

A grammar of Yauyos Quechua

Aviva Shimelman

■ Studies in Diversity Linguistics 9



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Aviva Shimelman

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For my father

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Errors remain, of course, for which I am entirely responsible.

Notational conventions

Table 1 lists the gloss abbreviations employed and the morphemes to which they correspond. Unless otherwise noted, all morphemes are common to all dialects. ACH indicates the Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar dialect; AMV, Apurí-Madeán-Viñac; CH, Caca-Hongos; LT, Lincha-Tana; SP, San Pedro de Huacarpana. *Á* indicates alternation between [á] and an accent shift to the final syllable. *H*, *I*, *N*, *R*, and *S* indicate alternations between [ø] and [h], [i], [n], [r], and [s], respectively. *U* indicates alternation between [u] and [a]. *Y* indicates alternation between [y], [i] and [ø]. *PI* indicates an alternation between [pi] and [ø] (unique to the additive enclitic *-pis*). The first five alternations are conditioned by environment in all dialects. *R* indicates alternative realizations of */r/ – realized as [r] in all dialects except that of CH, where it is predominantly realized as [l]. Where two morphemes share the same code (as occurs, for example in the case of *-pa* and *-pi*, which both indicate both genitive and locative case) the code is subscripted with a number (*i.e.*, GEN₁, GEN₂; LOC₁, LOC₂). Where the same morpheme has two or more functions (as is the case, for example, with *-paq*, which indicates ablative, benefactive and purposive cases) the morpheme is subscripted (*i.e.*, *-paq₁*, *-paq₂*, *-paq₃*). In the body of the text, I do not make use of these subscripts. Unless otherwise noted, a morpheme occurs in all five dialects. Where a morpheme is exclusive to one or more dialects, that is indicated in small caps in parentheses. Tables 1 and 2 list morpheme codes and their corresponding morphemes. The former is sorted by morpheme code; the latter, by morpheme.

Table 1: Morpheme codes (sorted by code)

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

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Table 1: Continued from previous page.

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

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Table 1: Continued from previous page.

DIM ₂	- <i>cha</i> ₂	diminutive	verbal derivation, vv
DISC	- <i>ña</i>	discontinuative	enclitic
DISJ	- <i>chu</i> ₃	disjunctive	enclitic
DMY ₁	<i>na</i>	dummy noun	noun
DMY ₂	<i>na-</i>	dummy verb	verb
DUR	- <i>chka</i>	durative-simultaneative	verbal inflection
EMPH ₁	- <i>Yá</i>	emphatic	enclitic
EMPH ₂	- <i>ARi</i>	emphatic	enclitic
EVC	- <i>trI</i>	evidential - conjectural	enclitic
EVD	- <i>mI</i>	evidential - direct	enclitic
EVR	- <i>shI</i>	evidential - reportative	enclitic
EXCEP	- <i>YkU</i>	exceptional	verbal derivation, vv
EXCL	- <i>pura</i>	exclusive	nominal inflection, case
F	- <i>a</i>	feminine	nominal, adjectival inflection
FACT	- <i>cha</i> ₃	factive	verbal derivation, nv
FREQ	- <i>katra</i>	frequentive	verbal derivation, vv
GEN ₁	- <i>pa</i> ₁	genitive	nominal inflection, case
GEN ₂	- <i>pi</i> ₁	genitive	nominal inflection, case
IK	- <i>ik</i>	evidential modifier (strong)	enclitic
IKI	- <i>iki</i>	evidential modifier (strongest)	enclitic
INCEP	- <i>ri</i>	inceptive	verbal derivation, vv
INCH	- <i>ya</i> ₃	inchoative	verbal derivation, sv
INCL	- <i>ntin</i>	inclusive	nominal derivation, nn
INF	- <i>y</i> ₂	infinitive	nominal derivation, vs
INJUNC	- <i>chun</i>	injunctive	verbal inflection
IMP	- <i>y</i> ₃	imperative	verbal inflection
INSTR	- <i>wan</i> ₂	instrumental - comitative	nominal inflection, case
INTENS	- <i>ya</i> ₂	intensifier	verbal derivation, vv
IRREV	- <i>tamu</i>	irreversible change	verbal derivation, vv
JTACT	- <i>pa(:)ku</i>	joint action	verbal derivation, vv
LIM ₁	- <i>kama</i> ₁	limitative	nominal inflection, case
LIM ₂	- <i>kama</i> ₂	limitative	verbal derivation, vv
LOC ₁	- <i>pa</i> ₂	locative	nominal inflection, case
LOC ₂	- <i>pi</i> ₂	locative	nominal inflection, case
LOC ₃	- <i>traw</i>	locative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
M	- <i>u</i>	masculine	nominal, adjectival inflection
MULT.ALL	- <i>sapa</i>	multiple possessive	nominal derivation, nn
MUTBEN	- <i>puku</i>	mutual benefit	verbal derivation, vv
NEG	- <i>chu</i> ₁	negation	enclitic
NONEXHST	- <i>kuna</i> ₂	non-exhaustive	nominal derivation, nn
NMLZ	- <i>na</i> ₁	nominalizer	nominal derivation, vn

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Table 1: Continued from previous page.

NPST	-sHa ₁	perfect	verbal inflection
PART	-masi	partnership	nominal derivation, nn
PASS	-raya	passive	verbal derivation, vv
PASSACC	-ka	passive, accidental	verbal derivation, vv
PHT	[various]	phatism	multi
PL ₁	-kuna	plural	nominal inflection
POSS	-yuq	possessive	nominal derivation, nn
PERF	-sHa ₂	perfectivizer	nominal derivation, vs
PROG	-ya ₁	progressive	verbal inflection
PROH	ama	prohibitive	particle
PST	-RQa	past tense	verbal inflection
PURP	-paq ₃	purposive	nominal inflection, case
Q	-chu ₂	question marker	enclitic
REASN	-rayku	reason	nominal inflection, case
RECP	-nakU	reciprocal	verbal derivation, vv
REFL	-kU	reflexive-middle-med.passive	verbal derivation, vv
REPET	-pa ₃	repetitive	verbal derivation, vv
RPST	-sHQa	reportative past tense	verbal inflection
RSTR	-lla	restrictive	enclitic
SEQ	-taq	sequential	enclitic
SIMUL	-tuku	simulative	verbal derivation, vv
SUBADV	-shtin	subordinator - adverbial	nominal derivation, vn
SUBDS	-pti	subordinator different subjects	nominal derivation, vn
SUBIS	-shpa	subordinator identical subjects	nominal derivation, vn
TOP	-qa	topic	enclitic
UNINT	-Ra	uninterrupted action	verbal derivation, vv
URGT	-RU	urgent, personal interest	verbal derivation, vv
VRBZ	-na ₂	verbalizer	verbal derivation, nv

Table 2: Morphemes codes (sorted by morpheme)

-:	1 ₄	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
-:	1 ₃	first person (ACH, CH, SP)	nominal inflection, possession
-a	F	feminine	nominal, adjectival inflection
-aRi	EMPH ₂	emphatic	enclitic
-cha ₁	DIM ₁	diminutive	restrictive nominal suffix
-cha ₂	DIM ₂	diminutive	verbal derivation, vv
-cha ₃	FACT	factive	verbal derivation, nv
-traw	LOC ₃	locative (CH)	nominal inflection, case

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Table 2: Continued from previous page.

<i>-chi</i>	CAUS	causative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-chka</i>	DUR	durative-simultaneative	verbal inflection
<i>-chu₁</i>	NEG	negation	enclitic
<i>-chu₂</i>	Q	question marker	enclitic
<i>-chu₃</i>	DISJ	disjunctive	enclitic
<i>-chun</i>	INJUNC	injunctive	verbal inflection
<i>-chuwan</i>	1PL.COND	first person plural conditional	verbal inflection
<i>-hina</i>	COMP	comparative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-ik</i>	IK	evidential modifier (strong)	enclitic
<i>-iki</i>	IKI	evidential modifier (strongest)	enclitic
<i>-ka</i>	PASSACC	passive, accidental	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-kama₁</i>	LIM ₁	limitative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-kama₂</i>	LIM ₂	limitative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-katra</i>	ITER	frequentive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-kta</i>	ACC ₂	accusative (CH)	nominal inflection, case
<i>-kU</i>	REFL	reflexive-middle-med.passive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-kuna₁</i>	PL ₁	plural	nominal inflection
<i>-kuna₂</i>	NONEXHST	non-exhaustive	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-lla</i>	RSTR	restrictive	enclitic
<i>-ma</i>	1.OBJ	1P object (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
<i>-man₁</i>	ALL	allative, dative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-man₂</i>	COND	conditional	verbal inflection
<i>-ma-nchik</i>	3>1PL ₂	3P subject 1PL obj (ACH, CH, SP)	verbal inflection
<i>-masi</i>	PART	partnership	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-mI</i>	EVD	evidential - direct	enclitic
<i>-mu</i>	CISL	cislocative, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-n</i>	3 ₁	third person	nominal inflection, possession
<i>-N</i>	3 ₂	third person	verbal inflection
<i>-ña</i>	DISC	discontinuative	enclitic
<i>-na₁</i>	NMLZ	nominalizer	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-na₂</i>	VRBZ	verbalizer	verbal derivation, nv
<i>-nakU</i>	RECP	reciprocal	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-naya₁</i>	DESR ₁	desirative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-naya₂</i>	DESR ₂	desirative	verbal derivation, nv
<i>-nchik₁</i>	1PL ₁	first person plural	nominal inflection, possession
<i>-nchik₂</i>	1PL ₂	first person plural	verbal inflection
<i>-ni₁</i>	1 ₂	first person (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-ni₂</i>	EUPH	euphonic	nominal inflection
<i>-nki</i>	2 ₂	second person	verbal inflection
<i>-nqa</i>	3.FUT	third person future	verbal inflection
<i>-ntin</i>	INCL ₁	inclusive	nominal derivation, nn

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Table 2: Continued from previous page.

<i>-pa(:)kU</i>	JTACT	joint action	verbal derivation/inflection, vv
<i>-pakU</i>	MUTBEN	mutual benefit	verbal derivation/inflection, vv
<i>-pa₁</i>	GEN ₁	genitive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pa₂</i>	LOC ₁	locative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pa₃</i>	REPET	repetitive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-paq₁</i>	ABL	ablative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-paq₂</i>	BEN	benefactive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-paq₃</i>	PURP	purposive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pi₁</i>	GEN ₂	genitive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-pi₂</i>	LOC ₂	locative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-PIs</i>	ADD	additive	enclitic
<i>-pti</i>	SUBDS	subordinator different subjects	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-pU</i>	BEN ₂	benefactive, translocative	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-puni</i>	CERT	certainty, precision	enclitic
<i>-pura</i>	EXCL	exclusive	nominal inflection, case
<i>-q</i>	AG	agentive	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-qa</i>	TOP	topic	enclitic
<i>-Ra</i>	UNINT	uninterrupted action	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-Raq</i>	CONT	continuative	enclitic
<i>-Raya</i>	PASS	passive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-rayku</i>	REASN ₁	causal	nominal inflection, case
<i>-ri₁</i>	INCEP ₁	inceptive	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-RQa</i>	PST	past tense	verbal inflection
<i>-RU</i>	URGT	urgent, personal interest	verbal derivation, vv (inflective)
<i>-sapa</i>	MULT.ALL	multiple possessive	nominal derivation, nn
<i>-sHa₁</i>	NPST ₁	narrative past	verbal inflection
<i>-sHa₂</i>	PERF ₂	perfectivizer	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-shaq</i>	1.FUT	first person singular future	verbal inflection
<i>-shI</i>	EVR	evidential - reportative	enclitic
<i>-sHi</i>	ACMP	accompaniment	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-shpa</i>	SUBIS	subordinator - identical subjects	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-sHQa</i>	RPST	reportative past tense	verbal inflection
<i>-sHQayki</i>	1>2.FUT	1P subject 2P object future	verbal inflection
<i>-shtin</i>	SUBADV	subordinator - adverbial	nominal derivation, vn
<i>-sHu</i>	2.OBJ	second person object	verbal inflection
<i>-shun</i>	1PL.FUT	first person plural future	verbal inflection
<i>-shunki</i>	3>2	3P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
<i>-ta</i>	ACC ₁	accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)	nominal inflection, case
<i>-tamu</i>	IRREV	irreversible change	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-taq</i>	SEQ	sequential	enclitic
<i>-trI</i>	EVC	evidential - conjectural	enclitic

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Table 2: Continued from previous page.

<i>-tuku</i>	SIMUL	simulative	verbal derivation, nv
<i>-u</i>	M	masculine	nominal, adjectival inflection
<i>-wa</i>	1.OBJ	1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-wan₁</i>	3>1 ₁	3P subject 1P object (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-wan₂</i>	INSTR	instrumental - comitative	nominal inflection, case
<i>-wa-nchik</i>	3>1PL ₁	3P subject 1PL obj (AMV, LT)	verbal inflection
<i>-wa-nki</i>	2>1	2P subject 1P object	verbal inflection
<i>-waq</i>	2.COND	second person conditional	verbal inflection
<i>-y₁</i>	1 ₁	first person (AMV, LT)	nominal inflection, possession
<i>-y₂</i>	INF	infinitive	nominal derivation, vs
<i>-y₃</i>	IMP	imperative	verbal inflection
<i>-Yá</i>	EMPH ₁	emphatic	enclitic
<i>-ya₁</i>	PROG	progressive	verbal inflection
<i>-ya₂</i>	INTENS	intensifier	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-ya₃</i>	INCH	inchoative	verbal derivation, sv
<i>-yki₁</i>	2 ₁	second person	nominal inflection, possession
<i>-yki₂</i>	1>2	1P subject 2P object	verbal inflection
<i>-YkU</i>	EXCEP	exceptional	verbal derivation, vv
<i>-yuq</i>	POSS	possessive	nominal derivation, nn
[<i>none</i>]	∅	zero morpheme	nominal or verbal
[various]	PHT	phatism	multi
<i>ama</i>	PROH	prohibitive	particle
<i>chay</i>	DEM.D	demonstrative, distal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
<i>kay</i>	DEM.P	demonstrative, proximal	demonstrative (pron. & det.)
<i>na</i>	DMY ₁	dummy noun	noun
<i>na-</i>	DMY ₂	dummy verb	verb
<i>wak</i>	DEM.D	demonstrative, distal removed	demonstrative (pron. & det.)

