

Non-discourse-configurationality in Imbabura Kichwa: Data

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Contents

1	Clause-internal scrambling	1
1.1	Non-focus	1
1.2	Focus	4
1.3	Topic	5
2	Negation	6
3	Long-distance scrambling	7
4	Binding	7

1 Clause-internal scrambling

1.1 Non-focus

Kichwa allows scrambling of subject (S), object (O), verb (V), and adjunct (A), yielding $4! = 24$ ways. In contrast, Japanese strictly constrains V to be sentence-final, thus yielding $3! = 6$ ways. Note that the frequency of each word order is presumably not equally distributed. The informant accepted any of these word orders as being grammatical, but mentioned that some of them would be rarely used or less natural. Generally, SOV is the most preferred word order.

- (1) Kichwa, SAOV
Inti=ka kayna aycha-ta miku-rka.
Inti=TOP yesterday meat-ACC eat-PST.3
'Inti ate meat yesterday.'
- (2) Kichwa, SOAV
Inti=ka aycha-ta kayna miku-rka.
Inti=TOP meat-ACC yesterday eat-PST.3
'Inti ate meat yesterday.'
- (3) Kichwa, SOVA
Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka kayna
Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3 yesterday
'Inti ate meat yesterday.'
- (4) Kichwa, SAVO
Inti=ka kayna miku-rka aycha-ta.
Inti=TOP yesterday eat-PST.3 meat-ACC
'Inti ate meat yesterday.'

- (5) Kichwa, SVAO
Inti=ka miku-rka kayna aycha-ta.
 Inti=TOP eat-PST.3 yesterday meat-ACC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (6) Kichwa, SVOA
Inti=ka miku-rka aycha-ta kayna.
 Inti=TOP eat-PST.3 meat-ACC yesterday
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (7) Kichwa, ASOV
kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka.
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (8) Kichwa, AOSV
kayna aycha-ta Inti=ka miku-rka.
 yesterday meat-ACC Inti=TOP eat-PST.3
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (9) Kichwa, ASVO
kayna Inti=ka miku-rka aycha-ta.
 yesterday Inti=TOP eat-PST.3 meat-ACC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (10) Kichwa, AOVS
kayna aycha-ta miku-rka Inti=ka.
 yesterday meat-ACC eat-PST.3 Inti=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (11) Kichwa, AVSO
kayna miku-rka Inti=ka aycha-ta.
 yesterday eat-PST.3 Inti=TOP meat-ACC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (12) Kichwa, AVOS
kayna miku-rka aycha-ta Inti=ka.
 yesterday eat-PST.3 meat-ACC Inti=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (13) Kichwa, OASV
aycha-ta kayna Inti=ka miku-rka.
 meat-ACC yesterday Inti=TOP eat-PST.3
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (14) Kichwa, OSAV
aycha-ta Inti=ka kayna miku-rka.
 meat-ACC Inti=TOP yesterday eat-PST.3
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (15) Kichwa, OSVA
aycha-ta Inti=ka miku-rka kayna.
 meat-ACC Inti=TOP eat-PST.3 yesterday
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’

- (16) Kichwa, OAVS
aycha-ta kayna miku-rka Inti=ka.
 meat-ACC yesterday eat-PST.3 Inti=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (17) Kichwa, OVSA
aycha-ta miku-rka Inti=ka kayna.
 meat-ACC eat-PST.3 Inti=TOP yesterday
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (18) Kichwa, OVAS
aycha-ta miku-rka kayna Inti=ka.
 meat-ACC eat-PST.3 yesterday Inti=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (19) Kichwa, VASO
miku-rka kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta.
 eat-PST.3 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (20) Kichwa, VAOS
miku-rka kayna aycha-ta Inti=ka.
 eat-PST.3 yesterday meat-ACC Inti=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (21) Kichwa, VSAO
miku-rka Inti=ka kayna aycha-ta.
 eat-PST.3 Inti=TOP yesterday meat-ACC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (22) Kichwa, VSOA
miku-rka Inti=ka aycha-ta kayna.
 eat-PST.3 Inti=TOP meat-ACC yesterday
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (23) Kichwa, VOSA
miku-rka aycha-ta Inti=ka kayna.
 eat-PST.3 meat-ACC Inti=TOP yesterday
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (24) Kichwa, VOAS
miku-rka aycha-ta kayna Inti=ka.
 eat-PST.3 meat-ACC yesterday Inti=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’

For comparison, I show Japanese grammatical and ungrammatical counterparts.

