manipulates the sentence in a humorous way by commanding the speaker to go and roast the leg of a mouse. The metaphoric manipulation implies that given the fact that the leg of a mouse is so small in size, it would be enough for the addressee to be full.

- (98) *juk'uchaq piernanta kankakamuy qanqa*
 juk'ucha-q pierna-n-ta kanka-kamu-y qan=qa
 mouse-GEN leg-3SG.POSS-ACC roast-GO&DO-2IMP 2SG=TOP
 'You go roast the leg of a mouse'

Beyond metaphoric expressions, elders in Uma Piwra commonly use repetitions in an artistic way to express various cultural themes. For instance, in (99), the adjective *<ghalla>* 'shine (for leaves and flowers of a plant)' is repeated twice to stress the plants reaching the highest point of beautifully flourishing. The second adjective uses diminutive morphology and *-lla*, acting as distributive. This means that the crops reach the maximum brightness, making the speaker very happy and proud. Repetitions normally involve adjectives to describe the beauty of crops in rainy season. When it rains crops grow and grow. Speakers use repetitions in an artistic way in these contexts. In (99) the speaker emphasized the crops are shinning beautifully, in example (100), the same

adjective is repeated to talk about the state of crops blooming in such a beautiful way.

Finally, in (101), the adjective *makullu* uses same structure to describe that the plants or crops are green again. The speaker describes a situation where the crops, which were dry from a lack of rain, have recovered because it has rained again. Overall, most of the emotive expressions are salient in contexts when crops are growing. These seasons at the same time overlap with carnival festivities in which people in rural towns enjoy festivities.

- (99) *libi chaqrítá qhalla qhallitalla*

libi	chaqr-ítá	qhalla	qhall-ita-lla
ADV	crop-DIM.ACC	bright	bright-DIM-DISTR
'The crops are shining shining beautifully'			

- (100) *sach'ítá qhalla qallitalla t'ikaririn maravillata*

sach'-ítá	qhalla	qall-ita-lla
crop-DIM.ACC	bright	bright-DIM-DISTR
't'ika-ri-ri-n bloom-INCH-AFF-3SG 'An herb reaches the brightness blooms beautifully'		

- (101) *makullu, makullitulla á*

makullu,	makull-itu-lla	á
green	green-DIM- DISTR	ah
'Green and green (for plants)'		

3.7.2. Parallelism in the verbal morphology

Verbs commonly present various kinds of suffix-suffix combinations to express adverbial manner, spatial information, affect and other valency information. UPSBQ displays recurrent figures of parallelism through verbal morphology. Speakers tend to use

suffix strings to denote cultural themes. One of the most prominent themes concerns happiness and joy in carnival festivities. It is expressed by the *-ri-kamu* suffix string that is connected to the social and cultural context of the language. The carnival season overlaps with the beginning of the first harvest, the abundance, likewise the summer season in which all crops are green. People express joy and happiness through parallelism constructions in verbal morphology. The theme of joy/happiness is composed by two verbal suffixes; the simplex *-ri* ‘affective’ and the complex suffix *-kamu* ‘*For Subject to do V on his/her own volition*’. This figure is used in a row across the verbs in the utterance. The figure *-rikamu* in (102) will denote joy/happiness during the carnival festivity that normally involves partying and drinking the traditional “*aqha*”, an alcoholic beverage based on corn.

- (102) *takirikamusun, tusurikamusun, kay t'aqra pampapi, bailarikamusun*
 taki-**rikamu**-sun,
 sing-**GO&DO.happily**-1PL.EXCL.FUT

tusu-rikamu-sun,
 dance-**GO&DO.happily**-1PL.EXCL.FUT

 kay t'aqra pampa-pi, baila-**rikamu**-sun
 DEM flat land-LOC, dance-**GO&DO.happily**-1PL.EXCL.FUT
 ‘we will happily go sing, we will happily go dance, in this flat land,
 we’ll happily go dance’

Another common cultural theme decoded from recurrent figures of parallelism in the verbal morphology involves the theme of audacity, for the subject to perform the verb without hesitation, or boldly. In traditional oral narratives, Andean animals compete a lot. In the story, one of them is more audacious and wins. This theme is expressed by the

simplex suffix *-ri* ‘inchoative’ and the complex suffix *-kapu* ‘COMPL’. In example (103), *-rikapu* will express that the subject starts and boldly performs the verb. The main character (the rabbit) cheats the man. The rabbit escapes and the man did not succeed in chasing it.

- (103) *yaykurikapusqa, ayqirikapusqa má jap'isqachu á*
 yayku-**rikapu**-sqa, ayqi-rikapu-sqa
 enter-**boldy**-3SG.PST.NAR escape-**boldy**-3SG.PST.NAR

má *jap'i-sqa=chu* á
 NEG chase-3SG.PST.NAR=NEG ah
 'It (the rabbit) entered at once, it escaped at once, he (the man) didn't chase it'

Complex suffixes are still prominent in UPSBQ. Most of the complex suffixes present in this variety are no longer observed in SBQ spoken in urbanized areas. These suffixes are not only complex in meaning and form, they are also manipulated in a recurrent way to express various kinds of cultural topics that deserve deeper investigation.

3.8. CONCLUSION

This sketch has presented the basic ideas about the grammar of UPSBQ. It started with the sound system and stress pattern. Next, it introduced the different types of word classes. Open word classes in this variety include nouns, compounds, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. The last section presented nominal morphosyntax and basic word order. SBQ only allows suffixation. This sketch remarked that both nominalized forms and verbs are morphologically more complex than SBO varieties spoken in urbanized areas.

The salient morphology in UPSQB leads to conveying different linguistic information in the grammar that remains loosely understood. Another salient aspect of UPSBQ grammar that was highlighted in this sketch involves the prominent use of metaphors in natural discourse. Similarly, the use of recurrent figures of parallelism in the verbal morphology were noted, used to convey different cultural themes straightforwardly linked to the traditional and cultural life in the rural town of Uma Piwra. However, none of these basic aspects of the grammar are explained in detail yet. In depth investigation of the examples in each section are still a gap in the understanding of UPSBQ grammar, as well as the understanding of other rural varieties.

Chapter IV

Methodology of data collection

4.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter describes the methodology followed to document Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua (UPSBQ). This project collected a 50-hour corpus of naturalistic speech while interacting with speakers solely in SBQ. The data has been transcribed in ELAN and 20 hours of it have been translated into Spanish. The research project also collected over 100 hours of elicitation to support the analysis of this dissertation.

As already noted earlier, I am an L1 speaker of SBQ who was born and raised in the rural town of Kalallusta. This is significant since SBQ has been mostly studied by non-native linguists. Moreover, none of the studies have focused on rural varieties because priority has been given to varieties spoken in urbanized areas, and the vast majority of Quechua speakers in Bolivia are SBQ-Spanish bilinguals. In this sense, the chapter offers new perspectives in SBQ language documentation and preservation.

This chapter is organized as follows: §3.2 discusses my approaches to language documentation, §3.3 describes data collection, §3.4 shows the data management and archiving, §3.5 discusses about native speaker insights and the benefits of being an L1 speaker of SBQ and gathering data, as well as the challenges faced as someone being a community-based language researcher. §3.6 then presents the conclusions.

4.2. LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

Language documentation is concerned with making and keeping records of the world's languages and their patterns of use (Woodbury 2003). The crucial point is to preserve cultural and intellectual diversity as language loss has become a serious matter in the modern period (see, Hale 1992, Krauss 1992, Woodbury 2011). Nowadays, more and more languages are becoming extinct because dominant languages and cultures overwhelm indigenous or local languages and cultures (Hale 1992). Thus, language documentation has been fundamental to descriptive linguistics. It not only helps to maintain and to keep records in digital archives but also allows for grounding linguistic analysis in original data. Moreover, it fosters research that gives more attention to linguistic diversity that is under threat (Woodbury 2003).

The implementation of documentation practices in linguistic research has become popular, especially among linguists documenting indigenous languages across the globe mainly supported by DOBES (Documentation of threatened languages) and the Endangered Languages Documentation Program (ELDP). The common or standard procedure of documentation work involves registering in audio and video different types of speech: traditional stories, autobiographies, narratives, interviews, wordlists, conversations, among others. Next, the documented data are curated: transcribed and translated, annotated, and deposited into a digital archive for future preservation. Beyond those common practices, the documentation process entails that linguists work collaboratively with speakers in the communities where indigenous languages are

spoken. Lately, some discussions have arisen concerning whether collaborative work suits or translates equally in all communities where the target languages are being documented. In fact, observations have been made that the discourse of collaboration in documentary linguistics has become increasingly standardized (see, Dobrin and Schwartz 2016:256). These issues observed on collaborative working with members will be addressed from an L1 perspective while documenting South Bolivian Quechua in a rural town in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

Overall, the documentary corpus for South Bolivian Quechua has several limitations. The archived material that is available for SBQ lacks naturalistic speech. Rather, it mostly consists of recordings of controlled interviews, word lists, or recording of elicitation. Another limitation concerns regional variation which is still a big gap in SBQ language documentation. The previous chapter discusses dialectal variation of SBQ. It claims that monolingual SBQ varieties spoken in rural towns remain unexplored and undocumented, and that such varieties are unfortunately not being passed to younger generations. The available documented work registers standard SBQ varieties that correspond to speakers who also speak Spanish. As we saw in chapter II, there are profound differences between standardized and the rural variety of UPSBQ. Thus, the linguistic diversity of Bolivian Quechua is endangered as rural towns are decreasing in population without leaving records of their speech. In addition to that, local varieties remain marginalized as their voices remain unrepresented. These varieties are excluded from revitalization programs, teaching methodologies, educational materials, and even linguistic research. This might not only be the case of Bolivia, but the exclusion of the

voices of rural varieties might also extend across the Andes where many Quechuan languages are spoken.

This documentation project considers two important aspects in the preservation of the linguistic diversity of SBQ. The first one concerns the importance of stressing documentation of regional varieties. Local varieties spoken by monolingual elders should be the priority of SBQ documentation and description because they are often the only monolingual speakers of SBQ. Second, it is important to increase the involvement of L1 speakers in the task of documentation. One of the challenges pointed out in the language documentation literature is whether collaboration practices suit all societies or cultures (Dobrin and Schwartz 2016). The increase of L1 speakers performing collaborative work in documentary linguistics will allow us to better understand successful methodologies in collaborative work. Community members and/or native speakers have strong insights not only on grammatical judgements but on community needs and how to overcome challenges that arise in the process of documentation. It is stated that collaborative work might not translate equally in all societies but the better we learn about the insights, the better linguists will work collaboratively with community members. Real experiences working in their own communities are highly valuable for understanding collaborative work (see, insider perspectives by native speakers working with Mexican native languages are better witnessed in, Martínez 2020, Cruz 2020, De los Santos 2020, Alonso 2020, Cruz 2020, Pérez Gonzales 2020). The challenging experiences of each native speaker working in their own communities will vary as I will discuss my own experiences later in Section §3.5. of this chapter.

4.3. PROCEDURE FOR DATA COLLECTION

This section details the procedure of data collection. The project started in Summer 2018 with audio documentation, after 2019, it continued with audio & video documentation, and concluded in mid-February 2022 with audio-documented elicitation. The types of data collected include audio, video recordings and elicitation as detailed in *Table 9* below.

The beginning of the fieldwork was a casual visit to the community. In this first visit, I introduced myself as a community member from a nearby town. The acquaintance protocol from the community members was based on inquiries about my origins, the last name of my family, the name of my parents, and information about current issues in the town where I come from, for instance how crop cultivation was that year. In June ~July, people in Uma Piwra are normally finishing the wheat harvest. In 2018, the ice-breaking conversation topic was whether people in the town of Kalallusta had already threshed the wheat. The conversation in such situations can easily exceed an hour or more. After talking for a while, I finally expressed my plans for potential subjects. It is strange for the community members to hear a fluent L1 speaker willing to learn SBQ. Frequently elders in Uma Piwra said that I spoke SBQ perfectly, correctly or *ch'uwita* ‘clear as crystal water’. To that kind of reactions, I acted strategically. The first argument for why I was willing to learn their variety was the fact that if I also spoke Spanish fluently, it would influence the way I spoke SBQ. I appealed to the specific lexicon prominently used in the speech of elders to exemplify I no longer speak SBQ with the same degree of richness that they do.

year	period	Type of data collection	hours
2018	Summer (June-July)	Audio recording	20-hours
2019	Summer (June-July)	Audio and video	10-hours
2020	February – December	Audio and video	28-hours
2021	January – May	Audio Elicitation	10-hours 68-hours
2021	June – August	Elicitation	15-hours
2021	December	Elicitation	20-hours
2022	January – Mid_February	Elicitation	30-hours

Table 9: fieldwork timeline

4.3.1. Equipment for documentation

The equipment for data collection includes a Zoom H5² audio recorder and a Zoom Q8³ video recorder. A Zoom SGH-6 Shotgun⁴ Microphone was used alongside the Q8 in the last stage of video recording. The project started with audio recording. The Zoom H5 was easier to transport, especially during land work. In most cases, crop fields are located at further distances from the speakers' homes. The Zoom H5 allowed for recording natural conversations in motion. In some recordings, subjects and I walked together large distances while interacting solely in SBQ. Walking activity scenarios while audio recording guaranteed that to record naturalistic conversations. Indeed, elders felt

2 Zoom H5 Handy Recorder with a Custom Wind buster, AD-17 AC Adapter, Closed Back Stereo Headphones and 64GB Memory Card.

3 Zoom Q8 Handy video Recorder + Zoom HRM-11 11-inch Handy Recorder.

4 Zoom SGH-6 Shotgun Microphone Capsule Fits the Q8 Handy Video Recorder.

more comfortable speaking in front of an audio recorder than a video recorder. The only disadvantage with audio recording was that gestures or pointing movements were not captured.

This research project also used a Zoom Q8 video camera to record videos of natural conversations, story narratives, land working activities and cultural traditions such as the carnival festivities. The Zoom Q8 captures audio and video through a built-in wide-angle lens. The video camera management involved more caution in data collection. It was important to find a comfortable space for the speakers and to guarantee a good quality of video. Some factors were hard to control. For instance, sunlight avoided to capture a clear image of speakers' picture when they sat in the sun during wintertime. However, external noise such as wind, was possible to control and the videos collected have clear or hearable audios. The last stage of video recording included using an SGH-6 Shotgun microphone. This microphone allows one to capture audio in zoom despite the distance. This was beneficial to capture good audio quality as the microphone was directly facing the speaker. The University of Texas at Austin's Human Subject Research COVID-19 policy involved allowing 2 feet distance from subjects, as well as, recording outdoors for safety reasons, so using this kind of microphone was suitable.

4.3.2. Natural speech

An important step in the documentation of natural speech in audio or video format involves the creation of metadata. Each audio and/or video recording started with verbally created metadata. The information uttered involved greeting a general audience

like, day/date/year, my name, the names of the speaker or speakers, the name of the town, and sometimes what they will talk about as exemplified in *Table 10*.

Participant	South Bolivian Quechua	Translation
Researcher	Imaynalla tukuypaq kachun. A ver carnavales día kanchik. Kunan día 26 de febrero kanchik, 2021. Nuqa Uma Piwra kashani. A ver kumpa <i>Juanwan mama Mariawan</i> carnavalespi parlarikusaq paykunawan. Paykuna imamantachus willariwanqanki ichari?	Greetings to everyone. Let's see, today it's carnival day. We are February 22 of 2021. I am in Uma Piwra. Let's see. I will talk to mister <i>Juan</i> and mama <i>Maria</i> in this Carnival's Day. They will talk to me about something (I might not be familiar), right?
Maria	Ari	Yes
Researcher	Icharí kumpa <i>Juan</i> ?	Right, mister <i>Juan</i> ?
Juan	Ariii	Yesss

Table 10: Metadata

The corpus collected registered spontaneously produced data most of the time. There was not a specific topic planned for every recording. The topics of conversations emerged naturally. The elders were confident talking to me. The recordings involve sharing food for breakfast/lunch/dinner, chewing coca during the land-work breaks, and grazing the animals. Those are the moments when people use the language spontaneously. In the beginning, most of the conversations were on topics related to my personal background, the background of my family and daily activities in my town of origin. Next level topics include sensitive topics about the speakers' lives. These kinds of

topics emerged when speakers felt more confident talking to me. An example of spontaneous conversation is exemplified in text of *Table 11* below.

Participant	South Bolivian Quechua	Translation
Researcher	Carnaval tiempopi astawan paramun ari ¿i?	It rains heavier during Carnival season right?
Subject 1	ari. Kay papita qusqayki Chavelita (cat)	Yeah. Chavelita I will give you some potato. (speaks to the cat)
Subject 2	Maymanta chay “lliwq” nimun? ay amalla chay “lliwq lliwq” nimunmanchu.	Where is the lightening coming from? Ay! I wish it wouldn't flash.
Subject 1	tatitu, paray tiempochu ima kunan kayri?	Oh tatitu. Is this rainy season or what?
Subject 2	libitachu paraykamunqa imataq pero trueneyaqtin kitarpakun ih? Maypichá qayllapiña	I wonder if it will rain a lot or what? But when it thunders it stops right? I don't know where it (rain) is. It seems closer.
Researcher	Anzaldo.	Anzaldo.

Table 11: spontaneous conversation

Most of the 50-hour audio and video recordings involve spontaneous conversations. However, some narratives of traditional stories were also collected. The first time one of the elders narrated for me, his oral narrative reminded me of my childhood. He sounded like he was losing the artistic knowledge of his language. Sometimes his wife reminded him of some pieces of the story.

Oral narratives in South Bolivian Quechua narrate scenes in which animals compete against each other. The most representative Andean animal character is The Fox. In general, the fox character loses in the traditional stories. At the end of each traditional

story the fox ends up getting hurt. Text in *Table 12* below exemplifies a small piece of a traditional narrative between the fox and the quail. The fox admires the way the quail is able to whistle. In this story, the fox asks the quail to train its kids how to whistle. The quail cheats the fox.

Participant	South Bolivian Quechua	Translation
Subject 1	... “tapayuy kunanqa” nisqa. “maq tapayuytawan kunan q’aya paqarintaq qhawayunki” nisqa. “yachanqanku”. chay wasata muyuyacharirisqa caraju. “t’is, t’is” nirisqanku. “chay waqarishankuña, tumpitás waqarichishankuña caraju” nis. antuñú muyuyacharirisqa. Tususpa jurnu wasataqa, muyuririmusqa, muyuririsqa. Ch’uñu carajuqa...	... “Now, cover it” said (commanded the quail to the fox). “Now you have covered it very well. You’ll uncover it tomorrow morning” said. “They will learn (how to whistle)”. It (the fox) started to gently and happily turn around it. They (the fox’s kids) made “t’is, t’is” sound. “They are starting to whistle; they are starting to whistle little by little, caraju”. Said (the quail). The fox danced around. He turned round the oven and turned back the oven. That silly fox...

Table 12: traditional narrative: the Quail and the Fox

While documenting traditional stories, my L1 insights allow me to appreciate the cultural value of my native language. I noticed that traditional narratives not only offer particular ways of expressing cultural knowledge but unique ways of artistic use of the language. My insights as the first South Bolivian Quechua Speaking trained linguist allowed me to appreciate the unique linguistic structures. In the text above we notice the use of parallelism constructions in the verbal morphology. The morphological forms - *sha-nku=ña* ‘they are almost doing V’ and *-ri-ri* ‘magnificently’ repeated twice. The

parallelism *-sha-nku=ñā* observed in the speech of elders are linked to discourse types. In narratives the types of discourse concerns argumentative in which the quail tries to convince the fox that his kids are almost learning how to whistle. Language manipulation in narrative stories not only involves parallelism but also manipulation at a morphosyntactic level interacting with a more complex semantics. In the text above *muyuririmusqa muyuririsqa* ‘it (the fox) magnificently went rounding (the oven), it magnificently rounded back (the oven)’ is a type of manipulation in which the direction and motion of the verb are clearly captured in the scene. However, these types of interactions in the grammar of SBQ remain loosely understood.

4.3.3. Elicitation

This documentation project also included elicitation as a technique to gather data. The elicitation process was quite different from what linguists normally do when they start documenting a language that they don’t know much about, like starting with the Swadesh list for basic vocabulary. Likewise, most previous researchers who studied SBQ gathered data through translation. This technique involved translating an English structure into Spanish then asking SBQ-Spanish bilingual speakers to translate into SBQ. This elicitation technique was not appropriate in this case either because elders in Uma Piwra rural town are all monolingual in SBQ and they are not proficient in Spanish. In the beginning, elicitation for this research involved figuring out the meaning of suffix strings that showed up prolifically in verbal morphology.

Elicitation was conducted interacting solely in SBQ. I attempted a variety of techniques, many of which failed without obtaining pertinent results. Among the most common techniques that failed can be exemplified in example (104) and (105) below. I wanted to understand the difference in meaning between *-mu* in (104) and *-ri-kamu* in (105) so the elders were asked what the difference between these two were of the responses involved as in (106) *<kikillanpuni á>* ‘they are similar ah’. Elders could not explain the difference in meaning as I was expecting.

- (104) *wayk'umuni*
 wayk'u-**mu**-ni
 cook-GO&DO-1SG.NF
 ‘I go/went to cook/ed’

- (105) *wayk'urikamuni*
 wayk'u-**ri-kamu**-ni
 cook-AFF-GO&DO-1SG
 ‘I go/went and cook/ed myself (subject’s own volition)’

- (106) *kikillanpuni á*
 kiki-lla-n=puni á
 similar-LIM-3SG=certainly ah
 ‘It is similar/it is the same’

The technique I adapted included asking monolingual elders to create contexts out of a constructed verb form as I show below. I examined the naturalistic corpus collected and identified verb forms with complex morphology. I used my L1 intuitions to interpret the meaning from the context. However, more examples of different types of complex suffix strings combined with other types of verbs in different contexts were needed to have a better understanding of the meaning of complex morphology. I selected a list of

different verb types as in column A in *Table 5* below. Each verb root was then derived by a suffix string that I wanted to understand as in column C below. Then the inflection was *-ni* ‘1SG.NF’ or *-saq* ‘1SG.FUT’ so the elders can talk about their own experiences. Column D of *Table 13* below exemplifies one of the many forms that were presented to elders. Note that not all the verb forms from *Table 13* C and D had a natural or grammatical use in context.

A	B	C	D
Verb root	Translation	Derived verb stem	Elicited verb form
maylla-	wash	maylla-rqa-kapu-	maylla-rqa-kapu-ni
k’utu-	cut	k’utu-rqa-kapu-	k’utu-rqa-kapu-ni
kuta-	grind	kuta-rqa-kapu-	kuta-rqa-kapu-ni
ruthu-	cut off	ruthu-rqa-kapu-	ruthu-rqa-kapu-ni
q’ipi-	carry on back	q’ipi-rqa-kapu-	q’ipi-rqa-kapu-ni
alla-	dig	alla-rqa-kapu-	alla-rqa-kapu-ni
palla-	pick up	palla-rqa-kapu-	palla-rqa-kapu-ni
apa-	carry	apa-rqa-kapu-	apa-rqa-kapu-ni
pusa-	take	pusa-rqa-kapu-	pusa-rqa-kapu-ni
wayk’u-	cook	wayk’u-rqa-kapu-	wayk’u-rqa-kapu-ni
t’aqsa-	wash	t’aqsa-rqa-kapu-	t’aqsa-rqa-kapu-ni
tarpu-	sow	tarpu-rqa-kapu-	tarpu-rqa-kapu-ni
mikhu-	eat	mikhu-rqa-kapu-	mikhu-rqa-kapu-ni
awa-	weave	awa-rqa-kapu-	awa-rqa-kapu-ni
vende-	sell	vende-rqa-kapu-	vende-rqa-kapu-ni
michi-	graze	michi-rqa-kapu-	michi-rqa-kapu-ni
ruwa-	do	ruwa-rqa-kapu-	ruwa-rqa-kapu-ni

Table 13: Lists for elicitation

I uttered each verb form at a time and asked each speaker to use it in a natural situation talking about their own experience. This would involve <*quichua currictu*>. Speakers understood the idea of <*quichua currictu*> as the ‘perfect use of SBQ/natural way of speaking SBQ’. Elders in this town used this expression to refer to an individual that speaks South Bolivian Quechua fluently, showing proficiency.

In every elicitation session, based on my L1 intuitions examining natural speech in advance, I had a preliminary hypothesis of the meaning of each complex suffix string. For instance, I hypothesized the suffix string *-ya-kampu* as ‘perform verb downward direction while acting on an object that belonged to the subject’. According to the analysis proposed for UPSBQ, the downward/inside directional meaning of *-ya* is in the process of lexicalizing before *-kampu*. *-kampu* is a complex suffix that stands for directional or associated motion while specifying the object argument belongs to the subject. *-ya-kampu* combination does not appear in current SBQ literature. *-ya* in earlier literature was stated as intensifying the meaning of the verb and making it refer to something very specific (Lastra 1968). First of all, the hypothesis of *-ya* is that it does not bear a compositional meaning. Since it is in the process of lexicalizing, its meaning is only possible to interpret in the context of another formative as in (107).

(107) **Hypothesis for *-ya-kampu***

-ya -kampu
-inwards -to do V towards the speaker/away. Speaker owns/possesses the object
**-ya* ‘intensifies the meaning of the verb and makes it refer to something specific’

Based on the hypothesis provided in (107) I presented the string in a verb form as in (108a) and asked the speaker to provide a context using the verb form I just uttered. The speaker created a phrase as in (108b) using the verb form *qatiyakampuni* in context. The context and the phrase the speaker provided allows us to better analyze the suffix string. The *-ya* ‘inward direction’ is better interpreted from the argument *corrallniyman* ‘to my farmyard’ likewise *-kampu* evidently means that the object is possessed by the subject, and this can be interpreted from the direct object *ovejasniyta* ‘my sheep’.

- (108) a. **Researcher**
qatiyakampuni
 qati-**ya**-**kampu**-ni
 herd.animals-inwards-**DIR**-1SG.NF
 ‘I brought (my animals) back home (inwards direction)’
- b. **Speaker**
timprantu qatiyakampuni ovejasniyta, corrallniyman.
 timprantu qati-**ya**-**kampu**-ni
 early herd-inwards-**DIR**-1SG.PST

 oveja-sni-y-ta, corrall-niy-man
 sheep-PL-1SG.POSS-ACC farmyard-1SH.POSS-ALL
 ‘I herded back my sheep early, to my farmyard’

In elicitation sessions, speakers mastered the task of creating contexts for the verbforms. Every time I uttered a verbform, they immediately thought of a context or object complement to talk about. For instance, the hypothesis for *-kampu* was ‘to do V towards the speaker/away. Speaker owns/possesses the object’. I provided the verb form *apakampuni* as in (109a). The speaker immediately responded *wallpaymanta parlasaq* ‘I

will talk about my hen' as in (109b). Then, the speaker provides an informative phrase in which he clearly states that the object is possessed by himself. To verify that *-kampu* presupposes the subject owns the object I proposed a context in which the direct object would not belong to the subject. In this case the sheep or the hen belonging to someone else but not to the speaker. The speakers volunteered that *-kampu* is not an accepted form when talking about unpossessed objects. Elicitation was key throughout this research. These kinds of contexts provided by the speakers provided a deeper understanding of the data.

- (109) a. **Researcher**
apakampuni
 apa-**kampu**-ni
 take-**DIR**-1SG
 'I brought it (something I own) back home'
- b. **Speaker**
Wallpaymanta parlasaq. wallpay jaqay corral wasaman riyusqa.
Imapis jap'inman nispa apakampuni. Marq'api chayachimuni.
 wallpa-y-manta parla-saq.
 hen-1SG.POSS-ABL talk-1SG.FUT
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------|----------|-------------|
| wallpay | jaqay | corral | wasa-man |
| hen-1SG.POSS | DEM | farmyard | back-ALL |
| | | | ri-yu-sqa. |
| | | | go-PFV-3PST |
- “*imapis* *jap'i-nman* *nispa*” apa-**kampu**-ni.
 what catch-3SG.COND say-GER take-**DIR**-1SG
- marq'api chaya-chi-mu-ni.
 carry in arms arrive-CAUS-DIR-1SG
 'I will talk about my hen. Once, my hen went behind that farmyard.
 “Something (an unknown beast) can catch it” saying. I took it back home.
 I took it by carrying in my arms'

Elicitation sessions require a lot of thinking, and they can be very tiring for the speaker. Sometimes the speakers would ask what the context could be as in (110b). In such situations, I provided a context. An example is provided in (110c) where I suggest that they the speaker discuss his cutting tool called *jusi*. Next, the speaker would provide a phrase according to my suggestion.

- (110) a. **Researcher**
jallch'ayakampuni
 jallch'a-ya-kampu-ni
 save-inward-GO&DO-1SG
 'I went to save it (something I owe)'

b. **Speaker**
imaytá jallch'ayman?
 Ima-y-tá jallch'a-yman?
 What-1SGPOSS-ACC save-1SG.COND
 'What can I save?'

c. **Researcher**
kaypi jusiyki kanman
 kaypi jusiyki ka-nman
 DEM-LOC jusi-2SG.POSS be-3SG.COND
 'You could have your *jusi* (cutting instrument) right here'

d. **Speaker**
wasiyman jallch'ayakampuni á. Wasi ukhupiña kanman.
 wasi-y-man jallch'a-ya-kampu-ni á.
 house-1SG.POSS-ALL save-inward-GO&DO-1SG ah
 wasi ukhu-pi=ña ka-nman.
 house inside-LOC=already be-3SG.COND
 'I went and save it (*jusi*) inside my house.'

It could now be inside the house'

Throughout this research project more than a hundred hours of elicitation was conducted. In each elicitation session, speakers followed the same technique. They created phrases for every single verb form that I provided. The elicitation technique for this research is quite different from earlier studies because it avoids translation. Data are gathered solely interacting in South Bolivian Quechua. I successfully collected examples used in natural context for every verb form containing complex suffix strings. Beyond that, hypotheses for elicitation sessions were created relying on my L1 knowledge on SBQ and my familiarity with monolingual natural discourse as I grew up with my monolingual grandparents.

4.4. DATA MANAGEMENT

The data management involved several steps. First, the data were stored and backed up to ensure preservation. Next, a group of L1 speakers of SBQ were trained to assist me with the transcriptions. The transcribed data allowed me to analyze the complexity of verbal morphology, but the data were also used to design material relevant to the community and a broader SBQ community. Finally, the materials were deposited into a AILLA a digital archive for preservation.

4.4.1. Backing up the documented data

At the end of every recording day, the data was downloaded to a MacBook Air computer (macOS 11.6) and backed up in an external hard drive (T5 Samsung Portable

SSD). A folder was created with the name UPQ_data in the hard drive. This folder contained three folders: audio, video and elicitation and one Excel document that tracks the audio files. Each file in those folders was labeled consistently: file number, month, day and year (001_2_12_2020). The labeling format (number_month_day_year) was similar for audio, video, and elicitation files. There are 47 audio files, 112 video files and 37 elicitation files. The Excel document contains three sheets one for audio, one for video and the other one for elicitation. Each sheet tracks the total files labeled properly in each folder. In addition to the audio file names, the excel sheets contain other information such as: the name of the speakers that intervene, the number of speakers, the duration of each file, and the wide idea of what the topic of conversation emerged in each recording process. Once I got access to the internet, most of the files were also backed up in UT Box folder. UTBox is a cloud storage solution offered to faculty, staff and students at the University of Texas at Austin (<https://utbox.utexas.edu/>).

4.4.2. Training SBQ speakers as research assistants

Four research assistants (RAs) helped to transcribe the data. I selected the RAs through an advertisement seeking four native speakers of South Bolivian Quechua to carry out the transcriptions. Applicants had to fill out a form providing basic information such as their native language, how often they used it, whether they were familiar with transcription, their town of origin, and the amount of payment they would be willing to charge per hour.

Four native speakers from rural towns were selected. Three of them were trained as Applied Linguists at San Simon University. They were familiar with the written norm. The criteria to select the four RAs involved bearing SBQ as their L1 and performing a 4-minute transcription test. The four RAs transcribed accurately. Their ages ranged from 25 ~ 28. Next, the RAs received training on how to carry out transcriptions in ELAN, a tool to manually and semi-automatically annotate and transcribe audio and video recordings. They received one week training and mastered the transcription task without difficulties.