Further abbreviations:

<i>C.</i>	consonant
<i>lit.</i>	literally
<i>Sp.</i>	Spanish
<i>Spkr</i>	Speaker
<i>SYQ</i>	Southern Yauyos Quechua
<i>V.</i>	vowel

Notational conventions

Notation:

{ }	set
[·]	phonetic form or, in case it appears inside single quotations marks, translator's insertion
/·/	phoneme or phonemic form
~	alternation
→	transformation
*	illicit form or, in case it appears before slashes, a proto-form

Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Notational conventions	vii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 A Note to Quechuanists and Typologists	2
1.2 The Dialects of Yauyos	3
1.3 Classification	7
1.4 Broader interest	11
1.4.1 Semantics – Evidentials	12
1.4.2 Language contact – Aymara	13
1.5 Endangerment	13
1.6 Existing documentation	15
1.7 Fieldwork	15
1.8 Presentation	18
2 Phonology and morphophonemics	21
2.1 Introduction and summary	21
2.2 Syllable structure and stress pattern	23
2.3 Phonemic inventory and morphophonemics	23
2.4 Spanish loan words	25
2.4.1 Spanish loan word restructuring	26
2.4.2 Loan word orthography	28
3 Substantives	31
3.1 Parts of speech	31
3.2 Substantive classes	32
3.2.1 Nouns	32
3.2.2 Pronouns	35
3.2.3 Interrogative-indefinites <i>pi</i> , <i>ima</i> , <i>imay</i> , <i>imayna</i> , <i>mayqin</i> , <i>imapaq</i> , <i>ayka</i>	45
3.2.4 Adjectives	55

Contents

3.2.5	Numerals	58
3.2.6	Multiple-class substantives	63
3.2.7	Dummy <i>na</i>	64
3.3	Substantive inflection	65
3.3.1	Possessive (person)	66
3.3.2	Number <i>-kuna</i>	69
3.3.3	Case	70
3.4	Substantive derivation	96
3.4.1	Substantive derived from verbs	97
3.4.2	Substantives derived from substantives	110
4	Verbs	117
4.1	Verb stems	117
4.2	Types of verbs	117
4.2.1	Transitive verbs	117
4.2.2	Intransitive verbs	119
4.2.3	Copulative/equational verbs	120
4.2.4	Onomatopoeic verbs	122
4.3	Verb inflection	126
4.3.1	Summary	126
4.3.2	Person and number	135
4.3.3	Tense	145
4.3.4	Conditional	165
4.3.5	Imperative and injunctive	179
4.3.6	Aspect	183
4.3.7	Subordination	189
4.4	Verb derivation	199
4.4.1	Suffixes deriving verbs from substantives	199
4.4.2	Verbs derived from verbs	206
5	Particles	239
5.1	Interjections	239
5.2	Assenters and greetings	241
5.3	Prepositions	242
5.4	Adverbs	243
5.5	Particles covered elsewhere	246
6	Enclitics	247
6.1	Sequence	248

6.2	Individual enclitics	248
6.2.1	Emphatic <i>-Yá</i>	250
6.2.2	Interrogation, negation, disjunction <i>-chu</i>	251
6.2.3	Restrictive, limitative <i>-lla</i>	255
6.2.4	Discontinuative <i>-ña</i>	257
6.2.5	Inclusion <i>-pis</i>	258
6.2.6	Precision, certainty <i>-puni</i>	261
6.2.7	Topic-marking <i>-qa</i>	262
6.2.8	Continuative <i>-Raq</i>	264
6.2.9	Sequential <i>-taq</i>	266
6.2.10	Emotive <i>-ya</i>	268
6.2.11	Evidence	268
7	Syntax	281
7.1	Constituent order	281
7.2	Sentences	282
7.3	Coordination	282
7.4	Comparison	285
7.5	Negation	287
7.6	Interrogation	289
7.7	Reflexives and reciprocals	292
7.8	Equatives	294
7.9	Possession	295
7.10	Topic	297
7.11	Focus	298
7.12	Complementization (infinitive, agentive, indicative and subjunctive clauses)	298
7.13	Relativization	300
7.14	Subordination	302
A	Analysis of the Southern Yauyos Quechua lexicon	307
B	Further analysis of evidential modifiers	317
B.1	The EM's and the interpretation of propositions under direct <i>-mI</i>	317
B.2	The EM's and the interpretation of propositions under conjunctural <i>-trI</i>	319
B.3	A sociolinguistic note	323
	List of references	325

Contents

Bibliography	325
Index	328
Name index	328
Language index	331
Subject index	331

1 Introduction

Yauyos is a critically endangered¹ Quechuan language spoken in the Province of Yauyos, Department of Lima, Peru.² The language counts eight dialects. At the time I undertook my research in the area, three of these had already become extinct. The missing dialects are those formerly spoken in the north of the province.³ This grammar, therefore, unfortunately, covers only the five southern dialects. For this reason, I will be referring to it from this point forward as

¹ At the date of this writing, Yauyos is still classed as “critically endangered” by the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO 2010). The 18th edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015), however, tags it as “moribund.” Although, as I see it, there is no real likelihood that any dialect of Yauyos will ever be revived, it is early yet to declare it moribund, and it is not critically endangered, as the UNESCO defines that standard. The oldest generation to speak it is not that of the grandparents, for example: I estimate that there are about twenty teens who understand the Viñac and San Pedro dialects, as well as many as 80 adults in their forties and fifties who can still speak it relatively fluently. Moreover, although its use is now generally restricted to the discussion of every-day and ritual activities, it is still used frequently among the oldest speakers.

² Caca, Hongos, Tana, and Lincha are all located in the valley created by the Caca River and its principal tributaries, the Lincha and Paluche Rivers; Apurí, Madeán, Viñac, Azángaro, Chocos, and Huangáscar are all located in the valley created by the Huangáscar River and its principal tributary, the Viñac River. The two valleys are separated by a chain of (rather high and rocky) hills. Running from east to west, these are the cerros Pishqullay, Tinco, Punta Tacana, Ranraorqo, Pishunco, Cochapata, Yanaorqo, and Shallalli. No district is located more than one day’s walk from any other; in the case of San Pedro it is two. It is not irrelevant to the explanation of the dialect cleavages that this mountain range seems to block the movement of brides from one set of districts to another. Until very recently, newlywed women generally only moved from one town to another within the same valley. There exists a series of topographical maps prepared and published in 1996 by the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency. Southern Yauyos is covered on the section labeled Tupe and identified Series 1745, Sheet J632, Edition -1 DMA. The map centers the the four districts that lie within the province of Yauyos at about 12° 62’ S and 75° 7’ W; it places the principal towns of all the districts except Chocos, Huangáscar, and Tana at altitudes around 3300 meters. The relevant region can be contained within an area of 40m²; its highest peak reaches 5055m.

³ A ten-day town-to-town search undertaken in the north of the province in January 2010 failed to turn up any speakers of Yauyos Quechua (although some speakers of the Quechua of neighboring Huancayo were indeed to be found).

“Southern Yauyos Quechua,” abbreviated “syQ.”⁴

The remainder of this introduction begins with a note to Quechuanists (§ 1.1). The note is followed in § 1.2 and 1.3 by a brief discussion of the internal divisions among the various dialects of Yauyos and then a slightly longer discussion of the language’s classification. § 1.4 suggests areas of potential interest for non-Quechuanists. The endangerment of the language is the topic of § 1.5. § 1.6 catalogues the previous research on the language. § 1.7 supplies details about the fieldwork on which this study is based. Finally, the conventions employed in this volume can be found in § 1.8.

1.1 A Note to Quechuanists and Typologists

Those already familiar with Quechuan languages will likely be interested in the sections and tables listed immediately below. These indicate differences between Southern Yauyos Quechua and other Quechuan languages as well as differences among the various dialects of syQ. The footnotes appearing in these sections may be of interest as well. Those familiar with the literature on Quechuan language will immediately recognize the presentation and analysis here as very much derivative of much previous work on those languages.

Sections:

	Notational conventions	vii
1.3	Classification	7
1.4	Broader interest	11
1.5	Endangerment	13
2.3	Phonemic inventory	23
3.2.2.1	Personal pronouns <i>ñuqa, qam, pay</i>	36
3.3.1	Allocation	66
3.3.3	Case	70
3.3.3.4	Genitive, locative <i>-pa₁, -pa₂</i>	78
3.3.3.5	Ablative, benefactive, purposive <i>-paq</i>	80
3.3.3.6	Genitive, locative <i>-pi</i>	85
3.4.1.4	Infinitive <i>-y</i>	106

⁴ The lacuna is highly relevant to any conclusions that might be drawn from this study and, in particular, to any conclusions that might be drawn with regard to its significance for the classification of the Quechuan languages, as two of the missing three – Alis/Tomas and Huan-caya/Vitis – were those that, according to previous work (Taylor 1994; 2000), most resembled the QII languages of Central Peru.

3.4.2.2	Accompaniment <i>-nti(n)</i> , <i>-kuna</i>	111
4.2.4	Onomatopoeic verbs	122
4.3.2.1	Subject and allocation suffixes	135
4.3.2.2	Actor and object reference	135
4.3.3.3.1	Simple past <i>-RQa</i>	151
4.3.3.3.2	Quotative simple past tense <i>-sHQa</i>	156
4.3.4.1	Regular conditional <i>-man</i>	165
4.3.4.2	Excursis: Modality	165
4.3.4.3	Alternative conditional <i>-waq</i> and <i>-chuwan</i>	173
4.3.6.1	Progressive <i>-ya</i>	184
4.3.6.2	Durative, simultaneous <i>-chka</i>	187
4.3.6.3	Perfective <i>-ku</i>	188
4.4.2.3.4	Frequentive <i>-katra</i>	214
4.4.2.3.16	Urgency/personal interest <i>-RU</i>	230
5.1	Interjections	239
6.2.11	Evidence (entire subsection)	268

Tables:

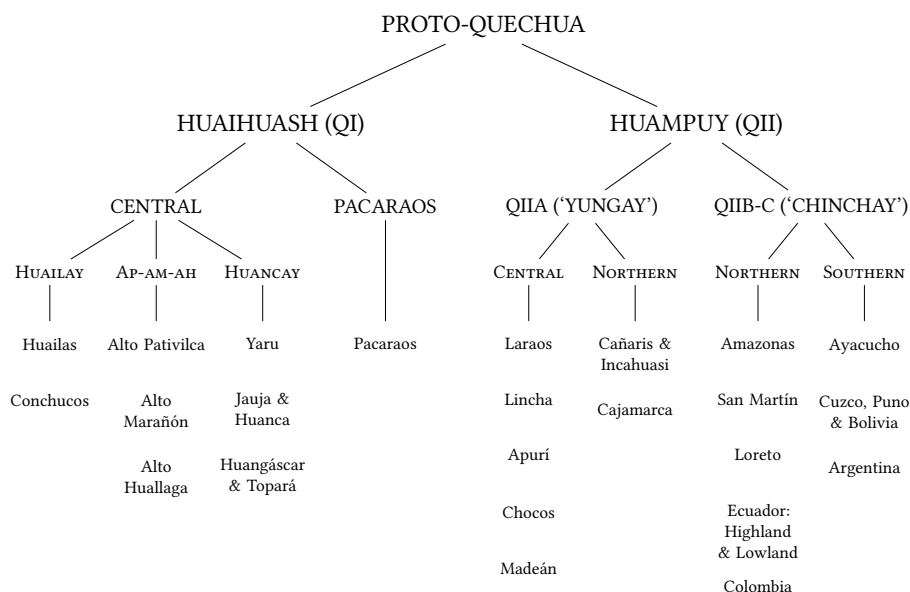
1.1	Use of QI, QII and local structures in the five SYQ dialects	10
2.1	Vowel inventory	25
2.2	Consonant inventory	25
3.4	Case suffixes with examples	71
4.1	Verbal inflectional suffixes with different realizations in SYQ dialects	129
4.2	Verbal inflection paradigm	130
4.3	Verbal inflection paradigm – subject-object suffixes	132
4.5	Actor-object inflectional suffixes	137
4.25	“Modal” (verb-verb derivational) suffixes, with examples	208
6.1	Enclitics, with examples	249
6.2	Evidential schema: “evidence from” by “evidence for”	271

1.2 The Dialects of Yauyos

Yauyos groups together various dialects that, although mutually intelligible, differ in ways that are relevant both to the classification of Yauyos as well as to the current paradigm for the classification of the Quechuan languages generally. That classification is highly contested, and, indeed, has been since early versions

1 Introduction

of it were suggested in the 1960s (See in particular Landerman 1991).



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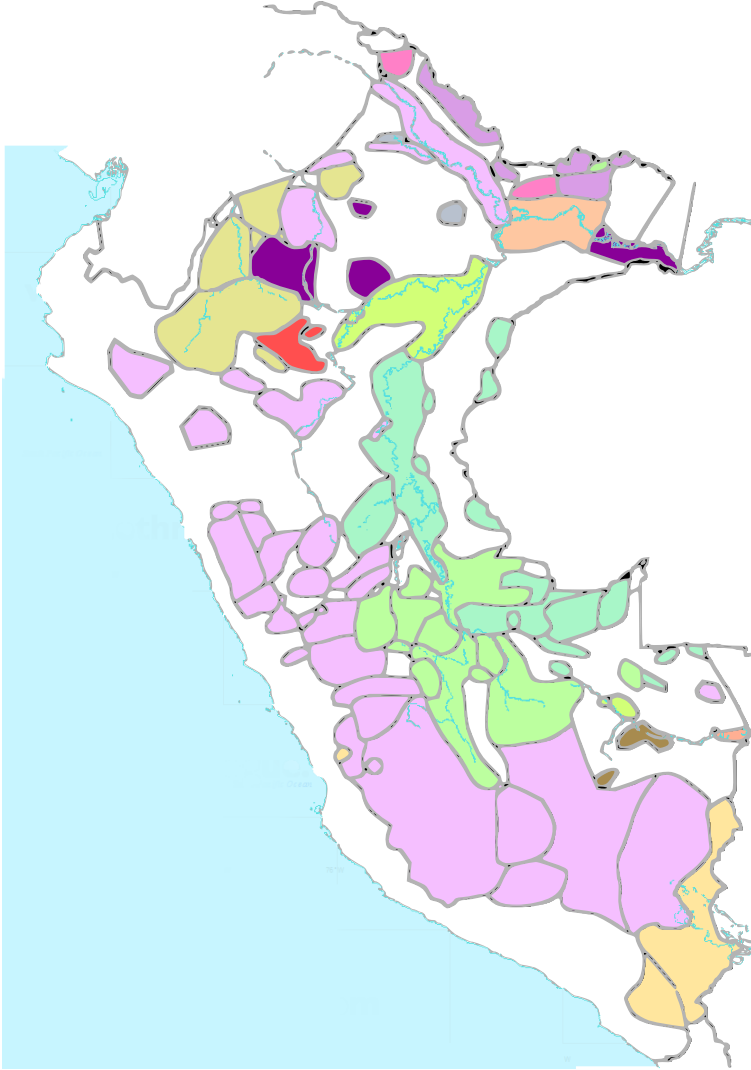
<http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/quechua/Eng/Cpv/Locations.htm#TheTraditionalQuechuaFamilyTree>

Figure 1.1: Quechuan languages family tree

The Province is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken: the “Quechua I” (Torero) or “Quechua B” (Parker) languages are spoken to its north; the “Quechua II” or “Quechua A” languages, to its south.