- (25) Japanese, ASOV
kinoo Inti=ga niku-wo tabe-ta.
 yesterday Inti=NOM meat-ACC eat-PST
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’
- (26) Japanese, ASVO, ungrammatical
 **kinoo Inti=ga tabe-ta niku-wo*
 yesterday Inti=NOM eat-PST meat-ACC
 Intended: ‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’

1.2 Focus

Focus enclitics:

- Affirmative: =*mi*
- Negative: =*chu*
- Yes/no (polar) interrogative: =*chu*
- Wh (open) interrogative: =*tak*

Constraints:

1. Affirmative focus =*mi* and polar interrogative focus =*chu* can be attached to any of A, S, O, and V, as long as the focused element does not follow the verb. Polar interrogative focus =*chu* can also be attached to the negation particles *mana* and *na*.
2. Negative focus =*chu* must be attached to V. Details are in Section 2
3. Open interrogative focus =*tak* must be attached to the interrogative phrase. This is half obvious since Wh-expressions are generally focused (cf. Japanese *nani=ga* but **nani=wa*).

(27) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna=mi Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka.
 yesterday=AFF.FOC Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3
 ‘It is **yesterday** that Inti ate meat.’

(28) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna Inti=mi aycha-ta miku-rka.
 yesterday Inti=AFF.FOC meat-ACC eat-PST.3
 ‘It it **Inti** who ate meat yesterday.’

(29) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta=mi miku-rka.
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC=AFF.FOC eat-PST.3
 ‘It is **meat** that Inti ate yesterday.’

(30) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka=mi.
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3=AFF.FOC
 ‘Inti indeed ate meat yesterday.’

(31) Kichwa, ASVO

**kayna Inti=ka miku-rka aycha-ta=mi.*
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-PST.3 meat-ACC=AFF.FOC
 Intended: ‘It is meat that Inti ate yesterday.’; Violation of Constraint 1

(32) Kichwa, ASOVN

kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka, na=chu?
 yesterday Inti=TOP aycha-ACC eat-PST.3 NEG=YNQ.FOC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday, right?’ Allowed, because it is a tag question.

(33) Kichwa, ASOV, Wh-question

kayna Inti=ka ima-ta=tak miku-rka?
 yesterday Inti=TOP what-ACC=WHQ.FOC eat-PST.3
 ‘What did Inti eat yesterday?’

(34) Kichwa, ASVO, Wh-question

**kayna Inti=ka miku-rka ima-ta=tak?*
yesterday Inti=TOP eat-PST.3 what-ACC=WHQ.FOC

Intended: ‘What did Inti eat yesterday?’; Violation of Constraint 1

A whole VP can also be focused with the open interrogative enclitic =*tak*.

(35) (a) Kichwa

ima-ta=tak ni-rka?
what-ACC=WHQ.FOC say-PST.3
‘What did he say?’

(b) Kichwa

ima-ta ni-rka=tak?
what-ACC say-PST.3=WHQ.FOC
‘What did he say?’

1.3 Topic

The topic enclitic is =*ka*. Rules:

1. =*ka* can be attached to nominals and adverbials.¹
2. A finite clause can contain multiple topic arguments, like other topic-prominent languages.
3. The position of topics can be freely scrambled, including after V.
4. A topic argument can not only express a (discourse) topic but also a contrastive topic.

(36) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna=ka Inti aycha-ta miku-rka.
yesterday=TOP Inti meat-ACC eat-PST.3
‘Yesterday, Inti ate meat.’

(37) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka.
yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3
‘As for Inti, he ate meat yesterday.’

(38) Kichwa, ASOV

kayna Inti aycha-ta=ka miku-rka.
yesterday Inti aycha-ACC=TOP eat-PST.3
‘As for meat, Inti ate it yesterday.’

(39) (a) Kichwa, ASOV, multiple topics (Rule 2)

kayna=ka Inti=ka aycha-ta=ka miku-rka.
yesterday=TOP Inti=TOP meat-ACC=TOP eat-PST.3
‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’

(b) Japanese, ASOV, multiple topics

kinoo=wa Inti=wa niku=wa tabe-ta.
yesterday=TOP Inti=TOP meat=TOP eat-PST
‘Inti ate meat yesterday.’

¹=*ka* can also be attached to a finite verb, but in this case it adds emphasis to the verb, which I would analyze as a different homophonic morpheme.

- (40) (a) Kichwa, contrastive topic
kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka, shinapash challwa-ta=ka mana
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3 but fish-ACC=TOP NEG
miku-rka=chu.
 eat-PST.3=NEG.FOC
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday but did not eat fish.’
- (b) Japanese, contrastive topic
kinoo Inti=wa niku=wo tabe-ta=ga sakana=wa tabe-nakat-ta.
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST=but fish=TOP eat-NEG-PST
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday but did not eat fish.’
- (41) (a) Kichwa, contrastive topic
kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka, Sara=ka?
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3 Sara=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday; how about Sara?’
- (b) Japanese, contrastive topic
kinoo Inti=wa niku=wo tabe-ta=kedo, Sara=wa?
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat=ACC eat-PST=but Sara=TOP
 ‘Inti ate meat yesterday; how about Sara?’