4.4.2.1. Orthography for transcription

As discussed earlier in Chapter II, Bolivian Quechua (BQ) has an official written norm that has been designed in 1984 under the term of President Hernan Siles Huaso. However, the aim of this written norm is to unify varieties of BQ by favoring the preservation of the northern Quechua variety in Bolivia. The current study documented a large corpus of naturally produced data, thus transcription rules need to be appropriate to transcribe this variety. There is substantial variation between Southern and Northern Bolivian Quechua. The norm preserves graphemes and sounds that are idiosyncratic to northern Quechua. To guarantee legibility of naturally produced corpus some adaptations to the norm were made. The graphemes to transcribe used to represent natural speech of Uma Piwra SBQ are presented in below in *Table 14*. The graphemes bolded are the main adaptations in the orthography I used.

a	ch	chh	ch'	i	j	k	kh	k'	l	ll
m	n	ñ	p	ph	p'	q	qh	q'	r	s
sh	t	th	t'	u	w	y				

Table 14: UPSBQ transcription graphemes

The standardized norm for Bolivian Quechua can be problematic to represent natural speech. There are at least three arguments against its proper functionality. The first one concerns sound variation of consonants in postvocalic position that is not uniform between northern Bolivian Quechua and southern varieties. The second one concerns variation in sound and form at a morpheme level which is not uniform either. The last one implies the representation of stress in final positions when the suffix deletion rule applies in natural speech in a prominent way. The written norm normally does not use accent and mark in final vowel. Suffix deletion rule in the written norm results in a loss of important grammatical information.

Northern Bolivian Quechua pronounces [t] in postvocalic posititing, whereas this sound is produced as voiceless dental fricative [s] in UPSBQ. UPSBQ uses <s> as illustrated in (111) rather than the forms in (112) as the Bolivian written norm would suggest.

$t \rightarrow s$

- (111) *ch'uskiy* ‘peel off’, *misk'i* ‘sweet’, *jusk'u* ‘hole’, *usqay* ‘fast’
 (112) *ch'utkiy* ‘peel off’, *mitk'i* ‘sweet’, *jutk'u* ‘hole’, *utqay* ‘fast’

Furthermore, the Northern Bolivian Quechua variety uses [p] in postvocalic in both: open and closed word classes. The voiceless stop [p] is also pronounced in postvocalic in two types of suffixes: the genitive *-p* and the suffix *-pti* ‘if/when’. The written norm favors this variety as illustrated in (113). In Southern Bolivian Quechua varieties, the voiceless stop [p] is realized as voiceless velar fricative [x] in open word classes and in the genitive case as in (114a-b), and it is realized as voiceless uvular fricative [χ] in the suffix [χti] ‘if/when’ as in (10c-e). Thus, the UPSBQ orthography represents [x] with <j> and [χ] with <q> as illustrated in (114).

- (113) a. *upyay* ‘to drink’
 b. *misip* ‘cat’s’
 c. *jamuptin* ‘if/when he/she comes’
 e. *mikhuptin* ‘if/when he/she eats’
- (114) a. [uxjaj] *ujyay* ‘to drink’
 b. [misix] *misij* ‘cat’s’
 c. [xamuyqtin] *jamuqtin* ‘if/when he/she comes’
 e. [mikhuptin] *mikhuptin* ‘if/when he/she eats’

The written norm distinguishes the contrast [k] and [q] as in (115). In southern varieties the velar stop [k] is realized as voiceless velar fricative [x] in syllable-finally and no longer as voiceless velar stop [k]. Therefore, there is no reason to write <k>. The most appropriate representation for UPSBQ involves using <j> to represent [x] and <q> to represent [χ] following the same logic as above for the <p> grapheme forms. Thus, in UPSBQ the transcription represents the [x] sound with <j> and not with <k> as observed in example (116).

(115)	[k]	[q]	
a.	pukllay	'to play'	aqlay 'to select'
b.	ukllay	'to hug'	t'aqlay 'to slap'
c.	juk	'one'	suqsuy 'to devour'

(116)	k → j	
a.	pujllay	'to play'
b.	llijlla	'clothing back'
c.	uj	'one'

Another adaptation made in UPSBQ transcription involves the postalveolar plain [tʃ] in postvocalic that is represented as <ch> in the written norm. In Southern varieties this sound is realized as fricative [ʃ] in postvocalic position. UPSBQ represents orthographically with <sh> and not with <ch> as follows in (117):

(117)	ch → sh	
a.	ashka	'a lot'
b.	phishqa	'five'
c.	mashka	'how much'

Similar logic applies to the progressive suffix [ʃa]. In the norm it is written with <chka>. But in UPSBQ the postalveolar plain sounds as a fricative [ʃ] in postvocalic and in the progressive suffix. This the <-chka> written form is represented as <-sha> in UPSBQ as follows:

(118)	-chka → -sha	
a.	mikhu-sha-ni	
	eat-PROG-1SG.PRS	
	'I am eating'	

- b. *tusu-sha-n*
 dance-PROG-3SG.PRS
 ‘He is dancing’

- c. *puri-sha-n*
 walk-PROG-3SG.PRS
 ‘He is walking’

Lastly, the norm proposes <ll> for [ʎ] in postvocalic for certain words as in (119a-b) and it proposes <ñ> for [ɲ] as in (119c-e). These orthographic decisions favor the northern variety. In southern varieties, these sounds are not pronounced in the same way. <ll> [ʎ] in postvocalic is pronounced as [l] and <ñ> [ɲ] in certain words is pronounced as [n] thus, the UPSBQ adapted written form uses one single <l> and <n> in place of <ñ> to make it more consistently as in (120).

- (119) a. *allqu* ‘dog’
- b. *qullqi* ‘money’
- c. *ñuqa* ‘1SG’
- d. *ñuqanchik* ‘1SG.PL.INCL’
- e. *ñiy* ‘to say’

- (120) a. *alqu* ‘dog’
- b. *qulqi* ‘money’
- c. *nuqa* ‘1SG’
- d. *nuqanchik* ‘1SG.PL.INCL’
- e. *niy* ‘to say’

The other important aspect in UPSBQ transcription rules concerns the accent marking in written texts. The default stress in SBQ is penultimate. The written norm does not mark stress. As discussed in chapter III, UPSBQ not only bears penultimate stress, but stress in the final syllable triggered by the suffix deletion rule and due to certain

suffixes, that will attract stress to the final syllable. Therefore, RAs were instructed to mark stress in the final syllable to clearly represent the suffixes that have been deleted and to highlight the suffixes that inherently attracts stress. The suffixes that attract stress in the final syllable are written with an accent mark as in (121). Likewise, the final suffix deletion rule resulting in final syllable stress is also marked. For instance, in (122a) the final stress in *papá* stands for the accusative suffix *-ta* that has been deleted, and in (122b) *má* implies the *-na* ‘second part of the negative’ suffix has been deleted.

- (121) a. mana=chá ‘NEG=DUB’
 b. mikhu-rpá-n ‘eat-suddenly-3SG.NF’
 c. qan=rí? ‘2SG-Q’

- (122) a. *papá tarpushankuqa*
papá(-ta → -ø) tarpu-sha-nku=qa
 potato.ACC plant-PROG-3PL=TOP
 ‘They are planting potatoes’
- b. *má jatunchu*
má(-na → -ø) jatun-chu
 NEG big=NEG
 ‘It (the field) is not big’

To me as an L1 speaker of South Bolivian Quechua, a more functional way of writing will be more beneficial to the community. The kind of orthography I propose can be easily understood and read by a person who is literate in Spanish but not in South Bolivian Quechua. On the other hand, reading a text written in the norm will impede advancing literacy for SBQ speakers unless they study how to read the norm. Indeed, the

lack of accent marking in the norm elides lots of grammatical contents and semantic nuances that makes the use of natural speech more authentic and less mechanic.

4.4.3. Building a corpus for preliminary quantitative analysis

Eight hours of the corpus was manipulated to carry out quantitative analysis comparing two equal sized corpora: 8-hour corresponding to UPSBQ and 8-hour to younger speakers living in the city of Cochabamba. Each corpus was organized separately. The UPSBQ 8-hour corpus was first saved in *.txt* format. Since SBQ is a suffixing only language, a dictionary of verb roots was constructed in another file. Thus, all the verb forms were extracted from the corpus using the dictionary of verb roots. The code to extract all the verb forms was written in Python. This work has been carried by undergraduate UT Austin student; Mark Simmons. Verb roots in UPSBQ are in initial position, and the code extracted all the verb forms starting with the words in the dictionary. At first, the code made some mistakes while extracting verb forms from the corpus. It extracted the verb forms as in (123a) but also non-verb forms as in (123b). The adverbial *astawan* ‘more’ also begins with a form similar to the verb root *asta-* ‘to carry’. The code had the same problem with ambivalent forms as exemplified in (124) and (125). This was fixed in the code by extracting all the verb forms starting a given verb root like (123a) *asta-* or (124a) *para-* but not extracting forms equal to (123b), (124b), (125b) and so on.

- (123) a. asta- ‘to carry’
 b. astawan ‘more’
- (124) a. para- ‘to rain’
 b. para ‘rain’
- (125) a. chiri- ‘to be cold’
 b. chiri ‘cold’
- (126) a. ka- ‘to be’
 b. kay ‘proximal demonstrative’
 c. karu ‘far away’
 d. kallpa ‘strength’

When all the verb forms were extracted from the corpus, they were organized in an excel document as seen in *Table 15* below. The first column contained the extracted token. The B column contained the root, the C column contained the suffix string. Columns A to C were organized automatically using Python. The next columns were organized manually. The columns D to G contained the derivational morphemes either simplex or complex. H column contained the inflectional extender suffixes. Column I was designated to the obligatory inflectional suffix. Last, from column J and forward enclitics occupied such columns. This organization made it possible to make quantitative comparisons of the complexity of verbal morphology between UPSBQ corpus and a corpus of younger speakers living in the metropolitan area of Cochabamba.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
token	root	string	1	2	3	4	ex	INFL	ENCL
rikurichimusunqa	riku	richimusunqa	ri	chi	mu			nqa	
waturikunawayki	watu	rikunawayki	ri	ku			nawa	nki	
kitarikunayashan	kita	rikunayashan	ri	ku	naya		sha	n	
rich'aririchini	rich'a	ririchini	ri	ri	chi			ni	
juq'uyarichinpuni	juq'u	yarichinpuni	ya	ri	chi			n	puni

Table 15: Organized tokens

4.4.4. Use of the data for the community

The predominant discourse of collaborative work in documentary linguistics stresses a standardized approach rather than opening possibilities to socially responsible research in which participant observation should allow documentary linguists to think fruitfully about social and cultural practices. (see Dobrin and Schwartz 2016:256). The documentation project carried out in Uma Piwra rural town aimed to respond to the needs of the community from two angles: the desire of elders in Uma Piwra in preserving their variety, and broader SBQ community needs as regarded from a perspective of an L1 speaker of SBQ from a rural town, and a community-based language researcher trained in linguistics.

The documented data mainly contains natural speech, but also the cultural heritage preserved in the oral narrative of elders in this rural town. For decades, the speech of elders in rural towns was marginalized and unrepresented. Their varieties are not included in educational curriculum, nor considered in revitalization projects. During the first process of recording, I gradually made elders understand how valuable the way

they speak is. I expressed that I wanted to better understand the way elders speak in order to propose better teaching methodologies. They were conscious about that as most of their grandchildren are no longer acquiring or learning South Bolivian Quechua. Beyond that, elders also understood that cultural knowledge is also not preserved. My grandfather was well known by his abilities to make wooden spoons. They acknowledged his abilities in making wooden spoons. Unfortunately, nobody else inherited his knowledge of how to make that type of spoons in the region. They were conscious about that. One of the elders brought into conversation that there were many people who knew how to make different pottery such as *mankas* ‘clay pots’, *wirkhis* ‘no translation’, *wich’is* ‘no translation’. All of them passed away and no registers have been left. I explained to elders my goals of preserving the cultural knowledge of people and language documentation was essential for that. Elders in Uma Piwra seemed convinced and started to understand the value of their speech and their cultural knowledge more and more.

Later in 2019, me and the elders agreed to produce a book to preserve the oral stories about animal stories. The story book is titled *JKumpa Atuqmariqa!* ‘The adventures of Mister Fox’. The title is prominently used by the elders as a way of stressing the adventures of Mister fox in natural conversation. The story book narrates three-representative tales of the fox. It is illustrated in full colors as seen in *Illustration 1* and *2* below. The illustrations and colors were made by Ramiro Ortega a prominent Bolivian artist.



Illustration 1: The fox and the dog

Community members showed pride in having a storybook with their names on it. Myself being conscious of complex morphology and different rhetoric figures in their oral narratives, I wrote the stories maintaining the naturalness of oral narratives while tracing the way elders narrate those fox stories.



Illustration 2: The fox and the guinea pig

In July 2022, by the end of the documentation project, I produced an illustrated comic book titled *¡T'akayacharikamushallanñataq!* ‘It (rain) is starting to spill around once again’. The comics have also been illustrated and colored by Ramiro Ortega. The comic aims to illustrate the cultural heritage that is still alive in the oral knowledge of monolingual elders. The book highlights the traditional knowledge concerning natural predictors of rain in key points of each year. The book presents five comics. The main characters of those comics are an old man and an Andean cat. The old man lives by himself at the top of a mountain. He is the only elder left in his rural town. The fact that this elder is the only person left in this town that the speech and cultural knowledge is disappearing as towns decrease in population. When the last speaker of a marginalized SBQ speaking rural town dies, the diversity of the cultural knowledge of South Bolivian Quechua weakens. In fact, this is a phenomenon that is happening at a fast rate. The second character, the Andean cat, is a species that is in danger of extinction. In the comics the elder and the Andean cat are good friends, and they interact about the rain as illustrated in Illustration 3 and 4 below.



Illustration 3: The clouds before it rains

I am conscious about the endangerment of South Bolivian Quechua diversity. I wanted to capture the inherent knowledge of elders through comics and present it to a wider SBQ community in Bolivia. The two characters represent the cultural resistance of Quechua speaking rural towns in the Andean region of Bolivia. The old man in the comics represents a wise man in all respects. He is outstandingly knowledgeable on natural predictors of climate. He can predict when it will be a rainy year by decoding the shape of the clouds in the mountains at specific points of each year. He knows that if it is cold and mist/fog appears the first days of August in the mountains, these are indicators that it will be a rainy year. He also relies on the singing of the fox to predict a rainy or a dry year. On the other hand, the Andean cat shows its authenticity. In each scene it savors eating a different animal as it does it in everyday life. Andean cats eat quails, all kinds of

bids, hens, wild guinea pigs, and even snakes. In the interactions between the two characters, the old man stands out by his inherent cultural knowledge, and the Andean cat always responds in a mocking way. The use of SBQ exhibits the humor in natural speech. The comics use the adapted writing system so any bilingual who is literate in Spanish can read it.



Illustration 4: Returning back home after picking up wood

These two books are the result of my work as a documentary linguist. The aim of the produced material is to foster the revitalization and preservation of UPSBQ variety through literature, and likewise, to encourage the preservation of other rural varieties spoken across the Andean region of Bolivia. The material wants to value the voices of all the monolingual elders of SBQ. Most of the verbforms in the texts exhibit the complexity

of the morphology used in natural speech and narratives of traditional oral stories or in spontaneous conversations.

4.4.5. Archiving at AILLA

The material has been deposited in the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA; ailla.utexas.org), a digital archive for long term preservation. The bundle of materials contains audio files in *.wav* format, video files in *.mov* format and the transcription of texts in *.eaf* of the *.eaf* files contain translation into Spanish.

4.5. NATIVE SPEAKER INSIGHTS

In Hale (1972,1978) it is stated that the study of the world's linguistic diversity is dominated by scholars who are not native speakers of the language they study. While he acknowledges nothing is inherently wrong with this state of affairs in principle, Hale privileges the introspection of native speakers of native American and Australian aboriginal languages. A native speaker's control of linguistic data is critical, the advantages as greater and of a different nature.

To date South Bolivian Quechua has been studied mostly by non-native speakers of SBQ. In this sense, this research project brings different perspectives on the study of SBQ because I am an L1 speaker of SBQ. This benefit had advantages in several aspects during the data collection and the elicitation sessions as the access to my native speaker competence was not a barrier as it would for outsider linguists who would rely on translations passing from English or Spanish to understand the grammar of SBQ.

However, as any researcher in the field of documentary linguistics, despite being an L1 speaker and coming from the neighboring area, I also encountered several challenges at many points.

4.5.1. Advantages

My inherent familiarity with the language and culture constitutes a main difference from other fieldworkers' experiences. The method of data collection guaranteed reaching participant observation in documentary linguistics (see Dobrin and Schwartz 2016). The goal of the fieldwork was to collect spontaneous conversations while interacting solely in SBQ. This goal was achieved without facing challenges. I gained high levels of confidence with elders in Uma Piwra. Many hours of naturally produced data were documented in a short period of time. Next, I was able to transcribe a large amount of corpus with the help of SBQ speaker RAs successfully and in a shorter amount of time compared to a non-native speaker. The transcriptions were double verified in a smaller amount of time as well: one hour transcription in eight hours. Concerning the analysis of the natural corpus, I was able to read, understand and assess a huge amount of corpus without passing through translation as would be the case for outsider linguists whose L1 is not SBQ. This was possible with my familiarity of rural variety spoken in my original town and my familiarity of the way my grandparents spoke SBQ monolingually. Likewise in linguistic elicitation, being an L1 speaker allowed me to control linguistic data to test the hypothesis on the meaning of verbal suffixes.

The lack of language barrier also allowed me to closely reflect on the needs of the community members as well as the broader Bolivian Quechua community. This awareness on the diversity of SBQ varieties allowed me to produce materials to highlight the peculiarities in the grammar of UPSBQ and present it to a broader Bolivian Quechua community. The story book and the comic book presented earlier are two pieces that exemplify the inclusion of rural varieties in the Bolivian Quechua literature.

4.5.2. Challenges in documentation and transcription

Most narratives in collaborative work offer successful experiences and less often unsuccessful examples (see Dobrin and Schwartz 2016:255). Throughout the documentation project I faced two main challenges: the first one concerned the avoidance of sensitive topics while documenting spontaneous conversations. The second one corresponds to inconsistent transcription despite being L1 speakers of SBQ.

First, as discussed earlier, I gained confidence with elders in Uma Piwra without facing any difficulty. The disadvantage was that speakers could not avoid talking about very sensitive topics in spontaneous conversations while they were being recorded. This was often the case of audio recordings. Speakers felt comfortable sharing their feelings with me. At many points one of the elders cried while narrating all the bad things she struggled or faced at many stages of her life. Myself being a member from a rural town in the I consider to be unethical to publicly share this type of contents to a broader audience. The topics involved discrimination, inequality, some issues between community members or political problems in the surrounding towns. On the other hand, I also

committed to make the data available to advance studies on Quechuan languages more broadly. Thus, erasing several parts in the recordings, or extracting sections before making them freely available will demand extra work.

The second challenge concerns inconsistent transcription of the RAs despite being L1 speakers and their experience and familiarity with transcription in their native language. The RAs transcribed most of the corpus in ELAN. I double checked all the transcribed files in ELAN and noticed several errors in the transcription that changed the meanings. The first type of error involves omitting sounds. For instance, the transcriber omitted the sound <m> from *limun* ‘lemon’ form seen in (127a). The omitting of the <m> resulted in <liun> ‘lion’ as in (127b). These types of errors were easy to fix by double checking the audios. Furthermore, it was beneficial the fact that I was aware of the context where this utterance was used. In the dialogue of the audio recording the elder asked me whether I would like some lemon water as we were having breakfast together.

(127) a. **Original audio**

limun yaku
limun yak-itu
lemon water-DIM
'lemon water'

b. **Transcriber RA**

liun yaku
liun yak-itu
lion water-DIM
'lion's water'

The second type of error involved swapping phonemically contrastive sounds. This type of error will also change the meaning, or the sense of the utterance in the natural speech. In (128) the dental ejective /t'/ is swapped into a velar ejective /k'/. While both examples in (128) are grammatical, the swapping error changes the meaning. The original audio used /t'/ as in (128a) but the RA transcribed with a velar ejective as in (128b). This type of error was common in the corpus and not only between /t'/ and /k'/ but also other phonemically contrastive sounds. For instance, in (129) the postalveolar ejective /tʃ'/ swaps into a postalveolar aspirate /tʃʰ/ in the first wordform. A double-checking task helped to fix this kind of error.

(128) a. **Original audio**

mast'akuy
mast'a-ku-y
cover-REF-2<1SG.IMP
'Cover the space before sitting'

b. **Transcriber RA**

mask'akuy
mask'akuy
look-REF-2<1SG.IMP
'Look for it by your own'

(129) a. **Original audio**

ch'ikilla karqa
ch'iki-lla ka-rqa
grass-all be-3SG.PST
'It was all covered by grass'

b. **Transcriber RA**

chhikilla karqa
chhiki-lla ka-rqa

grass-all be-3SG.PST
'It was all covered by thin thorns'

Another common error I encountered concerns swapping the suffix *-ya* versus *-lla* or vice versa. These two suffixes are both part of UPSBQ morphology. *-ya* is a lexical suffix that derives a noun or an adjective into a verb as in (130a-b). The *-ya* form is also part of lexicalized complex suffix types *e.g.*, (131a-b). The suffix *-lla* belongs to the inflectional system meaning limitative as in (132a-b).

- (130) a. rumi 'rock' rumi-*ya*- 'to become hard like rock'
 b. red 'red' puka-*ya*- 'to become red like adjective'
- (131) a. *-yamu* 'to do V decidedly'
 b. *-yapu* 'to totally do V'
- (132) a. *mikhushallanku*
 mikhu-sha-*lla*-nku
 eat-PROG-LIM-3PL
 'They (the sheep) keep eating'

 b. *puñullan*
 puñu-*lla*-n
 sleep-LIM-3SG
 'it (the sheep) only sleeps'

The swapping between these two suffixes yields several ungrammatical forms. Typing *-lla* in the place of *-ya* in a complex suffix will result in an nonexistent complex suffix. The complex suffixes in (131a-b) above are meaningful units, but the forms in (133) found in transcription are ungrammatical since the inflectional suffix *-lla* cannot precede *-mu* derivational suffix.

- (133) a. *-llamu
 b. *-llapu

Replacing the *-ya* lexical suffix with *-lla* will change the sense. In (134a) the *-ya* functions as a lexical suffix deriving a noun into a verb ‘to become like N’. In transcription when RAs replace *-ya* lexical suffix with *-lla* the meaning will change the sense because it will be interpreted as the *-lla* limitative suffix *e.g.*, (134b). However, swapping *-ya* with *-lla* does not always change the sense of meaning, thought it also leads to several ungrammatical forms when is followed by other suffixes such as (134c).

- (134) a. *rumiyan*
rumi-ya-n
 rock-become-3SG.NF
 ‘It becomes/became hard (like a rock)’
- b. *rumillan*
rumi-lla-n
 rock-LIM-3SG.POSS
 ‘Only its rock’
- c. **rumi-lla-pu-n*

This type of error was the most challenging to fix. Since both *-ya* and *-lla* suffixes are legally allowed in UPSBQ grammar, trying to fix these types of errors automatically in ELAN was not possible. Beyond that, these two suffixes also appear as part of different word classes as in (135). Thus, the only way to fix the errors was manually.

- (135) a. llamiy ‘to taste’ *yamiy
 b. llanthu ‘shadow’ *yanthu

c.	llaqwa	‘spicy sauce’	*yaqwa
d.	yaku	‘water’	*llaku
e.	mayu	‘river’	*mallu
f.	phuyu	‘cloud’	phullu ‘traditional bed cloth’

In this section I tried to show two main challenges: one was faced during data collection and one while transcribing the data. The challenge experienced during transcription was possible to mitigate with the benefit of being an L1 speaker of SBQ and being the main investigator during data collection. I was able to double check the transcriptions in a short amount of time. On the other hand, being the one who collected the data was beneficial because I was aware of the environment and topic of conversation I conducted. These types of challenges would be on a different level for non-native speakers of SBQ.

4.6. SUMMARY

This chapter described in a detailed way the methodology of data collection to support the analysis of this dissertation. The fieldwork consisted in collecting a large corpus of naturally produced data in a rural town. The chapter discusses the advantages and challenges faced. The methodology is different from earlier methodologies used to study South Bolivian Quechua. This research was carried out by me: an L1 speaker of SBQ originally from a rural town near Uma Piwra where the research took place. I actively participated in everyday activities while documenting the speech of monolingual elders. My experiences performing the role of an insider researcher in the community’s activities was an advantage to understand the social context of the monolingual town. The

L1 qualifications allowed me to easily collect natural spoken data and analyze a large corpus without passing through translation. Moreover, this research used monolingual elicitation techniques to achieve a better understanding of the complexity in the verbal morphology. The results of the data collection yielded different outcomes such as the creation of a transcribed corpus, a description on the complexity of the verbal morphology, and materials to a broader Bolivian community highlighting public awareness on the endangerment of the variability within SBQ.

Chapter V

Verbal Complexity in South Bolivian Quechua

5.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter proposes a different analysis of the verbal complexity in South Bolivian Quechua (SBQ). Verbal structure in SBQ involves a Lexical Verb Base (LVB) to which non-inflectional derivational suffixes are combined to form a verb stem. Verbal morphemes in Quechuan Languages have been analyzed as agglutinative morphemes all concatenated within a verbal word Yokoyama (1951). The assumption that Quechua morphology was thoroughly agglutinative led to link meaning and form of verbal morphemes in a biunique fashion (see, Muysken 1986, Muysken 1988, Van de Kerke 1993 or Plaza 2009). In contrast to previous accounts, this study proposes a hierarchical analysis that captures facts about constituency and differences in internal structure. It identifies two types of suffix constituents: simplex and complex (suffix-suffix clusters) in which, each constituent functions semantically as a unit in the verbal word. Moreover, the analysis is based on a different methodology from previous studies as it brings insights from the spontaneous speech of the last elderly monolinguals living in the rural town of Uma Piwra, Cochabamba, Southern Bolivia. Description of varieties of SBQ with these sociolinguistic characteristics constitute a gap in current SBQ literature. Describing the verbal complexity on an unexplored SBQ variety will partially fill this gap.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Section 5.1. describes the minimal components of the verbal word. It presents the types of roots, derivational and

inflectional suffixes, and enclitics. Section 5.2. presents simplex suffixes singly, and 5.3. proposes complex suffixes supported by three kinds of evidence that suggest that complex suffixes can be considered units, despite being partially decomposable by traditional morphemic analysis. Section 5.4. discusses morphological variation of SBQ contrasting the new findings of this chapter with earlier claims about the language in the literature. Section 5.5. discusses UPSBQ in a broader typological view. Finally, 5.6 presents the conclusions of this chapter.

5.1. A VERBAL WORDS IN SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

A verbal word in SBQ has two obligatory categories: a stem and an obligatory inflectional suffix. The obligatory inflectional suffix marks tense, aspect, mood T/A/M, person and number of the subject as in (136). A stem necessarily has an initial Lexical Verb Base to which non-inflectional productive suffixes can combine to form a complex verb stem as in (137). In UPSBQ a verb stem can be organized as in (138). This rule will be explained in more detail in section § 5.2.

(136) Verbal Word ==> STEM + INFL

(137) STEM ==> LVB + (Suffix1) + (ZoneSuffix(es)) + (Suffix2) + (Suffix3) + (Suffix4) + (Suffix5) + (Suffix6)

(138) LVB ==> Root + (LB Suffix)

A Lexical Verb Base can be mono-morphemic or bi-morphemic. A single morphemic root bears a concrete meaning, and it is no longer decomposable into other

morphemes as in (139). A bi-morphemic LVB is a derived form from a verb, a noun or an adjective by a Lexeme Building Suffix (LB-suffix). LB suffixes are not fully productive as they do not combine with all kinds of verbs. Nouns and adjectives are derived into verbs by lexeme building suffixes: *-ya* and *-cha* as in (140) and (141).

(139)	a.	puñu-	'sleep'
	b.	wayk'u-	'cook'
	c.	mikhu-	'eat'
	d.	tarpu-	'sow'
	e.	para-	'rain'

(140)		noun	==>	verb	
	a.	kachi	'salt'	kachi- <i>cha</i>-	'to add salt'
	b.	t'uru	'mud'	t'uru- <i>cha</i>-	'to soak in mud'
	c.	rumi	'stone'	rumi- <i>ya</i>-	'to become hard like a stone'
	d.	runa	'people'	runa- <i>ya</i>-	'to become overbearing'
	e.	sunch'u	'type of tree'	sunch'u- <i>ya</i>-	'to become like sunch'u tree'

(141)		adjective	==>	verb	
	e.	ch'ichi	'dirty'	ch'ichi- <i>cha</i>-	'to get dirty'
	f.	qhusqu	'greasy'	qhusqu- <i>cha</i>-	'to get greasy'
	g.	ch'ichi	'dirty'	ch'ichi- <i>ya</i>-	'to become dirty'
	g.	wira	'fat'	wira- <i>ya</i>-	'to become fat'
	h.	puka	'red'	puka- <i>ya</i>-	'to become red'
	i.	q'illu	'yellow'	q'illu- <i>ya</i>-	'to become yellow'

The *-ya* and *-cha* LB-suffixes are not fully productive since they do not derive all adjectives or nouns into verbs. Hence, the derived forms in (142) are ungrammatical.

(142)	a.	sach'a (N)	'tree'	*sach'a- <i>cha</i>-
	b.	mayu (N)	'river'	*mayu- <i>cha</i>-
	c.	wasi (N)	'house'	*wasi- <i>ya</i>-
	d.	papa (N)	'potato'	*papa- <i>ya</i>-
	e.	k'acha (Adj)	'pretty'	*k'acha- <i>cha</i>-
	f.	ch'aki (Adj)	'dried'	*ch'aki- <i>ya</i>-

SBQ also presents LB-suffixes that derive a verb into another verb and form a LVB. These suffixes are not fully productive either since they only apply to certain verbs. The most common LB-suffixes that derive verbs are suffixes like *-kipa*, *-raya*, *-paya* and *-ra*. The suffix *-ra* also derives certain adjectives into verbs. Examples below illustrate the meaning and form of each bi-morphemic LVB derived from another verb. In (143) the LB-suffix *-kipa* is normally restricted to some transitive verbs that require grain or grain-like objects. The *-kipa* LB-suffix does not derive transitive verbs that do not take grain objects. For instance *-kipa* cannot derive the verb <apa> ‘take’ into **apa-kipa*. Likewise, *-kipa* cannot derive intransitive verbs such as <phawa> ‘fly’, <puri> ‘walk’. The derived forms like **phawa-kipa* or **puri-kipa* are ungrammatical.

- (143) **-kipa** ‘to change texture of grains by softly grinding or toasting’

Chay jank’asqata kutakiparqunchik maranpi á.

chay jank’asqa-ta

DEM toast-NOMLZ-ACC

kutakipa-rqu-nchik maranpi á.

grind-nimbly-1PL.INCL fulling mill ah

‘That (quinoa grain) that is already toasted, we grind nicely on a fulling mill’

Another LB-suffix *-paya* is similar to the previous one. It only derives a small set of verbs into bi-morphemic lexical verb bases. Its meaning is not fully predictable and might vary from one verb to another. Examples (144) and (145) show the specific context in which *-paya* is used.

In carnival festivity season people normally team up in groups of 5 or more people and go dancing and singing around in rural towns. In each town they visit one house at time. When they get to a house, they sing alluding to the owner of each house

they visit in a mocking way. The owner of the house needs to invite them to drink *aqha*, an alcoholic drink made from corn. The group of people called *pandillas* sing expressing how the chicha tastes, making complaints, or culturally appropriate expressions such as <*maytaq kay wasiyuq, jamunki niwarqa. Saramanta aqha tomasun niwarqa*> ‘where is the owner of this house ‘she/he told me to come, she/he told we were going to drink chicha made from corn’. In (144) the speaker narrates the *pandillas* will come and they will sing alluding to him on carnival’s cultural themes. He overtly recognizes carnivals are creative and sings about all kinds of things. Whereas in (145) *-paya* derives the verb <*waqa*> ‘cry’ into <*waqa-paya*> ‘to express warning about something to happen through singing’. This is related to cultural assumptions that people have in rural towns although it might vary from one rural town into another. Whenever this bird sings near someone’s house the bird is warning him/her about something unexpected to happen. This can be a visit that will arrive to the house of the person that hears the singing of this bird.

- (144) **-paya** ‘to express something spoken/sentiment’

Takipayawanqanku á.

"aqhakuwaq karqa saraq phuñinmanta" imaymanás takinku á

taki-**paya**-wa-nqanku á.

sing-**repetitive**-1OBJ-3PL.FUT ah

"aqha-ku-wa-q ka-rqa

make.chicha-REF-1OBJ-GEN be-PST

sara-q phuñi-n-manta
maize-GEN hair-3SG-INS

imaymanás taki-nku á
all kinds of things sing-3PL ah

‘They will sing making allusion to me’. ‘You could have made chicha from the hair of the ear of maize at least’ They sing all kind of things.