For reasons detailed in § 1.3, the model that divides the Quechuan family tree into two principal branches doesn’t apply very well to Yauyos, as its different dialects manifest different characteristics of both of branches.⁵ There exist three proposals in the literature – Taylor (2000); Torero (1974); Lewis, Simons & Fennig (2015) – with regard to the grouping of the province’s fifteen districts into dialect bundles. Taylor (2000: 105) counts seven varieties of Yauyos Quechua, dividing these into two groups along a north-south axis. In the north are the dialects of

⁵ Yauyos is, of course, not alone in this, not in the least because the division of the languages into two branches was, arguably, based on rather arbitrary criteria in the first place (See in particular Landerman 1991). The significance of Yauyos lies in the fact that it may represent the “missing link” between the two (See in particular Heggarty 2007)

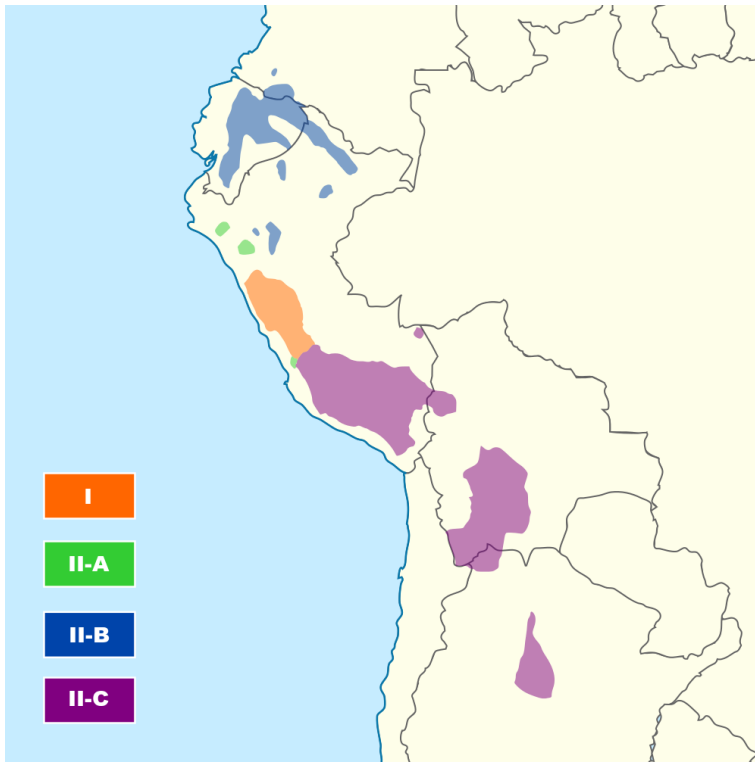


Source: http://archive.ethnologue.com/16/show_map.asp?name=PE

Figure 1.2: Peruvian languages map

Alis/Tomas, Huancaya/Vitis, and Laraos; in the south, those of Apurí/Chocos/-Madeán/Viñac, Azángaro/Huangáscar, Caca/Hongos, and Lincha/Tana. Taylor classes four of these dialects – the northern dialects of Alis/Tomas and Huan-

1 Introduction



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quechuan_languages

Figure 1.3: Peruvian languages map

caya/Vitis and the southern dialects of Azángaro/Huangáscar and Caca/Hongos – as belonging to the QI branch; he classes the remaining three – Laraos in the north as well as Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana in the south – as belonging to QII. Torero (1974) counted only six dialects, excluding Azángaro/Huangáscar from the catalogue, classing it independently among the QI dialects along with Chíncha's Topará. Ethnologue, like Taylor, includes Azángaro/Huangáscar and adds, even, an eighth dialect, that of San Pedro de Huacarpana, spoken on the Chíncha side of the Yauyos-Chíncha border. Ethnologue further differs from Taylor in putting Apurí in a group by itself; and it differs from both Taylor and Torero in grouping Chocos with Azángaro/Huangáscar. My research supports Taylor's grouping of Apurí with Madeán and Viñac;

it also supports Ethnologue's inclusion of San Pedro de Huacarpana⁶ among the dialects of Yauyos. Apurí, like its neighbors Viñac and Madeán, uses *-ni* and *-y* to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and substantive paradigms; they also use *-rqa* and *-sa* to indicate the past tense and perfect. The first pair of characteristics set the Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana dialects apart from the other three; the second pair of characteristics sets Madeán/Viñac apart from Lincha/Tana. Chocos, like its neighbors Huangáscar and Azángaro, uses vowel length to indicate the first-person singular in the verbal and substantive paradigms.

1.3 Classification

Yauyos Quechua was dubbed by Alfredo Torero (1974) a “supralect” and its most careful student, Gerald Taylor, referred to it as a “mixed” language (Taylor 1990: 2, Taylor 2000: 105). Indeed, the designation of Yauyos as a language may seem, at first, to be no more than a relic of the first classifications of the Quechuan languages not by strictly linguistic criteria but, rather, by geographic criteria. Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where the languages of the two different branches of the Quechuan language family are spoken. QI is spoken immediately to the north, in the Department of Junín and the north of the Department of Lima; QII, immediately to the south, in the Departments of Huancavelica and Ayacucho. Yauyos manifests characteristics of both branches. Take first-person marking. Three dialects, Azángaro-Chocos⁷-Huangáscar (ACH), Caca-Hongos (CH), and San Pedro (SP), use the same marking (vowel length) for the first person in both nominal and verbal paradigms⁸ and mark the first-person object with *-ma*. These are the two characteristics that define a Quechuan language as belonging to the QI (also called Quechua B or *Huaihuash*) branch. The other two dialects, Apurí-Madeán-Viñac (AMV) and Lincha-Tana (LT), mark the first person differently in the nominal and verbal

⁶ San Pedro is located immediately to the north-east of Madeán and Azángaro, at less than a days' walk's distance. Although formerly counted a part of the Department of Lima and the Province of Yauyos, a redrawing of political boundaries placed San Pedro on the Ica side of the contemporary Ica-Lima border. During the colonial period, the Province of Yauyos was larger and included parts of what are now the Provinces of Chinchá and Castrovirreyna (Huancavelica) Landerman (1991: 1.1.3.2.7).

⁷ I am very grateful to Peter Landerman for correcting me with regard to the classification of Chocos, which I had originally misclassified with Madeán and Viñac.

⁸ Crucially, vowel length is not distinctive anywhere else in the grammar or lexicon of these dialects. For example, these dialects use the QII *-naya*, *-raya*, and *-paya*, not the QI *-na*-, *-ra*-, and *-pa*- to mark the desiderative, passive, and continuative, respectively. And all districts but Caca use *tiya*-, not *ta*:- ‘sit’, again sorting with the QII languages.

paradigms (with *-y* and *-ni*, respectively) and mark first-person object with *-wa*. These two dialects, then, sort with the QII (A/*Huampuy*) languages. Indeed, the first three are classed as QI (specifically, Central-*Huancay*) and the other two, QII (specifically *Yunagay*-Central) (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 247). Nevertheless, the “QI” dialects, ACH, CH, and SP, manifest few of the other traits that set the QI languages apart from the QII languages. They do use *ñuqakuna* in place of *ñuqayku* to form the first person plural exclusive as well as *-pa(:)ku* to indicate the plural. Crucially, however, so do both the “QII” SYQ dialects.⁹ And none of the five manifest any other of the principal traits that generally set the QI languages apart from the rest. None use *-naw* in place of *-Sina* to form the comparative, *-piqta* in place of *-manta* to form the ablative, or *-naq* in place of *-shqa* to form the narrative past; and none except for Cakra uses *-r* (realized [l]) in place of *-shpa* to form same-subject subordinate clauses. Now, the two “QII” SYQ dialects manifest several of the traits that set the QIIC (*Chinchay Meridional*) languages apart from the rest. Like the QIIC languages, the AMV and LT dialects use the diminutive *-cha*, the emphatic *-ari*, the assertive *-puni*, and the alternative conditional *-chuwan*; the AMV dialect additionally uses the alternative conditional *-waq*. Crucially, however, the three “QI” SYQ dialects, too, use three of these: *-cha*, *-ari* and *-chuwan*. Further, all five share with Ayacucho Q the unique use of the evidential modifier *-ki*. None of the five manifest any of the other defining traits of the QIIC languages: none uses *-ku* to indicate the first-person plural exclusive or the third-person plural; nor does any use *-chka*¹⁰ to form the progressive or *-nka* to form the distributive. Further, none suffered the fusion of */tr/ with */ch/ or */sh/ with */s/. (See Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 226–248) on the defining characteristics of the various Quechuan languages) Rather, the dialects of Southern Yauyos are mutually intelligible, and they together share characteristics that set them apart from all the other Quechuan languages. With the single exception that CH uses the accusative form *-Kta* in place of *-ta*, all five dialects employ the same case system, which includes the unique ablative form *-paq* and unique locative *-pi*. All dialects use the progressive form *-ya*;¹¹ all employ the plural *-kuna* with non-exhaustive meaning; and all employ the same unique system of evidential modification (see § 6.2.11.4). Further, with a

⁹ The CH dialect is unique in using *-traw* in alternation with both *-pi* and *-pa* for the locative.

¹⁰ Although all use *-chka*, unproductively except in SP, to indicate simultaneous action that persists in time.

¹¹ One of many attested reductions from **-yka*: (*-yka*; *-yka*, *-yga*, *-ycha*; *-yya*; *-yya*-, *-ya*-, and *-ya*) (Hintz 2011: 213–219, 260–268, 290). I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

single exception,¹² the five dialects are uniform phonologically, all employing a highly conservative system¹³ that retains all those phonemes hypothesized by Parker and Cerrón-Palomino to have been included in the Proto-Quechua (see § 2.3). Table 1.1, below, summarizes this information. Please note that the table presents a somewhat idealized portrait and that the characteristics it posits as belonging exclusively to QII may sometimes be found in QI languages as well. Exceptions of which I am aware are signaled in notes to the table.

The case of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar requires particular attention in this context. Torero (1968: 293, 1974: 28–29) classified Azángaro and Huangáscar as forming an independent group with Topará (Chavín), placing it among the QI *Huancay* languages. Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 236), following Torero, cites five criteria for grouping Huangáscar with Topará. Both dialects, he writes, use *-pa:ku* and *-ri* to indicate the plural; both use *-shpa* in place of *-r* to form same-subject subordinate clauses; and both use *-tamu* to indicate completed action; the two dialects, further, are alike in using unusual locative and ablative case-marking. Only three of these claims are accurate. First, Huangáscar, as Taylor (1984) already indicated, does not use *-ri*. Second, Huangáscar and Topará may indeed both use unusual locative and ablative case marking, but, crucially, they do not use the same unusual case marking: Huangáscar uses *-pa* to indicate the locative while Topará uses *-man*; Huangáscar uses *-paq* to indicate the ablative while Topará uses *-pa* (C.-P. himself points out these last two facts). Huangáscar does indeed use *-shpa* to form subordinate clauses and *-tamu* to indicate irreversible change. Crucially, however, so do all the dialects of southern Yauyos. In sum, there is no basis for grouping Huangáscar with Topará and not with the other dialects of SYQ. Torero's data were never corroborated; indeed, the findings of Taylor and Landerman, the scholars who have most thoroughly studied Yauyos before now,¹⁴ contradict those of Torero.

¹² In the CH dialect, as in neighboring Junín, the protomorphemes */r/, */s/, and */h/ are sometimes realized as [l], [h], and [sh], respectively. I have no explanation for why these alternations occur in some cases but not in others. Indeed, it may be the case that where CH differs from the rest of the dialects in that it employs */sh/ where they employ */h/, it is the former that preserves the original form.

¹³ An anonymous reviewer points out that other Quechuan languages, Corongo among them, for example, are more conservative than Yauyos with respect to some features, including the preservation of the protoform *ñ in *ñi- 'say' and ña:-ña 'right now'. Sihuas, too, preserves elements of proto-Quechua not found in Yauyos. In contrast, while Yauyos preserves a few proto-Quechua features not found in either Corongo or Sihuas, it also manifests others that reflect innovations likely adopted from neighboring QII languages.

¹⁴ An anonymous reviewer points out that Martha Hardman, Steve Echerd, Rick Floyd, Conrad Phelps – in addition to several students from Universidad San Marcos – have given Yauyos ex-

1 Introduction

Table 1.1: Use of QI, QII and local structures in the five SYQ dialects

	CH	ACH	SP	AMV	LT
1Singular nominal inflection	-:	-:	-:	-y	-y
1Singular verbal inflection	-:	-:	-:	-ni	-ni
1Singular object inflection	-ma	-ma	-ma	-wa	-wa
1Plural exclusive pronoun <i>ñuqakuna</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Fusion of */ch/ and */tr/ ^(a)	no	no	no	no	no
Fusion of */s/ and */sh/	no	no	no	no	no
s>o inflection order NUM-O-TNS-S	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Vowel length distinctive elsewhere ^(b)	no	no	no	no	no
Same-subject subordinator <i>-shpa</i> ^(c)	yes	yes ^(d)	yes	yes	yes
Narrative past inflection <i>-shQa</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Comparative <i>-hina</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Diminutive <i>-cha</i> ^(e)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Emphatic <i>-ari</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
1Plural Altern. Conditional <i>-chuwan</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2Singular Altern. Conditional <i>-waq</i>	no	no	no	yes	no
Assertive <i>-puni</i>	no	no	no	yes	no
Evidential modifier <i>-kt</i> ^(f)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Locative <i>-pa</i>	yes ^(g)	yes	yes	yes	yes
Ablative <i>-paq</i> ^(h)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Non-exhaustive <i>-kuna</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Lateralization of */r/	yes ⁽ⁱ⁾	no	no	no	no

Note:

- ^(a) An anonymous reviewer points out that this is not exclusively a feature of QII languages in that the fusion of */ch/ and */tr/ is attested in Huallaga, a QI variety.
- ^(b) With the exception of *-pa(:)ku*, where the long vowel distinguishes JTACC from BEN-REFL.
- ^(c) An anonymous reviewer points out that, although this may originally have been posited to be a defining characteristic of QII languages, it is, in fact, far from such: *-shpa* is common in several QI dialects: in Ancash, it attested in Huaylas; it is attested, also in Pachitea in Huanuco.
- ^(d) Caca but not Hongos also uses *-r* (realized [l]).
- ^(e) An anonymous reviewer points out that while diminutive *-cha* is less productive in QI than in QII, it is still is common throughout QI, e.g. Victoria-Vitucha, Cabrito-Kapcha.
- ^(f) Also used in Ayacucho (QII).
- ^(g) Also uses *-traw* (QI).
- ^(h) An anonymous reviewer points out that ablative *-paq* is almost certainly derived from */-piq/ / */-pik/ via vowel harmony. The former is attested in Huaylas and the latter in Corongo. The other *-pi*-initial forms in QI (*-pita*, *-pi:ta*, *-pikta*, *-piqta*, among others) would have developed later via suffix amalgamation, similar to the formation of bipartite *-manta* in QII (see, e.g., Hintz & Dávila 2000).
- ⁽ⁱ⁾ Also occurs in Junín (QI).