2 Negation

Constraints:

1. Negation particle *mana* can be scrambled as long as it does not follow the negated verb.
2. Negation focus enclitic *=chu* must be attached to the verb.

- (42) Kichwa, NASOV
mana kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka=chu.
 NEG yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3=NEG.FOC
 ‘Inti did not eat meat yesterday.’
- (43) Kichwa, ANSOV
kayna mana Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka=chu.
 yesterday NEG Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3=NEG.FOC
 ‘Inti did not eat meat yesterday.’
- (44) Kichwa, ASNOV
kayna Inti=ka mana aycha-ta miku-rka=chu.
 yesterday Inti=TOP NEG meat-ACC eat-PST.3=NEG.FOC
 ‘Inti did not eat meat yesterday.’
- (45) Kichwa, ASONV
kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta mana miku-rka=chu.
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC NEG eat-PST.3=NEG.FOC
 ‘Inti did not eat meat yesterday.’
- (46) Kichwa, ASOVN
 **kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta miku-rka=chu mana.*
 yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC eat-PST.3=NEG.FOC NEG
 Violation of Constraint 1

(47) Kichwa, NASOV

**mana kayna Inti=ka aycha-ta=chu miku-rka.*
 NEG yesterday Inti=TOP meat-ACC=NEG.FOC eat-PST.3

Intended: ‘It is not **meat** that Inti ate yesterday.’ or ‘It is **meat** that Inti did not eat yesterday.’; Violation of Constraint 2

3 Long-distance scrambling

(48) (a) Kichwa

Inti=ka chay kamu-ta Sara ranti-rka ya-n.
 Inti=TOP that book-ACC Sara buy-PST.3 think-PRS.3
 ‘Inti thinks that Sara bought that book.’

(b) Japanese

Inti=wa sono hon=wo Sara=ga kat-ta=to omot-te=i-ru.
 Inti=TOP that book=ACC Sara=NOM buy-PST=COMP think-CNV=PROG-PRS
 ‘Inti thinks that Sara bought that book.’

(49) Kichwa

chay kamu-ta Inti=ka Sara ranti-rka ya-n.
 that book-ACC Inti=TOP Sara buy-PST.3 think-PRS.3
 ‘Inti thinks that Sara bought that book.’

(50) Japanese

sono hon=wo Inti=wa Sara=ga kat-ta=to omot-te=i-ru.
 that book=ACC Inti=TOP Sara=NOM buy-PST=COMP think-CNV=PROG-PRS
 ‘Inti thinks that Sara bought that book.’

4 Binding

Binding Conditions from Government and Binding Theory:

- Condition A: An anaphor (reflexive) must have a local antecedent.
- Condition B: A pronoun can have an antecedent as long as the antecedent is not local or does not c-command the pronoun.
- Condition C: An R-expression cannot have an antecedent that c-commands it.

(51) (a) Kichwa

*Inti_i=ka pay-ta_{*i/k} kuya-n.*
 Inti=TOP 3SG-ACC love-PRS.3
 ‘Inti loves him/her.’

(b) Japanese

*Inti_i=wa kare_{*i/k}=wo hihan-si-ta.*
 Inti=TOP 3SG=ACC criticism-do-PST
 ‘Inti criticized him.’

The Kichwa nominal reflexive with the suffix *-llatak* can be bound by a succeeding NP, like Japanese reflexive with *zibunzisin* (A-bar movement).

- (52) (a) Kichwa
Inti_i=ka pay-ta-llatak_i kuya-ri-n.
 Inti=TOP 3SG-ACC-self love-RFL-PRS.3
 ‘Inti loves himself.’
- (b) Kichwa
pay-ta-llatak_i Inti_i=ka kuya-ri-n.
 3SG-ACC-self Inti=TOP love-RFL-PRS.3
 ‘Inti loves himself.’
- (53) (a) Japanese
Inti=ga zibunzisin=wo hihan-si-ta.
 Inti=NOM self=ACC criticism-do-PST
 ‘Inti criticized himself.’
- (b) Japanese
zibunzisin=wo Inti=ga hihan-si-ta.
 self=ACC Inti=NOM criticism-do-PST
 ‘Inti criticized himself.’
- (54) Kichwa
*Inti_i=ka Sara_j pay-ta_{i/*j/k} kuya-n ya-n.*
 Inti=TOP Sara 3SG-ACC love-PRS.3 think-PRS.3
 ‘Inti_i thinks that Sara loves him_{i/k}.’ Obeying Binding Condition B
- (55) Kichwa
*pay_i=ka Sara_j Inti-ta_{*i/*j/k} kuya-n ya-n.*
 3SG=TOP Sara Inti-ACC love-PRS.3 think-PRS.3
 He_i thinks that Sara_j loves Inti_k.