- (145) “*wakichikuy wasiyuq*” *nimun á.... ima pasananpaq waqapayawanchik ninku.*
“wakichi-ku-y wasi-yuq” ni-mu-n á....
prepare-REF-1SG>2SG.IMP house-GEN say-DIR-3SG ah...

ima pasa-na-n-paq
what occur-NOMLZ-3SG-BEN

waqa-**paya**-wa-nchik ni-nku.
cry-repetitive -1OBJ-1PL.INCL say-3PL.NF
‘Owner of the house watch out’ expresses ah.
People say, ‘it (the bird called *wakichiku*) cries warning for something to happen’

Lastly, the LB-suffix *-ra* ‘do X again’ also falls in this category since it only derives certain verbs. A derived verb with this suffix normally involves for the LVB to be done in a repeated way or one after another. The use of this suffix is used only in specific cultural contexts in rural towns. In (146) the speaker narrates the soaked corn sprouts beautifully one after another when they cover it with a plastic cloth and a *<phullu>* ‘handily weaved cloth’ on top of the plastic.

- (146) **-ra** ‘to do V again, and again/one after another’
Chaytaq k’achitú wiñaramun.
Chay=taq k’achitú wiña-ra-mu-n.
DEM=CONJ pretty.ACC grow-one.after.another-DIR-3SG
‘That (soaked corn) grows in a beautiful way’

This section has focused on the form and structure of a lexical verb base that constitutes the mandatory morpheme in a verb stem together with the inflectional suffix. A LVB can be a single root or monomorphemic as explained earlier. The rules in (147) summarize these four types of LVB and proposes a more specific statement of the more general LVB rule given in (138).

(147)

Monomorphemic LVB	\Rightarrow	V root
Bi-morphemic LVB	\Rightarrow	V root +LB suffix {N>LBV, Adj>LBV, V>LBV}

As specified in (136), a phrase structure rule for a verbal word state that a verb stem cannot stand alone. It needs to combine to the inflectional constituent. If we consider example (148) below, the verb stem is composed by a LVB *<puri>* ‘walk’ and the inflectional suffix is composed by the obligatory suffix *-n* that mark mood and person and number.

(148) *puri-n*

walk-3SG.NF

‘He/she walks/walked’

A verb form in UPSBQ becomes more complex when the LVB of a verb stem is derived by one up to four non-inflectional suffixes. These suffixes are of two types: simplex and complex. Such suffixes display different classes of functional categories that will be presented in detail in Section § 5.2. Next, the basic notions of inflectional constituent and enclitics will be provided.

5.1.2. INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM

The inflectional constituent in UPSBQ will provide information about tense, aspect, mood T/A/M, person, number, and object marking. In Camacho-Rios (2019) two types of inflectional suffixes are identified based on their occurrence and function in the verbal word: obligatory and non-obligatory as presented in (149). The inflectional

constituent is necessarily composed by the obligatory inflectional suffix to which non-obligatory inflectional suffixes can precede as follows:

- (149) INFL == > (Non-obligatory Inflectional Suffix(es)) +Obligatory Inflectional Suffix

The non-obligatory suffixes occur on the border between non-inflectional productive suffixes and the obligatory inflection. In the three examples below the obligatory inflectional suffix *-n* in (150) encodes third person singular in non-future tense. In (151) and (152) *-sha* ‘progressive’ illustrates one of the non-obligatory suffixes. These suffixes necessarily precede the obligatory inflection to mark the boundary between the non-inflectional productive suffixes and the inflection. In (152) *-sha* marks the border between *-mu* a productive directional suffix in the verb stem and *-n* the obligatory inflection.

- (150) *rantin*
ranti-**n**
buy-3SG.NF
'I buy/bought'

- (151) *rantishan*
ranti-**sha**-**n**
buy-PROG-3SG.PRS
'I buy/bought'

- (152) *yuramushan*
yura-mu-**sha**-**n**
grow-DIR-PROG-3SG
'It (plant) is growing up'

The obligatory inflection system in UPSBQ has at least four verbal moods: indicative, potential, obligation modal constructions and imperative mood. A selection of the inflectional system's paradigms from (Camacho-Rios 2019) are presented in the *Table 16.*

Indicative mood				
Person & number	Non-Future	Simple Future	Habitual Past Simple	Habitual Past Perfect
1SG	-ni	-saq	-q(=puni) ka-ni	-q karqa-ni
2SG	-nki	-nki	-q(=puni) ka-nki	-q karqa-nki
3SG	-n	-nqa	-q(=puni) ø	-q karqa
1PL. INCL	-nchik	-sunchik	-q(=puni) ka-nchik	-q karqa-nchik
1PL.EXCL	-yku	-sayku	-q(=puni) ka-yku	-q karqa-yku
2PL	-nkichik	-nkichik	-q(=puni) ka-nkichik	-q karqa-nkichik
3PL	-nku	-nqanku	-q(=puni) ka-nku	-q karqa-nku
Potential				
	Simple Conditional	Past Conditional	Imaginary	
1SG	-yman	-yman(=puni)	karqa	-yman(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
2SG	-waq	-waq(=puni)	karqa	-waq(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
3SG	-nman	-nman(=puni)	karqa	-nman(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
1PL. INCL	-sunman	-sunman(=puni)	karqa	-sunman(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
1PL.EXCL	-ykuman	-ykuman(=puni)	karqa	-ykuman(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
2PL	-waqchik	-waqchik(=puni)	karqa	-waqchik(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
3PL	-nkuman	-nkuman(=puni)	karqa	-nkuman(=raq)(=puni) kasqa
Obligation Modal Monstructions				
Person & number	Obligative		Desiderative	
1SG	-nay(=puni)	tiyan	-nay(=puni)	kashan
2SG	-nayki(=puni)	tiyan	-nayki(=puni)	kashan
3SG	-nan(=puni)	tiyan	-nan(=puni)	kashan
1PL. INCL	-nanchik(=puni)	tiyan	-nanchik(=puni)	kashan
1PL.EXCL	-nayku(=puni)	tiyan	-nayku(=puni)	kashan
2PL	-naykichik(=puni)	tiyan	-naykichik(=puni)	kashan
3PL	-nanku(=puni)	tiyan	-nanku(=puni)	kashan

Person & number	Had to		Counterfactual	
1SG	-nay(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-nay(=puni)	kasharqa
2SG	-nayki(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-nayku(=puni)	kasharqa
3SG	-nan(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-nan(=puni)	kasharqa
1PL. INCL	-nanchik(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-nanchik(=puni)	kasharqa
1PL.EXCL	-nayku(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-nayku(=puni)	kasharqa
2PL	-naykichik(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-naykichik(=puni)	kasharqa
3PL	-nanku(=puni)(=chu)	karqa	-nanku(=puni)	kasharqa
Imperative mood				
Person & number	Imperative			
1SG	-y (in context)			
2SG	-y			
3SG	-chun			
1PL. INCL	-nachik/-na			
1PL.EXCL	-nayku			
2PL	-ychik			
3PL	-chunku			

Table 16: Inflectional system

5.1.2.1. Tense

In UPSBQ past and present tense is not overtly marked in the obligatory inflectional system. The non-future paradigm in *Table 16* is used to mark both present and past tense. Considering example (153) the obligatory inflectional suffix *-ni* can mark an ongoing habit that the subject normally has. Every year when the wheat harvesting is over, he carries home the wheat on a car. But it can also involve the subject performed the event in the past such the day before, a week ago, a month ago or the year before.

- (153) *mju carrupi apamuni*

mju carru-pi apa-mu-**ni**
yeah car-INS take-DIR-1SG

‘Yeah, I bring/brought it (the wheat located in the hill) in a car’

Different from the non-future paradigm, UPSBQ distinguishes the inflectional paradigm for future tense. Future tense encodes a verbal event that has not taken place yet. The subject is planning to perform the verb in the future time. Considering (154) the inflection *-saq* for first person singular implies the subject planning to perform the feeding verb event in future tense.

- (154) *algusman qararqamusaq*
 algu-s-man qara-rqamu-**saq**
 dog-PL-to feed-GO&DO.dilligenlty-**1SG.FUT**
 'I will go and feed the dogs'

5.1.2.2. Mood

The category of mood across SBQ varieties still deserves an in-depth study, because it remains little explored. *Table 16* provides a preliminary presentation of five grammatical moods, although they may not exhaust the full SBQ mood system. The Indicative mood in UPSBQ states facts and habits as exemplified in (155) and (156). The inflectional constituent *-yku* involves for the first person plural exclusive involving all community members in Uma Piwra performing the activity of planting different kinds of crops as a habit in their everyday life. Conversely, the Potential mood encodes a probability for the action of the verb to occur. In (157) and (158) the inflectional constituent *-yman* encodes the first-person singular expressing the possibility of doing the action. In (157) the speaker and the addressee are on their way to get grass for sheep. The speaker observes a group of sheep eating grass in the riverbank. Then she gets angry to her own sheep at home that would not eat grass like other peoples' sheep she observed

because her sheep only want to eat alfalfa. The speaker is angry and says she would trample her sheep. In (158) the speaker and the addressee are talking about carnival festivities. The speaker expresses about the possibility or liberty of drinking and singing during carnivals if she was the addressee.

- (155) *trigú tarpuyku*
trigú tarpu-**yku**
wheat.ACC plant-1PL.EXCL.NF
'We plant wheat'

(156) *trigu, papa, tukuy imá kaypi tarpuyku*
trigu, papa, tukuyimá kay-pi tarpu-**yku**
wheat potato all.kinds.ACC here-LOC plant-1PL.EXCL.NF
'We plant wheat, potatoes, we plant all kinds of things here'

(157) *librí saruyman ninipuni*
librí saru-**yman** ni-ni=puni
ADV.certainly trample-1SG.COND say-1SG.NF=certainly
'I say I would certainly trample it (the sheep)'

(158) *tomarikuyman, takirikuyman mmm*
Toma-ri-ku-**yman**, taki-ri-ku-**yman** mmm
drink-AFF-REF-1SG.COND sing-AFF-REF-1SG.COND
'I would drink (Chicha, alcoholic drink made from corn)
I would sing (during carnival festivities) mmm'

The simple Conditional paradigm in the Potential Mood stands as a base to form other types of modal paradigms by periphrastic constructions with the auxiliaries *karqa* and *kasqa*. In the potential mood category in *Table 16*, two other types of paradigms are formed with these two auxiliaries: past conditional and an imaginary or irrealis mood. These two moods will be demonstrated with the following example (159). The past conditional mood encodes the subject regretting for not performing the event expressed by the verb event in the past when it could be possible for the subject to do it. The

periphrastic construction for the first person past conditional *-yman karqa* involves the day before, it was a possibility for the subject to take her cows downhill where there is plenty of grass for livestock, but she was not able to do it.

- (159) *Qayna uraman kusá qatikuyman karqa urapi pasto jinantin kashanpis ari ay!*
 qayna ura-man kusá qati-ku-yman
 yesterday downhill-ALL good.ACC herd-REF-1SG.COND

karqa
be.AUX.PST

ura-pi pasto jinantin ka-sha-n-pis ari ay!
 downhill-LOC grass abundant be-PROG-3SG-also ah ay!
 'Yesterday, it could have been so good to herd (my cow) downhill,
 there, grass for livestock is abundant'

Another paraphrastic construction in the potential can be described as the imaginary or irrealis conditional mood. This mood encodes an unrealistic interpretation of the verb event. In fact, there is any possibility for the verb to be performed or happen. Example (160) emerges the day of the carnival festivity. It is a common tradition that this day visitors come to the rural town of Uma Piwra and visit one house at a time. As described before, when they get to a given house they sing and dance, the owner of the house needs to serve them chicha, an alcoholic beverage made from corn. The day of carnival festivity, the researcher and the speaker were sitting at the speaker's house. Suddenly there was a noise of a group of people as if they were getting closer. The speaker noticed the noise and worried about who will serve chicha to them as she can hardly walk. The researcher jokes and suggests *Waytu* the dog serving the chicha. The speaker laughs and utters the phrase in example (160). This utterance can also happen in

the imagination, but there is any chance for it to happen. The dog cannot go in the room where the chicha is and serve to dancers during carnival's festivity day.

- (160) *Waytu urghumunman kasqa*

waytu urqhu-mu-nman kasqa
 waytu take.out-DIR-3SG.COND be.AUX
 'There is no way Waytu (dog) could take it (the corn alcoholic beverage) out'.

Another set of grammatical mood categories, called Obligation in *Table 16*, uses paraphrastic constructions to express different types of obligation. These will differ depending on whether the mood expresses obligation, a desire, an obligation in the past or whether the statement is counterfactual. The auxiliaries to form these four moods are *tiyan* for obligation, *kashan* for desire, *karqa* for obligation in the past, and *kasharqa* for counterfactual. The following examples will demonstrate these obligation modal differences.

The paraphrastic constructions *-nay tiyan* for the first person singular in (161) shows the obligation the subject has to perform the verb. He needs to finish the leftover food before eating the hot soup. Likewise, in (162) the construction *-nayki tiyan* for the second person singular, the speaker commands the addressee to carry a packed bulk of grass.

- (161) *kaytáraq nuqá tukunay tiyan á, chaykama chiriyaqapunichá*

kay-tá=raq nuqá tuku-nay tiyan á,
 DEM-ACC=conj 1SG.TOP finish-1SG AUX.HAVE.TO ah

chaykama chiriy-a-nqa=puni=chá
 until cool-3SG.FUT=certainly=DUB

'I still have to finish this (food here) ah, I hope it (the hot soup) cools down by then'

- (162) *libi chay q'ipichanapi junt'itata q'ipinayki tiyan á*
 libi chay q'ipichana-pi
 ADV DEM traditional.blanket-INS
 junt'-ita-ta q'ipi-nayki tiyan á
 full-DIM-ACC carry-1SG AUX.HAVE.TO ah
 'You have to carry a packed bulk (full of grass) on your back ah'

The second type of Obligational Modal construction expresses a desiderative meaning. The speaker has a desire or plans to do the verb in the near future. The periphrastic constructions with the auxiliary *kashan* encodes a possibility for the verb event to be performed. In (163) the subject has a plan or desires to go to the city the upcoming week. This utterance emerges in the context of carnivals. The speaker was invited to a “Comadres” party. This party takes place every Thursday right before the Carnivals week. The party is called a day when women pre-party carnivals. It is more a city tradition. The researcher asked whether she will be in Uma Piwra next week. The speaker responded the utterance in (163) to let her know about her plans.

- (163) *chayman rinay kashan*
 chay-man ri-nay kashan
 there-ALL go-1SG AUX.DES
 'I plan to go there (party in the city)'

The other two modals ‘had to’ and ‘counterfactual’ in the obligation category concern to obligation in past that didn’t take place and counterfactual. Example (164) demonstrates obligation in past tense that did not occur. The subject had a plan to go to harvest potato the day before, but couldn’t make it. It is known that the subject didn’t go because of =ña licenses an inference that the event of going did not happen. Example

(165) exemplifies a counterfactual modal type. The periphrastic construction of this type refers to an event that the subject planned or desired to do in the past but since the verb event did not occur the subject laments or regrets it.

- (164) *qaynaña rinan karqa á*
 qayna=ña ri-nan karqa á
 yesterday=already go-1SG AUX.PST ah
 'He had to go (start harvesting potato) yesterday ah'

- (165) *Anzaldoman apanay kasharqa*
 Anzaldo-man apa-nay kasharqa
 Anzaldo-ALL take-1SG AUX.CNTRFCT
 'I expected to take it (sac of peach) to Anzaldo (Market)'

The last modal type in *Table 16* above corresponds to the imperative paradigm. This type of modal encodes the subject commands the addressee to perform the verb event. In (166) the subject expects the 3PL to do verb.

- (166) “*Arinlachunku paykunañataq á*”, *nishani*
 arinla-chunku paykuna=ña=taq á ni-sha-ni
 fix-1SG>3PL.IMP 3PL=already-and ah say-PROG-1SG.PRS
 'I am expecting for them to repair it (riverbank)'

One interesting property of the periphrastic constructions in UPSBQ is that certain enclitics can occur between the inflectional suffix and the auxiliary. In (167) the evidential enclitic *=puni* ‘certainly’ and the negative *=chu* are right-adjacent to the suffix *-nay* marking first person singular in the obligative modal construction, rather than occurring at the end of the auxiliary construction as a whole. Clitics are in the same pitch accent domain and exclude the auxiliary. It is observed that the string *=puni=chu* precedes the auxiliary *karqa*. Likewise, in (168) the same enclitic *=puni* appears

combined to the habitual marker inflectional suffix *-q* that preceded the auxiliary *kani* marking first person singular.

- (167) *Má tarpunallamanta, má tarpunaypunichu karqa. Papa mujuraykulla tarpuyuni.*
 má tarpu-na-lla-manta,
 NEG plant-NOMLZ-LIM-ABL

má tarpu-nay=puni=chu karqa.
 NEG plant-1SG.OBL=certainly=NEG AUX.OBL

papa muju=rayku=lla tarpu-yu-ni.
 potato seed=becuase-LIM plant-PFV-1SG

‘Without having plans to plant potato. I was certain not planning to plant potato (this year in that piece of land).

I decided to plant just because there was potato tubers’

- (168) *Doce de la nochetapis rillaqpuni kani.*
 doce de la noche-ta-pis rilla-q=puni ka-ni.
 midnight-ACC-also go-HAB=certainly be.AUX-1SG
 ‘Even if it was midnight I still used to go (to water the crops)’

5.1.2.3. Non-Obligatory inflectional suffixes

Non-Obligatory Inflectional Suffixes occur inside the inflectional constituent, and they necessarily precede the obligatory inflection. But their occurrence is not mandatory. These suffixes provide information on progressive aspect, past narrative, past reportative and object marking. In UPSBQ there are six non-obligatory inflectional suffixes one of which corresponds to adverb related *-lla* ‘only, limitative’ as follows:

Non-obligatory Inflection ==> (-sha) (-lla) (-wa) (-sqa)/(rqa) (-su)

1	-sha	progressive aspect
2	-lla	only
3	-wa	1OBJ
4	-sqa /-rqa	PST narrative/PST reportative

The inflectional constituency rule above shows that the object marking person occurs in different positions, depending on person. In (169) the first-person object marking *-wa* occurs before *-rqa*, the Non-Obligatory Inflectional Suffix for past reportative. But in (170) the second person object marking *-su* occurs after *-rqa*, the Non-Obligatory Inflectional Suffix for past reportative.

- (169) *wisita wasiyuq niwarqayku*
 wisita, wasi-yuq ni-wa-rqa-yku
 visit house-GEN say-1OBJ-PST.REP-1SG.INCL
 'You, the owner of the house, you have got a visit'
- (170) *qayna tarde rishallantaq nishargasunkiqa*
 qayna tarde 'ri-sha-lla-n=taq'
 yesterday afternoon go-PROG-LIM-3SG=and
 ni-sha-rqa-su-nki=qa
 say-PROG-PST.REP-2OBJ-2SG=TOP
 'Yesterday afternoon, he told you were going again'

To summarize what has been said until now, a verb form in UPSBQ is structured by a STEM + INFL. The two minimal components are a verb stem and the obligatory inflectional suffix. A stem can contain a single LVB or a LVB with up to four non-inflectional derivational suffixes. The obligatory inflectional suffixes attached to the verb stem. Enclitics in the verbal word form come after the inflection.

5.1.3. ENCLITICS

Up to now it has been discussed four types of suffixes for UPSBQ: Lexeme Building Suffixes, non-inflectional productive suffixes, Non-Obligatory Inflectional

Suffixes; and Obligatory Inflectional Suffixes. All of them are bound morphemes that cannot occur freely. A fourth type of suffix in UPSBQ corresponds to enclitics that are (marked with ‘=’) throughout this dissertation. In the verbal wordform they appear after the inflectional constituent. Enclitics are also bound, and they contain various grammatical meanings as adverbial, evidential, interrogative, negation, conjunction among others. A table of the inventory and order of the enclitics identified in the UPSBQ variety is detailed in *Table 17* below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Inflectional auxiliary
=ñá	=raq	=puni	=taq	=sina	=pis	=chu =má =chá =chus	=ri =rí	=qa	ka- kaq karqa kasqa kashan kasharqa tiyan

Table 17: Enclitics

Different from the three types of suffixes described in the earlier section, enclitics are not being fixed in relation to the verb root, unlike suffixes. Thus, enclitics can incorporate into the pitch accent domain of adjectives, verbs and nominal elements. Evidence thus far suggests that enclitics modify a predicate. Enclitics can occur singly as in (171) where the enclitic *=puni* ‘certainly’ occurs to the right of the noun *yan* ‘road’, or they can combine to other enclitics and form more complex strings. In (172) different from (171) *=puni* occurs in a three-enclitic string *=ñá=puni=sina*. The enclitic *=puni*

followed by *=sina* ‘dubitative, uncertain’ apparently triggers a non-compositional meaning. The semantics of complex combinations of enclitics that are common in UPSBQ still needs deeper investigations.

- (171) *yanpuni kay karqa*
 yan=**puni** kay ka-rqa
 road=**certainly** DEM be-3SG.PST.REP
 ‘This was certainly a road’
- (172) *iskay watachus, iskay watatañapunisina má rinichu.*
 iskay wata=chus, iskay wata-ta=**ñ**a=**puni=sina**
 two year=DUB, two year-ACC=**already=certainly=DUB**
 má ri-ni=chu.
 NEG go-1SG.NF=NEG
 ‘It seems two years, I haven’t been there (in the elections) for the last two years’

Enclitics are bound morphemes they can be hosted by words belonging to different grammatical categories. However, it does not imply that they always scope over the whole clause. The following examples will demonstrate this characteristic of enclitics. The two-adverbial string *=raq=puni* ‘=yet=certainly’ appears to the right of and in the pitch accent domain of the personal pronoun *paykuna* ‘third person plural’ that refers to birds in (173). In (174) this same string occurs right adjacent to a noun *mayu* ‘river’. In (175) it combines to the adjective *karu* ‘far away’ and in (176) and (177) the *=raq=puni* appears combined to a verb.

- (173) *qála sarasqa chhaqcha chhaqchallaña paykunaraqpuni mikhukunku á.*
 qála sara-sqa chhaqcha chhaqcha-lla=**ñ**a
 totally corncob-NOMLZ fray fray-LIM=already
 paykuna=**raq=puni** mikhu-ku-nku á.
 they=**yet=certainly** eat-REF-3SG.PL ah
 ‘Corncobs in the corn plantations are all frayed and frayed.

It is certain that they (birds) eat (the corn) first ah'

- (174) *chay mayutaraqpuni pasasaq á*
 chay mayu-ta=**raq=puni** pasa-saq á
 DEM river-ACC=yet=certainly cross-1SG.FUT ah
 'I certainly need to cross that river ah'

(175) *chay trigoyki kashan, chaymanta karuraqpuni á*
 chay trigo-yki kashan,
 DEM wheat-2SG.POSS be-PROG-3SG

chay-manta karu=**raq=puni** á
 DEM-ABL far away=yet=certainly ah
 'You see where your wheat plantation is, from there it is still far away'

(176) *uña chilwislla lluqsimunqanku má wallpás kicharisraqpunichu.*
 uña chilwi-s-lla lluqsi-mu-nqanku
 little chick-PL-LIM go out-DIR-3PL.FUT

má wallpás kichari-saq=**raq=puni**=chu.
 NEG hen.ACC-PL open-1SG.FUT=yet=certainly=NEG
 'only the chicks will go out. I will not open the door for the hens to go out yet'

(177) *pay pero sipasraq á, awanqaraqpuni payqa á*
 pay pero sipas=raq á, awa-nqa=**raq=puni** pay
 she but young=yet ah, weave-3SG.FUT=yet=certainly

=qa á
 she=TOP ah
 'Ah, but she is still young, of course she will weave ah'

Strings of two and three enclitics are common in UPSBQ. Example (178) demonstrates a three-enclitic combination: *=puni* ‘certainly’, *=sina* ‘uncertainly’, and the topicalizer enclitic *=qa*.

Many aspects of the grammar and function of enclitics still need more investigation. There are at least two aspects of enclitics that remain loosely understood and need further exploration. The first one corresponds to productivity. Enclitics can occur singly or in strings. The productivity of each enclitic and each string needs quantitative measurements. A quantitative analysis could reveal a more concrete understanding about the relative frequency and the productivity of enclitics. Similarly, it could provide a better understanding of the restrictions of occurrence of enclitics. The second issue concerns the meaning of complex strings. One thing observed in UPSBQ varieties is that verbs and nominalized verb forms commonly display enclitics. The meaning of complex strings needs to be analyzed thoroughly while addressing the context, the interaction with other morphemes in each wordform. For instance, in example (178) above, the string *=puni=sina=qa* does not denote a clear compositional meaning. The interaction with the progressive triggers a quite different nuance out of the combination. Thus, interactions that yield different semantics still needs further exploration.

5.2. SIMPLEX SUFFIXES

The verb stem in UPSBQ exhibits two types of non-inflectional suffixes: simplex and complex. The number of suffixes that form a more complex stem range from one suffix up to four suffixes as mentioned earlier. A stem can be derived by one non-inflectional suffix, a two-suffix string, a three-suffix string, or four-suffix strings. The characteristics of each string combination will be described later. The complexity of verb stems in which simplex and complex suffix interact denote different meanings triggered by specific cultural context or the artistic use of the verb forms in the traditional narratives. Such combinations will be discussed later in Section § 5.3.4.5.

This section presents a revised version of Camacho-Rios' (2019) description of UPSBQ verbal complexity. This section focuses only on simplex suffixes occurring singly in a verb stem. It will present the meaning of each suffix in isolation. Most of the simplex suffixes bear compositional meanings and their occurrence in natural speech is more frequent as they appear with longer sets of verbs compared to complex combinations that are less frequent. The order and organization of simplex suffixes is presented in *Table 18* below (Glosses will be given as each suffix is introduced in the following text, and are summarized later, in *Table 19*.) The order of non-inflectional suffixes follows the template slot/zone organization (*following* Tallman 2018:199). This organization shows that in a slot only one suffix can occur at a time, whereas in a zone multiple suffixes can occur.

slot 1	zone	slot 2	slot 3	slot 4	slot 5	slot 6
-ri	{-rpa, -rqu} -ysi	-yu ~ -yku	-ri	-chi	-ku -mu -mpu -pu	
-naya	-ysi {-rpa, -rqu}					

Table 18: Inventory of simplex suffixes

This section will describe the meaning contribution of each simplex suffix from *Table 18* occurring singly in a verb stem. *Table 18* above organizes simplex suffixes in six slots and one zone. Simplex suffixes denote different grammatical meanings such as aspectual related, adverbial meanings, valency change, benefactive, associated motion and nuances to express feelings. The types of suffixes are monosyllabic of type CV and CCV or with CV.CV. characteristic.

-ri (Slot1) Inchoative 'To start doing V'

UPSBQ has two suffixes with the form *-ri*. The first one occurs closer to the verb root in slot 1, and the other one occurs in slot 3. The suffix *-ri* closer to the verb root is an inchoative aspectual suffix. When this suffix combines with the verb root it denotes to start doing the action denoted by the verb as demonstrated in examples below. In (179) the suffix *-ri* combines to the verb *phaway* 'fly'. The verb stem *phawa-ri-* means 'to start flying'. The scene expressed is such that the speaker is returning home when, suddenly, he sees a quail. He throws stones several times to hunt the quail. The quail jumps dodging the stones. The subject comments that the quail certainly did not start flying as they dodged the stones. A similar use is observed in example (180): the subject is angry

because her husband and her son started talking once they got drunk. She is annoyed because when they are sober, they remain quite without speaking. In this example the *-ri* combines to the root *parlay* ‘talk’ and it adds a meaning ‘to start talking’.

- (179) *rumi jap'ís niqtin saltaykacharin....*
jap'ichisaq, jap'ichisaq, manapuni phawarinchu.
 rumi jap'ís ni-qtí-n salta-ykacha-ri-n...
 stone reach.GER say-when-3SG.NF jump-MOT-AFF-3SG.NF

 jap'i-chi-saq... jap'ichisaq,
 catch-CAUS-1SG.FUT catch-CAUS-1SG.FUT

 mana=puni phawa-**ri**-n=chu.
 NEG=certainly fly-**INCH**-3SG.NF=NEG
 ‘When the stone is almost reaching it (the quail)
 it jumps from one side into another. ‘I will reach the stone to it (quail),
 I will reach the stone to it (quail)’, it (the quail) certainly doesn’t fly’
- (180) *Machayuqtawan mincháy parlarinku, ch'aki sunqutaq upa uya,*
upa uyalla karayanku
 macha-yu-ytawan mincháy parla-**ri**-nku,
 get.drunk-PFV-after extremely.ACC talk-**INCH**-3PL.NF

 ch'akisunqu=taq
 sober=and

 upauya, upauya-lla karaya-nku
 speechless, speechless-LIM remain-3PL.NF
 ‘When they get drunk, they start talking, but if they are sober, they remain
 speechless, speechless’.
- The suffix *-ri* in slot 1 is an inchoative aspectual suffix and the second *-ri* suffix in slot 3 expresses meanings related to sentiment, emotion and desire. Whenever these two suffixes co-occur their meanings are interpreted compositionally. Considering example (181) below, when the string *-ri-ri* derives a verb stem out of the infinitive verb *mikhuy* ‘eat’ the first suffix indicates the beginning of the action of eating and the second *-ri*

expresses for the verb to be performed in a pleasant or a nice way in which the subject express positive or good feelings while eating the petals of the flowers of *Chilijchi* tree.

- (181) *Phiritataq ruwanchik tatáy, chaytawan sumáq mikhuririnchik á.*
 phiri-ta=taq ruwa-nchik tatáy,
 phiri-ACC=and make-1PL.NF tatáy!
 chay-ta-wan sumáq mikhu-**ri-ri**-nchik á
 DEM-ACC-INS good.ACC eat-**INCH-AFF**-1PL.NF ah
 ‘tatáy! And we make phiri (traditional dish made from grind wheat).
 We enjoy eating it (cooked chilijchi petals) with that (phiri)’

The inchoative *-ri* suffix triggers a totally different meaning when it derives the verb *wañuy* ‘die’. When suffix *-ri* derives a verb stem out of the verb ‘die’ *wañuri*- ‘strongly want’ and it interacts with the progressive suffix *-sha* it expresses for the subject to have a strong desire of doing something. Considering example (182) it means the subject has a strong desire of drinking chicha during carnivals. The use of these complex combination is also context and culturally dependent.

- (182) *Aqhamantá wariñurishankuña á*
 aqha-mantá wañu-**ri-sha**-nku=ña á
 aqha-ABL.TOP strongly.want-**INCH-PROG**-3PL.NF=almost ah
 ‘They (speaker’s friends) have strong desire of drinking *aqha*
 (Traditional alcoholic beverage made from corn)’

- rpa (Zone)** ‘to do V suddenly’
-rqu (Zone) ‘to do V nimbly, without hesitation’
-ysi (Zone) ‘X helps Y (Subject LVB) to do V (transitive/intransitive)’

The adverbial suffixes *-rpa*, and *-rqu* can freely vary with the assistive suffix *-ysi* and yield the following combinations as grammatical *-rpa-ysi*, *-ysi-rpa* and *-rqu-ysi*, *-ysi-rqu*. First, the suffix *-rpa* involves for the verb to be performed suddenly as seen in the

examples (183) and (184). In (183) the subject dropped a box. The speaker saw his co-worker he suddenly dropped it. In (184) the speaker assumes she will suddenly drop dead in the cold.

- (183) *coca piqchiaspa t'akarpán á*
 coca piqchia-spa t'aka-**rpá-n** á
 coca chew-GER drop-**suddenly**-3SG.PST ah
 'he suddenly dropped it while chewing coca'

- (184) *chiripichá wañurpasaq nishani jajajaja*
 chiri-pi=chá wañu-**rpa-saq** ni-sha-ni jajajaja
 cold-LOC=DUB. die-**suddenly**-1SG.FUT say-PROG-1SG hahaha
 'I am saying that "I will suddenly drop dead in the cold' hahaha.'

The adverbial suffix *-rqu* encodes that the action of the verb is performed nimbly as in (185). With other verbs such as activity verbs the *-rqu* derives a verb stem that expresses affect as in examples (186) and (187) with the verbs *wayk'uy* 'cook' and *mikhuy* 'eat' derived by *-rqu*. This affection nuance is interpreted in context. In (186) the speaker is offering to serve food she delightedly cooked. The addressee is the speaker's husband and likes thicken *lawa*. Similarly, in (187) the speaker states that her son delightedly eats prickly pears.

- (185) *kunán Clizá rirqun ¿i?*
 kunán Clizá **ri-rqu-n** ¿i?
 now.TOP Cliza.ACC go-**nimbly**-3SG.PST right
 'Now he went to Cliza right?'