Key: **Green**: QI trait; **Blue**: QII/QIIC trait; **Red**: trait shared by all SYQ dilects not characteristic of either QI or QII/QIIC.

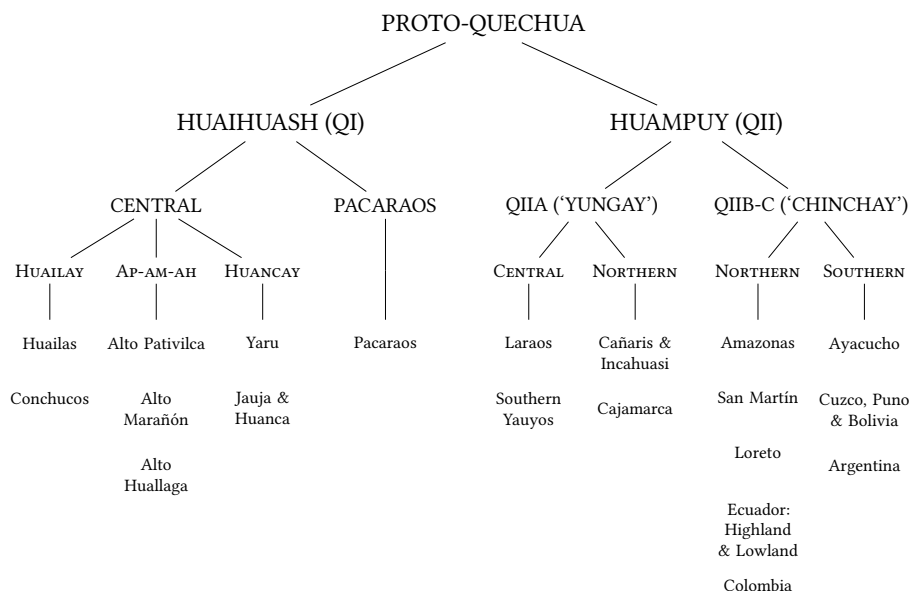
tensive attention, although they may not have added to the storehouse of data on the language.

SYQ is not a jumble of dialects that, were it not for geographical accident, would not be classed together; it is, rather, a unique, largely uniform language. Although I myself do not believe that the current paradigm can be maintained, I have tried to present the data in a way that remains as neutral as possible with regard to the question of how the internal diversity within the Quechuan language family is best characterized, and, in particular, with regard to the question of whether or not the various Quechuan languages are helpfully construed as belonging to one or the other of two branches of a family tree (See in particular Adelaar 2008). I leave it to other scholars to interpret the data as they see fit. That said, as long as it is maintained, the current paradigm should be revised to more accurately reflect the relationships of SYQ with/to the languages currently named on the Quechuan family tree as it is currently drawn. That tree groups nine of the eleven districts of southern Yauyos into five sets, assigning each of these sets the status of an independent language. Moreover, two of these sets are actually singletons, as Chocos is listed independent of (Azángaro-)Hu'angáscar, to which it is identical, and Apurí is listed independent of Madeán(-Viñac), to which it is identical. (Cacra-Hongos, the set that would deserve independent placement, if any did, appears nowhere at all). The fact that all these “languages” are completely mutually intelligible does not justify this. It further seems unjustified to place the Quechua of single villages on the level of that of whole nations – Bolivia and Ecuador. I suggest, therefore, that Chocos be joined with (Azángaro-)Huangáscar, and Apurí with Madeán(-Viñac). The first of these new triplets, Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar, should be mutated to join the other “languages” of southern Yauyos, under the category *Central Yungay*. The four sets should, further, be collapsed and the resulting set called *Southern Yauyos*. The revised (pruned) tree would then be as in Figure 1.4. In the event that it be necessary to honor the internal diversity that would be obscured by this move, note may simply be made to the fact that this “new” language counts multiple dialects. In this case, Cacra-Hongos and San Pedro de Huacarpana would have to be listed among these.¹⁵

1.4 Broader interest

Yauyos should be of particular interest to semanticists as well as to students of language contact. Semanticists may find the language's unusual evidential sys-

¹⁵ I regret having to list Laraos independently here, as I believe it is possible to make a convincing argument for its inclusion as a dialect of Southern Yauyos. Nothing in this volume, however, directly speaks to that question. I plan to address it explicitly in a future paper.



Adapted from source:

<http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/quechua/Eng/Cpv/Locations.htm#TheTraditionalQuechuaFamilyTree>

Figure 1.4: Quechuan languages family tree revised

tem of interest, while students of language contact may want to look for evidence of contact between the districts where Yauyos is spoken – that of Caca-Hongos in particular – with the three Aymaran-speaking districts in the same region of the province.

1.4.1 Semantics – Evidentials

For typologists and semanticists, Yauyos' evidential system should be of interest. Evidentials, broadly speaking, are generally said to indicate the type of the speaker's source of information. *syq*, like most other Quechuan languages, employs a three-term system,¹⁶ indicating direct, reportative, and inferred evidence (*i.e.* the speaker has personal-experience evidence for *P*, the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for *P*, or the speaker infers *P* based on either

¹⁶ An anonymous reviewer points out that South Conchucos has a 5-choice evidential system, and Sihuas a 6-choice system (Hintz & Hintz 2014), while Huallaga has a 4-choice system (Weber 1989).

personal- or non-personal-experience evidence). In *syQ*, the three evidentials are realized *-mI*, *-shI*, and *-trI* (See Floyd (1999) on Wanka Quechua; Faller (2003) on Cuzco Quechua). The evidential system of *syQ* is of particular interest because it employs a second three-term system of evidential modifiers. The evidential system of *syQ* thus counts nine members: *-mI*, *-mik*, and *-miki*; *-shI*, *-shik*, and *-shiki*; and *-trI*, *-trik*, and *-triki*. The *-I* *-ik*, and *-iki* forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations. § 6.2.11 describes this system in detail. (For further formal analysis, see Shimelman 2012 and Shimelman 2014).

1.4.2 Language contact – Aymara

For students of language contact, it is the contact of Yauyos with Aymara that should be of particular interest.¹⁷ The northern branch of the Aymara family is situated entirely in the province of Yauyos (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 173): the Aymaran languages Kawki and Jaqaru are spoken in the central Yauyos municipalities of Cachuy, Aysa and Tupe. There are, further, reports dating from the beginning of the 20th century of other Aymaran-speaking communities in the province (174).¹⁸ I was unable to find evidence of any unusual lexical borrowing in Yauyos, i.e., of words – like (*pampa*- ‘bury’) – not also attested in other Quechuan languages. That said, the lexicon I assembled includes only 2000 words, in large part because the vocabulary of the language has been much-reduced, as is to be expected, given that such reduction is one of the symptoms of extreme language endangerment. Those more familiar with the Aymaran languages may, however, still be able to find evidence of calquing or structural influence.

1.5 Endangerment

At the date of this writing, the UNESCO classifies Yauyos as critically endangered, and LinguistList identifies it as near extinct (<http://multitree.linguistlist.org/trees/10504@124926>). The 1993 Peru census counted 1,600 speakers,¹⁹ 25% of

¹⁷ Contact of Quechuan languages with Spanish, of course, is of interest here, as it is in all Quechuan languages.

¹⁸ On Aymara and the relationship of Quechua and Aymara see, among others, Adelaar with Muysken (2004: 259–317) and Cerrón-Palomino (1994; 2000). On Jaqaru, see, among others, Hardman (1966; 1983; 2000).

¹⁹ That census did not distinguish between speakers of Yauyos and speakers of other Quechuan languages who resided in the province (Chirinos-Rivera, p.c.). This is crucial in assessing the data on the Quechua-speaking population of the north of the province. Although there are many Quechua-speaking migrants there – principally from Huancayo, the town with which

them over 65 (Chirinos-Rivera 2001: 121). Less than ten years before that survey – still, to my knowledge, the most recent – electricity had yet to come to the Andean towns of southern Yauyos and the only physical connections between those towns to the rest of the world were three 40-kilometer dirt paths that wound their perilous way 2,000 meters down the canyon. Since that time, the Peruvian government has installed electricity in the region and widened the perilous dirt paths into perilous dirt roads.²⁰ TelMex and Claro now offer cable television, and buses come and go on alternate days. In short, the isolation that had previously preserved the Quechua spoken in the region has been broken and the language now counts, according to my estimates, fewer than 450 speakers, most over 65, and all but the most elderly fully bilingual in Spanish.

The drastic reduction in the number of speakers can also be attributed to the Shining Path. During the 1980's and early 1990's, the period during which the Maoist army terrorized the region, there was a large-scale exodus, particularly of young people, who ran to escape forced conscription. Many never returned, remaining principally in the coastal cities of Cañete and Lima. Theirs was the last generation to learn Quechua to any degree. Currently, there are a few children – those who live with their grandmothers or great-grandmothers in the most isolated hamlets – with a passive knowledge of the language. The youngest speakers, however, are in their late thirties.

Quechuan as a language family is not currently endangered, and other Quechuan languages are well-documented. Estimates of the numbers of Quechuan speakers range between 8.5 and 10 million, and, although Quechua is being pushed back by Spanish in many areas, the majority dialects of its major varieties – Ancash, Ayacucho, Bolivian, Cuzco, Ecuadorian²¹ – are quite viable (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 168). Paradoxically, however, the viability of the major varieties is coming at the expense of the viability of the minor varieties. Adelaar (2008: 14) writes: “If Quechua will survive, its speakers will probably be users of four of five of the most successful dialects, most of which belong to Quechua IIB and

the north has the most commercial contact – I was unable to locate any speakers of the dialects indigenous to the area. Further, population data in the province tend to be exaggerated for several reasons. First, people who emigrated from the region years or even decades ago remain, nevertheless, officially resident there for reasons of convenience. Second, death certificates are often not issued for the deceased, as the personnel at the local health clinics simply refuse to issue them.

²⁰ In the space of just one year, spanning 2012 and 2013, fourteen people died in six separate accidents in the region when their vehicles fell from the road down the canyon.

²¹ It is worth noting that much of the diversity internal to these languages is being lost, as one anonymous reviewer points out.

IIC.” The dialects of southern Yauyos, classified as either QI or QIIA, and other minor Quechuan languages are rapidly disappearing.

1.6 Existing documentation

Echerd (1974) and Brougère (1992) supply some socio-linguistic data on Yauyos. There is also a book of folktales, in Spanish, collected in the region in the 1930’s and 1940’s: *Apuntes para el folklor de Yauyos* (Varilla Gallardo 1965). Yauyos is mentioned in the context of two dialectological studies of Quechua by Torero (1968; 1974).

With these exceptions, all that is known about Yauyos we owe to the French researcher Gerald Taylor. Taylor’s PhD dissertation describes the morphology of Laraos, a northern dialect of Yauyos. This work was republished or excerpted, sometimes with revisions, in Taylor (1984; 1990; 1994; 1994b). Taylor (1987a) supplements the data on Laraos with data on Huancaya, and Taylor (1990; 2000) provides a comparison of all seven dialects on the basis of eight grammatical elements and fifty lexical items. Finally, Taylor (1987b,c; 1991) transcribes and translates several folktales into Spanish and French.

1.7 Fieldwork

The fieldwork upon which this document is based was conducted in June and July of 2010; January through April 2011; August through December 2011; April through September 2012; and for a total of 10 months between October 2012 and July 2014. The second of these trips was funded by a faculty development grant from San José State University; the third through sixth, by two National Endowment for the Humanities-National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages fellowships (FN-50099-11 and FN-50109-12).

The corpus counts 206 distinct audio and audio-video recordings. The recordings, totaling over 71 hours, were made in the seven districts of Southern Yauyos – Apurí, Azángaro, Caca, Chocos, Hongos, Huangáscar, Lincha, Madeán, and Viñac – as well as in the district of San Pedro de Huacarpana in Chíncha. Recordings include stories, songs, riddles, spontaneous dialogue, personal narrative, and descriptions of traditional activities, crafts and healing practices. Over 28 hours of recordings were transcribed, translated and glossed. The recordings as well as the ELAN time-aligned transcriptions and accompanying videos are archived both at The DoBeS project, housed at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen, The Netherlands, and at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of

1 Introduction

Latin America at the University of Texas, Austin, USA. All materials can be accessed via those institutions' websites, <http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/> and <http://www.ailla.utexas.org/>. The more popular video recordings – many transcribed – can also be easily accessed via endangeredlanguages.com. All examples that follow except those noted † were taken from this corpus. It is my hope that these examples will give the reader a sense of the life that supported and was supported by the language.

Unicode was used for character encoding; audio and video recordings were saved in the standard formats – PCM wav 44.1/32 bits, .mpg, and .mpeg; unstructured texts were saved as plain text; structured texts have XML-based underlying schemas. Recording equipment includes a Marantz PMD 660 solid state digital audio recorder (pre-January 2013 recordings); a Roland R-26 solid state audio recorder; an AudioTechnica 831b cardioid condenser microphone (pre-May 2012 recordings); a Sennheiser MKH 8060 cardioid condenser microphone; and a Canon Vixia HF S100 HD flash memory camcorder. Transcriptions, translations and glosses were prepared with ELAN; Audacity was used for editing audio recordings; iMovie for video recordings. All work was done on a MacBook Pro (pre-July 2011 recordings) or MacBook Air (post-July 2011 recordings).

Exactly one hundred participants contributed recordings. Their names are listed below. Dialects are bolded; municipalities, underlined; towns, italicized; annexes, indented. Alphabetical order is preserved throughout. Three participants requested to remain anonymous. In these cases, I have assigned “pseudo-initials.” I lost my metadata on three participants. In these cases, they are identified by their initials (included in the original recording titles) alone.

Apurí-Madeán-Viñac

Apurí

Apurí

AA, DO, Pedro Carrún

Madeán

Madeán

Victoria Díaz, Gabino Huari, Ernestina Huari,
Efrén Yauri

Tayamarca

Isabel Chávez

Viñac

<i>Viñac</i>	Dona Alvarado, Eudosia Alvarado, Pripodina Auris, Jesus Centeno, Meli Chávez, Delfina Chullukuy, Martina Guerra, Victoria Guerra, Carmen Huari, Aleka Madueño, Acención Madueño, Melania Madueño, Hilda Quispe, Angélica Romero, Saturnina Utcañe
Casa Blanca	Margarita Madueño
Esmeralda	Floriana Centeno, Emilia Guerra
Florida	Juana Huari, Leonarda Huari, Neri Huari, Corsinia Javier, Cecilia Quispe
Ortígal	AB
Llanka	Octavia Arco, Bautista Cárdenas
Qanta	Octavio Sulluchuco
Qunyari	Cecilia Guerra, Emiliano Rojas
Shutco	María Guerra, Teresa Guerra, Alejandra Quispe
Tambopata	Alejandrina Centeno, Macedonia Centeno, Soylita Chullunkuy, Hida Evangelista, Soylita Huari
Yuracsayhua	Urbana Yauri

Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar

Azángaro

<i>Azángaro</i>	Anselma Caja, Filipa Postillón
Colca	Genoveva Rodríguez, Lucía Rodríguez
Marcalla	Fortunato Gutiérrez, Isak Gutiérrez
Puka Rumi	Alcibiada Rodríguez
Villaflor	Victorina Aguado, Senovia Gutiérrez

Chocos

<i>Chocos</i>	Honorato B., Bonifacia de la Cruz, Julia Mayta
---------------	--

Huangáscar

<i>Huangáscar</i>	Benedicta Lázaro, CW, Luisa Gutiérrez, PP, Victoria Quispe, Teódolo Rodríguez, Natividad Saldaña
Tapalla	Grutilda Saldaño; Eudisia Vicente

Cacra-Hongos

1 Introduction

Cacra

Cacra

Iris Barrosa, Maximina Barrosa, Regina Huamán

Hongos

Hongos

Archi V., Eduardo Centeno, Dina Huamán, Leona Huamán, SA, Sabina Huamán, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, Maximina Tupac, Erlinda Vicente

Lincha-Tana

Lincha

Lincha

Ninfa Flores, Anselma Vicente, Sofía Vicente

Tana

Tana

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

San Pedro de Huacarpana

San Pedro de Huacarpana

Liscay

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

San Pedro

Bernarda S. *et al.*

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

1.8 Presentation

To facilitate comparison with other Quechuan languages, the presentation here follows the structure of the six Quechua grammars published by the Peruvian government in 1976. Readers familiar with those grammars will note the obvious debt this one owes to those: it follows not just their format, but also, in large part, their analysis. The six 1976 grammars cover the Quechuas of Ancash, Ayacucho,

Cajamarca, Cuzco, Huanca and San Martín (Parker 1976; Soto Ruiz 1976a; Quesada Castillo 1976; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez 1976; Cerrón-Palomino 1976a; Coombs, Coombs & Weber 1976). Other published grammars of Quechuan languages include Herrero & Sánchez de Lozada (1978) on Bolivian; Catta (1994) on Ecuadorian; Taylor (1994) on Ferreñafe; Weber (1989) on Huallaga (Huanuco);²² Cole (1982) on Imbabura; Adelaar (1977) description of Tarma Quechua and his (1986) morphology of Pacaraos; as well as the surveys and compilations of Cerrón-Palomino (1987); Cerrón-Palomino & Solís-Fonesca (1990), and Cole, Hermon & Martín (1994).

Words and phrases appearing in italics – *like this* – are in Quechua. English and Spanish interpretations appear in single quotation marks – ‘like this’. Interpretations are sometimes given in Spanish – the language I used with my consultants²³ – as well as English. Transformations (illustrations of changes indicated as a result of morphological processes referenced) are indicated with arrows – *like* → *like this*. Quechua words are broken into component morphemes, like this: *warmi-kuna*. It is the morpheme relevant to the topic in focus that is underlined.

Each section and major subsection begins with an account of the topic under consideration. Terminal subsections supply more extended discussion and further examples, generally about 10, often as many as 30 or even 40. All examples except those indicated with a dagger are taken from the corpus of recordings collected during the course of the documentation of the language. Those with a dagger were elicited. The glosses are presented in the following format.

(1)	<i>Ishkayninchik ripukushun.</i> AMV	<i>Southern Yauyos example</i>
	ishkay-ni-nchik ripu-ku-shun	morpheme breaks
	two-EUPH-1PL leave-REFL-1PL.FUT	gloss
	‘Let’s go <u>both of us</u> .’	English free translation

All examples are taken from the transcribed corpus. Transcriptions can be

²² Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out. Hintz (2011) supplies a grammar of aspect and related categories in Quechua, especially South Conchucos Quechua (Ancash).

²³ Indeed, all English glosses are my translations from the Spanish glosses my consultants originally supplied. In most cases, the Spanish translations reflected the syntax and semantics of the original Quechua. I sacrificed this in preparing the the English glosses that appear here. I made this choice because the more literal glosses are standard in Andean Spanish – in structures like the possessive ‘su n de a’ (‘his N of a’) – they would not be standard in any English dialect of which I am aware.

1 Introduction

checked against the original recordings by downloading the compilation of recordings archived with the corpus, typing a couple of words from either the example or its gloss into the search bar and following the recording title and time signature back to the original recording. I am also happy to supply this information. Source titles refer to .eaf files archived with DoBeS and AILLA. File names include three elements: the place in which the recording was made, the initials of the principal participant, and a word or two recalling the principal topic(s). For example, the file Vinac_JC_Cure was made in Viñac, has for its principal participant Jesús Centeno and for its principal topic a curing ceremony. Because of restrictions on file names, no accents are used. So, Azángaro is rendered “Azangaro” and so on.

Glosses were prepared in accord with the Leipzig glossing rules. For reasons of space, two deviations from the standard abbreviations were made: “proximal demonstrative” is not rendered “DEM.PROX” but “DEM.P”; and “distal demonstrative” is not rendered “DEM.DIST” but “DEM.D”. Gloss codes are listed with the notational conventions at page vii, in the section with that name.

2 Phonology and morphophonemics

This chapter covers the syllable structure, stress pattern, phonemic inventory, and morphophonemics of Southern Yauyos Quechua.

2.1 Introduction and summary

The syllable structure, stress pattern, phonemic inventory, and morphophonemics of syQ are not extraordinary. Indeed, what is most extraordinary about them is precisely how unextraordinary they are: syQ is, phonologically, extraordinarily conservative,¹ with four of its five dialects essentially instantiating the systems proposed for Proto-Quechua in Landerman (1991), Cerrón-Palomino (1987: ch.4). All syQ dialects retain contrasts between [č] and [ĉ];² [k], [q]³ and [h]⁴; [l] and

¹ Other phonologically conservative Quechuan languages include Sihuas, which, like Yauyos, retains contrasts between */ch/ and */tr/, */ll/ and */l/, as well as */sh/ and */s/. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

² In Ecuador, Columbia, Bolivia, Argentina, the east and south of Peru, as well as in Sihuas, Ambo-Pasco, Tarma, Wanka, Lambayeque, Chachapoyas and Cajamarca (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for calling my attention to the final examples here) */ĉ/ underwent deretroflexion. syQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like *trina* ‘female’, *trupa* ‘tail’, *katrka-* ‘know’, and *qutra* ‘lagoon’. Thus, in syQ, *traki* ‘foot’ contrasts with *chaki* ‘dry’.

³ */q/ was neither velarized nor glottalized in syQ (which is not to say that these processes are the norm). The language retains, for example, the pQ forms *qusa* ‘husband’, *qasa-* ‘freeze’, *waga-* ‘cry’, *agu* ‘sand’, *uqu-* ‘wet’, *wigaw* ‘waist’, *wagra* ‘horn’, and *atug* ‘fox’. syQ thus retains contrasts like those between *qiru* ‘stick’ and *kiru* ‘tooth’; *qilla* ‘lazy’ and *killa* ‘moon’.

⁴ */h/ appears in syQ, as in pQ, principally word-initially, as in *hapi-* ‘grab’, *hampi-* ‘cure’, and *haya-* ‘be bitter’.

[λ];⁵ [n] and [ñ];⁶ and [s] and [š];⁷ none of the dialects includes ejectives or aspirates in its phonemic inventory. Vowel length is contrastive in the grammars but not the lexicons of the dialects of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar, Cakra-Hongos and San Pedro. In these dialects, as in all the QI (QB) languages with the exception of Pacaraos, vowel length marks the first person in both the nominal (possessive) and verbal paradigms (*wasi*:- ‘my house’ and *puri*:- ‘I walk’). The Cakra-Hongos dialect is unique among the five in that, there, the protomorpheme */r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l], and word-initial */s/ and */h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h], and [š], respectively.⁸ The first of these muta-

⁵ Cerrón-Palomino – like (Torero 1964), but unlike Parker (1969) – does not include */l/ in his catalogue of proto-phonemes. He admits, however, that the status of */l/ is controversial. While it does occur in a small number of proto-morphemes, and, indeed, both /l/ and /ll/ occur in all of the QI contemporary varieties in Ancash and Huanuco, except for Humalies and Margos (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out) he calls it “*Un elemento marginal y parasitario*” (“a marginal and parasitic element”). He admits, however, that the hypothesis that PQ included palatal lateral (/ll/) but not a alveolar lateral (/l/) runs into the problem that the universal tendency is that the presence of /ll/ depends on the presence of /l/, but not vice versa Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 123). W. Adelaar (p.c.) writes, “In support of the controversial status of */l/ which runs against the universal tendency that /λ/ presupposes /l/, there is the case of Amuesha (Yanesha’). This language has a generalized palatal vs. non-palatal opposition in its consonant inventory, but precisely */l/ is missing (apparently an areal feature shared with Quechua).” I have postulated an /l/ for SYQ, as both [λ] and [l] appear in more than just a few marginal lexemes. [λ] appears in SYQ lexemes like *llaki* ‘sadness’, *lluqsi*- ‘exit’, *allin* ‘good’, *allqu* ‘dog’, *tullu* ‘bone’, *ayllu* ‘family’, *wallqa* ‘garland’, and *kallpa* ‘strength’, among many others. As for [l], as noted in § 2.3, it appears, first, as an allomorph of /r/ in the CH dialect. It also appears in exclamations like *alaláw!* ‘how cold!’ and *añaláw!* ‘how beautiful!’ (which occur in Jaqaru, a neighboring Aymara language, as well Castro 1995), as well as in onomatopoeic terms like *luqluqluqya*- ‘make the sound of boiling’. Finally, crucially, [l] also appears in a non-negligible number of semantically contentful lexemes, including *lapu*- ‘slap’, *lapcha*- ‘touch’, *laqatu* ‘slug’, *lashta* ‘snow’, *lawka*- ‘feed a fire’, *layqa*- ‘bewitch’, *lani* ‘penis’, *lumba* ‘without horns’, *alpaka* ‘alpaca’, *almi*- ‘forge a river’, and *alqalli* ‘testicle’. [l]/[λ] minimal pairs can be found in contemporary SYQ in the CH dialect where [l] is an allomorph of /r/. These pairs include *laki*- ‘separate’ and *llaki*- ‘grieve’; *tali*- ‘find’ and *talli*- ‘pour’; *lunku* ‘sack’ and *llunku* ‘picky’; and *lulu* ‘kidney’ and *llulu* ‘unripe’.

⁶ In SYQ, [ñ] did not undergo depalatization as it did in the Quechuas of Central Peru. [ñ] figures in the first-person personal pronoun *ñuqa* as well as in lexemes such as *ñaka-ri*- ‘suffer’, *ñaña* ‘sister’, *ñiti*- ‘crush’, *ñawsa* ‘blind’, and *ñañu* ‘thin’. Examples of [n]/[ñ] minimal pairs include *aña* ‘mole’ and *aña*- ‘scold’; and *na* DMY and *ña* DISC.

⁷ [š] suffered depalatization throughout the south. SYQ, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms like *shimi* ‘mouth’, *shunqu* ‘heart’, *shipash* ‘maiden’, *washa* ‘back’, *ishkay*, ‘two’, and *mishki* ‘sweet’. [s]/[š] minimal pairs include *suqu* ‘gray hair’ and *shuqu*- ‘sip’. One also finds contrasts between the native-borrowed pairs *ashta*- ‘move’ and *asta* ‘until’; and *asha*- ‘yawn’ and *asa*- ‘anger’.

⁸ W. Adelaar (p.c.) writes that, at least with regard to the examples given here and below, the “Cakra-Hongos development of */s/ to /h/ is found throughout Junín (with the exception of

tions it has in common with neighboring Junín. § 2.2 treats syllable structure and stress pattern; § 2.3, phonemic inventory and morphophonemics; § 2.4, Spanish loan words.

2.2 Syllable structure and stress pattern

Syllable structure in *syq*, as in other Quechuan languages, is (C)V(C) except in borrowed words. That is, syllables of the form CCV and VCC are prohibited. One vowel does not follow another without an intervening consonant, *i.e.*, sequences of the form VV are prohibited. Only the first syllable of a word may begin with a vowel (*a.pa*- ‘bring’; *ach.ka* ‘a lot’).

As in the overwhelming majority of Quechuan languages, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a word (compare *yanápa-n* ‘he helps’ and *yanapá-ya-n* ‘he is helping’; *awá-rqa* ‘he wove’ and *awa-rqá-ni* ‘I wove’). The first syllable of a word with more than four syllables generally receives weak stress. There are two exceptions to this rule. First, in all dialects, exclamations often receive stress on the ultimate syllable (*Achachák!* ‘What a fright!’ *Achachalláw!* ‘How awful!’). Second, in those dialects where vowel length indicates the first person, stress falls on the ultimate syllable just in case person marking is not followed by any other suffix (*uyari-yá-*: ‘I am listening’, *ri-rá-*: ‘I went’).⁹

2.3 Phonemic inventory and morphophonemics

syq counts three native vowel phonemes: /a/, /i/, and /u/. In words native to *syq*, the closed vowels /i/ and /u/ have mid and lax allomorphs [e], [ɪ] and [o], [ʊ], respectively. That is, in words native to *syq*, no member of either of the triples {[i], [e], [ɪ]} or {[u], [o], [ʊ]}, is contrastive with any other member of the same triple. The alternations [i] ~ [e] and [u] ~ [o] are conditioned by environment: the second member of each pair appears in a syllable including /q/ (/qilla/ ‘lazy’

Jauja). These dialects also use *shamu-*, instead of *hamu-*. The first form ... is typical for Quechua I, and also for Ecuador and San Martín. *shamu-* may be older than *hamu-*,” he writes, “but the correspondence is largely unpredictable according to dialects.” An anonymous reviewer adds that Sihuas retains */s/ in *sama-* ‘rest’, *saru-* ‘step on’, *sayta-* ‘kick’, and *sita-* ‘hit’, among others.

⁹ It is worth noting that this is phenomenon is far from universal: as an anonymous reviewer points out, “all of the Ancash Quechua varieties mark first person with vowel length, but stress never falls on the lengthened syllable in word-final position. The same is true for Huamalies in western Huanuco. The phenomenon [described here for Yauyos] does hold for Huallaga in central Huanuco, as described by Weber (1989)”.