- (186) *qaramusqayki, sankhu lawá wayk'urquni*
 qara-mu-sqayki, sankhu lawá
 serve-GO&DO-1SG.FUT thicken lawa.ACC
 wayk'u-**rqu-ni**
 cook-**nimbly**-1SG.PST

‘I will serve it (traditional soup Lawa) to you. I cooked thicken lawa’

- (187) *Jamuspa mikhurqukun, “mikhusaq tunasta” nispa*
jamu-spa mikhu-**rqu**-ku-n,
come-GER eat-**nimbly**-REF-3SG

“mikhu-saq tunas-ta” ni-spa
eat-1SG.FUT prickly.pear-ACC say-GER
‘He comes and eats “I will eat prickly pears” saying’

The third suffix that occurs in the zone position is *-ysi*. The semantic contribution of this suffix involves assistance. It increases valency by one and entails that the assisting and assisted person perform the event denoted by the verb equally. The assisting person is the subject. The assisted person is marked accusative as in (188), Felix is the one who assisted and Sabino appears marked accusative. The assisted person can also be marked by person object marking as in (189). In UPSBQ, the indirect object for third person is not overtly marked in the verb form, in such cases the participants are interpreted from the argument marked accusative that needs to be overtly present.

- (188) *‘tio Sabinuta tarpuysisqa Felix’ nin.*
‘tio Sabinu-ta tarpu-**ysi**-sqa Felix’ ni-n.
uncle Sabino-ACC plant-ASST-3SG.PST.REP Felix say-3SG.PST
‘It is said that, Felix assisted to plant (potato) uncle Sabino’

- (189) *phushkaysiwanman kasqa*
phushka-**ysi**-wa-nman ka.sqa
spin-ASST-1OBJ-1SG.COND be.AUX
‘She would help me to spin’

The three suffixes that occupy the zone in the template can freely vary in order. First, the two adverbial suffixes *-rpa* and *-rqu* cannot form a two-suffix string **-rpa-rqu* or **-rqu-rpa* as their meanings are contradictory. However, each of the adverbial suffixes

found in the zone can freely vary in order with the assistive suffix *-ysi*. The following examples (190) and (191) show *-ysi* and *-rqu* free order variation and (192) and (193) show free variation between *-ysi* and *-rpa*. One thing that needs to be remarked about the variable order is that their frequency of occurrence is very low in a 50-hour corpus. Indeed, when these variable strings derive a LVB into a stem, the stem does not occur with other non-inflectional suffixes. All the verb stems from (190) to (193) are limited to a verb stem derived with up to two suffixes.

- (190) *Librita jamurqunku q'ala mikhuysirqunku nin.*

Libri-ta	jamu-rqu-nku	q'ala-ta
extremely-ACC	come-nimbly-3PL.NF	entirely-ACC

mikhu-**ysi-rqu-nku** ni-n.
 eat-ASST-nimbly-3PL.NF say-3SG
 'It was believed they (people in famine) came and helped finish their food'

(191) *Tukuyapatapis jamuspa papás allarquysishanku, saritasta jallmarquysishanku, nuqaqta maymanta á*

tukuy-pa-ta-pis	jamu-spa	papá-s
All-GEN-ACC-also	come-GER	poatato.ACC-PL

alla-**rqu-ysi-sha-nku**,
 harvest-nimbly-ASST-PROG-3PL.NF

sar-ita-s-ta jallma-**rqu-ysi-sha-nku**,
 corn-DIM-PL-ACC earth.up-nimbly-ASST-PROG-3PL

nuqa-q-ta mayman-ta á
 1SG-GEN-ACC no-ACC ah

'To any of my neighbors they (their children) come are they are helping to harvest the potato plantations, they are helping to earth up the corn plantations, and mine? no'

- (192) *Q’ala uña pilisitusniyta uquysirpanku á, ashkha jamunku á. chay q’illu ch’itispis jamullankupuni. q’ala uña pili-situ-s-ni-y-ta totally little duck-DIM-PL-EUPH-1SG.POSS-ACC*

uqu-**ysi-rpa**-nku á,
devour-ASST-**suddenly**-3PL.NF ah

achkha jamu-nku á.
a lot come-3PL.NF ah

chay q’illu ch’iti-s-pis jamu-lla-nku=puni.
DEM yellow craw-PL-also come-LIM-3PL=certainly
‘They come and help finishing up my little duck’s food.
Lots of them (birds) come’

(193) “*kuntan t’iqparpaysillasqayki ay*” *nispa.*
“*kuntan t’iqpa-rpa-ysi-lla-sqayki*
now **peel.skin-suddenly-ASST-LIM-1SG.FUT**
‘I will assist peeling the corn now, ay’ saying (she ran).

-yku ~ -yu (Slot2) 'To do V, with an emphasis on the finished result of the action'

The suffix *-yku* from Slot 2 or the allomorphic form *-yu* provides information on the finished result of the action of the verb or Perfective (PFV). In the following examples *-yu* expresses that the action denoted by the verb root has been finished. In (194) the subject has finished eating and drinking. In (195) the speaker narrates his experience when he hunted a quail as soon as he arrived at the mountain where he was going to work that day. He plucked the quail he hunted on his way. In (196) the speaker assumes the subject will secure the wheat in the patio of his house. The first two examples combine with the *-ni* obligatory inflection that stands for non-future in which tense is not overtly marked. However, in (194) and (196) the *-ni* obligatory inflection

encodes for the first person singular in past tense. It is important to highlight that this is one of the most frequent and productive suffixes.

- (194) *mikhuyuni uqyayuni, kunán qaramusaq ovejasman*
 mikhu-**yu**-ni uqya-**yu**-ni, kunán
 eat-PFV-1SG.PST drink-PFV-1SG.PST now.TOP
 qara-mu-saq ovejas-man
 feed-GO&DO-1SG.FUT sheep-ALL
 'I ate, I drank, now I will go feed the sheep'
- (195) *chayaytawan pilaykuni*
 chaya-ytawan pila-**yku**-ni
 arrive-after pluck-PFV-1SG.PST
 'I arrived and I plucked it (quail)'
- (196) *patiunmanchá apayunqa á*
 patiu-n-man=chá apa-**yu**-nqa á
 patio-3SG.POSS-ALL=DUB carry-PFV-3SG.PST ah
 'It is very likely, he will carry (the wheat) into his patio ah'.

-ri (Slot3) 'for V to be performed softly, gently, politely, pleasantly, nicely'

As stated earlier this suffix occupies slot 3 in the Table 3 above. Although this suffix has same form as the inchoative *-ri* suffixes presented in slot 1 the meaning expressed is different. The second *-ri* suffix expresses affective emotion that can be interpreted as softly, politely or pleasantly. In (197) the speaker used to go ask their neighbors begging for them to lend her money. In (198) the wind is softly making noise.

- (197) *mañariwaychik*
 maña-**ri**-wa-ychik
 lend-AFF-1OB-2PL.IMP
 'Please, lend me (money)'

- (198) *'Talaq, talaq' nirichishanku, imatachá*
 'talaq, talaq' ni-**ri**-chi-sha-nku imata-chá
 'talaq, talaq' sound-**AFF-CAUS-PROG-3PL** something-DUB
 'talaq, talaq, it seems they are softly making sound on something'

-chi (Slot4) 'X' causes/makes 'Y' to do V'

The suffix *-chi* normally increases valency by one. The subject causes or makes the external argument perform the action of the verb. The causer can command or physically be involved while performing the verb in some way. The following examples will show the use of *-chi* singly. In (199) the subject makes someone else to carry the wood from one place into another. In (200) The subject is partially involved in causing the chicken meat to soak in salty water. She put the meat into the salt water. There are cases in which *-chi* has a non-causative value. This is the case when *-chi* combines to the verb *qu*-‘give’ and forms *qu-chi-* stem. If we consider example (201) the verb *qu-* does not have a ‘give’ meaning but ‘escape’ and this is interpreted by context. In this case the suffix *-chi* has a non-causative value. The suffix *-chi* appears to be more complex than what is presented here. This suffix also expresses sociative causative in which both the causer and the causee equally perform the action of the verb. Chapter VII revisits the grammar and function of this suffix, comparing and contrasting it with suffixes of the same shape, *-chi*, that occur within the Lexical Verb Base.

- (199) *ashká llant'astapis apachini*
 ashká llant'a-s-ta-pis apa-**chi**-ø-ni
 alot.ACC wood-PL-ACC-also carry-**CAUS-3SG<1SG**
 'I also make someone else carry a lot of wood'

-ku (Slot5) 'do V for oneself' (reflexive, middle voice)

This suffix combined to a lexical verb base expresses that the action of the verb is performed by the subject and the beneficiary of the action of the verb is necessarily the subject. The suffix *-ku* also expresses other meaning interpretations such as benefactive applicative. In (202) the *-ku* denotes a reflexive meaning. The fox washed its eyes and left. The subject and the object of the verb are the same or part of the subject. Now considering the example in (203) when *-ku* combines to the verb *ñak'ay* 'butcher' the meaning of *-ku* can no longer be reflexive. The suffix *-ku* in (203) cannot express for the subject cutting himself but the action being performed on the direct object the verb licenses.

- (202) *ñawisninta mayllakuytawan ripun á*
 ñawi-sni-n-ta maylla-ku-ytawan ri-pu-n á
 eye-1SG.PL-3SG.POSS wash-REF-after go-back-3SG.PST ah
 'It (fox) washed its eyes and left ah'

- (203) *Todos Santospaq, carnavalpaq, fiestapaq achhaypaq ñak'akuq kani*
 Todos Santos-paq, Carnaval-paq,
 Todos Santos-GEN Carnival-GEN
 fiesta-paq achhay-paq ñak'a-ku-q ka-ni
 festivity-GEN there-GEN butcher-REF-GEN be-AUX
 'I used to butcher (a sheep) for festivities such as Todos Santos, Carnivals'

In (204) the speaker states that they (people who plant their own potatoes) like eating what they produce. In (205) the ovenbird looks itself for worms to feed itself. People state it likes eating worms. Finally, in (206) the subject likes cooking in her traditional stove. Traditional stoves are made of clay, and they are normally located outside the house. Stoves like this work with wood. People in the community express that the flavor of food cooked in those stoves is better than cooked in modern stoves. The *-ku* suffix in the following three examples also expresses the action of the verb is not performed over the same subject. Additionally, *-ku* implies actions that people like or makes people feel pleased.

- (204) *papataqa sumáq mikhukunku ari*
 papa-ta=qa sumáq.ACC mikhu-ku-nku ari
 potato-ACC=TOP well.ACC eat-REF-3PL ah
 'They like eating the potatoes they produce themselves'

- (205) *Payqa khuritusllata mask'akun*
 pay=qa khur-itu-s-lla-ta mask'a-ku-n
 3SG=TOP worm-DIM-only-ACC search-REF-3SG
 'It (the ovenbird) does nothing but look for worms (to eat)'

- (206) *q'unchitapipuni cierto wayk'ukuni nuqaqa*
 q'unch-ita-pi=puni cierto
 stove-DIM-LOC=certainly certainly
 wayk'u-ku-ni nuqa=qa
 cook-REF-1SG 1SG=TOP
 'Seriously, I like cooking food in the q'uncha (traditional stove)'

-mu (Slot5)

‘For subject to go and do V, moving from X point towards Y point’ (Deictic center as default meaning: speaker)

‘For subject to go to an X place and do V’ Associated motion (Away from the deictic center)

-mu is one of the most frequent and prominent suffixes in UPSBQ. It has two meanings that will be interpreted from the type of verb it appears combined to. The first one is motion away from the deictic center that is the speaker or the surrounding area or town where the speaker lives. The associated motion expressed by -mu is derived when it combines to verbs without inherent motion semantics such as *mikhuy* ‘eat’, *wayk’uy* ‘cook’, *chukuy* ‘sit’, *t’ukuy* ‘think’ as demonstrated in example (207). The subject moves away from a deictic center and then she performs the main verb event that consists in ‘feeding the sheep’. With these verbs -mu normally licenses a locative argument to specify the place in which the main verb event takes/took place.

The other meaning of -mu is directional when it combines to verbs bearing inherent motion semantics such as *apay* ‘carry’, *q’ipiy* ‘carry on back’, *aysay* ‘pull with hand’. The direction involves from A point towards B point. The B point is by default the deictic center or the surrounding area where the speaker lives. The directional interpretation licenses two types of arguments marked with the suffixes -*manta* ‘ablative’ to refer to A point and -*man* ‘allative’ to refer to B point. Example (208) shows the directional meaning of -mu combined with the verb *q’ipiy* ‘to carry on back’. The speaker is located in the town where he lives. He states that he carried on his back the pots

Santiago, his neighbor owns. The origin or the A point is not specified but the deictic center is the town of the speaker.

- (207) *kunán qaramusaq ovejasman*
 kunán qara-**mu**-saq oveja-s-man
 now.TOP feed-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT sheep-PL-to
 'Now I will go and feed the sheep'
- (208) *Jaha, kay paylastapis, chay kumpa Santiagoqtapis, nuqa q'ipimurqani.*
 jaha, kay payla-s-ta-pis, chay kumpa
 yeah, DEM big.pot-PL-ACC-also DEM kumpa
 Santiago-q-ta-pis nuqa q'ipi-**mu**-rqa-ni
 Santiago-AG-ACC-also 1SG carry.on.back-**DIR**-PST-1SG
 'Yeah, even the big pots Santiago owns, I carry them by back'

While the associated motion and direction of the suffix *-mu* appears to be well documented, there are cases in which *-mu* combines with certain verbs and the meaning is context dependent or the meaning can be best understood from culturally specific background information. Considering example (209) when *-mu* combines to the verb *waqay* 'cry'. A context in which a particular bird announces news with its crying/singing. In this case *-mu* expresses a fictive motion that is not an actual motion. Interestingly this verb licenses an ablative argument to specify where the crying of the bird comes from. The associated motion category can be expressed by simplex and complex suffices. Chapter VI will describe this category in more detail.

- (209) *jaqaymán waqamullanpuni á*
 jaqay-mán (sach'a) waqa-**mu**-lla-n=puni á
 DEM-ABL cry-**DIR**-LIM-3SG=certainly ah
 'It (the bird) certainly cries from there (the tree in front of the speaker)'

-mpu (Slot5) ‘To do V on someone’s behalf, in sympathy’

This suffix has a similar to meaning to *-mu*. It can denote movement away from a deictic center and direction towards a deictic center. Additionally, the suffix *-mpu* presupposes the beneficiary of the action of the verb cannot or is unable to perform the action denoted by the verb. The intention of the subject to perform the verb involves sympathy. If we consider example (210) the speaker responds to the addressee that there is a warm blanket. Then, the speaker asks the addressee if she would like for the speaker to get her. The speaker is acting out of solidarity. Likewise, in example (211) from a traditional tale, demonstrates solidarity and presupposes that the beneficiary is unable to perform the action of the verb.

- (210) *Tiyan, apampusaykichi?*

tiya-n, apa-**mpu**-sayki=chu?
exist-3SG take-**DIR**-1SG>2SG=Q
‘There is one (warm blanket). Would you like me to get it to you?’

- (211) *t'ipimpusqayki', chay joven nisqa á*

‘**t'ipi-mpu**-sqayki’, chay joven nisqa á
get-**GO&DO**-1SG>2SG DEM young man say-3SG.PST.NAR ah
‘I will go get it (fruit) you one’ said the young boy ah.

-pu (Slot 5) ‘to V on behalf of someone’ (transitive verbs)

‘to V back to origin’ (verbs describing a path)

‘to complete V for good’ (verbs having an end-point)

The suffix *-pu* expresses three meanings in UPSBQ. Each meaning is interpreted from the type of set of verbs it combines to. The first meaning is benefactive, for the subject to perform on someone else’s behalf. This meaning emerges when *-pu* combines

to transitive verbs. It will increase valency by one which will be the beneficiary of the action of the verb. Considering example (212) the subject states that when her son comes to town, she makes him tea and she makes him food. The beneficiary is the son of the subject.

- (212) *yaku q'uñi churapuni, almuerzó usqáy wayk'upuni...*
 yaku q'uñi chura-**pu**-ni, almuerzó
 Cinnamon tea make-**BEN**-1SG lunch
 usqáy wayk'u-**pu**-ni...
 quickly.ACC cook-**BEN**-1SG
 'I make cinnamon tea for him, I quickly cook lunch for him...'

The second meaning of *-pu* means 'back to origin'. This meaning is normally found when *-pu* combines to verb sets involving motion or path. Considering example (213) the verb *kutiy* 'return' has an inherent motion. In this sentence *-pu* is interpreted as back to origin.

- (213) *kunan kaymanta mayman ririnki? kutipunkichu?*
 kunan kay-manta may-man ri-ri-nki?
 Now here-ABL where-ALL go-AFF-2SG.FUT
*kuti-**pu**-nki=chu?*
 return-**back**-2SG-INT
 'And from here where will you go? Will you head back to origin (town)?'

The third meaning of the suffix *-pu* is 'complete V for good'. This meaning normally arises from the combination to sets of verbs that have culmination or a marked end point *e.g.*, *ch'akiy* 'dry', *wañuy* 'die'. In (214) the onions dried.

- (214) *Sarurqayku, ch'akipunnña yurampis*
 saru-rqa-yku , ch'aki-**pu**-n=ñña
 trample-3SG.PST.REP-1PL.EXCL dry-**for.good**-3SG=already
 yura-n-pis,
 plant-3SG-also
 'We trampled it (onion plant). Its plant has already dried'

-naya (Slot 6) 'To be about to do V/want to'

The last suffix in the slot organization corresponds to *-naya* meaning 'to be about to do V or want to do V'. The position in the verb is unpredictable. This suggests that, perhaps *-nayari-ri* should be treated as unit. Considering the following examples, in (215) and (216) the suffix *-naya* is in variable order with the *-ri* inchoative suffix from the first slot. But, in (217) the suffix *-naya* follows *-ku* which suggests that this suffix should occupy the last slot.

- (215) *'Ichapis manka jamunpis' nispamá kunanpis astawan rinayarillarqanitaq á.*
 'ichapis manka jamu-n-pis' ni-spa=má,
 maybe pot come-3SG-also say-GER=DUB
 kunan-pis astawan ri-**naya-ri-lla**-rqa-ni=taq á.
 now-also more go-**about-INCH-LIM-PST.REP-1SG.PST=CONJ**
 'Maybe people who sell pots came' (to the market) saying, I was about to go ah.
- (216) *Risunpunichá carnavalman á. juhú kay pasarinayashantaqqa*
 ri-sun=puni=chá carnaval-man á.
 go-1PL.INCL=certainly=DUB carnival-ALL ah
 juhú kay pasa-**ri-naya-sha-n**=taq=qa
 yeah DEM go.away-**INCH-about-PROG-3SG.PRS=CONJ=TOP**
 'It seems we are certainly going to Carnivals, it (the rain) is about to stop'
- (217) *Ari kitarikunayashan.*
 Ari kita-**ri-ku-naya-sha-n**.
 yeah stop-**INCH-REF-about-PROG-3SG.PRS**
 'Yeah, it (the rain) is about to cease'

This section has presented each suffix occurring singly within a verb stem in UPSBQ. The meaning expressed of each suffix interacting with T/A/M person and number remain unexplored. The interactions might trigger different meanings. *Table 19* below, summarizes the meanings of each simplex suffix occurring singly.

Slot 1	Inchoative aspect	-ri	‘To start doing V’
Zone	Adverbial	-rqu	‘to do V nimbly without hesitation’
	Adverbial	-rpa	‘do V suddenly’
	Assistive (Valency increasing)	-ysi	‘X helps Y (Subject LVB) to do V (transitive/intransitive)’
Slot 2	Perfective	-yu ~ -yku	‘to do V, with an emphasis on the finished result of the action’ (perfective)
Slot 3	Sentiment/ emotional/ desire	-ri	‘for V to be performed softly, gently, politely, pleasantly’
Slot 4	Causative (Valency increasing)	-chi	‘X’ causes/makes ‘Y’ to do V’
Slot 5	Reflexive	-ku	‘do V for oneself’
	Associated motion / directional	-mu	‘for subject to do V moving from X point towards Y point’ (being the speaker the deictic center) (verbs with motion semantics) ‘for subject to go to an X place and do V’
	Associated motion (valency increasing)	-mpu	‘To do V on someone’s behalf being sympathy’ ‘To do V towards the deictic center’ (motion semantics)
	Benefactive, (valency increasing)	-pu	‘to V on behalf of someone at a specific location’ (transitive verbs) ‘to V back to origin’ (verbs describing a path) ‘to complete V for good’ (verbs having an end-point)
Slot 6	Desiderative	-naya	‘To be about to do V/want to’

Table 19: Compositional meanings of simplex suffixes

5.3. COMPLEX SUFFIXES

Complex suffixes are composed of two or more formatives and can only fit the shape template ((C)CV.)(C)CV.(C)CV. Diachronically they were at least two separate suffixes. They have undergone lexicalization over time. Each complex suffix forms a single constituent and bears a meaning as a unit as illustrated in (218). The complex suffix *-rqaya* diachronically was composed by *-rqa-ya*. However, synchronically it expresses '*forcefully doing the verb*'. The action of the verb will totally affect the object or the subject. In (218) the little ducks drowned themselves in the thick liquid that is normally left when people make *Aqha* 'traditional alcoholic drink make from corn' in Carnival festivity season.

- (218) *Aqha qunchú urqhurqani carnavalpi, chayman sat'irqayakusqanku*
 aqha qunchú urqhu-rqa-ni Carnaval-pi,
 Aqha thick.ACC extract-PST-1SG Carnival-LOC

chay-man sat'i-**rqaya**-ku-sqa-nku
 DEM-ALL fall-**forcefully**-REF-PST-3PL.PST
 'I separated the thick part of the liquid when I made 'Aqha'
 (Traditional drink) in carnivals, they (little ducks) all fell down there
 (into that liquid and drowned)'

This analysis identifies three types of complex suffixes. The first type concerns to suffixes that have been undergone total lexicalization and it is not possible to decompose the individual meanings of the suffixes in any way. The second type of complex suffixes are the ones whose meanings are partially derivable. The third type concerns to the

suffixes the complex suffix part is derivable. *Table 20* below presents an inventory of the complex suffixes identified in UPSBQ. The complex suffixes that bear directional and associated motion will be described in detail in chapter VI of this dissertation. As can be seen in *Table 20*, consistent glosses have not been found for every complex suffix, particularly.

Types of complex suffixes	Inventory	Meaning
Total lexicalization	-rqaya	<i>'to do V forcefully by totally affecting the plural object/subject'</i>
	-yarpa	<i>'to do V unexpectedly'</i> (restricted to certain verbs)
	-rpaya	<i>'to do V unexpectedly'</i> (restricted to certain verbs)
	-yacha	<i>'to do V in a non-linear direction/path'</i>
Partially derivable	-yamu	<i>'to do V decidedly'</i> (<i>The verb is performed with firm intention on the part of the subject</i>)
	-yapu	<i>'to totally do V'</i> <i>-Meaning is variable in context</i>
	-yampu	<i>-mpu derivable</i> (-yampu is highly restricted)
	-kamu	<i>'For Subject to do V on his/her own volition'</i> <i>'For Subject to do V because he/she needs/wants the object'</i>
	-kapu	<i>'for V to occur naturally, effortlessly (entirely affecting the object)</i> <i>'to do V boldly, combined with inchoative: -ri-kapu'</i>
	-kampu	<i>'To do V for safety, to avoid something bad'</i> (<i>subject owns the object</i>) <i>-Intransitive verbs such as puñuy 'sleep' meaning varies</i>
	-rqamu	<i>'To do V in a persistent, insistent manner'</i> (<i>The verb is performed in a short amount of time</i>)
	-rqapu	Meaning predicted by the context
	-rqampu	<i>-mpu derivable</i> (-rqampu is highly restricted)

Complex suffix-part derivable	-yarqamu -yarqapu -yarqampu -yakamu -yakapu -yakampu -rqakamu -rqakapu -rqakampu	-All of these complex suffixes are not frequent in the corpus - <i>ya</i> chunk is unpredictable, with some verbs <i>-ya</i> means ‘inwards’ - <i>rqa</i> unpredictable -Meaning of complex suffixes in bold can be derived.
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Table 20: Inventory of complex suffix types

The organization of complex suffixes in UPSBQ’s verb stem do not fit out individual slot one at a time as simplex suffixes do as presented earlier. One of the arguments for treating the complex suffixes as constituents is that they can be seen as fitting out or ‘replacing’ multiple adjacent positions in the verb complex in that when they appear the presence of simplex suffixes of those positions is banned. They replace more than two positions, or they can span over multiple adjacent positions in the verb stem thus making the presence of the suffixes of those positions inadmissible. Each complex suffix bears a complex meaning as a unit; thus, it will form a single constituent in the verb stem. It has been stated earlier that there are three types of complex suffixes. Each type of complex suffix has a different position in a complex verb stem. Their positions and the interaction with other simplex suffixes from *Table 3* can be illustrated following the next three rules.

As pointed in (Camacho-Rios and Tallman forthcoming) complex suffixes in the Rule 1 (CS1) can be followed by other simplex suffixes. Complex suffixes in the Rule 2

(CS2) can be preceded by certain simplex suffixes. But complex suffix forms in the Rule 3 (CS3) fill out the span of formatives in the verb stem. Thus, complex suffixes from rule 3 no longer combine with any other simplex suffix in a verb stem.

COMPLEX SUFFIX RULE 1: STEM --> LVB + **CS1** +(-chi) + (-ku)/(-mu)/(-pu)

COMPLEX SUFFIX RULE 2: STEM --> LVB + (-ri) + (-ri) + (-chi) + (-naya) + **CS2**

COMPLEX SUFFIX RULE 3: STEM --> LVB + **CS3**

CS1 ==> LVB +
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -yarpa \\ -rpaya \\ -rqaya \\ -yacha \end{array} \right\} + (-chi) + (-ku)/(-mu)/(-pu)$$

CS2 ==> LVB + (-ri) + (-ri) + (-chi) + (-naya)
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -kamu \\ -kapu \\ -kampu \end{array} \right\}$$

CS3 ==> LVB +
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -yamu \\ -yapu \\ -yampu \\ -rqamu \\ -rqapu \\ -rqampu \\ -yarqamu \\ -yarqapu \\ -yarqampu \\ -yakamu \\ -yakapu \\ -yakampu \\ -rqakamu \\ -rqakapu \\ -rqakampu \end{array} \right\}$$

To demonstrate complex suffixes in UPSBQ, this study proposes two types of evidence. The first one concerns semantic evidence; this means complex suffixes bear a meaning as a unit and form a single constituent. The second evidence concerns to two types of morpho-syntactic evidence.

5.3.1. A synchronic view of the morphophonological rule

Quechuan languages propose a morpho-phonological rule in which /u/ changed into /a/ (see Muysken 1981, Adelaar 1994, Cerrón-Palomino 2003). In the South Bolivian Quechua literature, specifically in Cochabamba Quechua, the same rule /u/ → /a/ rule is proposed in (Lastra 1968). Cochabamba Quechua has three suffixes with /u/ forms: *-yku*, *-ku* and *-rku* that will change into *-yka*, *-ka*, and *-rqa* before the suffixes *-pu* and *-mu*. The following rule schematizes this proposed morphophonological rule.

<i>-yku</i>		<i>-yka</i>
<i>-ku</i>	→	<i>-ka</i>
<i>-rku</i>		<i>-rqa</i>

This rule assumes that the suffixes with /u/ are underlying forms and that /u/ and /a/ final forms are allomorphs of a single morpheme. The /a/ form suffixes will only occur before *-mu* and *-pu*, whereas the /u/ forms will occur elsewhere. The meaning of the allomorphs will be derived compositionally as detailed below.

Morpho-phonological rule Cochabamba Quechua (Lastra 1968)

Underlying form	Allomorphs	Synchronic Meaning
<i>/-yku/</i>	<i>[-yku] [-yka]</i>	‘Intensifies the meaning of the verb and makes it refer to something specific’.
<i>/-ku/</i>	<i>[-ku] [-ka]</i>	‘Indicates that the action is the recipient of the action that is performed freely by the actor or for his own benefit’.
<i>/-rqu/</i>	<i>[-rqu][-rqa]</i>	‘Honorific’

5.3.1.1. *Uma Piwra Quechua complex suffixes formation*

Examining a large natural spoken corpus collected with monolingual elders in Uma Piwra shows that the suffixes with /a/ forms: *-ka*, *-yka* ~ *-ya*, *-rqa* only appear before *-mu*, *-pu* and *-mpu*. The /a/ forms are no longer productive when they occur independently. All forms in (200) and (201) are ungrammatical and their meaning cannot be interpreted as separate morphemes. These ungrammatical forms are not found in the corpus nor in elicitation.

- (200) a. *wayk'u-**ka**-n
b. *wayk'u-**ya**-n
c. *wayk'u-**rqa**-n
- (201) a. *apa-**ka**-n
b. *apa-**ya**-n
c. *apa-**rqa**-n

Synchronic data in UPSBQ suggests that the suffixes with /a/ forms *-ka*, *-yka* ~ *-ya*, *-rqa* fossilized before *-mu*, *-pu* and *-mpu* and yielded nine complex suffix forms as presented in *Table 21*.

-ya		-yamu -yapu -yampu
-rqa	-mu, -pu, -mpu	-rqamu -rqapu -rqampu
-ka		-kamu -kapu -kampu

Table 21: Complex suffixes formation in UPSBQ

From the nine complex suffixes presented in *Table 21*, nine more complex suffix types can be formed. Six with -ya suffix form followed by the group of complex suffixes starting with -rqa and -ka. Then three more complex suffix types can be forms with -rqa followed by complex suffixes beginning with -ka forms as illustrated in *Table 22* below. Complex suffix types from *Table 22* are variable in their meaning and not frequently observed in the natural corpus that was examined.

-ya + (-rqa - Complex suffix)	-ya-rqamu -ya-rqapu -ya-rqampu -ya-kamu -ya-kapu -ya-kampu
-rqa + (-ka - Complex suffix)	-rqa-kamu -rqa-kapu -rqa-kampu

Table 22: Complex suffix-part derivable

5.3.2. Semantic evidence: non-compositional meaning

A second piece of evidence to state complex suffixes is that the meaning of each of them cannot be derived from their individual suffix components. In *Table 20*, four types of complex suffixes have been identified: suffixes that have undergone total lexicalization, the ones that can be partially derived and the ones that only the lexicalized part can be derived. Example (221) illustrates a type of complex suffix that has lexicalized and whose meaning is only interpreted from the unit. The suffix *-rqaya* means that the action of the verb will be performed forcefully affecting the plural subject or object. In (221) the speaker is talking about a cat. People in Uma Piwra find out this cat was aggressive and killed small cats some people owed in the town. The action of the verb applies to several cats.

- (221) *Intús, maqaspalla wañurqayachin á*
 Intús, maqa-spa-lla wañu-**rqaya**-chi-n á
 so hit-GER-LIM kill-**forcefully**-CAUS-3SG ah
 ‘Then, it (big cat) killed by just hitting them (small cats)’

The second type of complex suffixes listed in *Table 20* can be partially derivable. I will provide two examples to show they are not fully compositional but partially or minimally. First, in the examples in (222), the individual meanings of three suffixes are presented from (a) to (d). The meaning of the suffix *-ka* in (222a) cannot be derived. The suffix *-mpu* in (222b) expresses ‘to do V towards the speaker on someone else benefit’. The subject of the verb feels sympathy with the beneficiary. Lastly, the suffix *-pu* can

bear two different meanings when it combines with the verb *apay* ‘carry’. Now, if we look at the example in (223) *-kampu* cannot be derived from (222a) and (222b). In (223) the complex suffix *-kampu* expresses ‘to do V safety (Subject owns the object)’. Additionally, the subject performs the verb for safety. The subject prevented it. What is partially predicted from the suffix *-kampu* is the directional meaning towards the speaker derived from *-mpu*.

Now, considering the complex suffix *-kapu* ‘for V to occur naturally, effortlessly entirely affecting the object’ in the same example (223), the meaning cannot be derived from the combination (222a) and (222c-d). *-kapu* suffix does not contain a benefactive meaning. Perhaps it can be interpreted the fox came and returned back to where it lives. In this case the meaning of the *-pu* suffix from (222d) is not yet predictable for me.

(222) a. *-ka* (not attested by itself: unclear meaning)

(sometimes subject owns object)

- b. *marq'a-mpu-ni*
carry.with.hand-**DIR**.BEN-1SG
'I brought X towards here on someone else benefit'
(doing V for sympathy/pity)
- c. *apa-pu-n*
carry-BEN-3SG
'It carries something on someone else benefit'
- d. *apa-pu-n*
carry-back-3SG
'It carries something back'

- (223) *Marq'akampuni chaypi á. Chay tuta antuñu apakapusqa.*
 marq'a-**kampu-ni** chay-pi á.
 carry.with.hand-**DIR-1SG.NF** DEM-LOC ah
 chay tuta antuñu apa-**kapu-sqa**
 DEM night fox carry-**COMPL-PST.NAR**
 'There, I brought (my sheep) carrying by hand. That night the fox took it away'

The third type of complex suffixes presented in Table 20 are the ones that only the lexicalized part can be derived. If we consider examples (224) and (225) only the meaning of *-kampu* can be derived. Sometimes the suffix *-ya* can be interpreted as 'inwards' as in (224) but sometimes not. In (225). The speaker is inside the room, and he utters that he will go pick up his fumigator and then come back where he is was sitting when he uttered the statement.