→ [qeɭa], /atuq/ ‘fox’ → [atoq]).¹⁰

Vowel length is contrastive in the morphologies but not the lexicons of the dialects of ACH, CH and SP. In these dialects – as in all the QI (QB) languages with the exception of Pacaraos – vowel length marks the first person in both the substantive (possessive) and verbal paradigms (*wawa-* ‘my house’ and *puri-* ‘I walk’ (rendered ‘*wawa-y*’ and *puri-ni* in the AMV and LT dialects))¹¹.

In all dialects, the consonant inventory counts seventeen native and six borrowed phonemes. The native phonemes include voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /ch/, /tr/, /k/ and /q/; voiceless fricatives /s/, /sh/ and /h/; nasals /m/, /n/ and /ñ/; laterals /l/ and /ll/; tap /r/; and approximants /w/ and /y/. Borrowed from Spanish are voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/;¹² voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/. In the Cakra-Hongos dialect, the protomorpheme */r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l] (**r*una > *l*una ‘person’, **r*i-y > *li-y* ‘go!’, **h*arka- > *h*alka- ‘herd’); and word-initial */s/ and */h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h]¹³ and [ʃ], respectively (**s*apa > *h*apa ‘alone’, **surqu-* > *hurqu-* ‘take out’, **h*amu- > *sh*amu- ‘come’, **h*ampatu > *sh*ampatu ‘frog’).¹⁴ Examples of native and borrowed lexemes that resist these mutations include *riqsi-* ‘become acquainted’ and *riga-* ‘irrigate’; *siki* ‘behind’ and *sapu* ‘frog’; and *hapi-* ‘grab’).¹⁵

¹⁰ An anonymous reviewer points out that “the most complete grammars of Quechuan languages show several lexemes with mid vowels that are not conditioned by /q/. See, for example, the discussions in Cusihamán Gutiérrez (1976: 46–51) on Cuzco and in Swisshelm (1972: xiv–xv) on Ancash. Similar mid vowel data are found in Ayacucho, Santiago del Estero, Cajamarca, San Martín, Huallaga, and Corongo, among others. It would be surprising (and noteworthy!) if SYQ has no such lexemes, in contrast to other Quechuan languages across the family.” I cannot at this point confirm either that Yauyos does or does not have such lexemes.

¹¹ It is worth noting that in some QI varieties – Huaylas, South Conchucos and Huamalies among them – lengthened high vowels lower to mid vowels, e.g., /wayi-/ [waye:], /puri-/ [pure:]. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

¹² In SYQ, */p/ */t/ and */k/ were not sonorized. SYQ retains PQ forms like *wampu* ‘boat’ and *shimpa* ‘braid’; *inti* ‘sun’ and *anta* ‘copper-colored’; and *punki* ‘swell’ and *punku* ‘door, entryway’.

¹³ This is hardly unique to Yauyos, occurring in notably in the lects of Yauyos’ immediate neighbor to the north, Junín. In CH, as in the QB lects generally, many stems retain initial /s/: *supay* ‘phantom’, *sipi* ‘root’, *siki* ‘behind’, *supi* ‘fart’, *suwa-* ‘to rob’, *sinqa* ‘nose’, *sasa* ‘hard’, and *siqna* ‘wrinkle’. CH also shares with Junín the mutation of r to l. CH patterns with Huanca with regard to all but one of the phonological innovations common to the lects of other QB regions. For example, CH and Huanca retain ñ and ll, ch and tr.

¹⁴ Further examples: *saru-* > *haru-* ‘trample’, *sara* > *hara* ‘corn’, *siqa-* > *hiqa-* ‘go up’, *sira-* > *hila-* ‘sew’, *sama* > *hama* ‘rest’.

¹⁵ In Lincha and Tana – Cakra and Hongos’ immediate neighbors to the north-east and south-west, respectively – speakers may realize word-initial */r/ and */s/ as [l] and [h], respectively, in a few cases (**r*unku- > *l*unku- ‘bag’, **s*apa > *h*apa ‘alone’). These substitutions are not systematic, however, and remain exceptions.

Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 give the vowel inventory, consonant inventory, and morphophonemics of syQ. If the orthographic form differs either from the usual orthographic symbol among Andean linguists or from the IPA symbol, these are noted in square brackets. Parentheses indicate a non-indigenous phoneme.

Table 2.1: Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
Closed (High)	i		u
Open (Low)		a	

Table 2.2: Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Voiceless plosive	p		t		tr [č][t]	ch [č][c]	k	q
Voiced plosive	(b)		(d)				(g)	
Nasal	m		n			ñ [ñ][ɲ]		
Trill			(rr)[r]					
Tap or Flap			r [ɾ]					
Voiceless fricative		(f)	s	sh [š][ʃ]			h	
Voiced fricative		(v)						
Approximant	w					y [j]		
Lateral approximant			l			ll [λ][ʎ]		

2.4 Spanish loan words

As detailed in § 1.5, syQ is extremely endangered: all but the most elderly speakers are bilingual and, indeed, Spanish-dominant. As a result, individual speakers are not limited by the constraints of Quechuan phonology and generally pronounce loan words with something very close to their original syllable structure and phonemes, even where these do not conform to the constraints of Quechuan phonology. With that said, where restructuring does take place, it does so according to the rules detailed in § 2.4.1.

Table 2.3: Morphophonemics

/n/	realized as [m] before /p/; in free alternation with nasalization of the preceeding vowel before /m/; (i.e., <i>rinanpaq</i> → [rinampaq])
/m/	[m] is in free alternation with [n] before /w/ and /m/ (i.e., <i>qamman</i> → [qanman])
/k/	[k] is in free alternation with [ø] before /k/ and /q/ (i.e., <i>wakqa</i> → [waqa])
/q/	[q] is in free alternation with [ø] before /q/ (i.e., <i>ruwaqqa</i> → [ruwaqa])
/q/	[q] is in free alternation with [g] after /n/ (i.e., <i>ringa</i> → [ringa])
/-qa/ TOP	[qa] is in free alternation with [aq] after [aj] (i.e., <i>chay-qa</i> → [tʃajaq])
/u/	realized as [o] or [u] when it figures in a syllable that either includes /q/ or precedes one that does (i.e., <i>urqu</i> → [orqo])
/i/	realized as [e] or [ɛ] when it figures in a syllable that either includes /q/ or precedes one that does (i.e., <i>qillu</i> → [qeɬu])

2.4.1 Spanish loan word restructuring

Syllable structure violations – vowel sequences. In cases where the loaned word includes the prohibited sequence *VV, SYQ, like other Quechuan languages, generally applies one of three strategies: (a) the elimination of one or the other of the two vowels ('*aceite*' → *asiti* 'oil'); (b) the replacement of one of the two vowels by a semiconsonant ('*cuerpo*' → *kwirpu* 'body', '*sueño*' → *suyn̥u* 'dream'); or (c) the insertion of a semiconsonant between the two vowels ('*cualquiera*' → *kuwalkiyera* 'any').

Syllable structure violations – consonant sequences. In case the loaned word includes a syllable of the prohibited form *CCV or *VCC, SYQ, again, like other Quechuan languages, employs one of two strategies: (a) the elimination of one of the two consonants ('*gringo*' → *ringu* 'gringo') or (b) the insertion of an epenthetic vowel ('*groche*' → *guruchi* 'hook', 'crochet').

Stress pattern violations. Speakers vary in the extent to which they restructure borrowed Spanish terms to conform to Quechua stress pattern. Plentiful are examples of both practices:

Words of five or more syllables permit the preservation of the original Spanish stress pattern in the interior of a word that still adheres to the Quechua pattern of assigning stress to the penultimate syllable (*timblúr-wan-ráq-tri* 'with an earthquake, still, for sure' (Sp. 'temblór' 'earthquake')).

Table 2.4: Loan word restructuring

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

Phonemic inventory – consonants. Spanish loan words often feature consonants foreign to the SYQ inventory: voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/; voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/. It might be expected that [b] and [d] would be systematically replaced with their voiceless counterparts, [p] and [t], and that trill [r] would, similarly, be replaced by tap/flap [ɾ]. Speakers of SYQ, even the oldest, do not in fact regularly replace these or other non-native phonemes (*balde* → *baldi* ‘bucket’; *doctor* → *duktur* ‘doctor’; *carro* → *karru* ‘car’; *fiesta* → *fiysta* ‘festival’; *velar* → *vilaku-* ‘watch’, ‘hold vigil’).

Phonemic inventory – vowels. The inventory of Spanish vowels includes two foreign to SYQ: /o/ and /e/ (*Dios* ‘God’; *leche* ‘milk’). As detailed in § 2.3, in words native to SYQ, [o] and [e] are allophones of /u/ and /i/, respectively. It is to be expected, then, that speakers would systematically replace the [o] and [e] of Spanish loan words with native correlates [u] and [i], respectively (*sapo* → *sapu* ‘frog’; *cerveza* → *sirbisa* ‘beer’). This does indeed occur. More commonly, however, [o] and [e] are either replaced by the /u/ and /i/ allophones [ʊ] and [ɪ] (*cosa* → [kʊsa] ‘thing’, *tele* → [tɪlɪ] ‘tv’) or, even, not replaced at all. The realization of non-native vowels varies both among speakers and also among words: different speakers render the same word differently and individual speakers render the same phoneme differently in different words.

Special case: ‘ado’. Spanish loan words ending in ‘-ado’ – with the non-native /d/ and /o/ – present a special case. ‘-ado’ is generally rendered [aw] in SYQ (*apurado* → *apuraw* ‘quick’; *lado* → *law* ‘place’). Interestingly,¹⁶

Finally, restructuring to accommodate any of the three – stress pattern, syllable structure or phonemic inventory – does not depend on restructuring to accommodate any of the others. That is, stress pattern can be restructured to eliminate

¹⁶ An anonymous reviewer has brought it to my attention that “in many QR languages, such as several varieties in Ancash, ‘-ado’ → /a:/, e.g. ‘apura:’, la:. In fact, -la: has become a case suffix ‘at, near’ that competes with the semantic territory of the native locative.”

violations of syq constraints, while violations of constraints on syllable structure or phonemic inventory are left unrestructured, and similarly for any of the six possible permutations of the three.

2.4.2 Loan word orthography

I have chosen an orthography that makes use of all and only the letters appearing in Tables 2 and 2.1, above. Orthography rather strictly follows pronunciation in the case of consonants in both indigenous and borrowed words; in the case of vowels in borrowed words, it is something of an idealization (*i.e.*, it should not in these cases be mistaken for phonetic transcription).

This alphabet does not include the letters ‘c’, ‘j’, ‘z’, ‘e’ or ‘o’, all of which occur in the original Spanish spelling of many borrowed words. Spanish ‘c’, ‘j’ and ‘z’ have been replaced with their syq phonetic equivalents: “hard” ‘c’ is replaced with ‘k’; “soft” ‘c’ with ‘s’; ‘j’ with ‘h’; and ‘z’ with ‘s’. Thus, the borrowed Spanish words ‘caja’ (‘box’, ‘coffin’) and ‘cerveza’ (‘beer’) are rendered *kaha* and *sirbisa*, with no change in the pronunciation of the relevant consonants in either case. Spanish ‘e’ and ‘o’, appearing simply, are replaced with ‘i’ and ‘u’ (‘compadre’ → *kumpadri*). Spanish vowel sequences including ‘e’ and ‘o’ are replaced as shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: Loan word orthography

ea → iya	‘solea’	→ <i>suliya-</i>	‘sun’
au → aw	‘ <u>autoridad</u> ’	→ <i>awturidad</i>	‘official’
ía → iya	‘ <u>policía</u> ’	→ <i>pulisiya</i>	‘police’
ia → ya	‘ <u>familia</u> ’	→ <i>familya</i>	‘family’
ie → iy	‘ <u>siempre</u> ’	→ <i>siympri</i>	‘always’
io → yu	‘ <u>invidioso</u> ’	→ <i>inbidyusu</i>	‘jealous’
ío → iyu	‘ <u>tío</u> ’	→ <i>tiyu</i>	‘uncle’
ua → wa	‘ <u>guardia</u> ’	→ <i>gwardya</i>	‘guard’
ue → wi	‘ <u>cuento</u> ’	→ <i>kwintu</i>	‘story’
ue → uy	‘ <u>sueño</u> ’	→ <i>suyñu</i>	‘dream’

In the special case where the sequence ‘ue’ or ‘ua’ is preceded by ‘h’ – generally not not necessarily silent in Spanish – ‘h’ and ‘u’ together are replaced by the semiconsonant [w] (‘huérfano’ → *wirfanu* ‘orphan’).

I have deviated from these practices only in the case of proper names, spelling these as they are standardly spelled in Spanish. Thus, Cañete and San Jerónimo,

2.4 Spanish loan words

for example, are *not* rendered, as they would be under the above conventions, *Kañiti* and *San Hirunimu*. ‘Dios’ (‘God’) is treated as a proper name.

3 Substantives

This chapter covers substantives – their various classes as well as their inflection and derivation in Southern Yauyos Quechua.

3.1 Parts of speech

The parts of speech in Southern Yauyos Quechua, as in other Quechuan languages, are substantives (*warmi* ‘woman’), verbs (*hamu-* ‘come’), ambivalents (*para* ‘rain, to rain’), and particles (*mana* ‘no, not’). Substantives and verbs are subject to different patterns of inflection; ambivalents may inflect either as substantives or verbs; particles do not inflect.

The class of substantives in Quechuan languages is usually defined to include nouns (*wasi* ‘house’); pronouns (*ñuqanchik* ‘we’); interrogative-indefinites (*may* ‘where’); adjectives (*sumaq* ‘pretty’); pre-adjectives (*dimas* ‘too’); and numerals (*kimsa* ‘three’). All substantives with the exception of dependent pronouns (*Sapa* ‘alone’) may occur as free forms.

The class of verbs in Quechuan languages is usually defined to include transitive (*qawa-* ‘see’), intransitive (*tushu-* ‘dance’), and copulative (*ka-* ‘be’) stems. A fourth class can be set apart: onomatopoetic verbs (*chuqchuqya-* ‘nurse, make the sound of a calf nursing’). All verbs, with the exception of *haku!* ‘let’s go!’, occur only as bound forms.

Ambivalents form a single class.

The class of particles is usually defined to include interjections (¡*Alaláw!* ‘How cold!’); prepositions (*asta* ‘until’); coordinators (*icha* ‘or’); prenumerals (*la, las*, occurring with expressions of time); negators (*mana* ‘no, not’); assenters and greetings (*aw* ‘yes’); adverbs (*ayvis* ‘sometimes’).

The remainder of this section covers substantives; verbs are covered in Chapter 4 and particles in Chapter 5.

3.2 Substantive classes

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the class of substantives counts six subclasses: nouns, pronouns, interrogative-indefinites, adjectives, pre-adjectives, and numerals. § 3.2.1–3.2.5 cover each of these in turn. Multiple-class substantives and the dummy noun *na* are covered in § 3.2.6 and 3.2.7, respectively.