- (224) *Jallch'ayakampunki puñuqjinallaña*
 jallch'a-**yakampu-nki** puñu-q=jina=lla=ña
 save-**GO.inside&DO-2SG.FUT** sleep-REL=as=LIM=already
 'You will go save (your backpack) in (the room)
 when you enter the room to sleep'
- (225) *Jaqay nayta, jumigadorayta apayakampusaq, wich'urpayani chay jawaman.*
 jaqay na-y-ta jumigadora-y-ta
 DEM that-1SG.POSS-ACC fumigator-1SG.POSS-ACC
 apa-**yakampu-saq** wich'u-rpaya-ni
 carry-**GO&COME-1SG.FUT** throw-unexpectedly-1SG
 chay jawa-man
 DEM outside-ALL
 'That thing of mine outside, my fumigator, I will go and bring it
 (my fumigator) inside'

5.3.3. Morphosyntactic evidence

In order to show that the meanings of complex suffixes are not derivable from two or three different suffixes, two types of morpho-syntactic tests have been applied to complex suffixes identified in UPSBQ data. The first one consists in demonstrating that -*pu* (*Slot5*) does not license an external argument to be the beneficiary of the action of the verb. The second one consists in demonstrating that the suffix -*ka* does not bear a reflexive meaning when it combines to reflexive verbs in which the direct object should be expected to be the same subject based on earlier studies that define -*ku* as reflexive.

Test 1: No external argument licensed by -pu

The suffix *-pu* (Slot5) with transitive verbs licenses an external argument who is the beneficiary of the action of the verb. The suffix *-pu* in the complex suffix *-rqakapu* no longer licenses an external argument. This proves that the meanings of complex suffixes are not compositional. In (226) the suffix *-pu* licenses an external argument *-wa* '1OBJ'. Whereas the example (227) the suffix *-pu* cannot license an external argument to be the beneficiary of the action of the verb. The example (227) is ungrammatical. This test shows that the complex suffix *-rqakapu* in (228) forms a single constituent with a malefactive meaning.

- (227) *tunás palla-**rqaka-pu-wa-n**
 prickly_pear.ACC pick-?-?-BEN-1OBJ-3SG
 'he/she/it picked me up (assuming that 1OBJ is a prickly pear)'

- (228) tunás palla-**rqakapu-n**
 prickly_pear.ACC pick-MAL-3SG
 'he/she picked up the prickly pears' (the subject affects someone else's)

Applying the same test to the following examples also shows evidence that *-pu* does not license an external argument in the complex suffix *-kapu*. In (229) the suffix *-pu* in combination with the verb *wayk'u-* 'cook' licenses an external argument. In (230) the same verb cannot allow *-wa* '1OBJ'. The sentence in (230) is ungrammatical. The complex suffix *-kapu* forms a single constituent in the verb stem, as exemplified in (231).

- (229) *wayk'upuyku*
 wayk'u-**pu-yku**
 cook-BEN-1SG.INCL
 'We cook for someone else'

- (230) *wallpasnintinta wayk'u-ka-pu-wa-n*
 *wallpa-sni-ntin-ta wayk'u-**ka-pu-wa-n**
 hen-PL-even-ACC cook-?-BEN-1OBJ-3SG
 'he/she/it cooked me along with the hens'

- (231) *wallpasnintinta wayk'ukapun*
 wallpa-sni-ntin-ta wayk'u-**kapu-n**
 hen-PL-even-ACC cook-COMPL-n
 'She cooked everything, even the hens'

Test 2: No reflexive value *-ku* (Slot5) 'do V for oneself'

The no reflexive test applied to *-ka*, potentially coming from '*-ku*' (Slot5) 'do V for oneself' does not clearly show that the object is the same subject. If we consider the examples in (232) and in (233) the verbs with the reflexive *-ku* involves the direct object

and is the same as the subject. However, if we compare the verb *maylla-* ‘wash’ in (233) to the same verb in (234) and (235) the function of the suffix *-ka* is not clearly interpreted as reflexive. In these last two examples the object is different than the subject.

- (232) *Chuturqukuytawan nuqayku bañakushayku á*
 chutu-rqu-ku-ytawan nuqayku
 take.clothes.off-nimbly-REF-after 1PL.INCL
- baña-**ku**-sha-yku á
 take.bath-**REF**-PROG-1PL.INCL ah
 ‘After taking off our clothes we (exclusive) were taking a bath’
- (233) *Mayllakuni*
 maylla-**ku**-ni
 wash-**REF**-1SG
 ‘I wash myself’(hand, face)
- (234) *Jaqay platuykí antis mayllakamuwaq*
 jaqay plate-ykí antis maylla-**kamu**-waq
 DEM dish-3SG.POSS.ACC rather wash-**GO&DO**-1SG.COND
 ‘You would go and wash your dish’
- (235) (platuykí) mayllakamunkí?
 (platuykí) maylla-**kamu**-nkí?
 plate-1SG.POSS.ACC wash-**GO&DO**-2SG.Q
 ‘Did you go (wash your dish)?’

In order to express the reflexive in which the subject moves to a certain location to perform the action denoted by the verb, UPSBQ uses the habitual past as in (236). The *-ku* in the verb *baña-* ‘to bath’ expresses reflexive.

- (236) *mmm, bañakuq riyku, jaqayta, jaqay Murq'u Urqu chayman riq kayku*
 mmm, baña-**ku**-q ri-yku, jaqay-ta,
 mmm, bath-**REF**-HAB go-3PL DEM-ACC
- jaqay Murq'u Urqu chay-man ri-q ka-yku
 DEM Murq'u Urqu DEM-ALL go-HAB 3PL.PST

‘mmm, we usually go bath ourselves, there, there where Murq’u Urqu is, we used to go there’

This section has presented three types of evidence to claim that complex suffixes are fossilized units. The first morpho-syntactic test shows evidence for complex suffixes formed with *-pu* a non-compositional benefactive meaning. However, there are two exceptions *-yapu* and *-rqapu*. With these two suffixes the *-pu* still licenses an external argument but the meaning of *-rqa* is not derived from *-rqu* nor the meaning of *-ya* is derived from *-yu*. This analysis suggests treating the lexicalized suffixes as single constituents. But the discussion is open for other possible ways to analyze these suffixes using other models but representing the complex meaning of each suffix.

5.3.4. Verbal complexity in UPSBQ

I claimed earlier that a verb stem can be derived from between one up to four suffixes. There are five types of stems in UPSBQ. The type of suffix or suffix strings that derives a stem is illustrated in *Table 23* below. Stems that are derived by 2 or more suffixes present some restrictions triggered semantically or conditioned by the use of suffix string in specific contexts. A complex suffix can co-occur with a simplex suffix, but two complex suffixes cannot co-occur.

Types of derived verb stem		type of suffix(es)
1	LVB	No suffix
2	LVB+suffix	simplex/complex
3	LVB+suffix+suffix	-simplex-simplex -simplex-complex -complex-simplex *-complex-complex
4	LVB+suffix+suffix+suffix	-simplex-simplex-simplex -simplex-simplex-complex *-complex-simplex-simplex *-simplex-complex-simplex *-simplex-complex-complex *-complex-complex-simplex
5	LVB-suffix-suffix-suffix-suffix	-simplex-simplex-simplex-simplex -simplex-simplex-simplex-complex *-complex-simplex-simplex-simplex

Table 23: Distribution of non-inflectional simplex and complex suffixes in the verb stem

5.3.4.1. *Stem consisting of just the LVB*

A verb stem on this type is only composed by a lexical verb base that will combine with the obligatory inflectional suffix as exemplified in (237). The verb root *tarpu-* ‘plant’ is the only component of the verb stem. Then, the inflectional morpheme *-yku* ‘1PL.INCL.NF’ is combined to it.

- (237) *Papa, trigu, sara, alverja, habas, chaykuna tarpuyku nuqaykuqa á*
 papa, trigu, sara, alverja, habas,
 potato wheat corn peas broad beans
- chay-kuna tarpu-yku nuqayku=qá
 DEM-PL plant-1PL.INCL.NF 1PL.INCL=TOP ah
 'We plant potato, wheat, corn, peas, broad beans all of those ah'

5.3.4.2. *Stem consisting of LVB+suffix*

A verb stem of this type is derived by one suffix. The deriving suffix can be any simplex suffix, or any complex suffix as illustrated below. In (238) the verb stem is derived by a simplex suffix *-pu* 'benefactive'. In (239) the verb stem is derived by the complex suffix *-kampu*.

- (238) *arritusllá wayk'upuni*
 arr-itu-s-llá wayk'u-**pu**-ni
 rice-DIM-PL-LIM.ACC cook-BEN-1SG
 'I cook for it (the cat) just rice'
- (239) *q'ala ch'ichiyarpaqtin t'aqsakampuni*
 q'ala ch'ichi-ya-rpa-qtin t'aqsa-**kampu**-ni
 ADV dirti-become-ADV-when-3SG wash-GO&DO-1SG.NF
 'When (my clothes) become dirty I go wash (my clothes)'

5.3.4.3. *Stem consisting of LVB+suffix+suffix*

A verb stem of this type can be derived by two simplex suffixes as in (240), a suffix string composed by one simplex suffix followed by a complex suffix as in (241) or a complex suffix followed by a simplex suffix as in (242). Strings of two complex suffixes are not allowed.

- (240) *Tususpa jurnu wasataqa, muyuririmusqa, muyuririsqa. Ch'uñu carajuqa.*
 tusu-spa jurnu wasa-ta=qqa,
 dance-GER oven back-ACC=TOP

 muyu-ri-ri-mu-sqa, muyu-**ri-ri**-sqa.
 turn-INC-AFF-DIR-3SG.PST.NAR turn-**INCH-AFF**-3SG.PST.NAR

 ch'uñu caraju=qqa.
 fox caraju=TOP

‘As it (the fox) was dancing it turned round the oven and it turned back.
Caraju fox’

- (241) *i? chay t'akarikamushallanñataq*
 i? chay t'aka-**ri-kamu**-sha-lla-n=ñna=taq
 you see? DEM fall-**INCH-DIR**-PROG-only-3SG=already=and
 ‘You see? It (rain) is starting to fall downwards once again’.

- (242) *Libi tarpúy uj simanapi pasarpanqa á.*
Tracturiswán chayratu tarpurqayachinkuqa
 Libi tarpúy uj simana-pi pasa-rpa-nqa á.
 ADV sow.TOP one week-LOC happen-quickly-3SG.FUT á

 Tracturi-s-wán chayratu tarpu-**rqaya-chi**-nku=qqa
 Tractor-PL-INST fast sow-**forcefully-CAUS**-3PL=TOP

‘It (the sowing season) will last just one week.

With tractors they make sow very fast’

5.3.4.4. *Stem consisting of LVB+suffix+suffix+suffix*

A verb stem of this type is derived by three suffixes. Only two types of three suffix strings can derive this type of stem. The first string can involve three simplex suffixes *e.g.*, (243). The second string can include two simplex suffixes followed by one complex suffix *e.g.*, (244). Other types of suffix combinations are not allowed.

- (243) *Kirusní rikurichimusunqa á yaku katariqa*
 kiru-sní-n riku-ri-chi-mu-sunqa
 tooth-PL.ACC-3SG.POSS show-AFF-CAUS-DIR-3SG>2SG.FUT
 á
 ah

yaku katari=qa
 water snake=TOP
 'The type of snake that lives in water it shows its teeth'

(244) *Chinkayurikapun, manchariyku iskay ukhu*
 chinka-yu-ri-kapu-n,
 disappear-PFV-INCH-COMPL-3SG

mancha-ri-yku iskay ukhu
 scare-INCH-1PL.INCL two inside
 'It (wild animal like) boldly disappeared, we both got scared'

5.3.4.5. Stem consisting of LVB+suffix+suffix+suffix+suffix

A stem derived by four suffixes is very uncommon compared to the previous types of complex verb stems. The four-suffix strings allow two types: the first one is composed by four simplex suffixes *e.g.*, (245) and the second one three simplex suffixes and one complex suffix *e.g.*, (246). The first three suffixes that derive this type of verb stem are normally reduced to *-yu-ri-chi* ‘perfective, affective and causative’ as illustrated below.

- (245) *Tumpitatawan junt'ayurichikuy pero á*
 bump-ita-ta-wan junt'a-yu-ri-chi-ku-y
 more-DIM-ACC-INSTR fill-PFV-AFF-CAUS-REF-1SG>2SG.IMP

pero á
 but ah
 'but, please, fill it your (*tutuma*) with (*aqha*) a little bit more'

(246) *nuqapuni kutiyurichikampusharqani*
 nuqa=puni kuti-yu-ri-chi-kampu-sha-rqa-ni
 1SG=certainly return-PFV-AFF-CAUS-DIR-PROG-PST-1SG.NF
 It was certainly me who was bringing (my sheep) back home.

This section presented examples to illustrate the different types of suffix strings that can derive a verb stem. Some suffix combinations are semantically restricted to certain classes of verbs, or their meaning can be better interpreted from the cultural background. I will exemplify a string of type *-simplex-complex* in which *-kapu* stands for complex suffix. In this type of combination *-kapu* can only be preceded by three simplex suffixes *-rpa* suddenly, *-chi* causative and *-ri* inchoative as in (247), other combinations as in (248) are not allowed due to semantic restrictions.

- (247) a. *-rpa-kapu* -suddenly-kapu
 - b. *-chi-kapu* -CAUS-kapu
 - c. *-ri-kapu* -INCOHATIVE-kapu
- (248) a. *-ri(affective)-kapu
 - a. *-ysi-kapu
 - b. *-naya-kapu
 - c. *-rqu-kapu
 - d. *-yku-kapu

In the *-simplex-kapu* string, the meaning of the three possible simplex suffixes can be derived from their individual meanings. In (249) and (250) *-rpa* ‘suddenly’, the *-chi* ‘causative’ and the complex suffix are derivable. But, when the inchoative suffix *-ri* combines to *-kapu* the combination expresses ‘begin and boldly doing verb’. This meaning is not productive as it is only appearing with three groups of verbs: intransitive and motion verbs, plant verbs, weather verbs but not with other verbs as illustrated in *Table 24* below.

- (249) *P'isqu tukurpакapun á*
p'isqu tuku-**rpa-kapu-n** á

bid finish-**suddenly-COMPL-3SG** ah
 'Birds finish (eat) all (the prickly pears)'

- (250) *Qhatikapunku á ladiyachikapunku*
 qhati-kapu-nku á ladiya-**chi-kapu**-nku
 herd-COMPL-3PL ah move-CAUS-COMPL-3PL
 'They herd their cattle ah. They make them move (from the center of the show)'

Intransitives and verbs motion	Plant verbs
yaykuy 'enter' ayqiy 'run away' phaway 'fly' quy 'leave' jampuy 'return' riý 'go' chimpay 'cross' escapay 'escape' chinkay 'disappear (by walking/running)' puñuy 'sleep' suruy 'leak' niy (sound) 'sound'(metaphoric) waqay 'cry'	wiñay 'to raise (plant)' wiñaray 'to sprout (for grains soaking in water)' t'ikay 'to bloom' lluqsiy 'to sprout (for crop plantations)'
Weather verbs	Other verbs activity, stative
wayray 'to be windy' paray 'to rain' chhillchiy 'to drizzle' granizay 'to hail' chiqchiy 'to hail.aggressively' iphuy 'to drizzle.softly' rit'iy 'to snow'	*mikhu-ri-kapu-ni *eat-ri-kapu-1SG *wayk'u-ri-kapu-ni *cook-ri-kapu-1SG *ranti-ri-kapu-ni *buy-ri-kapu-1SG *llank'a-ri-kapu-ni *plow-ri-kapu-1SG *jallma-ri-kapu-ni *cart.up-ri-kapu-1SG *bonda-ri-kapu-ni *peel-ri-kapu-1SG *ruwa-ri-kapu-ni *make-ri-kapu-1SG

Table 24: Types of verb for -ri-kapu 'begin and boldly do V'

The suffix string *-ri-kapu* 'begin & boldly do verb' has a default meaning in culturally specific contexts in rural varieties. In examples (251) and (252) the speaker remembers a scene when it rained unexpectedly. That rain made the peach plants' flowers to started blooming earlier than expected. Then, when the cold came it froze the flowers

and all the peach flowers fell down, which was the reason this year didn't produce peaches.

- (251) *Chay sará tipishaqtinchik maná pararqá chaywan t'ikarikapurqa. Libri mmm*
 chay sará tipi-sha-qty-nchik maná
 DEM corn.ACC peel.off-PROG-when-1PL.INCL NEG.INT
 para-rqá chay-wan t'ika-**ri-kapu**-rqa.
 mmm DEM-INST bloom-**INCH-boldly**-3SG.PST
 libri mmm
 a lot mmm

'Don't you remember it rained when we were peeling off the skin of corn.
 They (peach trees) bloomed (earlier) because of that rain'.

- (252) *libi t'ikarikapun á yuraq duraznu, yuraqllá qurichin je, je, je*
 libi t'ika-**ri-kapu**-n á yuraq duraznu,
 a lot bloom-**INCH-boldly**-3SG ah white peach
 yuraq-llá qu-ri-chi-n je, je, je
 white-LIM.ACC bloom-AFF-CAUS-3SG je, je, je
 'It boldly started to bloom, the white (flower) peach,
 it bloomed all covered in white, white'

Another example of *-ri-kapu* 'begin & boldly do verb' used in a cultural context is exemplified in (253). In rural towns like UP, it is assumed that birds transmit messages. In (253) once upon a time the subject wanted to catch a bird, but it was quite difficult because he was almost getting where the bird was and the bird left, once again he was almost getting there, and the bird boldly escaped. In the end the speaker didn't catch it.

- (253) *ñapis chayarqushaniña, ñapis phawarikapullanñataq,*
ñá chayarqushaniña phawarikapullanñataq á
 ñapis chaya-rqu-sha-ni=ña,
 almost arrive-ADV-PROG-1SG.NF=already

ñapis phawa-**ri-kapu**-lla-n=ña=taq,
almost fly-INCH-boldly-LIM-3SG.NF=already=and

ñá chaya-rqu-sha-ni=ña
almost arrive-ADV-PROG-1SG.NF=already

phawa-**ri-kapu**-lla-n=ña=taq á
fly-INCH-boldly-LIM-3SG.NF=already=and ah
'I am almost getting there (where the bird is) it boldly leaves again,
I am almost getting there, and it boldly leaves again ah'

In South Bolivian Quechua traditional narratives animals complete a lot. One of the characters in the story is cleverer than the other. This manner of boldly performing the verb expressed by *-ri-kapu* is prominent in narratives of traditional stories. If we consider example (254), an excerpt from the traditional story *Quwiwan Runawan Atuqwan ima* 'the guinea pig, the man and the fox' illustrates the use of *-ri-kapu* in a parallelism form. In this context the man was trying to chase the guinea pig as it was eating his alfalfa plantations every night. The guinea pig boldly escaped, and the man didn't chase it. The same use of parallelism is also found in expects of other traditional narratives as illustrated in *Table 25* below.

(254) *Yaykurikapusqa, ayqirikapusqa má jap'isqachu á*
 *yayku-**ri-kapu**-sqa,*
 enter-INCH-boldly-3SG.PST.NAR

ayqi-**ri-kapu**-sqa
escape-INCH-boldly-3SG.PST.NAR

má *jap'i-sqa=chu á*
NEG *catch-*
'It (the guinea pig) boldly entered, it boldly escaped, he (the man)

Quiwian runawan atuqwan ima	The guinea pig the man and the fox
Q’ala uqullasqapuni caraju, rikusqa á quwitaqa. Yaykuri kapusqa , quwita rikusqapis caraju cerco ukhuman yaykuri kaspusqa , ayqiri kapusqa , má jap’isqachu á. “Caraju kunán imapimin jap’iyman” nis piensasqa...	It (guinea pig) kept eating <i>caraju!</i> The man saw the guinea pig. <i>It (guinea pig) boldly entered.</i> He even saw the guinea pig. <i>It (guinea pig) boldly entered, it boldly escaped.</i> The man didn’t chase it. “ <i>Caraju</i> , now, how can I chase it?” saying, thought (the man)....
Alquwan atuqwan	The dog and the fox
... Kunán chaypi leonwan tinkuspa “caraju ninaman kachawan kunán ni tarinichu, yaykuri kapun jaqayta caraju” nisqa. chinkayuri kapun ch’askaqa á, í? Killapis. “Burru, killallaman... ch’askaman... kachayamurqasunki nina nispa”...	... then, it (the dog) came across to the lion. “Caraju, it (the fox) sent me to get fire and I didn’t find it. <i>The star faded away boldly.</i> ” said the dog. <i>The star boldly descended ah</i> , right? The moon also. “Don’t be dumb! To the moon... It (the fox) sent you to catch the star as it was fire”...
Yuthuwan atuqwan	The quail and the fox
Mmmta lluqchishaqtillan caraju “pharararáq” quri kapusqa caraju. Libi ñawisninman q’ala pharaqiyarpachisqa ni rikusqachu ripuqtaqpis caraju. Yuthuqa riri kapusqa “wiuj” q’ala pharaqiykayarpasqa	mmm when it (the fox) was spreading (spicy red chili sauce on the back of the quail) <i>it (the quail) boldly left/took off, Caraju.</i> It (the quail) made the chili sauce spread to the fox. It (the fox) didn’t even have the chance to see the quail leaving. <i>The quail boldly left “wiuj”</i> it totally spread the red chili into the fox.

Table 25: Traditional narrative excepts

These preliminary explanations on *-ri-kapu* leads to consider a systematic analysis of the occurrence of each type of string in combination to the different sets of verbs. Likewise, such combinations interacting with T/A/M person, number and enclitics. The

semantics of certain suffix strings might vary on certain verb categories, other suffixes or strings that might have a default meaning in traditional narratives in the Quechuan culture. Hintz (2017) states the semantics of verbal suffixes in traditional stories remains unclear. More broadly, a systematic analysis on an annotated corpus could allow us to assess the frequency of occurrence of suffix combinations.

5.4. THE MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION WITHIN SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

South Bolivian Quechua has been considered as one single variety without remarking morphological differences. There are for two reasons. SBQ still lacks in depth studies describing the linguistic diversity preserved in rural varieties. The second reason has to do with earlier scholars centering their attention on SBQ spoken in urbanized areas that corresponds to a standardized variety of SBQ as I discuss in Chapter II of this dissertation. In Bills et al. (1963), Lastra (1968) and Muysken (1981) the meaning of verbal morphology is regarded as being mainly compositional. If we consider the following two examples in (125) and (126) cited from Bills et al. (1963:193). In *-ka-pu* and *-ka-m-pu* the meaning of each morpheme is derived independently as illustrated in *Figure 5* and *Figure 6* below. To my native speaker intuitions and the data that supports this dissertation, each string forms a constituent as illustrated in *Figure 7* and *Figure 8*. *-ka-pu* forms a complex suffix *-kapu* expressing ‘for V to occur naturally, effortlessly (entirely affecting the object)’. I would interpret (255) as ‘I washed something I own’. Likewise, *-ka-m-pu* forms a complex suffix expressing ‘to do V for safety, to avoid something bad (subject owns the object)’ thus, I would interpret the example (256) as ‘I

went and washed (something I own *e.g.*, *my dish*, *my spoon*, *my vegetable(s)*, *my potatoes*) for safety'.

- (255) maylla-ka-pu-ni
 bathe-REF-BEN-1SG
 'I bathe (myself) for her' Bills et al. (1963:193)

- (256) maylla-ka-m-pu-ni
 bathe-REF-go-BEN-1SG
 'I go to bathe (myself) for her' Bills et al. (1963:193)

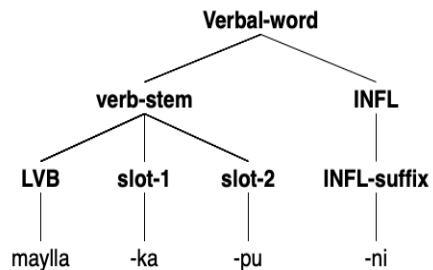


Figure 5: Compositional -ka-pu

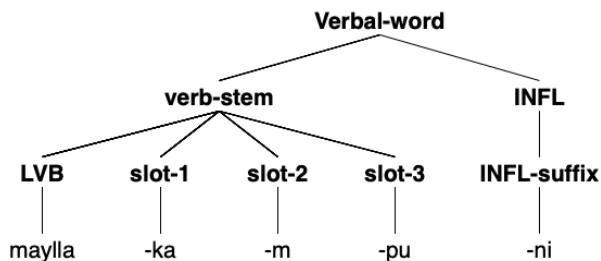


Figure 6: Compositional -ka-m-pu

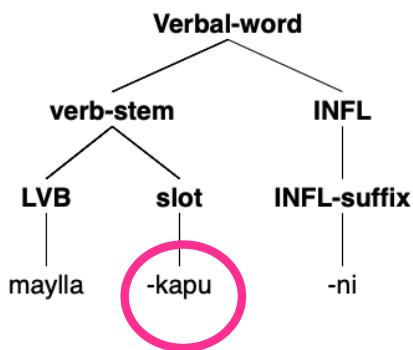


Figure 7: Non-compositional -kapu

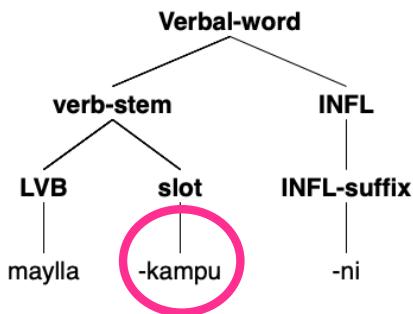


Figure 8: Non-compositional -kampu

The alternative morphological analysis I propose in this dissertation is based on a large natural corpus while bringing insights of monolingual speakers of South Bolivian Quechua that use SBQ to communicate in their everyday life. I consider varieties like Uma Piwra to be different from the standardized varieties because their verbs exhibit more two or three suffix combinations as presented in *Table 23* earlier. Next section will show some preliminary observations on the variation between two different groups of speakers of SBQ.

5.4. UPSBQ IN TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

As argued earlier in (Camacho-Rios 2019), a polysynthetic language is understood as one which displays a high degree of morphological complexity in the verb (Fortescue et al., 2017:18). UPSBQ can be considered complex in the sense that it has a large repertoire of verbal suffixes. Verbal suffixes express various types of meanings that involves adverbials, aspectual, affective, and different syntactic suffixes as showed earlier in this chapter. Following Matissen (2017) the typology for UPSBQ can be assessed using the five parameters of polysynthesis: (i) word-formational type, (ii) the internal organization, (iii) participant encoding, (iv) evolutionary path and (v) characteristic design. The morphology of UPSBQ is understood as presented in *Table 26*.

Parameter	Subclassification of Polysynthesis	Uma Piwra Quechua
1	Word-formational type	1-i affixal polysynthesis
2	Internal organization	2-i templatic organization 2-ii scope ordering
3	Participant encoding	Polypersonalism
4	Evolutionary path	Verb form expandable between the root and the inflection
5	Characteristic design	Grammatical accumulation Holophrastic Presence of complex suffixes

Table 26: UPSBQ in Matissen typological classification

The (i) *word formation type* has as fundamental difference the number of lexical roots allowed in the verb root. UPSBQ has similar word verbal formation type as Greenlandic. It only allows one lexical verb base per lexeme. It permits no compounding

of roots or stems and it uses only suffixes. The root takes initial position, the inflection final position and the rest are non-obligatory morphemes. The following examples in (257) and (258) show similar word formation types.

Greenlandic

- (257) *Kaalat* *tiki-nngik-kallar-pug*
 Kaalat *arrive-NEG-yet/still-IND:3SG*
 'Kaalat has not arrived yet' (Fortescue 1984:137)

Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua

- (258) *Pay* *apamunqachá*
 Pay *apa-mu-nqa=chá*
 3SG *carry-DIR-3SG.FUT=DUB*
 'Probably, he will bring (from Cochabamba city towards Uma Piwra)'

The (ii) *internal organization type* involves a mixed system between templatic and scope-ordered organization. UPSBQ is templatic since the root initial and inflection have their fixed positions. It also presents slots which are also fixed in their order. UPSBQ is scope ordered since a lexical verb base is modified by the non-inflectional suffixes.

The third parameter is (iii) *participant encoding type*. UPSBQ is poly-personal since it can encode more than one person in the verb form. In the example (259) there *causative* and the *benefactive* involve the participation of two other participants besides the subject of the verb.

- (259) “*Yakuta churachipunku*” *ninku*
 yaku-ta chura-**chi-pu**-nku ni-nku
 water-ACC install-CAUS-BEN-3PL say-3PL
 'It is said, “they made (someone) install water on (someone's) behalf”'

The (iv) *evolutionary path type* involves the potential formation mechanisms the first one is ‘*onion type*’, it encounters different layers of morphemes in both sides of the verb root. ‘*sandwich type*’ involves the expansion of verbs by chaining morphemes between the lexical and inflectional morphemes. ‘*burdock type*’ accounts for coalescence. UPSBQ is the *sandwich type* and similar to Chukchi. The verb form in these three languages are expandable by morphemes which are placed between the lexical verb root and the inflection. The following examples show this expansion process by hosting more than one non-inflectional suffixes such as a causative **-chi** in (260) and a causative plus the associated motion **-mu** in (261).

- (260) *apachini*

apa-**chi**-ni
carry-**CAUS**-1SG
'I make (someone) carry (aqhá)'

- (261) *apachimuwanku*

apa-**chi-mu-wa-nku**
carry-**CAUS-DIR**-1OBJ<1SG
'They make (someone) carry to me towards this direction (something)'

(v) *the characteristic design type* determines the heterogeneity of polysynthetic structures using 8 features. UPSBQ follows *grammatical accumulation*. Languages of this type are affixal, they allow multiple categories on the verb especially modality, valency, tense, focus etc. In example (262) aspect and tense categories are represented through affixation.

- (262) *Cochabambaman maderata apasharqani*
 Cochabamba-man madera-ta apa-**sha-rqa-ni**
 Cochabamba-ALL wood-ACC take-**PROG-PST.REP-1SG**
 'I was carrying wood to Cochabamba (city)'

Another characteristic in the verb stem of UPSBQ observed in this chapter is the presence of complex suffixes. Synchronously, these suffixes are lexicalized units that can no longer be derived from their individual counterparts. Complex suffixes in current SBQ literature is presented in a compositional fashion (Solá and Lastra 1964, Bills et al., 1971, Herrero & Sanchez 1978, Muysken 1986, Van de Kerke 1993 and Plaza 2009). If we consider the complex suffix *-kampu* for earlier studies its meaning can be derived from the three components *-ku* 'reflexive', *-mu* 'associated motion', 'go and do *V*' and *-pu* 'benefactive' as in (263). However, in the example (264) the meaning of *-kampu* cannot be directly predicted from the compositional components.

- (263) *uqharikampuniña*
 uqhari-ka-m-pu-ni=ña
 pick.up-REF-BEN-1SG=already
 'I go pick up for her'
- (264) *ujta uqharirpakampuniña*
 uj-ta uqhari-rpa-**kampu-ni=ña**
 one-ACC pick up-suddenly-**do.V.for.safety-1SG.PST=already**
 'the other one (duck), all of a sudden I picked it up for safety'

The presence of complex suffixes in UPSBQ decreases the complexity that comes through numerous fixed slots in the verb template. In general, this phenomenon remains understudied and very little has been stated about the possible implication in the morphological structures in Fortescue (1980).

Additionally, complex suffixes are not only reported in UPSBQ, but they are also present in Eskimo Aleut languages (Woodbury 2017) & (Fortescue 2017). If we compare UPSBQ to Yupik-Inuit (YI) both languages use suffixation. The morphological difference is that UPSBQ derives a verb into another verb V>V as in (265) but YI uses post-bases to derive a verb into another V>V as in (266) or do conversions from nominal into a verb N>V and then cycling back from verb to noun V>N as in (267). This last morphological derivation is not allowed in UPSBQ, because it lacks conversion, particularly N>V conversion, closing the way to back-and-forth conversion as in (267).

(265) *Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua*

llank'a-v	'plow'
llank'a- <i>ri</i> -v	'nicely plow'
llank'a- <i>ri-chi</i> -v	'nicely make plow with someone else '
llank'a- <i>ri-chi-mu</i> -v	' go and nicely make plow with someone else'

(266) Cup'ik (Yupik-Inuit family) (Woodbury 2017)

quuyurni-v	'be smiling'
quuyurni- <i>arte</i> -v	' suddenly be smiling' (-arte- 'suddenly')
quuyurni- <i>arte-llru</i> -v	'suddenly smiled' (-llru- VV 'in the past')
quuyurni- <i>arte-llru-yaaqe</i> -v	'suddenly smiled, but alas ' (-yaaqe- VV 'alas'))
quuyurni- <i>arte-llru-yaaqe-llini</i> -v	' evidently suddenly smiled, but alas' (-llini-VV) evidently'

(267) Cup'ik (Yupik-Inuit family) (Woodbury 2017)

ivruci- N	'waterboot (N)'
ivruci- <i>li</i> -v	' make waterboats (for)' (-li- NV 'make (for)')
ivruci- <i>li-ste</i> -N	' one who makes waterboot (for)' (-ste- VN) '(possessor's) one who does V (tr)'

ivruci- <i>li</i> -ste- <i>ngqerr</i> -v	‘ have someone who makes (one) waterboots’ (- <i>ngqerr</i> - NV ‘have’)
ivruci- <i>li</i> -ste- <i>ngqer</i> - <i>sugnaite</i> -v makes (one) waterboots’ (- <i>sugnaite</i> -VV ‘definitely not’)	‘ definitely not have someone who
ivruci- <i>li</i> -ste- <i>ngqerr</i> - <i>sugnail</i> - <i>ngur</i> -N someone who	‘ one that definitely doesn’t have makes (his/her) waterboots’ (- <i>ngur</i> - VN ‘one who does V (intr)’)

Finally, for recent typological considerations, UPSQB does not necessarily meet the criteria for polysynthesis. First, following Fortescue (2017), it fails one of the necessarily conditions for polysynthesis because UPSBQ does not allow more than one lexically ‘heavy’ morpheme within the holophrastic verb. UPSBQ only allows one verb root but no other lexical content such as adjectival, nominal, verbal or an adjunct. All the suffixes allowed in UPSBQ are suffixes of adverbial type but not necessarily of lexical type. Second, following (Mattissen 2017), UPSBQ has very limited polysynthesis. Suffixal morphemes in UPSBQ are limited to express adverbial manners of action and motion. Morphemes expressing setting, location or direction, body part, instrument, modality, chronology, degree, reversative and scale and focus are not present. However, atypically, in UPSBQ what is very well elaborated is suffixal morphemes expressing adverbial meanings of several kinds presented as non-inflectional simplex and complex suffixes.

5.6. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presented an analysis of the verbal complexity in UPSBQ. Different from earlier studies on South Bolivian Quechua that mainly looked at SBQ spoken by SBQ-Spanish bilinguals, this study analyses natural speech of monolingual elders. It argues that the verbal word in UPSBQ is composed by a stem and an obligatory inflectional suffix. The verb stem is composed by Lexical Verb Base that can be derived by up to four non-inflectional suffixes to form a complex verb stem. The new contribution to the SBQ literature is that in UPSBQ the non-inflectional suffixes are of two types: simplex and complex. Simplex suffixes are compositional but complex suffixes bear a complex meaning as units that have a default meaning in culturally specific contexts. The findings in this analysis suggest considering the analysis of verbal complexity in other Quechuan languages and beyond that in other polysynthetic languages in general.

Chapter VI

Associated motion and direction

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a detailed description of directionality and associated motion (AM) in the discourse of South Bolivian Quechua monolinguals. Monolingual elders exhibit a large class of directionality and AM meaning through verbal morphology. This chapter discusses nine morphemes: two simplex suffixes *-mu* & *-yacha*, the *-mpu* suffix that can either be considered either simplex or complex, and six complex suffixes: *-kampu*, *-kamu*, *-yamu*, *-rqamu* and the highly restricted *-yampu* and *-rqampu*. Each of these morphemes in UPSBQ covers both functions, directionality and AM, as evidenced typologically in Bolivian languages from the Amazon such as Ese Ejja, Tacanan (Vuillermet 2013) and in Mojeño Trinitario (Rose 2015) but also in other languages from South America and other parts of the world (see, Dryer 2021 & Reed, Lindsey 2021 and Guillaume & Koch 2021). Throughout this chapter, the grammatical function of each morpheme will be explained. The first section focuses on the simplex suffixes and the second part provides a detailed description of complex suffixes. Finally semi-lexicalized complex suffixes whose meaning is partially predictable will be discussed.

6.2. TYPOLOGICAL BACKGROUND ON ASSOCIATED MOTION

The main function of associated motion markers is to connect different kinds of translational motion (spatial displacement/change of location) to a generally non-motion

verb event (Guillaume 2016). The AM phenomena can be best illustrated with a set of examples from the Amazonian language Cavineña that exhibits seven suffixes in its inventory to express different types of AM. The examples in (268) show these suffixes in combination with the verb *ba-* ‘see’:

- (268) Cavineña (Takanan; Guillaume 2006; 2008; 2009)

ba-	‘see O’
ba- <i>ti</i> -	‘ <i>go and</i> see O’
ba- <i>na</i> -	‘ <i>come and</i> see O’
ba- <i>aje</i> -	‘see O <i>while going</i> ’
ba- <i>be</i> -	‘see O <i>while coming</i> ’
ba- <i>kena</i> -	‘see O <i>and go</i> ’
ba- <i>dadi</i> -	‘see O <i>while O is moving away</i> ’
ba- <i>tsa</i> -	‘see O <i>while O is approaching</i> ’

The existence of AM grammatical categories shows that motion is not necessarily expressed by lexical verb roots, which differs from Talmy (1985). Associated motion markers show that the fact of motion can be encoded grammatically by affixes or other grammaticalized elements (see Guillaume 2016). The AM phenomenon is common across different languages in the world, particularly in South America, since it has been attested in at least 66 languages from this region. AM forms are distinguished by the argument role of the moving figure, the temporal relation between the motion and verb event, the path of motion, and the aspectual realization of the verb event (Guillaume 2016, 2021).

Associated motion systems can also function as deictic/directional (see Belkadi 2015). It is common for morphemes to cover both roles: associated motion with non-motion verbs and direction with motion verbs (Dryer 2021). Verbs with inherent motion

semantics do not add motion events, nor do they indicate temporal relation between motion and event (Guillaume 2021). This two-way interaction is common typologically since at least 56 languages have morphemes that function either as markers of AM or as directional: 14 in Africa, 14 in South America, 22 in North America (Mexico and Central America), 4 in Australia, one in Asia and one in New Guinea (Dryer 2021).

The AM and directional system in South Bolivian Quechua fits into these associated typological observations. SBQ presents simplex and complex suffixes that obey both functions. When they combine with verbs without inherent motion they function as AM suffixes. However, when they combine with verbs bearing inherent movement the meaning contribution is directional: toward the speaker who is the deictic center.

6.3. DIRECTIONAL AND ASSOCIATED MOTION IN SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

The Uma Piwra variety of South Bolivian Quechua has a large inventory of suffixes that cover both associated motion and direction. The difference between directionality and associated motion will vary according to the class of verb each morpheme suffixes. However, in most cases, beyond the verb class, the interpretation of AM will depend on the type of argument licensed by the AM suffixes.

The types of associated motion functions are prior motion and concurrent motion, with the first being the more common. The direction orientation expressed by AM morphemes corresponds to motion away from the speaker, who constitutes the deictic center. The directional meaning involves movement from point A towards the deictic

center or the surrounding area or town where the speaker is located. The types of suffixes and their functions are detailed in *Table 27*.

	suffixes	function	temporal relation with the verb event	orientation
Simplex suffixes	-mu	GO& DO	- prior motion	- away from the deictic point
	-yacha	GOING	- concurrent interrupted motion	-nonlinear
Simplex or Complex	-mpu	GO&DO	-prior motion, (Assistive, solidarity way/feeling sympathy with the direct object licensed)	- away from the deictic point
complex suffixes	-kampu	GO& DO	- prior motion	- away from the deictic point
	-kamu			
	-yamu			
	-rqamu			
Complex suffixes (Highly restricted occurrence)	-yampu -rqampu	GO&DO	-prior motion	- away from the deictic point

Table 27: Associated motion and direction in UPSBQ

6.4. SIMPLEX SUFFIXES

There are two simplex suffixes *-mu* and *-yacha* ~ *-ykacha*. The next sections will explain each of these suffixes with evidence from examples from a natural spoken corpus.

6.4.1. Directional *-mu*

The *-mu* suffix triggers three interpretations: (i) only directional path, (ii) only associated motion or (iii) both directional and associated motion. It expresses only a directional meaning when it appears combined with impersonal verbs, also classified as weather verbs. The meaning is also directional with the verb class entailing movement in their lexical semantics. It denotes only associated motion when it combines to verbs without inherent motion semantics. Finally, it can express both an AM and a directional meaning with certain verbs. In this case, stating the difference in meaning contribution will depend on the types of arguments licensed by *-mu*.

As stated above, *-mu* only adds the path of the direction towards the speaker when it combines with impersonal or weather verbs. Weather verbs in most cases already bear a deictic semantics, for instance rain verbs are inherently performed downward. This analysis classifies impersonal verbs in three groups as presented in *Table 28*. This verb classification combined with the suffix *-mu* will trigger three directional meanings: downwards, upwards or from an unspecified point towards the speaker. In all cases the deictic center will be the speaker or the surrounding area where the speaker is located.

Set I Weather verbs	Set II Path raising verbs (Ice, foam, plant)	Set III Shine verbs/weather verbs
paray 'to rain' chhillchiy 'to drizzle' granizay 'to hail' chiqchiy 'to hail.aggressively' iphuy 'to drizzle.softly' rit'iy 'to snow'	chhullunkay 'to form ice layer on the water located on earth's surface' chhullay 'to form frost on the grass' wiñay 'to raise (plants)' p'utuy 'to sprout, for a plant on earth' lluqsiy 'to sprout, to arise' ñawiray 'to sprout corn potato without being planted on earth' phusuquy 'to sprout bubbles on a liquid's surface'	k'anchay 'to light' lliphiy 'to blink (light)' qhusiy 'to be bright' ruphary 'to shine' chhaqquyay 'to get dark' tutayay 'to get dark (night)' phuyuy 'to get cloudy' chiriy 'to be cold' wayray 'to be windy'

Table 28: Impersonal verb classification

The deictic path conveyed by *-mu* will depend on the verb classification in *Table 28*. Set I verbs derived by the suffix *-mu* involve an action performed in a downwards direction towards the deictic center. Set I verbs normally include rain type verbs and the degrees of rain, as in the following examples. In both examples (269) and (270), the suffix *-mu* conveys path toward the speaker. The downward direction is inherently expressed by the verb *para-* 'rain' or *iphu-* 'dizzle' to which *-mu* adds a path toward the speaker's location. The verb without *-mu* would involve a general habitual meaning.

- (269) *paramun, kusá paranpis, llank'amusaq' nisharqa chay churiypis*

para-**mu**-n, kusá para-n=pis,
rain-DIR-3SG well.ACC rain-3SG=also

'llank'a-mu-saq' ni-sha-rqa chay churi-y=pis
work-GO&DO-1SG.FUT say-PROG-3SG.PST DEM son-1SG.POSS=also
'It rained falling down, it rained well, that my son told me 'I will go plow
(the fields)'

- (270) *fuerteta paraytawan iphumullanña*
 fuerte-ta para-ytawan iphu-**mu**-lla-n=ña
 heavy-ACC rain-after drizzle-**DIR**-LIM-3SG=already
 'After raining heavily, it only drizzles down'

Set II verbs bear an inherent direction opposite to Set I verbs. They are performed in a stationary position on the earth's or water's surface. The entity doing the action is understood to rise upwards and normally face the speaker. The suffix *-mu* adds a path facing upwards from the speaker. For example, in (271), the thin ice layer grows from the bottom up. Similarly, in (272), the wheat would sprout upwards if it is left on the ground and the rain soaks it.

- (271) *chhullunkamun chiri tiempopi*
 chhullunka-**mu**-n chiri tiempo-pi
 form ice layer-**DIR**-3SG winter weather-LOC
 'In wintertime, it freezes'
- (272) *pampamantá wiñaramunman á íh?*
 Pampa-mantá wiñara-**mu**-nman á íh?
 ground-ALL.TOP sprout-**DIR**-3SG.COND ah right?
 'If it's from the ground, it (wheat) would sprout upwards right?'

Finally, Set III verbs combined with the suffix *-mu* also add a path towards the deictic center. The speaker encounters, feels or sees the effect of the verb. Set III normally includes natural phenomena verbs with an unknown origin point, or shining, lighten type verbs that reference darkness, brightness, sunshine, etc. In example (273), the cold reaches in the direction of the location of the speaker, the path encoded is mostly metaphorical. The speaker witnesses the verb event. Similarly, in (274) the path of the wind blows toward the speaker.

- (273) *kay chiris kusataña chirimun*
 kay chiri-s kusasta=ña chiri-**mu**-n
 DEM cold-PL well=already cold-**DIR**-3SG
 'It is cold, the weather is cold'
- (274) *má wayramun chayqa, semana, iskay semana kanchik*
 má wayra-**mu**-n chayqa semana iskay semana ka-nchik
 NEG wind-**DIR**-3SG CONJ week two week be-1PL.INCL
 'If the wind doesn't blow, we normally remain one week, or two weeks
 (where the wheat is being threshed)'

The weather verbs or impersonal verbs presented in this section normally bear an inherent deictic semantics. *-mu* will add a path in the direction of the speaker. Earlier observations state that *-mu* combined with weather verbs expresses the natural phenomenon taking place in the vicinity of the speaker (Herrero and Sanchez 1978). The analysis presented in this section shows that *-mu* adds a path to the event conveyed by the main verb, and in which the speaker is the deictic center.

The path information triggered by the suffix *-mu* not only applies to weather verbs or impersonal verbs as shown up to this point. *-mu* has a similar function with verbs entailing inherent motion. In UPSBQ, verbs expressing movement can be classified into two, as detailed below in *Table 29*.

SET IV Accompanied verbs (Subject and object move together)		SET V Path verbs	
astay	'carry by hand'	phaway (jump)	'jump (inside out)'
aysay	'carry pulling by hand'	saltay	'jump (inside out)'
apay	'carry'	lluqsiy	'get out (inside out)'
q'ipiy	'carry on back'	yaykuy	'get in (outside in)'
tanqay	'push with hands'	ayqiy	'escape (away)'
qharastay	'pull by hand'	wasariy	'go upward'
		wichariy	'ascend'
		jurayk'ay	'come down'

Table 29: Verbs entailing inherent motion

Set IV verbs include Accompanied verbs. These verbs entail movement of both the subject and the object together (see similar verb classification in Reed & Lindsey 2021). On the other hand, Set V verbs also entail movement; however, since this set is composed of intransitive verbs, the moving entity will concern only the subject.

The suffix *-mu* combined with Set IV verbs will add two types of path specifications to the verb event. The first one is towards the speaker and the second one is from point A to point B. The difference between these two will be interpreted according to the type of adjunct licensed by *-mu*. For instance, when *-mu* licenses an adjunct specifying the location of the speaker using a proximal demonstrative adverb such as *kay-man* ‘here-ALL’ or *kay-kama* ‘here-LIM’, the path specification triggered by *-mu* is necessarily the actual location or the vicinity of the speaker. If such demonstrative adjuncts are not overtly licensed, they are inherently interpreted by the context and the current location of the speaker. Consider the examples (275) and (276). In (275), the speaker is in front of the addressee, and both are located outside the house. The speaker is willing to bring the seat from inside to where he is currently located so the speaker and the addressee can chew coca. The verb bears movement of the subject and the object, in this case the speaker and the seat towards the current location of the speaker. In (276), the speaker commands the addressee to avoid pushing the egg on the plate towards the speaker. The directional path will apply to a motion verb in a similar way despite the distance or space. In (275), the distance of the motion is longer but in (276) the movement occurs inside a plate from which the addressee and the speaker were both

eating. The same utterances without *-mu* would mean that the subject was taking the object in another direction but not towards the deictic center.

- (275) *ukhupi ashintuyta apamusaq, chaypi pijchiyasun*
 ukhu-pi ashintu-y-ta apa-**mu**-saq,
 inside-LOC seat-1SG.POSS-ACC bring-**DIR**-1SG.FUT

chaypi pijchiya-sun
 there chew.coca-1PL.EXCL
 'I will bring my seat that is inside. We will then chew coca'

- (276) *'mana runtuta munanichu' nini, ama tanqamuychu.*
 mana runtu-ta muna-ni=chu ni-ni ama
 NEG eggs-ACC want-1SG=NEG say-1SG NEG

tanqa-**mu**-y=chu
 push-**DIR**-1SG.IMP=NEG
 'I don't want to eat eggs, I said. Don't push them/it towards me'

The second interpretation of *-mu* with set IV verbs is that the suffix adds a path from point A to point B. Point A marks the starting point of the motion and B the direction and the end point of the motion. This interpretation requires the speaker uttering points A and B in a certain way. The points will normally involve names of places, and the adjuncts licensed are marked with *-manta* '-ABL' for point A and *-kama* '-LIM' or *-man* '-ALL' to specify point B. For example, in (277), point A refers to the station where trucks stop when they arrive from the market, and point B is Santiago's home. Point B is not necessarily the speaker's current location or his direct vicinity, but it is the same town where the speaker and Santiago live.

- (277) *Jaha, kay paylastapis, chay kumpa Santiagoqtapis, nuqa q'ipimurqani.*
 jaha, kay payla-s-ta-pis, chay kumpa
 yeah, DEM big.pot-PL-ACC-also DEM kumpa

Santiago-q-ta-pis nuqa q'ipi-**mu**-rqa-ni
 Santiago-AG-ACC-also 1SG carry.on.back-**DIR**-PST-1SG
 'Yeah, even the big pots Santiago owns, I brought them on my back'

The suffix *-mu* combined with set V triggers a path specification towards the speaker, the deictic center. As mentioned earlier, set V verbs are mostly intransitive verbs indicating a direction. The subject is the only moving figure in the direction of the speaker. In (278), the night before it was raining, the speaker was sleeping and did not go out to where she was sitting outside with the addressee at the utterance time. Similarly, in (279) the speaker narrated when she opened the door and the cat jumped towards the speaker. In both examples the meaning contribution of *-mu* is directional.

(278) *Má lluqsimunipuschu, má shintimurqaniraqchu*

má lluqsi-**mu**-ni-pis=chu
 NEG go-**DIR**-1SG-also=NEG

má shinti-**mu**-rqa-ni=raq=chu
 NEG feel-**DIR**-PST-1SG=CONJ=NEG
 'I didn't even come out, I didn't feel it yet'

(279) *Kicharini, ujta misi phawamun*

kichari-ni, ujta misi phawa-**mu**-n
 open-1SG suddenly cat jump-**DIR**-3SG
 'I opened the door and the cat jumped from inside toward outside'

6.4.2. Associated motion *-mu*

The suffix *-mu* also functions as associated motion that occurs prior to the event described by the main verb. This meaning is interpreted when *-mu* appears combined

with verbs that do not have inherent motion in their lexical semantics. These verbs can be classified into three groups as detailed below in *Table 4*.

When *-mu* suffixes to set VI verbs it only denotes prior motion. With Set VII verbs the meaning of *-mu* is ambiguous since it can trigger both prior associated motion or directional meaning. Thus, in this case, the meaning is interpreted based on the argument licensed by *-mu*. Finally, *-mu* combined with set VIII verbs normally denotes prior associated motion; but, a concurrent associated motion can also be interpreted while performing the main verb event. The next sections will detail the three functions of *-mu* according to the classification in *Table 30*.

Set VI General actions		Set VII Voice/ motion of intangible entities		Set VIII From/To in the land	
rantiy	‘buy’	qhaway	‘observe’	jallmay	‘earth up’
vendey	‘sell’	waqay	‘cry’	qarpay	‘water’
mikhuy	‘eat’	takay	‘hit’	allay	‘dig’
wayk’uy	‘cook’	qhaphariy	‘shout’	qhuray	‘weed’
tusuy	‘dance’	niy	‘say’	tarpuy	‘plant’
		uyariry	‘hear’	chaqmay	‘pick up left overs after harvesting potato’
		waqjay (shouting)	‘call’	pallay	‘pick up’
				ruthuy	‘cut off the wheat’
				aysay	‘plow’

Table 30: Verbs without inherent motion semantics

It has been mentioned above that *-mu* only functions as prior associated motion when it is combined with set VI verbs. The function of *-mu* will be affixing a new event before performing the main verb event. Thus, two separate events will be interpreted when *-mu* combines with set VI verbs. Considering the following examples. In (280)

there are two verb events. The first event is a prior motion event interpreted because of the suffix *-mu*. This involves the subject going to a particular place before doing the verb's main event, such as selling peaches or potatoes. Similarly, in (281), there are two events. The first one implies the subject going away and the second one is the feeding event.

- (280) *duraznó vendemuni, papá vendemuni*
 duraznó **vende-**mu**-ni**, papá
 peach.ACC sell-**GO&DO-1SG.NF** potato.ACC

vende-**mu**-ni
 sell-**GO&DO-1SG.NF**
 'I go & sell peaches, I go & sell potatoes / I went & sold peaches,
 I went and sold potatoes.'

- (281) *kunán qaramusaq ovejasman*
 kunán **qara-**mu**-saq** oveja-s-man
 now.TOP feed-**GO&DO-1SG.FUT** sheep-PL-to
 'Now I will go and feed the sheep'

The function of *-mu* is ambiguous with verbs corresponding to set VII. It may trigger prior associated motion or it may add a path towards the speaker. The meaning of either one will be interpreted from the type of argument licensed by *-mu*. If an ablative argument suffixed with *-manta* '-ABL' is licensed, the meaning is directional towards the speaker. The ablative argument will determine the origin point from which the action of the verb will be performed. If *-mu* licenses a locative augment *-pi* 'at, in', its function will result in prior associated motion. The locative argument will determine the place in which the main verb event will be performed. The following examples will illustrate these

differences. In (282) *-mu* adds a path to the direction in which the verb event is performed. The bird is located on the tree. It sings from that tree in the direction of the speaker. The speaker hears the bird's singing. In (283) *-mu* functions as prior AM. Two different events are interpreted from the verb stem with *-mu*. The first event involves the going event. The second doing the main verb event. These examples, contrasting the same verb *waqay* 'cry', show that the type of argument is crucial to determine the meaning of *-mu* is interpreted as directional or as associated motion with verbs from set VII.

- (282) *jaqaymán waqamullanpuni á*
 jaqay-mán waqa-**mu**-lla-n=puni á
 DEM-ABL cry-**DIR**-LIM-3SG=certainly ah
 'It (the bird) certainly cries from there (the tree in front of the speaker)'

- (283) *¿takimusaq? waqarimusaqchá á*
 ¿taki-**mu**-saq? waqa-ri-**mu**-saq=chá á
 sing-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT cry-softly-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT=DUB ah
 'Will I go away and sing in? I guess I will go away and softly cry (there) ah'

Finally, *-mu* combined with set VIII verbs triggers two consecutive associated motion meanings: prior associated motion and concurrent motion. Verbs falling in this classification normally involve verbs of working the land. These verbs are single stages that are necessarily performed repeatedly. Thus, *-mu* will add two types of associated motion. In the first instance, it will contribute a going away event, and in the second it will add a concurrent motion event, as the subject performs the repeated action in the piece of land where crops are growing or normally grow. In (284), *palla-mu-* 'GO&pick

up', there is a going away event, then the second motion event that corresponds to picking up. This last one involves the subject moving while picking prickly pears up.

- (284) *Rís, pallamugpuni kani. Canastapi apamuq kani. Má karqachu tunasniyku.*

rís palla-**mu**-q=puni
go.GER pick.up-**GO&DO&GOING**-PST.HAB=certainly

kani
1SG.PST.HAB

canasta-pi apa-mu-q kani
basket-LOC carry-DIR-PST.HAB 1SG.PST.HAB

má ka-rqa=chu tuna-s-ni-yku
NEG be-3SG.PST=NEG prickly.pear-PL-1SG.POSS-1PL.EXCL

'I used to go and pick them (prickly pears). I used to bring them in a basket.
We didn't have prickly pear plantations by that time'

6.4.2.1. Scope of *-mu*

It is important to note that *-mu* has scope over a nominalized verb form. South Bolivian Quechua has different ways of nominalizing a verb (see Camacho-Rios and Tallman *forthcoming*). One of the common nominalized verb forms is formed with the suffix *-ytawan* *V* 'after doing verb'. As observed in example (270) in earlier section 6.4.1., the suffix *-mu* 'directional' in the main verb form *iphumullanña* 'It only drizzles down' has scope over the nominalized form *paraytawan* 'after raining down'. This scopal function has also been confirmed in elicitation in which *-mu* can be omitted from either the main verb form or from the nominalized form without changing the interpretation. In (285), *-mu* 'prior associated motion' is present in both the main verb and the nominalized form. In (286), only the main verb form bears *-mu* 'prior associated motion', which has

scope over the nominalized form. Lastly in (287), only the nominalized form bears *-mu* ‘prior associated motion’, which has scope over the main verb form. Monolinguals volunteered no difference in meaning between the three utterances and they confirmed the three of them to be grammatical.

- (285) *Anzaldopi chicharronta mikhurimuytawan patanpi aqhá tomarimuni*
 Anzaldo-pi chicharron-ta mikhu-ri-**mu**-ytawan
 Anzaldo-LOC Chicharron-ACC eat-AFF-**GO&DO**-after
 patan-pi aqhá toma-ri-**mu**-ni
 top-LOC Chicha.ACC drink-AFF-**GO&DO**-1SG
 ‘I go eat Chicharron in Anzaldo, then I drink chicha on top of it’
- (286) *Anzaldopi chicharronta mikhuriytawan patanpi aqhá tomarimuni*
 Anzaldo-pi chicharron-ta mikhu-ri-ytawan
 Anzaldo-LOC Chicharron-ACC eat-AFF-after
 patan-pi aqhá toma-ri-**mu**-ni
 top-LOC Chicha.ACC drink-AFF-**GO&DO**-1SG
 ‘I go eat Chicharron in Anzaldo, then I drink chicha on top of it’
- (287) *Anzaldopi chicharronta mikhurimuytawan patanpi aqhá tomarini*
 Anzaldo-pi chicharron-ta mikhu-ri-**mu**-ytawan
 Anzaldo-LOC Chicharron-ACC eat-AFF-**GO&DO**-after
 patan-pi aqhá toma-ri-ni
 top-LOC chicha.ACC dink-AFF-1SG
 ‘I go eat Chicharron in Anzaldo, then I drink chicha on top of it’

6.4.3. Directional & associated motion *-yacha*

The suffix *-yacha* ~ *-ykacha* triggers a meaning of interrupted nonlinear direction or motion. When this suffix appears with verbs entailing movement, it adds an interrupted nonlinear path to the verb event. This involves performing the verb in a nonlinear direction. But, when it combines to verbs without movement, its contribution is

an interrupted nonlinear motion. The verb event is performed again and again while moving in a given space. The *-yacha* suffix combined to verbs bearing motion adds an interrupted path to verb events that are normally performed in a wider space. For instance, in examples (287) and (289), all of the verbs combined with the *-yacha* suffix have inherent motion. Thus, the suffix *-yacha* will add a nonlinear interrupted path to the verb event that occurs in a wide space. In (287) it is assumed the Lari birds fly around wintertime; they go from one town to another, and it is believed by some community members that whenever these types of birds fly around, they take frost with them. The action of taking frost occurs in a nonlinear direction with interruption. In (289) the thieves ran after the speaker and his friend continuously. The action also occurred in a nonlinear interrupted direction and in a wider space.

- (287) *'qasá apayachanku' ninpuni á.*

‘qasá apa-yacha-nku’ ni-n=puni á.
 frost.ACC carry-DIR-3PL say-3SG=certainly ah
 ‘It is certainly believed they (Lari birds) carry frost along with them
 everywhere they go’

- (289) *Q’alá qatiyachayuwayku.*

q’ala qati-yacha-yu-wa-yku
 intensively follow-DIR-PRF-1OBJ<3PL
 ‘They (the thieves) followed us everywhere we ran’

The second interpretation of *-yacha* is associated motion when it combines with verbs without inherent motion, such as stative verbs. With these types of verbs, the function of *-yacha* is concurrent interrupted motion. It adds a meaning of nonlinear interrupted motion. The motion will be interrupted sequentially, and the action of the verb will be distributed in a narrower space. If we consider example (289), the verb

t'uku- ‘think’ is a stative verb. The subject moves from one place to another. The motion occurs in a nonlinear direction. The action is sequentially interrupted and the space in which the verb occurs is a narrow space compared to the wider space seen above when *-yacha* combines to transfer verbs or verbs entailing motion.

- (289) *t'ukuyachashan kunanpis jaqaypi, maymantachus kanpis*
 t'uku-yacha-sha-n kunan-pis jaqay-pi,
 think-MOT-PROG-3SG now-also DEM-LOC
 may-manta=chus ka-n-pis ari
 where-ABL=DUB be-3SG-also ah
 ‘She thinks as she moves from one place to another,
 I wonder where she comes from’

6.4.3.1. *Co-occurrence -yacha-mu*

The suffixes *-yacha* and *-mu* described above form a string and combine with set IV verbs. Verbs from this class already bear motion. When *-mu* or *-yacha* occur singly with this class of verbs, their function is to add a directional path to the verb event. Consider the following examples. In (290a), *-yacha* adds a non-linear directional path to the action of the verb, and, in (290b), *-mu* adds directional path towards the deictic center. Thus, it would be expected that the co-occurrence *-yacha-mu* would denote ‘to perform the verb in a nonlinear direction towards the speaker’. However, when they co-occur, *-yacha* maintains its compositional meaning, but *-mu* no longer functions as directional but rather contributes associated motion that occurs prior to the compositional meaning of *-yacha* and the verb ‘do verb in nonlinear’. In examples (291) and (292),

there are two events: the going event and the main verb event performed in a non-linear direction. However, the linear movement occurs first then the non-linear direction.

(290)

- a. *watapaqchu mikhunata apayachanki?*
 wata-paq=chu mikhuna-ta apa-**yacha**-nki?
 year-PUR=INT food-ACC take-**DIR**-2SG
 'Do you take food with you for a whole year?'
- b. *tukuy imitá apamuwanku*
 tukuy im-itá apa-**mu**-wa-nku
 everything thing-DIM.ACC take-**DIR**-1OBJ<3PL
 'They (my kids) bring me everything (all kinds of food)'

(291) *'burrupi qhatiyachamusayki' nirqani mama Juanata.*

'burru-pi qhati-**yacha**-**mu**-sayki' ni-rqa-ni
 donkey-LOC take-**DIR**-**GO&DO**-2SG<1SG.FUT say-PST-1SG

mama Juana-ta
 mama Juana-ACC

'I will go and take you on a donkey,' I told Juana.

(292) *Qasita Anzaldoman apani, ni jampipuwankuchu. Qasi pusayachamuni.*

Qasi-ta Anzaldo-man apa-ni, ni jampi-pu-wa-nku=chu,
 in.vain-ACC Anzaldo-ALL take-1SG NEG cure-BEN-1OBJ-3PL=NEG

qasí pusa-**yacha**-**mu**-ni
 in.vain.ACC take-**DIR**-**GO&DO**-1SG

I wasted my time taking her from one place to another (from one hospital to another). The doctors didn't cure her (my wife)'

As mentioned above, this *-yacha-mu* co-occurrence is prominent with transfer verbs or set IV verbs. This suffix string sometimes combines with impersonal verbs, although it is not very common. In this case, *-mu* adds a downwards path to the verb's direction and *-yacha* denotes a distributive meaning in the surroundings of the speaker. In

(293), the dripping of the rain is distributed in the space near the speaker, and the speaker witnesses the action of the verb.

- (293) *yasta, sut'uyachamun, sut'uyachamun, libi "ch'allallaq" nirikapun.*
yasta, sut'u-yacha-mu-n, sut'u-yacha-mu-n,
alright drip-DIST-DIR-3SG, drip-DIST-DIR-3SG

libi "ch'allallaq" ni-ri-kapu-n.
extremely "ch'allallaq" say-AFF-COMPL-3SG
'all of a sudden, it started to drip here and there with the sound "ch'allallaq"
the rain started without stopping.'

6.4.4. Directional and associated motion *-mpu*

The suffix *-mpu* only combines with classes IV, VI, VII and VIII. The suffix *-mpu* presupposes the beneficiary of the verb cannot perform the verb or is unable to perform the verb. Thus, the subject of the verb performs the verb on the external argument's behalf by showing sympathy. The cultural context is important, as highlighted in chapter V. The following examples will demonstrate the meaning of *-mpu*. In Uma Piwra, only one family has a dairy cow. One day the owner of the cow went to the city and left the cow in Uma Piwra by itself. She couldn't come back soon. Her cow was hungry. The cow was mooing. In (294), the speaker stated that his wife Juana was the one who went to feed the cow because the owner was unable to do so. Similarly, in (295), the same speaker states that he goes and picks up prickly pears for his wife. His wife is very old, and she is no longer able to pick them up herself. Here we can see the speaker is feeling sympathy for his wife, the beneficiary.