3.2.1 Nouns

The class of nouns may be divided into four sub-classes: regular nouns (*wayta* ‘flower’), time nouns (*kanan* ‘now’), gender nouns (*tiya* ‘aunt’), and locative nouns (*qipa* ‘behind’). § 3.2.1.1–3.2.1.4 cover each of these in turn.

3.2.1.1 Regular nouns

The class of regular nouns includes all nouns not included in the other three classes. (1–5) give examples.

- (1) *Warminpis qatiparun urquta.* AMV
 warmi-n-pis qati-pa-ru-n urqu-ta
 woman-3-ACC follow-REPET-URGT-3 hill-ACC
 ‘His wife herded him back to the hills.’
- (2) *Qarintash wañurachin, mashantash wañurachin.* AMV
 qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n masha-n-ta-sh
 man-3-ACC-EVR die-URGT-CAUS-3 son.in.law-3-ACC-EVR
 wañu-ra-chi-n
 die-URGT-CAUS-3
 ‘She killed her husband, they say; she killed her son-in-law, they say.’
- (3) *Latawan yanushpataqshi runatapis mikurura.* ACH
 lata-wan yanu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra
 tin.pot-INSTR cook-SUBIS-SEQ-EVR person-ACC-ADD eat-URGT-PST
 ‘They even cooked people in metal pots, they say, and ate them.’
- (4) *Unaykunaqa watuta ruwaq kayanchik llamapaqpis alpakaqpis.* AMV
 unay-kuna-qa watu-ta ruwa-q ka-ya-nchik llama-paq-pis
 before-pl-top rope-ACC make-AG be-PRG-1PL llama-ABL-ADD
 alpaka-paq-pis
 alpaca-ABL-ADD

‘In the old days, we used to make rope from [the wool of] llamas and alpacas.’

- (5) *Ukuchapa trupallanta palumaqa quykun.* ACH
 ukucha-pa trupa-lla-n-ta paluma-qa qu-yku-n
 mouse-GEN tail-RSTR-3-ACC dove-TOP give-EXCEP-3
 ‘The dove gave them the tail of a mouse.’

3.2.1.2 Time nouns

Nouns referring to time (*kanan* ‘now’, *wata* ‘year’) form a unique class in that they may occur adverbally without inflection, as in (1–5).

- (1) *Tukuy puntraw yatramunanchikpaq.* AMV
 tukuy puntraw yatra-mu-na-nchik-paq
 all day know-CISL-NMLZ-1PL-PURP
 ‘So we can learn all day.’
- (2) *Kanan vakata pusillaman chawayanchik kabratahina.* AMV
 kanan vaka-ta pusilla-man chawa-ya-nchik kabra-ta-hina
 now cow-ACC cup-ALL milk-PROG-1PL goat-ACC-COMP
 ‘These days we milk a cow into just a cup, like a goat.’
- (3) *Pishiparullaniñam. Kutimunki paqarin.* AMV
 pishipa-ru-lla-ni-ña-m kuti-mu-nki paqarin
 tire-URGT-RSTR-1-DISC-EVD return-CISL-2 tomorrow
 ‘I’m tired already. You’ll come back tomorrow.’
- (4) *Rinrilla:pis uparura qayna wataqa.* ACH
 rinri-lla:-pis upa-ru-ra qayna wata-qa
 ear-RSTR-1-ADD deaf-URGT-PST previous year-TOP
 ‘My ears went deaf last year.’
- (5) *Qayna huk watahina timblur yapa kaypa kaptinqa.* AMV
 qayna huk wata-hina timblur yapa kay-pa
 previous one year-COMP earthquake again DEM.P-LOC
 ka-pti-n-qa
 be-SUBDS-3-TOP

3 Substantives

‘About a year ago, when there was an earthquake here again.’

3.2.1.3 Gender nouns

Nouns indigenous to SYQ do not inflect for gender. SYQ indicates biological gender either with distinct noun roots (*maqta* ‘young man’, *pashña* ‘young woman’) or by modification with *qari* ‘man’ or *warmi* ‘woman’ in the case of people (*qari wawa* ‘boy child’, *warmi wawa* ‘girl child’) or *urqu* ‘male’ or *trina* ‘female’ in the case of animals. A few nouns, all borrowed from Spanish, are inflected for gender (masculine /u/ and feminine /a/). (1–4) give examples.

- (1) ¿Kayllata nisitanki, aw, tiyu, llama wirata? AMV
kay-lla-ta nisita-nki aw tiyu llama wira-ta
DEM.P-RSTR-ACC need-2 yes uncle llama fat-ACC
‘You need only this, uncle, llama fat?’
- (2) Chaytri Tiya Alejandraqa Shutcollapa yatarraqa. AMV
chay-tri Tiya Alejandra-qa Shutco-lla-pa yatra-rqa
DEM.D-EVC Aunt Alejandra-TOP Shutco-RSTR-LOC reside-PST
‘That must be why Aunt Alexandra lived just in Shutco.’
- (3) Wak karu purikushayta ansyanaña kashayta. LT
wak karu puri-ku-sha-y-ta ansyana-ña ka-sha-y-ta
DEM.D far walk-REFL-PRF-1-ACC old.lady-DISC be-PRF-1-ACC
‘There where I’ve walked far, an old lady already.’
- (4) Unay unay blusataraqchu hinam ushturayachinpi awilitaqa. ¡Ve! AMV
unay unay blusa-ta-raq-chu hina-m
before before blouse-ACC-CONT-Q thus-EVD
ushtu-ra-ya-chi-n-pis awilita-qa ve
dress-UNINT-INTENS-CAUS-3-ADD grandmother-TOP look
‘The old lady is dressed in a blouse like the olden ones. Look!’

3.2.1.4 Locative nouns

Locative nouns indicate relative position (*chimpa* ‘front’, *hawa* ‘top’). They are inflected with the suffixes of the substantive (possessive) paradigm which indi-

cate the person – and, in the case of the first person, additionally the number – of the complement noun. (1–5) give examples.

- (1) *Hinashpaqa hatariru: Allqukuna yatanpa kara.* ACH
 hinashpa-qa hatari-ru-: allqu-kuna yata-n-pa ka-ra
 then-TOP get.up-URGT-1 dog-PL side-3-LOC be-PST
 ‘Then I got up. Dogs were at his side.’

- (2) *Kalamina hawanta pasarachisa ukunman saqakuykusa.* AMV
 kalamina hawa-n-ta pasa-ra-chi-sa uku-n-man
 corrugated.iron above-3-ACC pass-URGT-CAUS-NPST inside-3-ALL
 saqa-ku-yku-sa
 go.down-REFL-EXCEP-NPST
 ‘He made him go on top of the tin roof and he fell inside.’

- (3) *Plantachaqa alfapa trawpinpa wiñan.* AMV
 planta-cha-qa alfa-pa trawpi-n-pa wiña-n
 tree-DIM-TOP alfalfa-LOC middle-3-LOC grow-3
 ‘The little plant grows in the middle of alfalfa [fields].’

- (4) *Kalabira, tullu, wama-wamaq chay ukupaq kakuyan.* ACH
 kalabira, tullu, wama-wamaq chay uku-paq ka-ku-ya-n
 skeleton bone a.lot-a.lot DEM.D inside-LOC be-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Skeletons, bones – there are a lot there inside.’

- (5) *Uma nanaypaq ...trurarunchik huk limuntam trawpipaq partirunchik.* AMV
 uma nana-y-paq trura-ru-nchik huk limun-ta-m trawpi-paq
 head hurt-INF-PURP put-URGT-1PL one lime-ACC-EVD middle-LOC
 parti-ru-nchik
 split-URGT-1PL
 ‘For headaches... we put a lime – we cut it in the center.’

3.2.2 Pronouns

In syQ, as in other Quechuan languages, pronouns may be sorted into four classes: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, dependent pronouns and interroga-

3 Substantives

tive-indefinite pronouns.

The personal pronouns in SYQ are *ñuqa* ‘I’; *qam* ‘you’; *pay* ‘she/he’; *ñuqa-nchik* ‘we’; *qam-kuna* ‘you.PL’; and *pay-kuna* ‘they’. SYQ makes no distinction between subject, object, and possessive pronouns. With all three, case marking attaches to the same stem: *ñuqa* (1) ‘I’; *ñuqa-ta* (1-ACC) ‘me’; *ñuqa-pa* (1-GEN) ‘my’ (nominative being zero-marked).

The demonstrative pronouns are *kay* ‘this’, *chay* ‘that’, and *wak* ‘that (other)’.

The dependent pronouns are *kiki* ‘oneself’, *Sapa* ‘only, alone’, *llapa* ‘all’, and *kuska* ‘together’. These occur only with substantive person inflection, which indicates the person and, in the case of the first person plural, number of the referent of the pronoun (*kiki-y/-*: ‘I myself’; *sapa-yki* ‘you alone’). One additional pronoun may appear suffixed with substantive person inflection: *wakin* ‘some...’, ‘the rest of...’.

§ 3.2.2.1–3.2.2.3 cover the personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and dependent pronouns, respectively. Interrogative-indefinite pronouns are covered in § 3.2.3.

3.2.2.1 Personal pronouns *ñuqa*, *qam*, *pay*

SYQ counts three pronominal stems – *ñuqa*, *qam*, and *pay*, as in (1), (2) and (3). These correspond to the first, second and third persons. These may but need not inflect for number as *ñuqa-kuna*, *qam-kuna*, and *pay-kuna* (9), (5) and (6). SYQ makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural among *ñuqa-nchik* (dual), *ñuqa-nchik-kuna* (inclusive), and *ñuqa-kuna* (exclusive) (7), (8), (9). *ñuqa-kuna* is employed in all five dialects (10–12). In practice, except in CH, *ñuqa-nchik* is employed with dual, inclusive and exclusive interpretations to the virtual complete exclusion of the other two forms. Verbs and substantives appearing with the inclusive *ñuqa-nchik-kuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default *ñuqa-nchik* (13); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive *ñuqa-kuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular *ñuqa* (14), (15). In the verbal and nominal paradigm tables, I sometimes make abstraction of *ñuqa-nchik-kuna* and *ñuqa-kuna* noting here that the first patterns with *ñuqa-nchik*, the second with *ñuqa*. In practice, where context does not adequately specify the referent, speakers of SYQ make distinctions between the dual, inclusive and exclusive first-person plural exactly as do speakers of English and Spanish, indicating the dual, for example, with *ishkay-ni-nchik* ‘the two of us’; the inclusive with *llapa-nchik* ‘all of us’; and the exclusive with modifying phrases, as in *ñuqa-nchik Viñac-pa* ‘we in Viñac’. SYQ makes no distinction between subject, object (16) and possessive (17) pronouns. With all three,

case marking attaches to the same stem; nominative case is zero-marked.

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ñuqa	ñuqa-nchik (dual) ñuqa-nchik-kuna (inclusive) ñuqa-kuna (exclusive)
2	qam	qam-kuna
3	pay	pay-kuna

- (1) *Kala: Cañetepi chaypim uyarila: ñuqapis.* CH
 ka-la-: Cañete-pi chay-pi-m uyari-la-: ñuqa-pis
 be-PST-1 Cañete-LOC DEM.D-LOC-EVD hear-PST-1 I-ADD
 ‘I was in Cañete. I, too, heard it there.’
- (2) *Manam ñuqaqa Viñaqta riqsi:chu. ¿Qam riqsinkichu, Min?* CH
 mana-m ñuqa-qa Viñaq-ta riqsi:-chu qam
 no-EVD I-TOP Viñac-ACC be.acquainted.with-1-NEG you
 riqsi-nki-chu Min
 be.acquainted.with-2-Q Min
 ‘I don’t know Viñac. Do you know it, Min?’
- (3) *Payqa hatarirushañam rikaq.* LT
 pay-qa hatari-ru-sha-ña-m rika-q
 3-TOP get.up-URGT-NPST-DISC-EVD see-AG
 ‘He had already gotten up to see.’
- (4) *Huk qawaptinga, ñuqanchik qawanchikchu. Almanchik puriyanshi.* AMV
 huk qawa-pti-n-qa ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu alma-nchik
 one see-SUBDS-3-TOP I-1PL see-1PL-NEG soul-1PL
 puri-ya-n-shi
 walk-PROG-3-EVR
 ‘Although others see them, we don’t see them. Our souls wander around, they say.’

3 Substantives

- (5) “*Qamkuna ashiptikim chinkakun*”, *ni*. AMV
 qam-kuna ashi-pti-ki-m chinka-ku-n ni-:
 you-PL look.for-SUBDS-2-EVD lose-REFL-3 say-1
 ‘“When you looked for him, he got lost,” I said.’
- (6) *¿Manachu paykuna wakpa wasinpi mikun uqata?* AMV
 mana-chu pay-kuna wak-pa wasi-n-pi miku-n uqa-ta
 no-Q he-PL DEM.D-LOC house-3-LOC eat-3 oca-ACC
 ‘There in her house, don’t they eat oca?’
- (7) *Ishkay kashpallam, “ñuqanchik” nin.* AMV
 ishkay ka-shpa-lla-m ñuqa-nchik ni-n
 two be-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD I-1PL say-3
 ‘If there are only two people, they say *ñuqanchik*.’
- (8) *Kaypi ñuqanchikkunaqa kustumbrawmi kanchik.* AMV
 kay-pi ñuqa-nchik-kuna-qa kustumbraw-mi ka-nchik
 DEM.P-LOC we-1PL-PL-TOP accustomed-EVD be-1PL
 ‘Around here, we’re used to it.’
- (9) *Unay ñuqakunaqa manam qawarqanichu, paykunaqa alminus manam qawarqapischu.* AMV
 unay ñuqa-kuna-qa mana-m qawa-rqa-ni-chu, pay-kuna-qa
 before I-PL-TOP no-evd see-PST-1-NEG 3PL-TOP
 alminus mana-m qawa-rqa-pis-chu
 at.least no-EVD see-PST-ADD-NEG
 ‘Before, we didn’t see, but they, at least, didn’t see either.’
- (10) *Manam ñuqakunaqa talpula:chu paypa wawinmi talpula.* CH
 mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa talpu-la-:-chu pay-pa wawi-n-mi
 no-EVD 1-PL-TOP plant-PST-1-NEG he-3 baby-3-EVD
 talpu-la
 plant-PST
 ‘We haven’t planted. Her children have planted.’