- (294) *Mama Juanaña wakanmanpis qarampun*
Mama Juanaña wakan-man-pis
Mama Juana=already cow-3SG.POSS-ALL-also

qara-**mpu-n**
feed-**GO&DO-3SG**
'It was Mama Juana who went to feed her cow'

- (295) *tunás pallampuni*
tunás *palla-mpu-ni*
prickly_pear.ACC pick-**GO&DO-3SG.NF**
'I go and pick prickly pears for her'

6.5. COMPLEX SUFFIXES

UPSBQ exhibits a larger inventory of complex suffixes. Each suffix also covers both functions: prior associated motion and direction. As mentioned in §5.3 of Chapter V, synchronically complex suffixes bear a meaning as a unit despite being composed out of two or three suffixes diachronically. The complex suffixes will be also analyzed as they combine to the verb classification addressed the in earlier sections. Complex suffixes bear an additional meaning that is only interpreted from the unit as a whole, rather than from their separate components. *Table 31* below presents a description of complex suffixes in this variety of Quechua.

suffixes		meaning contribution
complex suffixes	-kampu	‘To do V for safety, to avoid something bad’ (subject owns the object) Some intransitive verbs such as <i>puñuy</i> ‘sleep’ <i>V-kampu</i> meaning varies.
	-kamu	‘For Subject to do V by his/her own volition’ ‘For Subject to do V because he/she needs/wants the object’
	-yamu	‘to do V decidedly’ (<i>The verb is performed with firm intention on the part of the subject</i>)
	-rqamu	‘To do V in a persistent, insistent manner’ (The verb is performed in a short amount of time)
Complex suffixes (Highly restricted occurrence)	-yampu	Associated motion/directional polysemy.
	-rqampu	Associated motion/directional polysemy.

Table 31: Complex suffixes in Uma Piwra South Bolivian Quechua

6.5.1. Complex suffix: *-kampu*

This suffix adds a directional meaning when it combines with set IV verbs or transfer verbs, and functions as prior associated motion when it appears combined with Set VI and Set VIII verbs (see Tables 29 and 30). This suffix does not combine with impersonal verbs from Set I, II and III. While a core directional or associated motion meaning is interpreted with *-kampu*, this suffix bears an additional semantic nuance. The subject does the verb for safety, as something bad could happen. With transitive verbs the subject necessarily owns the object as in (296) and (297). In both examples, the verbs are performed towards the deictic center and the verb is carried out as a preventive measure. In (296) if the subject takes his corn without peeling the skin out, it will result in harder

work later. In (297) if the subject leaves the turkey out during the night, a wild animal can chase the turkey. Moreover, in both examples (296) and (297), the subject owns the object. The corn and the turkey belong to the subject of the verb. In (298), the simplex suffix *-mu* does not specify the subject owns the turkey.

(296)

- mana na á, sarallataña apakampusaq á, t'iqparpaytawan chhallanta kikinpi saqisaq á
 mana na á, sara-lla-ta=ña apa-kampu-saq á,
 NEG that ah, corn-LIM-ACC=only take-DIR-1SG.FUT ah,
 t'iqpa-rpa-ytawan chhalla-n-ta kikin-pi saqi-saq á...
 peel-ADV-after stalk-3SG.POSS-ACC same-LOC leave-1SG.FUT ah
 'nah, I will bring just the corn. After peeling the corn's skin, I will leave the stalk there'

(297) *imapis jap 'inman nispa, qatikampuni á, tarden*

- imapis jap'i-nman ni-spa, qati-kampu-ni á tarden
 what chase-3SG.COND say-GER, take-DIR-1SG ah later
 'Who know what can chase it (turkey) when it becomes dark, thinking like that,
 I take my turkey back'

(298) "Jaqay wasapi" nin, pero ah qatimunchá kaypichá puñun á,

- "jaqay wasapi" nin, pero á
 DEM behind-LOC, but ah
 qati-mu-n=chá kay-pi=chá puñun á
 take-DIR-3SG.NF=DUB DEM-LOC=DUB sleep-3SG.NF ah
 'She said it (turkey) is over there. But, ah, I believe she brings it (following),
 I believe it (turkey) sleeps here.'

The manner in which the subject possesses the object can vary depending on the context. It could mean owning the object for a long time or only recently. The examples above showed that the subject owns the object for a long time compared to (299) below. In (299), the subject has recently become the possessor of the object. The subject was on his way home, he chased a quail. The quail belongs to him; thus, he took it home. The

examples with transitive verbs stand as evidence for *-kampu* indicating that the subject necessarily owns the object.

(299)

“*kunán jinatachu apasaq imanasaqtaqrí!*”, *nís philaq wakiyuni á.*

Philasqata apakampuni.

“*kunán jina-ta=chu apa-saq imana-saq-taq=rí*”
now like-ACC=INT carry-1SG.FUT what.do-1SG.FUT-CONJ=INT

nís philaq waki-yu-ni á. *philasqata apa-kampu-ni.*

saying pluck try-ASP-1SG.NF ah plucked take-**DIR**-1SG

“What should I do now?” saying, ‘I tried to pluck it, I brought it (the quail) plucked’

As noted above, *-kampu* relates to prior associated motion with set VI and VIII verbs. In the following examples, (230) and (231), there is a going event, then the main verb event is performed. In (230) the subject prevents the addressee staying awake until very late and recommends going and sleeping. (231), the speaker went away to cut off the straw to avoid another person cutting the straw or someone else taking it. Similarly, in (232), the subject goes where the wheat fields are in order to thresh their wheat on time, before it gets damaged. If they don’t thresh soon, the birds could eat the wheat, or the wind could take it away.

(230) *puñukampullayña, nuqá kay tumpatawan naykusaq.*

puñu-kampu-lla-y=ña,
sleep-**GO&DO**-LIM-1SG.IMP=soon

nuqa kay tumpatawan na-yku-saq
1SG DEM a.bit.more poke-PRF-1SG.FUT
‘Go and sleep soon, I will poke a little bit more’

(231) *jaqay qaqa-manta ichhusta ruthukampuni*

jaqay qaqa-manta ichhu-s-ta ruthu-kampu-ni
DEM crag-ABL straw-PL-ACC cut-**GO&DO**-1SG.NF

‘I went and cut off the straw from that crag

- (232) *Puquqtin trigusninkuta trillakampunku*
puqu-qty-n trigu-s-ni-nku-ta
grow-when-3SG wheat-PL-EUPH-3PL.POSS-ACC
- trilla-**kampu**-nku
thresh-**GO&DO**-3PL.NF
‘When the wheat grows, they go and thresh their wheat’

6.5.2. Complex suffix: *-kamu*

This complex suffix is prominently observed with set IV verbs or transfer verbs, and, also with VI, VII and VIII verb classes; the last three do not have inherent motion. This suffix does not combine with impersonal verbs that belong to Set I, II, III and it is not productive with set V.

The central meaning of *-kamu* is that the subject performs the verb while acting on his/her own volition. With transitive verbs the subject needs/wants the object.

In (233), they get what they need in Cliza. Cliza is a town with a bigger market where people can acquire their groceries or buy all kinds of things. Thus, in this example *-kamu* can be interpreted as the speaker’s own volition and also the need of the things they used to buy there. Different from example (233), in (234) the simplex suffix *-mu* expresses direction towards the deictic point. It does not necessarily mean that the subject wanted the sheep or needed the sheep. If the subject needed a sheep there would be a preference to use *apa-kamu-* take-directional, indicating the subject’s own volition.

- (233) *Clizamantapuni apakamuyku nuqaykuqa tukuyimata*
Cliza-manta=puni apa-**kamu**-yku
Cliza-ABL=certainly take-**DIR**-1PL.EXCL

nuqayku=qa tukuyima-ta
 1PL.EXCL=TOP everything-ACC
 'All kinds of things (we need) we buy in Cliza and take it from there to here'

- (234) *Marq'ariyukuytawan apamuni kayman wawatajina.*

marq'a-ri-yku-ku-ytawan
 lift.arms-INCH-PFV-ERF-after

apa-**mu**-ni kay-man wawa-ta=jina
 take-**DIR**-1SG here-ALL baby-ACC=like

'After putting in my hands, I took it towards here as it (sheep) was a baby'

Now consider the use of *-kamu* with an inherent associated prior motion meaning.

In (235) it is the subject's own volition to plan to go and buy vegetables with the money she will earn selling her peaches at the market. It also expresses that the subject needs the object marked accusative, in this case the vegetables. To show the contrast between *-kamu* and *-mu* let's consider example (236) in which *-mu* only provides information of going and doing the action of buying in Cliza. The subject is affirming she has a habit of going and buying (duck) there.

- (235) *rantikamusaq verduritasta chay vendesqaywan*

rant-**kamu**-saq verdur-ita-s-ta
 buy-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT vegetable-DIM-PL-ACC

chay vende-sqa-y-wan
 DEM sell-REL-1SG-with

'I will go buy vegetables with (the money) I will earn selling (my peaches)'

- (236) *Ah setentawanpuni rantiimuni clizamanta*

ah setenta-wan=puni ranti-**mu**-ni cliza=manta
 yeah seventy-INSTR=certainly buy-**GO&DO**-1SG.NF Cliza-ABL
 'Yeah, me too, I certainly pay seventy BOB when I go and buy from Cliza
 (town's market)'

-kamu is common with four classes of verbs. Example (237) shows the use of *-kamu* in combination with the verb *mink'a-* ‘request’. In (237), the three women need a man who knows how to play the accordion in order for them to go around dancing and singing during carnivals. It is common in carnival festivities to team up in groups and go around. Thus, the three women are arguing and they need to go and request that Santiago come with them, the man who is good at playing the accordion in the town where the subjects are or live.

- (237) *Santiagó mink'akamusunchik, chaypi puriyamusunchik*
 Santiagó mink'a-**kamu**-sunchik
 Santiagó.ACC request-**GO&DO**-1PL.INCL.FUT

chay-pi puri-yamu-sunchik
 DEM-LOC walk-DIR-1PL.INCL.FUT
 ‘We will go and ask Santiago (to play the accordion) then we will go
 walk (partying) that way’

6.5.3. Complex suffix: *-yamu*

This complex suffix is the most common and productive among the complex suffixes observed in this variety of Quechua. It derives a stem with all verb classes. Similar to the other complex suffixes, *-yamu* or its allomorphic form *-ykamu* will have a core directional or associated motion interpretation that will depend on the class of verb. This complex suffix as a unit will trigger the meaning that the verb is performed in a decisive way. This means that the verb is carried out with firm intention on the part of the subject. In the case of weather verbs, the interpretation will be for the verb to be

performed intensively or so strongly that in some cases the action will result in damage.

In fact, the performance of the verb stem normally takes place for a long period of time.

Weather verb stems derived by *-yamu* or the allomorphic *-ykamu* often license adverbs of quantity or intensity that will contribute to the meaning expressed by the verb event. In (238), *-ykamu* expresses the intense way the verb was carried out. The speaker says the wind blew intensely. The presence of the adverbial *anchata* 'a lot' complements the intensity with which the action of the verb was performed. Similarly, in (239) *-yamu* expresses that the verb is performed intensely, and the adverbial *libi* 'extremely' complements that. Lastly, in some cases the intense way of performing the verb can result in damage. In (240) the crops were damaged by the intense hail that fell down. The suffix *-kamu* licenses an adverbial *q'ala* 'totally' to complement the action of the verb.

- (238) *anchata wayraykamun qaninpa dia*
anchata wayra-ykamu-n qaninpa dia
a lot wind-DIR-3SG past day
'It was very windy, the other day'

- (239) *qaninpaqa libi rit'i kayman junt'ayamurqa*
qaninpa=qa libi rit'i kay-man junt'a-yamu-rqa
last.time=TOP extremely snow DEM-ALL fill-DIR-3SG.PST
'Last time, the snow accumulated and covered (this yard)'

- (240) *q'alá chaqrayta mararpán, granizoyamun*
q'alá chaqra-y-ta mara-rpa-n
totally.ADV crops-1SG.POSS-ACKnock.down-quicly-3SG
granizo-yamu-n
hail-DIR-3SG.PST
'It totally knocked down my crops, it has hailed in our town'

The meaning of *-yamu* or *-ykamu* applies similarly to other classes of verbs beyond impersonal or weather verbs. It expresses that the subject performs the verb with firm intention. In (241), *-yamu* combines with the verb *qhapari-* ‘shout’ to express that the subject is shouting firmly towards the deictic center. In (242), *qara-yamu* means to go and decidedly feed the dogs. And lastly, in (243), *pawa-ykamu* means that the speaker jumps decidedly into the water.

- (241) *pichá q'ala qhapariyamushan, punk'ú takamun*
 pichá q'ala qhapari-**yamu**-sha-n
 someone extremely shout-**DIR**-PROG-3SG
- punkú taka-mu-n
 door.ACC knock-**DIR**-3SG
 ‘Listen, someone is shouting. Someone knocked on the door’
- (242) *kusatapuni apakamurqani, alqitusniyman qarayamuni*
 kusa-ta=puni apa-kamu-rqa-ni
 good-ACC=certainly take-**DIR**-PST-1SG
- alq-itu-sni-y-man qara-**yamu**-ni
 dog-DIM-1SG.POSS-ALL feed-**GO&DO**-1SG
 ‘It was good I took it (food) here. I went and fed my little dogs’
 (The verb was performed in a decisive way by the subject)
- (243) *libi patamantaqa phawaykamuq kayku altumantaqa, “laq’aq” nis*
 libi pata-manta=qa phawa-**ykamu**-q ka-yku
 extremely up-ABL=TOP jump-**DIR**-AG BE.AUX-3PL
- altu-manta=qa, “laq’aq” ni-s
 up-ABL=TOP “laq’aq” say-GER
 ‘We used to jump from the very top, “laq’aq” sounding from the very top
 (to the river)’

6.5.4. Complex suffix: *-rqamu*

This suffix expresses that the verb is performed in a persistent manner: persistently, insistently, relentlessly towards the deictic center. The verb is performed in a short amount of time, as exemplified in (244) and (245), in which *-rqamu* combines with weather verbs. The action of the verbs derived by *-rqamu* occurs insistently and in a short period of time or the action will not last longer. In (244), it only rained for a short period of time. Similarly, in (245), it is warming up, but the warmth will not last long. Monolinguals normally have a preference for using adverbs such as *uj ratitullá* ‘just for a short while’, *tumpitallata* ‘just a little’, *pisita* ‘little’ to complement the meaning expressed by weather verb stems derived by *-rqamu*, as a contrast to what has been presented above for *-yamu*.

In the examples below *-rqamu* appears with verbs bearing inherent motion and verbs that do not. In (246) the speaker commands the addressee to do the verb in a persistent manner. This will involve the subject to persistently take the traditional alcoholic beverage made from corn toward the deictic point. Likewise, in (247) and (248), it is expected that the subject will move away from the deictic point and do the verb persistently, insistently, relentlessly.

- (246) *achhaypi, achhaypi, curiy jarritapi aparqamuy*
 achhay-pi achhay-pi curi-y
 DEM-LOC DEM-LOC run-1SG.IMP
 jarr-ita-pi apa-**rqamu**-y
 jar-DIM-LOC take-**DIR**-1SG.IMP
 'Yes in there, yes in there, go and take it (beverage) in a jar'

(247) *winkhukullayraq mama Juana, chay yuqallá qhawarqamusaq ya?*
 winkhu-ku-lla-y=raq mama Juana,
 lie.down-REF-LIM-1SG.IMP=CONJ mama Juana

 chay yuqallá qhawa-**rqamu**-saq ya?
 DEM boy.ACC watch-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT ok
 'Keep lying in bed mama Juana, I will go and watch that boy'

(248) *a vir, risaq, ruthurqamusaq ya?*
 a vir, ri-saq, ruthu-**rqamu**-saq ya?
 Let's see, go-1SG.FUT cut.off-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT ok?
 'Let's see, I will go cut off the (dried grass)'

-rqamu is a common complex suffix. It occurs with the eight classes of verbs.

- (249) exemplifies this complex suffix with the verb *waqa-* 'cry' from set VII that consists of verb of motion of intangible entities. In this example, the speaker describes the crying

of the bird called *wakichiku*. This bird is particular to the region. It is mostly related to an unexpected visit. In this example the speaker described the crying of the bird insistently.

6.5.5. Complex suffixes **-yampu** and **-rqampu** (highly restricted occurrence)

6.5.5.1. *-yampu*

These two complex suffixes are highly restricted in their occurrence in the large corpus. *-yampu* only appears with three verbs in the corpus: *kuti-* ‘return’, *lluqsi-* ‘go out’ and *jap'i-* ‘receive’. In elicitation it can be more productive, but the meaning will vary, making it hard to predict one single meaning. The suffix *-yampu* inherently bear direction and associated motion meaning. In (250) *-yampu* involves returning to the deictic center, the town. The additional meaning here is that dancers only used to reach the corner of the mountain near their town, then they had to return to their town. In (251) it combines with the verb *lluqsi-* ‘go out’ from set V. The example occurs in a narrative of a traditional story. The woman and the kid silently escaped from the cave. They suddenly were discovered by the *Jukumari* ‘human like, an unrealistic entity’. In this example there is not a deictic point to state which direction the woman and the child went when they left the cave. The interpretation is that they left the cave. Then, they were discovered by the

Jukumari as he asked them where they were heading. Lastly, the suffix of *-yampu* is combined with a verb without inherent motion. In this case it means ‘go to a certain place and do the verb on the benefit of the referent’. The subject promises the direct object to go on her behalf to exchange potatos for plates as in (252).

- (250) *Chay q’asamantasina kutiyampuq kanku i?*
 chay q’asa-manta=sina kuti-**yampu**-q ka-nku i?
 DEM corner-ABL=DUB return-**DIR**-? be.AUX-3PL right?
 ‘I guess they used to come back from that corner, right?’
- (251) *Maytá rishankichik? Lluqsiyampusqankuña, ripusqankuña*
 may-tá ri-sha-nkichik?
 where-ADV.CONJ go-PROG-2PL
 lluqsi-yampu-sqa-nku=ña,
 leave-DIR-PST.NARR-3PL=already
 ripu-sqa-nku=ña
 leave-PST.NAR-3PL=already
 ‘Where are you going? They escaped (from the cave). They left it (the cave)’
- (252) *Aswan kachitutapuni jap’iyampusayki*
 aswan kachitu-ta=puni
 more beautiful-ACC=certainly
 jap’i-**yampu**-sayki
 receive-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT
 ‘I will go and exchange (potato for handcrafted plats) on your behalf’

6.5.5.2. *-rqampu*

This suffix is also limited in its occurrence. It only combines with certain verbs from groups IV and VI. Like *-yampu*, the associated motion and directional polysemy is interpreted with this suffix. In (253) the subject was asked to buy the old woman (the speaker and beneficiary) a replacement part for her stove. She has asked her kids but

apparently none of them were able to find it. The subject found it and sent it to her. The beneficiary is happy. Similarly, in (254) there is positive intention from the subject in offering a warm blanket to the beneficiary.

- (253) *Ay chayqa tarirqampuwasqa, gracias, gracias*
 Ay chay=qa tari-**rqampu**-wa-sqa, gracias, gracias
 wow DEM=TOP find-**GO&DO**-1OBJ-3SG.PST.NAR thanks, thanks
 'Wow, she found it (replacement part for stove), thanks, thanks'
- (254) *aparqampusayki jaqay ukhumanta*
 apa-**rqampu**-sayki jaqay ukhu-manta
 take-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT>2SG DEM inside-ABL
 'I will get it (warm blanket) to you, there is one in there (inside the room)

To summarize the morphemes presented above, in this variety of Quechua, each morpheme covers both functions: associated motion and direction. *Table 32* below provides a summary of their functions, the orientation they denote, and the type of verb sets they appear combined with.

Even though simplex and complex suffixes cover both functions; associated motion and direction, they express additional nuances. Among simplex suffixes, the difference relies on the directional information that each morpheme adds to the verb event. These differences are based on the verb classification proposed earlier. The simplex suffix *-mu* will trigger prior motion, concurrent motion and direction oriented towards the speaker, whereas *-yacha* triggers an interrupted nonlinear motion and direction. The *-mu* suffix is more common than *-yacha*. *-mu* can suffix to the eight verb classes described earlier in this chapter while *-yacha* only occurs with five verb classes. Even though *-yacha* appears with five verb classes, it is more productive with verbs from

set IV that include transfer verbs. It is less productive with verb classes V, VI, VII and VIII because it only occurs with a few verbs from each class. *-yacha* was not attested with weather verbs or impersonal verbs while *-mu* is productive with weather verbs too.

Throughout this chapter, it has been claimed that complex suffixes function as single units. They bear a complex meaning as a unit. They bear inherently directional and associated motion functions. Beyond this polysemic distinction, each complex suffix exhibits specific meanings such as: safely, own choice, decidedly/intensively, diligently. In fact, when *-kampu* and *-kamu* suffix to transitive verbs additional information will be interpreted.

Finally, two complex suffixes are more productive than others. *-yamu* and *-rqamu* suffix to the eight verbs classes compared to *-kampu* and *-kamu*. These last two suffixes do not suffix to weather verbs or impersonal verbs.

	suffixes	temporal relation with the verb event	orientation	Verb class set
Simplex suffixes	-mu	- prior motion	- away from the deictic point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Weather verbs – Path raising verbs (ice, foam, plant) – Shine verbs/weather verbs – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities – From/To in the land
	-yacha	- concurrent interrupted motion	-nonlinear	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities – From/To in the land
Simplex or Complex	-mpu	-prior motion, (Assistive, solidarity way/feeling sympathy with the direct object licensed by the verb)	- away from the deictic point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities – From/To in the land
	-kampu			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Accompanied verbs – General actions

complex suffixes	-kamu	- prior motion	- away from the deictic point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – From/To in the land – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities – From/To in the land
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Weather verbs – Path raising verbs (ice, foam, plant) – Shine verbs/weather verbs – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities – From/To in the land
	-yamu			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Weather verbs – Path raising verbs (ice, foam, plant) – Shine verbs/weather verbs – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities – From/To in the land
	-rqamu			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Weather verbs – Path raising verbs (ice, foam, plant) – Shine verbs/weather verbs – Accompanied verbs – Path verbs – General actions – Voice/motion of intangible entities

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – From/To in the land
Complex suffixes (Highly restricted occurrence)	-yampu -rqampu	-prior motion	- away from the deictic point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Accompanied verbs – General actions – From/To in the land (in elicitation)

Table 32: Description of Associated Motion and Directional morphemes

6.6. SEMI-LEXICALIZED COMPLEX SUFFIXES

This variety of Quechua exhibits six semi-lexicalized complex forms. These forms are composed by the suffixes *-ya* or *-rqa* preceding the four complex suffixes presented in section 6.2. *Table 33* below details the six semi-lexicalized forms observed. I claim that these morphemes are semi-lexicalized since the meaning of each suffix string is partially predictable. The complex suffixes observed after *-ya* or *-rqa* forms still maintain their meaning as a unit as presented in section 6.2 of this chapter. The suffixes *-ya* and *-rqa* are not derivable. Some semi-lexicalized forms are very rare and only two or three examples are observed in a 50-hour naturalistic corpus. From the six semi-lexicalized forms the least prominent are *-yakampu* and *-rqakampu*, for which only few occurrences of each have been observed in the large corpus.

-ya forms	-rqa forms
-yakampu	-rqakampu
-yakamu	-rqakamu
-yarqamu	

Table 33: Description of Complex Associated motion suffix formation

Semi-lexicalized suffixes with *-ya* seem to be related with ‘*downwards, inwards*’ direction, or prepositional information ‘*on*’. In (255), the *-ya* expresses ‘*downwards*’ in context. The speaker took home his wheat from the fields after a month. The wheat was located in the mountains where his wheat fields grow. His home is located at the foot of the hill. The direction in which the taking event was performed was ‘*downwards*’ where his home is located. He was inside the room. The wheat was there. Now, considering (256), *-ya* can be interpreted as ‘*on*’. The speaker commands the addressee to go and put the collar on his dog. Finally, in (257), *-ya* expresses ‘*inwards*’. The speaker aims to go and uncover the earth of the root of a potato plant and watch whether the potatoes are doing well.

- (255) *killamantaraq apayakampuni trigutaqa*
 killa-manta=raq apa-yakampu-ni trigu-ta=q
 a.month-about=conj take-yakampu-ni wheat-ACC=TOP
 ‘I took my wheat inside the house after a month’
- (256) “*chavituyman churayakamusaq*” *niy*
 chav-itu-y-man chura-yakamu-saq ni-y
 chav-DIM-1SG.POSS-ALL put-yakamu-1SG.FUT say-1SG.IMP
 Tell her ‘I will go and put it (collar) on my Chavito dog’

- (257) *mjú Mariaq papantawan qhawayarqamusaq*
 mjú Maria-q papa-n-tawan qhawa-**yarqamu**-saq
 yeah Maria-GEN potato-3SG.POSS-and watch-**yarqamu**-1SG.FUT
 ‘Yeah, I will go and take a look at Maria’s potato plant’

There are two semi-lexicalized forms led by *-rqa* as presented in Table 33 above. *-rqakampu* is rarely observed in the corpus compared to *-rqakamu*. It is hard to predict the meaning of this suffix. In context *-rqa* can express ‘quickly’, ‘malefactive’, ‘annoyed’. Considering example (258) below, the speaker commands the addressee to quickly go and take out the rice from the other room to cook. The meaning is pragmatically inferred from the context. However, in (259) *-rqa* denotes a malefactive interpretation. The speaker is sad about the fact the subject went and sold all the fresh peaches. It can imply that the speaker wanted the subject to make dried peach for their own consumption.

- (258) *arruzníy urqhurqakamunki ari*
 arruz-níy urqhu-**rqakamu**-nki ari
 rice-1SG.POSS.ACC take-**rqakamu**-2SG ah
 ‘You’ll go and take out my rice (and cook)’
- (259) *venderqakampun má k’isa ruwanchu á*
 vende-**rqakampu**-n má k’isa ruwa-n=chu á
 sell-**rqakampu**-3SG NEG dried.peach make-3SG=NEG ah
 ‘She didn’t make dried peach, she went and sold it (the fresh peach)’

6.7. BIDIRECTIONAL ASSOCIATED MOTION

Some combinations of morphemes mark no specific direction. One such morpheme combination involving *-mu* is bidirectional since it involves roundtrip motion,

‘go & do & return’ (see, Guillaume 2021). UPSBQ marks bidirectional motion with the single associated motion morpheme *-mu* or with a complex suffix interacting with the enclitic *=ñā* ‘already’. The interaction between the simplex suffix *-mu* and the enclitic *=ñā* is common with verbs without inherent motion semantics such as verbs in classes VI, VII and VIII. This interaction will trigger ‘bidirectional motion’ in which the subject will go to a specific location, do the action of the verb and return to the original place. In example (260), the subject went to where the wheat field was. He cut off the dried wheat. Then, he returned to his home where he is currently located at the moment of utterance. It is known the agent returned because of the enclitic *=ñā* which indicated that the action has already occurred. In (261) the speaker is assuming that their neighbors went to the corn fields, they peeled off the skin of the dry corn there. Then, they returned home with the corn. The addressee saw the people returning home with bags on their backs. In this case, it is also assumed that the corn does not necessarily belong to the subject.

home (with the corn)'

This bidirectional motion is also interpreted from the interaction between complex suffixes and the enclitic *=ñā*. Such combinations are less common, and they only occur with verbs without inherent motion semantics. In (262) the complex suffix *-kamu* 'prior motion (subject needs object)' interacting with the enclitic *=ñā* will trigger a bidirectional motion. There is a going event in which the speaker moved to the market. Then there is a second verb event of buying the white corn seeds the subject needs. Then the speaker returned home. In fact, there is evidence that the corn is at the speaker's home. The speaker needed the white corn seeds to plant in the upcoming harvesting season.

- (262) *yuraq sara mujuta rantikamuniñā, yuraq sará tarpusaq*
yuraq sara muju-ta ranti-kamu-ni=ñā,
white corn seed-ACC buy-GO&DO-1SG=already
- yuraq sará tarpu-saq
white corn.ACC plant-1SG.FUT
'I have already gone and bought white corn seed; I will plant white corn'

6.8. DISCUSSION AND EARLIER STUDIES ON SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA

This chapter offers a different description of associated motion and direction than what is presented in earlier literature on South Bolivian Quechua. Earlier studies discuss the suffix *-mu* singly (see, Albó 1964, Herrero and Sanchez 1978, Garland D., et al 1971, Muysken 1986, Van de Kerke 1993). Complex and semi-lexicalized suffixes presented throughout this chapter have not been remarked on by previous scholars. In fact, earlier studies do not clearly state the difference between the two functions that *-mu* covers:

associated motion and direction. That the suffix *-mu* adds motion or path is loosely described. Considering the following example (263) in Herrero and Sanchez (1978), *-mu* is stated to express motion towards the speaker with motion verbs. Throughout this chapter, it has been claimed that *-mu* can convey both associated motion and direction. It primarily expresses associated motion when it combines to verbs without inherent motion, and it primarily expresses deictic path with verbs bearing inherent motion. Similar statements have been made typologically, in which, with verbs having inherent motion semantics, associated motion markers do not add further motion to the event nor do they indicate temporal relation between motion and event (see, Guillaume (2020) and Vuillermet., M (2013) & Rose (2015) for two Bolivian languages from the Amazon).

In (263), the suffix *-mu* combines with a verb bearing inherent motion, *yaykuy* ‘enter while walking’, thus the meaning contribution must be directional rather than motion as stated in Herrero and Sanchez (1978).

- (263) *yaykumuchun*
yayku-mu-chu-n
enter-BIL-3IMPL
'Let him enter (into here, towards the speaker)' Herrero and Sanchez (1978)

This chapter described the two functions of the suffix *-mu* with examples used in spontaneous conversations and few narratives. Eight verb sets can be defined in terms of the different interpretations of *-mu*. The first three classes belong to impersonal, or weather verbs. The meaning of *-mu* with those classes is directional in which the deictic center is the speaker. Earlier scholars provided different statements in which *-mu*

combined with weather verbs does not have a function, therefore has no semantic impact (see Albó 1964). Or the speaker is directly affected by the natural phenomenon such as becoming wet (see Garland D., 1971). This chapter showed evidence for *-mu* bearing at least two types of directional interpretations with impersonal verbs or weather verbs.

Finally, in this chapter, verbs without inherent motion semantics are classified into three groups VI, VII and VIII. For earlier scholars, verbs corresponding to these three groups are described as non-motion verbs, thus, the suffix *-mu* in combination with non-motion verbs expresses movement away from the speaker (Herrero and Sanchez 1978). A more detailed classification for verbs without inherent motion such as set VII shows that *-mu* doesn't always trigger an associated motion meaning but also a directional meaning. This difference is clearly observed comparing examples (264) and (265), also presented earlier in this chapter. *-mu* combined with verbs from set VII can trigger both meanings, associated motion and direction.

- (264) *jaqaymán waqamullanpuni á*
 jaqay-mán (sach'a) waqa-**mu**-lla-n=puni á
 DEM-ABL cry-**DIR**-LIM-3SG=certainly ah
 'It (the bird) certainly cries/sings from there (the tree in front of the speaker)'
- (265) *¿takimusaq? waqarimusaqchá á*
 ¿taki-**mu**-saq? waqa-*ri*-**mu**-saq=chá á
 sing-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT cry-softly-**GO&DO**-1SG.FUT=DUB ah
 'Will I go away and sing in? I guess I will go away and softly cry there ah'

6.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter identifies a large inventory of simplex and complex suffixes that relate to both associated motion and directionality, as evidenced typologically in other languages of the world (see, Vuillermet 2013, Rose 2015, Guillaume 2020, Dryer 2021 & Reed, Lindsey 2021 and Guillaume & Koch 2021).

The meaning of each suffix was described based on a classification of eight sets of verbs: three classes corresponding to weather or impersonal verbs, two classes of verbs bearing motion inherently and three classes of verbs without inherent motion. It has been claimed that with verbs with inherent motion the meaning of these suffixes adds a deictic path but with verbs without inherent motion the meaning contribution is associated motion. Associated motion in this variety can be of three types: prior motion, concurrent interrupted motion, and concurrent motion, as evidenced in other languages, particularly in languages of South America (Guillaume 2020). Different from earlier statements on South Bolivian Quechua, this variety of Bolivian Quechua presents complex suffixes. The results found in this chapter are typologically relevant since they will contribute to generalizations on areal features of the highland/lowlands. To date, complex associated motion has been characterized as an areal feature of lowlands but not of highlands (see, Guillaume 2016).

Chapter VII

The causative -chi suffixes in UPSBQ

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a description of the occurrences of the suffix formative *-chi*, which usually has causative meaning, supported by a large corpus of spontaneous speech of South Bolivian Quechua spoken in the rural town of Uma Piwra. In general, causative constructions involve two events, the causing event and the caused event. Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002:139) distinguish two types of causatives: lexical causatives and productive causatives. Lexical causatives involve physical manipulation of an object or person (the causee) by the causer while productive causatives involve the causer giving oral direction/instruction to the causee. This chapter assesses several related causative senses and uses of the suffix formative *-chi*. One is the productive simplex causative (slot 4) *-chi* suffix presented in Ch. 5. The other *-chi* suffix is a Lexeme Building Suffix (LBS) *-chi*, introduced by the Bimorphemic Lexical Verb Base (LVB) rule (138) discussed in Ch.5 and lexicalized with some kind of causative meaning. In addition, this chapter also discusses lexicalized instances where *-chi* occurs as an LBS but does not have a causative meaning.

While the causative suffix *-chi* in UPSBQ has two general meanings as stated in *Table 34* later, the assessment of this chapter describes six ways of showing to what extent the causer and the causee are involved in performing the caused verb event. This distinction will allow to claim the productivity of causative suffix(es) in UPSBQ. The

hypothesis is that UPSBQ bears a lexical *-chi*, a suffix *-chi* that is semi-productive and a productive causative suffix *-chi* that expresses that a caused event is performed only by the causee and a sociative causative meaning in which the caused event is performed by the causer and the causee equally.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Section §7.2. will give a background on South Bolivian Quechua causative phenomena. Section §7.3. will present the verb set classification. Section §7.4. will describe the six ways in which the causer and the causee are involved in doing the caused event. Section §7.5. will address the relevance for typological studies on causatives. Finally, the conclusions will be presented in section §7.6.

7.2. CAUSATIVE PHENOMENA IN SOUTH BOLIVIAN QUECHUA LITERATURE

In the South Bolivian Quechua variety, the non-inflectional productive simplex suffix *-chi* has been stated to bear a general causative meaning. This involves for the subject to cause/make an indirect object to perform the caused verb event (see e.g., Plaza 2009, Peralta-Zurita 2006, Van de Kerke 1993, Muysken 1986, Herrero and Sanchez 1987, Bill et al., 1971, Solá and Lastra 1964). Examples (266) and (267) represent earlier descriptions of the causative suffix *-chi* with data obtained through elicitation only. In both examples *-chi* licenses an indirect object who will be responsible for performing the action of the verb as commanded by the subject. The type of indirect object depends on transitivity. The argument of a transitive verb bears comitative grammatical case *-wan* as

in (266) and the argument of an intransitive verb is marked accusative as in example (267) cited from Myler (2021).

- (266) *Sabinawan awachin*

Sabina-wan awa-**chi**-n
Sabina-COM weave-CAUS-3SG.NF
'He/she made Sabina weave'

- (267) *Maria Juanta tusuchin.* (Myler 2021)

Maria Juan-ta tusu-chi-n.
Maria Juan-acc dance-caus-3subj
'Maria makes Juan dance.'

As stated earlier, this chapter shows six ways to distinguish the extent the causer and the causee are involved in performing the caused event in UPSBQ. These six types of causation are detailed in *Table 34* below. Indirect causation (type 1) and sociative causation (type 2) are productive and correspond to Slot 4 from chapter 5; the other types are lexical. Each distinct type of causation has been identified from the combination of - *chi* to verb sets, as also specified in *Table 34*.

Suffixes	Types	Causing/caused event	Verb set from Table 2	Productivity
-chi- (slot 4)	1.Indirect causation	Causer orally commands/requests the causee to perform the verb.	<i>Verb set IV</i> <i>Verb set VI</i>	<i>Productive</i>
	2.Sociative causative	The causer and the causee both perform the verb.	<i>Verb set IV</i> <i>Verb set V</i> <i>Verb set VI</i>	<i>Productive</i>
-chi- (LBS)	3.Partial causation	Causer is physically involved for the action to begin.	<i>Verb set II</i>	<i>Lexical</i>
	4. Neutral causation	Causer can command or be partially involved.	<i>Verb set V</i>	<i>Lexical</i>
-chi- (LBS)	5.Self-causation	The causer alone is responsible for the action of the verb.	<i>Verb set III</i>	<i>Lexical</i>
-chi- (LBS)	6.External causation	External causation by natural phenomenon.	<i>Verb set I</i>	<i>Lexical</i>
---	---	Non-causative value	<i>Verb set I</i> <i>Verb set IV</i> <i>Verb set V</i> <i>Verb set VI</i>	<i>Lexical</i>

Table 34: Meanings and distribution of suffix -chi

7.3. VERB CLASSIFICATION FOR -CHI

The verb sets for this study have been classified into six sets as detailed in *Table 35* below: type I involves weather verbs, type II state changing verbs, type III consists of outcome verbs, type IV involve verbs related to cultivation and harvesting, type V conforms food ingesting verbs and state verbs and finally type VI involves verbs bearing inherent motion while doing the verb.

Set I Weather verbs	Set II State changing verbs	Set III Outcome verbs
rit'iy 'snow' chiriy 'be cold' granizay 'hail' chiqchiy 'hail.aggressively' chhillchiy 'drizzle' iphuy 'drizzle.softly' qasay 'frost' sut'iyay 'sunrise' tutayay 'sunset' chhaqpuay 'get dark' chhullunkay 'freeze' laqhayay 'get dark' wayray 'be wind'	t'impuy 'boil' k'ajay 'heat' chhulluy 'soak' chayay 'for food to cook' puquy 'mature' q'uñiy 'heat on fire' ch'akiy 'dry' qawiy 'expose vegetables to sun'	t'uqyay 'hatch' (eggs) ch'ijuy 'chip (glass)' phatay 'burst' laqray 'chip (pots)' q'usniy 'dust'
Set IV Cultivation/harvesting verbs	Set V Ingesting, state verbs	Set VI Motion verbs
llank'ay 'plow' allay 'hoe' chaqmay 'select' jallmay 'plow/earth up' qarpay 'water' qhuray 'weed' ruthuy 'cut hay' k'ipay 'collect leftovers while cultivating potato' t'iray 'pull an herb' t'ipiy 'pull out fruit' k'iqryay 'pull out fruit from tree'	mikhuy 'eat' ch'unqay 'suck' llunk'uy 'lick with tongue' tomay 'drink' uquy 'devour' llamiy 'taste' upyay 'drink' laq'uy 'lick water' q'ultiy 'drink making noise' akuy 'eat something dry e.g., powder' puñuy 'sleep' winkhuy 'lay down' chukuy 'rest during harvest'	apay 'carry' astay 'take' aysay 'pull by hand' chayay 'arrive' ayqiy 'escape' chimpay 'cross' kachay 'send' kutiy 'go back' pusay 'take someone' q'ipiy 'carry on back' qatiy 'follow walking' qhatiy 'take the animals to graze' suchuy 'go across' wasayuy 'traverse'

Table 35: Verb set classification for -chi

7.4. TYPES OF CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

This section will present a detailed description of the participation of the causer and the causee in doing the caused verb event. The type of verb set will allow to state whether the causer is indirectly, partially or directly involved in performing the action of the verb. It will also show that certain types of verb sets will not always license an indirect object. Indeed, the argument licensed by *-chi* is not always overtly marked and it is interpreted by context. These non-licensed arguments can be of four types: *-ta* 'ACC' accusative, *-wan* comitative, a combination of *-ta-wan* -ACC-COM 'accusative and comitative' and *-pi* locative.

7.4.1. Productive causatives *-chi*

This section will first consider the two main senses of the productive suffix *-chi* (slot 4): indirect causation and sociative causation.

7.4.1.1. *Indirect causation -chi (slot 4)*

Indirect causation involves the subject orally commanding or requesting that the indirect object perform the verb. This indirect participation of the causer is interpreted from verb stems resulting from the combination of the suffix *-chi* and verb classes corresponding to set IV, used while working the land such as cultivating, planting, harvesting, and verbs of set VI (motion verbs). The following examples demonstrate the indirect causation with verbs from these two types of verbs sets. Examples (268) and (269) show the occurrence of *-chi* combining with the verbs *llank'ay* 'plow' and *t'iray*

‘pull up (weeds, herb, plants)’. These verbs describe events of cultivating or harvesting. Lastly, the same interpretation for *-chi* is obtained when it combines to verbs bearing motion as in (270). The subject or causer only commands and the indirect object carries the action of the caused verb event. The type of argument licensed in the following examples is not overtly marked. However, the indirect causation expresses that the caused event will be performed by the indirect object marked comitative *-wan* but not accusative **-ta*.

- (268) *Saratapis llank'achiniñapuni á*
 sara-ta-pis llank'a-**chi**-ni=ña=puni á
 corn-ACC-also plow-CAUS-1SG.PST=already=certainly
 ‘For certain, I already made (someone) plow corn plantations’
- (269) *qayna q' alituta t'irachin*
 qayna q'alitu-ta t'ira-**chi**-n
 yesterday all-ACC pull up-CAUS-3SG.NF
 ‘He/she made (someone) pull up all of it (weeds)’
- (270) *Ari, “autopi apachiyku” niwarqataqqa*
 arí, “auto-pi apa-**chi**-yku”
 yes, “car-LOC carry-CAUS-1PL.EXCL”
 ni-wa-rqa-taq=qa
 say-1OB-PST.NAR-CONJ=TOP
 ‘Yeah, he indeed told me “we made (someone) carry it (wheat) on a car”’.

7.4.1.2. *Sociative causation -chi (slot 4)*

Sociative causative is a particular type of causation commonly observed in South American Languages (see, e.g., Guillaume and Rose 2010:383). This type of causation not only makes the causee do the action of the verb, but the causer also participates in it. This type of causation is also observed in Uma Piwra Quechua. However, it has not been

reported in previous literature by Plaza (2009), Peralta-Zurita (2006), Van de Kerke (1993), Muysken (1986), Herrero and Sanchez (1987), Bills et al., (1971) and Solá and Lastra (1964). Sociative causative in UPSBQ is interpreted from *-chi* combined with verb types IV, V and VI and it is pragmatically inferred by specific situations. This sociative causative meaning is more common with type VI. Furthermore, most of the verb stems in which *-chi* triggers sociative causative meaning normally occur in more elaborate suffix strings that derive a verb stem e.g., *-yu-chi*, *-yu-chi-mu*. In the following examples (271) and (272) *-chi* combines with verbs of type VI. In these examples both the causer and the causee perform the action of the verb equally. In (271) the fox and the sheep traverse the mountain equally and in (272) the causer and the causee walk together. The speaker describes a scene in which he and his friend went to a place where a lot of eucalyptus grow. The speaker's friend made him walk in vain since there was no wood to collect. In this case *-chi* involves both, as the causer and the causee walked together.

- (271) *Má rikhurimuqtinku rini, jaqay puntataña wasayuchishasqa ovejasta*
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| má | rikhu-ri-mu-qty-nku | ri-ni, |
| NEG | appear-INCH-DIR-when-3PL | go-1SG.PST |
| jaqay | punta-ta=ña | wasayu- chi -sha-sqa |
| that | mountain-ACC=already | traverse-CAUS-PROG-3SG.PST.NAR |
| oveja-s-ta | | |
| sheep-PL-AC | | |
- ‘Given the fact they (sheep) didn't show up, I went.
The fox and the sheep were traversing the mountain’

- (272) *Q’alá puriyuchimuwan urqhukuwaq nispa*
 q’alá.ACC puri-yu-chi-mu-wa-n
 entirely walk-PFV-CAUS-MOT-1OB<3SG.PST
 urqhu-ku-waq ni-spa
 extract-REF-1SG.COND say-GER
 ‘Saying 'you could extract (wood)', he had me walk with him for a while’

The sociative causative is also interpreted from the suffix *-chi* combined with verb class set V. Examples (273) and (274) stand as evidence for this, because the event of eating was equally performed by the causer and the causee. In (273) the causer offers the causee quinoa meal. The causee was full but despite being full she ate along with the causer. A similar example is observed in (274), the causer made salad. The old woman (the causee) and the causer both enjoyed the meal. At the end, the old woman thanked the causer for having her eating the salad in such a pleasant way. In this context the only interpretation of *-chi* is the sociative causative, it does not mean indirect causation in which only the causer eating, or the causer is feeding the causee.

- (273) *Kay nuqata atiqta má atiqta mikhuyuchishawanki.*
 kay nuqa-ta ati-q-ta má ati-q-ta
 DEM 1SG-ACC able-GEN-ACC NEG able-AG-ACC

mikhu-yu-chi-sha-wa-nki
 eat-COMPL-CAUS-PROG-1OBJ<2SG.NF
 ‘You are having me eat (quinoa), whether I am able to or not’

- (274) *Gracias ñiñítáy mikhurquchiwanki*
 Gracias ñiñ-itá-y
 gracias sister-DIM-1SG.POSS
mikhu-rqu-chi-wa-nki
 comer-nimbly-CAUS-1OB<2SG.PST

‘Thanks, my dear sister, you had me eating delightedly with you’

7.4.2. Lexeme-building uses and senses of causative *-chi*

This section considers four meanings and uses of the Lexeme Building Suffix (LBS) *-chi* as described in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. The LBS *-chi* forms a biomorphic lexical verb base rule given in Chapter 5. The LBS *-chi* is not productive as the previous two functions of *-chi* presented in Section § 7.4.2. The next sections will be dedicated to describing the LBS *-chi*.

7.4.2.1. Partial causation (lexical)

In this type the causer is partially involved for the caused event to be performed. The physical intervention of the causer is crucial since the action of the verb could not be executed without it. Therefore, the causer starts for the verb to naturally occur afterwards. This natural action of the verb involves certain amount of duration in time until the final goal is reached. The caused event will be performed by a natural phenomenon such as the sun, heat, fire, water or seasonal cycles. Additionally, the verb is performed in a stationary position. This partial causation expressed by *-chi* is interpreted from the stems derived out of Set II verbs that describe state changing. Verbs belonging to this set are static and durative *e.g.*, *chulluy* ‘to soak’, *ch’akiy* ‘to dry’, *t’impuy* ‘to boil’. The following examples (275) and (276) exemplify this partial causation. In (275) the causer puts the chicken meat in salty water and the water soaks the meat. Similarly, in (276) the causer exposed the corn to make it dry in the sunlight in the same place where they peeled the corn. The non-overt argument licensed by *-chi* needs to be a locative argument

marked *-pi* 'LOC'. The non-overtly marked argument in (275) and (276) cannot be *-wan* 'COM' comitative or accusative *-ta* 'ACC'.

- (275) *Ari, presarpaytawan kachi yakupi chulluchini.*
 ari, presa-rpa-y-tawan kachi
 yeah, cut in pieces-suddenly-INF-after salt

yaku-pi chullu-**chi**-ni
 water-LOC soak-CAUS-1SG.NF
 'Yeah, after cutting it in pieces I put it to marinate in saltwater'

- (276) *Tipinkuña sarata chay kikinpi ch'akichishanku.*
 tipi-nku=ña sara-ta chay kikin-pi
 peel.out.corn.skin-3PL.PST=already corn-ACC that same-LOC
 ch'aki-**chi**-sha-nku
 dry-CAUS-PROG-3PL.NF
 'They have already shucked the corn, they are making it dry in the same place'

7.4.2.2. *Neutral causation (lexical)*

The causer can be involved or not in executing the caused verb event.

The ambiguous meaning is obtained when the suffix *-chi* derives a stem out of type V verb sets and sometimes with state verbs. Verbs belonging to type V normally involve ingesting e.g., *mikhuy* 'eat', *ujyay* 'drink', *llunk'uy* 'lick'. Verbs classified as states include *puñuy* 'sleep', *winkhuy* 'lie down (stationary)'. The default meaning will be for causer to verbally command or request the licensed argument to perform the verb by himself/herself/themselves. The direct causative meaning will be interpreted when the licensed argument is not capable of doing the verb. This type of lexical causative is different from above since the licensed argument or the direct object is marked accusative *-ta*.

The following examples (277) and (278) both exemplify indirect causation in which the causer is only commanding or requesting the causee to perform the caused event. In (277) the causer offered the food and the causee was able to eat by himself. However, if it would be a situation where the causee would be incapable or a child then the interpretation would be direct causation involving the causer feeding the causee directly. Similarly, in (278) the causer verbally commands the causee to sleep in the room located in the upper side of her house. Those differences between direct and indirect or called inherent causation with ingestive verbs are also observed in Bantu languages (see, Jero 2019). The non-overtly marked argument can probably be understood as accusative *-ta* but not *-wan* COM comitative.

- (277) *Arroz phirita ch'aqita unqusqasman, zanahoriasniyuqta mikhuchiwanku ari.*

arroz phiri-ta ch'aqi-ta unqusqa-s-man
rice phiri-AC ch'aqi-AC sick-PL-to

zanahoria-s-ni-yuq-ta
carrot-PL-EUPH-POSS-ACC

mikhu-**chi**-wa-nku ari
eat-CAUS-1OB-3PL.NF ah

‘Cooked rice, rice soup with carrots is what they fed me when I was sick at the hospital among other sick people’

- (278) *Ay, chay napichá puñuchisunki, chay pataláw wasipichá*

ay, chay na-pi=chá puñu-**chi**-sunki
ah, that na-LOC=DUB sleep-CAUS-1SG<2SG

chay pataláw wasi-pi=chá
that upper side house-LOC=DUB

‘Ah, I guess she makes you sleep in the, in the house located in the upper side’

7.4.2.3. *Self-causation (lexical)*

Self-causation means the caused event is executed by the causer without external help. This is interpreted from verb set of type III derived with *-chi*. These verbs have an outcome. Some verbs in this group are semantically restricted to third person. Some verbs of this type are *t'uqyay* ‘hatch’, *ch'ijuy* ‘chip off’, *q'usniy* ‘smoke, dust’. A verb of class III derived by the suffix *-chi* will not license an indirect object who will be responsible for performing the caused verb event. The action of the verb is performed by the subject by default. This type of self-causation can be better illustrated in the following example (279) in which the subject are the hens that hatch the eggs themselves.

- (279) *Wakin ashkatapuni t'uqyachinku á.*

wakin ashka-ta=puni t'uqya-**chi**-nku á
others a lot-ACC=certainly hatch-CAUS-3PL.NF ah
‘Certainly, others (hens) make a lot (of their own eggs) hatch ah’

7.4.2.4. *External causation (lexical)*

External causation means the action of the verb is caused and performed by a natural phenomenon.

This meaning is interpreted when the suffix *-chi* combines with verbs of type I, in order to derive a verb stem. Verbs belonging to this class normally include weather verbs that are caused by a natural phenomenon such as *paray* ‘rain’, *rit'iy* ‘snow’, *chhillchiy* ‘drizzle’. The subject is an external entity and is responsible for performing the verb. Verb stems derived from this type of verbs are restricted to third person singular. *-chi* does not license an indirect object who will perform the caused event. The following

examples demonstrate this external causation. In (280) the responsible for the execution of the verb is a third person singular entity that is referred to as *Punawayra*, a cold wind that arrives from the *Puna* side towards Uma Piwra. In (281) the responsible is the singing of the bird *Chulluchi*. This bird has unique way of singing to make it rain. The melody of its singing denotes this phrase: “*Chulluchíy parachíy khuritupáq páq páq*” ‘make it rain, make it soak for worms to appear’. Some elders in Uma Piwra characterized this bird as eating worms that appear when the soil is humid. Thus, its singing is crucial as it makes it to rain so worms can appear.

- (280) *Anchhay chhullunkachimun á*
 anchhay chhullunka-**chi**-mu-n á
 That one freeze-CAUS-MOT-3SG.NF ah
 ‘(Puna winds) that makes it freeze ah’

- (281) ‘*Parachin’ ninku*
 para-**chi**-n ni-nku
 rain-CAUS-3SG.NF say-3PL
 ‘People say it (the singing of the *Chulluchi* bird) causes it to rain’

This section has provided examples of *-chi* combined to different sets of verbs. It showed in a detailed way how the causer and the causee are involved in carrying the caused verb event. It stated that there are six types of causation. From the six types two of them combine to more than two verb sets: indirect causation and sociative causation. Indirect causation clearly shows that it licenses a comitative argument who will carry the action of the verb. Sociative causation involves both the causer and the causee performing the caused event equally. The four other types can be considered lexical or semi-lexical as they are more restricted and they do not necessarily license an argument

who will be responsible for the verb event. The lexical types do not clearly license an indirect object to perform the verb. The semi-lexical can license an indirect object in some situations. *Table 36* below summarizes this.

Suffixes	Types	Productivity	Verb set from Table 2
-chi- (slot 4)	1.Indirect causation	<i>Productive</i>	<i>Verb set IV – Cultivation harvesting verbs</i> <i>Verb set VI -Motion verbs</i>
	2.Sociative causative	<i>Productive</i>	<i>Verb set IV - Cultivation/harvesting verbs</i> <i>Verb set V - Ingesting, state verbs</i> <i>Verb set VI - Motion verbs</i>
-chi- (LBS)	3.Partial causation	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Verb set II - state changing verbs</i>
	4. Neutral causation	<i>Lexical</i> <i>Sem-lexical</i>	<i>Verb set V - Ingesting, state verbs</i>
-chi- (LBS)	5.Self-causation	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Verb set III - Outcome verbs</i>
-chi- (LBS)	6.External causation	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Verb set I - Weather verbs</i>

Table 36: Summary of causative -chi interpretation

7.5. NO CAUSATIVE VALUE OF *-CHI*

In UPSBQ there are instances in which the suffix *-chi* does not bear a causative meaning. This is the case when *-chi* combines to the verb root *qu-* ‘give’. In the combination *qu-chi-* the verb root no longer denotes its original meaning ‘give’. The *qu-chi-* ‘give-causative’ construction can replace any verb root in context. In (282) the *qu-chi-* construction means for the quail to ‘take off/fly’. This construction is not restricted to certain verb types. In (283) and (284) it replaces weather verbs as it replaces the verb ‘rain’. Similarly, in (285) and (286) this non-causative construction is observed replacing

verb type V *e.g.*, *qu-chi-* ‘devour’, *qu-chi-* ‘drink’. Finally, in example (287) *qu-chi-* construction replaces a motion type verb.

- (282) *Ujta rikuqtinchikama “wiluq” quchin á*

ujta riku-qty-nchik kama

At once see-when-1PL.INCL after

“wiluq” **qu-chi-n** á

“wiluq” escape-3SG ah

‘Once we see it (quail), “wiluq” takes off/flies’

- (283) *Libri quchimun para*

libri **qu-chi-mu-n**

para

extremely rain-CAUS-DIR-3SG

rain

‘It started raining heavily’

- (284) *Chayratu quchimullanqanataq á*

chayratu **qu-chi-mu-lla-nqa=ña=taq** á

Suddenly rain-CAUS-DIR-LIM-3SG.FUT=again=and ah

‘It will suddenly start raining again’

- (285) *Libi uqunata quchiq kayku*

Libi uqu-na-ta **qu-chi-q** ka-yku

extremely food-NMLZ-ACC

devour-CAUS-AUX

be.AUX-1PL.INCL

‘We used to eat food excessively (when we were younger)’

- (286) *Machasqa como si nada quchinku á*

machasqa como si nada **qu-chi-nku**

á

drunk like if nothing

drink-CAUS-3PL

ah

‘When they are drunk, they drink without hesitation’

- (287) *Bononmanchá qurichinqa compadreqa á*

bono-n-man=chá

qu-ri-chi-nqa

bonus-3SG.POSS-ALL=DUB

go-AFF-CAUS-3SG.FUT

compadreqa á

mister=TOP ah

‘Apparently he is going to receive the bonus (money)’

7.6. TYPOLOGICAL RELEVANCE

The descriptive analysis for *-chi* proposed here will allow us to better understand the sociative causative in typological studies across South American indigenous languages. Typologically, the sociative causative has been determined as an areal feature for South American languages of this part of the world (Guillaume and Rose 2010). Types of causatives cross-linguistically have been discussed by Masayoshi and Pardeshi (2002) and Jerro (2019). Beyond that, the description presented here will allow us to address crosslinguistic questions. In crosslinguistic formal studies in syntax and semantics, studies on the sociative causative remain very little explored. Causativization is discussed in Lyutikova and Tatevosov (2018), the syntax and semantics of sociative causative of ‘helping’ in Kinande is investigated by Schneider-Zoga and Mutaka (2019) and productive morphological causatives in isiXhosa by Myler & Mali (2021); beyond that there are no formal studies looking at such phenomena in other languages.

7.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented a description of the causative suffix *-chi*. It stated the causative *-chi* has two functions. First, the suffix *-chi* (slot 4) is a productive suffix that denotes indirect causation and sociative causation meaning. The indirect causation involved the causer commanding and the causee doing the caused verb event. In contrast, the sociative causative involves the causer and the causee both performing the action of

the verb equally. However, these two main functions of *-chi* (slot 4) is not fully productive with all types of verbs.

The second suffix *-chi* is LBS when it has causative meaning. There are four sub-classes of the LBS *-chi* suffix as presented in Section § 7.4.2. of this chapter. These four sub-classes of the LBS *-chi* do not have explicitly causative meaning. Different from earlier studies on SBQ this chapter shows that UPSBQ presents a sociative causative meaning.

Chapter VIII

Conclusions

Summary of the dissertation

This dissertation described the complexity of verbal morphology of South Bolivian Quechua by bringing insights from monolingual elders in the rural town of Uma Piwra. The dissertation contains eight chapters, including this one. Chapters I and II provides language background and basic sociolinguistic contextualization about the speakers of South Bolivian Quechua as well as the vitality of the language. Chapter III presents a basic sketch grammar. It describes the sound system; the different word classes; and it gives the basics of verbal morphology and syntax. The chapter also highlights grammatical aspects of speech play and verbal art in this variety. The speech of elders is different from other varieties as they commonly use figurative speech, parallelism in the verbal morphology to express cultural themes of joy/happiness as well as audacity in which animals in traditional stories compete. The complex morphology used is composed by the *-ri* inchoative and one complex suffix. Chapter IV describes the methodology of the documentation, data management, data analysis. The analysis examines a large spoken corpus and a few traditional stories using my native speaker intuitions. Likewise, it discusses insider perspectives in the creation of texts oriented towards community members and the broader SBQ speaking community.

Chapter V, VI, and VII describe the complexity in the verbal morphology of this rural variety. UPSBQ uses from one to four suffix strings to express complex verb stems. In Chapter V I argue that the verbal morphology bears two types of suffixes: simplex

suffixes that can be derived from their individual meanings and complex suffixes that have been lexicalized and their meanings are only interpreted as single units as they can be pragmatically inferred by the context, or their meaning has a default meaning in cultural topics. This analysis describes these suffixes used in the speech of elders.

Native speaker intuitions

When I undertook the study of SBQ, my native speaker intuitions judged earlier studies on SBQ as lacking any account of certain salient types of complex verbal morphology. The examples presented in different articles would seem to be ungrammatical to my own L1-speaker's judgments. This is probably because most studies supported their analysis with elicitation and beyond that they focused in the speech of SBQ-Spanish bilinguals of varying levels but not specifically on the speech of elders.

This complex verbal morphology is not only absent in academic articles. It is likewise absent in different curricula and educational materials used to teach SBQ, and even in literary works produced in standard SBQ, where the challenge is even broader. First, traditional narratives are hard to express in written texts. Second, the meaning of complex morphology from written texts in SBQ is hard to translate into another language even for L1 speakers. In July 2022, at the talk “Traducción literaria de poesía y narrativa quechua en Bolivia y Perú” at San Simón University (UMSS), a native speaker of SBQ from North of Potosí expressed that when he was a child, he loved a traditional oral story so much, but later he read the same story written and didn't like it. This is just an example that shows that oral narratives in SBQ are hard to capture in written texts, and

furthermore are hard to understand the meaning of their complex morphology. In Hintz (2017) it is pointed that when it comes to translate verb paradigms with different verbal morphemes, even the most sophisticated L1 speakers face challenges in interpreting the semantics of verbal morphemes, especially as they may involve distinctions of tense, aspect, and mood.

The morphology that is acquired in rural settings, along with its cultural and linguistic knowledge, has not been investigated in works of earlier linguists such as Lastra (1968), Muysken (1986), Van de Kerke (1993) and Plaza (2009). My hypothesis has been that the meaning of complex suffixes in SBQ are culture specific through different types of speech that involve spontaneous conversations, traditional narratives among others that remain unexplored. In fact, Hintz (2017) points out that this has intrigued scholars who studied the grammar of Quechuan languages.

Self-reflections oriented to SBQ preservation

Studying linguistics and carrying out this uncommon documentation project with monolingual elders made me aware of the linguistic diversity of SBQ. Here I will consider several interrelated topics.

The endangerment of marginalized SBQ varieties.- When it comes to language endangerment and linguistic diversity of Quechuan languages across the Andes, it is something that society is quite unconscious of. The Quechuan languages I discuss in Chapter II are referred to sometimes as ***Quechua = a widely spoken indigenous***

language' as it is spoken by approximately 10 million speakers. This statement does not explain anything about language vitality since it only favors the endangerment of linguistic diversity of South Bolivian Quechua in the same way normalization does. Varieties like Uma Piwra or other rural SBQ varieties were for decades unrepresented and marginalized. Yet the overall sociolinguistic diversity of SBQ is, indeed, threatened. The migration of younger generations toward urban areas is an unavoidable social factor leading to the loss of linguistic diversity of those varieties and therefore too of SBQ, taken as a whole. These rural varieties are vanishing as towns decrease in population. The speech of elders containing cultural and linguistic value there is only loosely understood by others. Most rural speakers who do acquire those forms, including complex suffixes, use them every day, as I discuss in chapter V and VI.

Language transcription: The audios of my first documentation use the standardized orthography for South Bolivian Quechua. As I transcribed the natural speech of elders, I gradually noticed some of the graphemes were not helpful to represent spontaneous conversations of rural SBQ varieties. I avoided transcribing <t> to represent the dental fricative [s] sound in coda position and representing <p> with <q> when it is realized as voiceless uvular fricative [χ] also in codas. I discuss most of the adaptations in the methodological chapter IV. I still used <chka> to represent the progressive suffix *-sha* [ʃa]. This gradual way of changing is noticeable in the examples used in my 2020 Master's Thesis. I had gotten totally rid of the use of *-kuna* for the productive plural since speakers in UPSBQ do not use it in spontaneous conversations -rather, they use either *-s*.

-kuna is only used in restricted contexts triggered by the phonotactics of SBQ. My latest and biggest documentation project, the present one, has been transcribed using an adapted orthography favoring intelligibility between the language and the readers.

Language and literary work oriented to revitalizing SBQ: The texts I produced track how the study of linguistics as a science shaped my way of thinking on the production of texts in SBQ. In 2013, I published a novel favoring the normative orthography established for SBQ. The use of the lexicon there is oriented towards ideologies of linguistic purism. It uses lots of lexical items that do not belong to the speech of native speakers from rural towns, such as days of the week, among many others. The plural suffix *-kuna* also that is used there also does not really belong to rural SBQ Quechua grammar. The book also lacks a faithful literary genre. Moreover, the book's English translation represents just texts, rather than actual natural speech. This means, real translation and linguistic analysis on the semantics of verbal morphology is absent.

The production of texts to revitalize SBQ should foster a set of combinations. L1 speakers of SBQ should be connected with their roots and have a solid understanding of their cultural knowledge and heritage. The revitalization should be oriented to representing the richness of the language that elders, or community members want to preserve. In this sense, L1 speakers from rural towns will have good insights on defining what things should be revitalized first. Community members can decide what would be valuable to teach to future generations. The reason is that textbooks used in different

educational systems do not teach about actual linguistic diversity. L1 speakers of SBQ need to be proud of their language when it is written in an authentic way. This is the reason this dissertation proposes a more functional writing system for the SBQ variety using my own L1 speaker perspectives. Even so, the adapted writing system used here might still not be suitable to represent the whole range of varieties existing across Southern Bolivia. This is still a challenge. The diversity of SBQ is still undefined and only loosely trackable.

During my documentation project I produced two texts oriented to the SBQ community. The first one is a traditional story written in an ongoing adapted orthography. The story book is titled *!Kumpa atuqmariqa!* ‘*The Adventures of Mister Fox*’. The text does not include *-kuna*, the putative plural ending, as it is not how stories are narrated these days. Traditional stories are also variable from town to town. Some communities have different versions. In Uma Piwra, the elder who narrated for me was losing some pieces of what he used to narrate to children. The content of traditional stories would only be understood if someone has acquired SBQ in a rural town.

In July 2022, I published a book of comics. It represents the natural use of everyday language. The two characters are an old man and an Andean cat. The comics show public awareness about the ‘cultural resistance’ of SBQ that impart how SBQ and rural life is connected. The comic book uses several words and phrases to capture humor

and cultural knowledge still preserved by elders. The comic book is oriented to a broader SBQ audience to connect the language and culture of rural varieties.

Glosses

Abbreviations	glosses
1,2,3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverbial
AFF	affective
AG	agentive
ALL	allative
ASST	assistive
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CNTRFCT	counterfactual
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative

DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DUB	dubitative
EUPH	euphonic
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
GO&DO	prior motion
INCH	inchoative
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INST	instrumental
INT	interrogative
NEG	negative
NF	non-future
NOMLZ	nominalizer
LIM	limitative
LOC	locative
MAL	malefactive

OBJ	object
OBL	obligative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PST	past
PST.NAR	narrative past
PST.REP	reportative past
REC	reciprocal
REF	reflexive
SG	singular
TOP	topicalizer

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