- (11) *Chaynakunam ñuqakuna kwintu: kara.* SP
chayna-kuna-m ñuqa-kuna kwintu-: ka-ra
thus-PL-EVD I-PL story-1 be-PST
‘That’s how our stories were.’
- (12) *Linchapi ñuqakunapa kanchu.* LT
Lincha-pi ñuqa-kuna-pa ka-n-chu
Lincha-LOC 1-PL-GEN be-3-NEG
‘We don’t have any in Lincha.’
- (13) *Kriyinchik ñuqanchikkuna.* AMV
kriyi-nchik ñuqa-nchik-kuna
believe-1PL I-1PL-PL
‘We believe.’
- (14) *Familyallan ñuqakuna suya:* CH
familya-lla-n ñuqa-kuna suya-:
family-RSTR-3 I-PL wait-1
‘Only we, their relatives, wait.’
- (15) *Puntrawyayanñam ñuqakunaqa llusiniñam.* AMV
puntraw-ya-ya-n-ña-m ñuqa-kuna-qa llusini-ñam
day-INCH-PROG-3-DISC-EVD I-PL-TOP go.out-1-DISC-EVD
‘It’s getting to be daytime – we leave already.’
- (16) *Ñuqata mikumuwananpaq kutimushpa traqnaruwan.* AMV
ñuqa-ta miku-mu-wa-na-n-paq kuti-mu-shpa
I-ACC eat-CISL-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP return-CISL-SUBIS
traqna-ru-wa-n
bind.limbs-URGT-1.OBJ-3
‘In order to me able to eat me when he got back, he tied me up.’
- (17) *Manam kanchu. Ñuqapaq puchukarun.* AMV
mana-m ka-n-chu ñuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n
no-EVD be-3-NEG I-GEN finish-URGT-3
‘There aren’t any. Mine finished off.’

3.2.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns *kay*, *chay*, *wak*

syQ counts three demonstrative pronouns: *kay* ‘this’, *chay* ‘that’, and *wak* ‘that (other)’ (1–3). *chay* may have referents both proximate and distal. *wak* is consistently translated in Spanish as ‘ese’ (‘that’), not, perhaps contrary to expectation, as ‘aquel’. The demonstrative pronouns may substitute for any phrase or clause (4). They can but need not inflect for number (2). They can appear simultaneously with possessive inflection (5). In complex phrases with demonstrative pronouns, case marking attaches to the final word in the phrase (6). *chay* may be employed without deictic meaning, in particular when it figures in sentence-initial position (7). In this case, it is generally suffixed with one of the evidentials *-mi* or *-shi* and indicates that the sentence it heads is closely related to the sentence that precedes it.¹ syQ demonstrative pronouns are identical in form to the demonstrative determiners (8–10).

- (1) “*Kayqa manam balinchu mikunanchikpaq*”, [nishpa] *allquman qaraykurqani*. AMV
 kay-qa mana-m bali-n-chu miku-na-nchik-paq allqu-man
 DEM.P-TOP no-EVD be.worth-3-NEG eat-NMLZ-1PL-PURP dog-ALL
 qara-yku-rqa-ni
 serve-EXCEP-PST-1
 “This is not good for us to eat,” I said and I served it to the dog.’
- (2) *Ollanta Humala*, “*Kanan chaykunakta wañuchishaq*”, *niyan*. CH
 Ollanta Humala kanan chay-kuna-cta wañu-chi-shaq ni-ya-n
 Ollanta Humala now DEM.D-PL-ACC die-CAUS-1.FUT say-PROG-3
 ‘[President] Ollanta Humala is saying, “Now I’ll kill those.”’
- (3) *Wak mulaqa manam mansuchu*. Runatam *wak* wañuchin. AMV
 wak mula-qa mana-m mansu-chu runa-ta-m wak
 DEM.D mule-TOP no-EVD tame-NEG person-ACC-EVD DEM.D
 wañu-chi-n
 die-CAUS-3
 ‘That mule is not tame. That kills people.’

¹ As an anonymous reviewer points out, forms such as *chay-mi* and *chay-shi* are lexicalized discourse markers, and, as such “they do not take productive affixes such as *-kuna*, *-pi*, or *-man*” among others.

- (4) *Hinashpa achkaña wawan kayan. Chaypaq ñakanñataqtri mikuypaq.* ACH
 hinashpa achka-ña wawa-n ka-ya-n chay-paq
 then a.lot-DISC baby-3 be-PROG-3 DEM.D-ABL
 ñaka-n-ña-taq-tri miku-y-paq
 suffer-3-DISC-SEQ-EVC eat-INF-ABL
 ‘Then she has a lot of babies. She’ll suffer, too, a lot from that, from hunger.’
- (5) *Kayninchik.* AMV
 kay-ni-nchik
 DEM.P-EUPH-1PL
 ‘These of ours.’
- (6) *Kay llañutapis puchkani kikiymi.* AMV
 kay llañu-ta-pis puchka-ni kiki-y-mi
 DEM.P thin-ACC-ADD spin-1 self-1-EVD
 ‘I spin this thin one, too, myself.’
- (7) *Chaymi hampichira: hukwan, hukwan.* ACH
 chay-mi hampi-chi-ra-: huk-wan, huk-wan
 DEM.D-EVD heal-CAUS-PST-1 one-INSTR one-INSTR
 ‘So I had him cured with one and with another.’
- (8) *Kay millwapaqmi imapis llusqsimun.* ACH
 kay millwa-paq-mi ima-pis llusqi-mu-n
 DEM.P wool-ABL-EVD what-ADD come.out-CISL-3
 ‘Anything comes out of this wool.’
- (9) *¿Manachu chay qatra wambrayki rikarinraq?* AMV
 mana-chu chay qatra wambra-yki rikari-n-raq
 no-Q DEM.D dirty child-2 appear-3-CONT
 ‘Didn’t that dirty kid of yours appear yet?’
- (10) *Wak trakrayqa hunta hunta kakuyan.* AMV
 wak trakra-y-qa hunta hunta ka-ku-ya-n
 DEM.D field-1-TOP full full be-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘That field of mine is really full.’

3 Substantives

3.2.2.2.1 Excursis: determiners syq does not have an independent class of determiners. *huk* ‘one’, ‘once’, ‘other’ can be used to introduce new referents; in this capacity, it can be translated ‘a’ (1). *kay* ‘this’, *chay* ‘that’, and *wak* ‘that (other)’ can be used to refer to established referents; in this capacity, they can be translated ‘the’ (2).

- (1) *Huk pashñash karqa ubihira. Chaymanshi trayarushqa huk qari yuraq kurbatayuq.* AMV

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

‘A girl was a shepherdess. Then, they say, a man with a white tie arrived.’

- (2) *Yuraq kurbata-yuq yana tirnuyuq chay pashñawan purirqa.* AMV
yuraq kurbata-yuq yana tirnu-yuq chay pashña-wan puri-rqa
white tie-POSS black suit-POSS DEM.D girl-INSTR walk-PST
‘With a white tie and a black suit, he walked about with the girl’.

- (3) *Runa chay maqtata wañurachin hanay urqupa.* AMV
runa chay maqta-ta wañu-ra-chi-n hanay urqu-pa
person DEM.D young.man-ACC die-URGT-CAUS-3 above hill-LOC
‘People killed the boy up in the hills.’

3.2.2.3 Dependent pronouns *kiki-*, *Sapa-*, *llapa-*, *kuska-*

syq counts four dependent pronouns: *kiki-* ‘oneself’ (1), *Sapa-* ‘alone’ (2), *llapa-* ‘all’ (3), and *kuska-* ‘together’ (4). These pronouns are dependent in the sense that they cannot occur uninflected: the suffixes of the nominal (possessive) paradigm attach to dependent pronouns indicating the person and – in the case of the first person – sometimes the number of the referent of the pronoun (*llapa-nchik* ‘all of us’). Dependent pronouns function as do personal pronouns: they may refer to any of the participants in an event, subject (5) or object (6); they inflect obligatorily for case (7) and optionally for number; and they may be followed by enclitics (8). All except *kiki* may occur as free forms as well; they occur freely

not as pronouns, however, but as adjectives (9) or adverbs (10). *Sapa* is realized *hapa* in the CH and LT dialects (11), (12); *sapa* in all others (13). One additional pronoun may appear inflected with possessive suffixes: *wakin* ‘some, the rest of’ (14), (15) (not attested in CH).

- (1) *Kikiypaq ruwani hukkunapaq ruwani.* AMV
kiki-y-paq ruwa-ni huk-kuna-paq ruwa-ni
self-1-BEN make-1 one-PL-BEN make-1
‘I make them for myself and I make them for others.’
- (2) *Yatrarqani sapallay.* AMV
yatra-rqa-ni sapa-lla-y
reside-PST-1 alone-RSTR-1
‘I lived all alone.’
- (3) *Llapanta apakunki.* CH
llapa-n-ta apa-ku-nki
all-3-ACC bring-REFL-2
‘You’re going to take along them all.’
- (4) *Mikuypaqpis wañuyanki kuskayki wawantin.* AMV
miku-y-paq-pis wañu-ya-nki kuska-yki wawa-ntin
eat-INF-ABL-ADD die-PROG-2 together-2 baby-INCL
‘You’re going to be dying of hunger – you together with your children.’
- (5) *Sikya fayna kaptinmi liya: llapa:.* AMV
sikya fayna ka-pti-n-mi li-ya: llapa:
canal work.day be-SUBIS-3-EVD go-PROG-1 all-1
‘When there’s a community work day on the canal, we all go.’
- (6) *Chay kuskanta wañurachisa chaypa.* ACH
chay kuska-n-ta wañu-ra-chi-sa chay-pa
DEM.D together-3-ACC die-URGT-CAUS-NPST DEM.D-LOC
‘They killed those together there.’

3 Substantives

- (7) *Huk runata kaballun kikinpi kaballun trakinta pakirusa.* AMV
 huk runa-ta kaballu-n kiki-n-pi kaballu-n traki-n-ta
 one person-ACC horse-3 self-3-GEN horse-3 foot-3ACC
 paki-ru-sa
 break-URGT-NPST
 ‘A person’s horse – his own horse – broke his foot.’
- (8) *Kikinkamatr wañuchinakura.* ACH
 kiki-n-kama-tr wañu-chi-naku-ra
 self-3-LIM-EVC die-LIM-RECP-PST
 ‘They must have killed each other themselves.’
- (9) *Hinashpa pantyunman apawanchik llapa familyanchik kumpañawanchik.* AMV
 hinashpa pantyun-man apa-wanchik llapa familia-nchik
 then cemetery-ALL bring-3>1PL all family-1PL
 kumpaña-wanchik
 accompany-3>1PL
 ‘Then they take us to the cemetery. Our whole family accompanies us.’
- (10) *¿Imayna chay llusqilushpaqa mana kуска lilachu?* CH
 imayna chay llusqi-lu-shpa-qa mana kуска li-la-chu
 why DEM.D go.out-URGT-SUBIS-TOP no together go-PST-NEG
 ‘Why didn’t they go together when they went out?’
- (11) *¿Imayna trankilu pulin hapallan?* CH
 imayna trankilu puli-n hapa-lla-n
 how tranquil walk-3 alone-RSTR-3
 ‘How does she walk about calmly all alone?’
- (12) *Pitaq atindinqa hapallay kayaptiyqa.* LT
 pi-taq atindi-nqa hapa-lla-y ka-ya-pti-y-qa
 who-SEQ attend.to-3.FUT alone-RSTR-1 be-PROG-SUBDS-1-TOP
 ‘Who’s going to take care of him if I’m all alone?’

- (13) *Pampawanchik tardiqa diharamuwanchik sapallanchikta.* AMV
 pampa-wanchik tardi-qa diha-ra-mu-wanchik
 bury-3>1PL afternoon-TOP leave-URGT-CISL-3>1PL
 sapa-lla-nchik-ta
 alone-RSTR-1PL-ACC
 ‘They bury us in the afternoon and then they leave us alone.’
- (14) *Wakintaq intindiya: Piru wakintaq manam.* SP
 wakin-taq intindi-ya: piru wakin-taq mana-m
 some-SEQ understand-PROG-1 but some-SEQ no-EVD
 ‘I’m understanding some of them. But the rest, no.’
- (15) *Mamanqa kawsakunmi wakinninpaqqa.* ACH
 mama-n-qa kawsa-ku-n-mi wakin-ni-n-paq-qa
 mother-3-TOP live-REFL-3EVD some-EUPH-3-ABL-TOP
 ‘His mother lived from another.’

3.2.3 Interrogative-indefinites

pi, ima, imay, imayna, mayqin, imapaq, ayka

SYQ counts seven interrogative-indefinite stems: *pi* ‘who’, *ima* ‘what’, *imay* ‘when’, *may* ‘where’, *imayna* ‘how’, *mayqin* ‘which’, *imapaq* ‘why’, and *ayka* ‘how much/-many’, as shown in Table 3.2. These form interrogative (1–12), indefinite (13–21) and negative indefinite pronouns (22–29). Interrogative pronouns are formed by suffixing the stem – generally but not obligatorily – with any of the enclitics *-taq*, *-raq*, *-mI*, *-shI* or *-trI* (*pi-taq* ‘who’, *ima-raq* ‘what’); indefinite pronouns are formed by attaching *-pis* to the stem (*pi-pis* ‘someone’, *ima-pis* ‘something’); negative indefinite pronouns, by preceeding the indefinite pronoun with *mana* ‘no’ (*mana pi-pis* ‘no one’, *mana ima-pis* ‘nothing’).

- (1) *¿Pitaq willamanchik?* ACH
 pi-taq willa-ma-nchik
 who-SEQ tell-1.OBJ-1PL
 ‘Who’s going tell us?’

3 Substantives

Table 3.2: Interrogative-indefinites

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

- (2) “*¿Imatam maskakuyanki?*” “*Antaylumata maskakuya:*”. SP
ima-ta-m maska-ku-ya-nki antayluma-ta
what-ACC-EVD look.for-REFL-PROG-2 antayluma.berries-ACC
maska-ku-ya-:
look.for-PROG-1
“‘What are you looking for?’ ‘I’m looking for antayluma berries.’”
- (3) *¿Imayshi rian Huancayota?* AMV
imay-shi ri-ya-n Huancayo-ta
when-EVR go-PROG-3 Huancayo-ACC
‘When is he going to Huancayo, did he say?’
- (4) *¿Maypayá Hildapa wakchan kayan?* AMV
may-pa-yá Hilda-pa wakcha-n ka-ya-n
where-LOC-EMPH Hilda-GEN sheep-3 be-PROG-3
‘Where is Hilda’s sheep?’
- (5) *Chay mutuqa, ¿maypitaq kayan?* ACH
chay mutu-qa, may-pi-taq ka-ya-n?
DEMD motorcycle-TOP where-LOC-TOP be-PROG-3
‘Where is that motorbike?’
- (6) *¿Imapaq ... papata apamuwarqanki?* AMV
ima-paq papa-ta apa-mu-wa-rqa-nki
what-PURP potato-ACC bring-CISL-1.OBJ-PST-2

Why... have you brought me potatoes?’

- (7) *¿Imapaqtaq chayna walmilla kidalun?* CH
 ima-paq-taq chayna wal-mi-lla kida-lu-n
 what-PURP-SEQ thus woman-RSTR stay-URGT-3
 ‘Why did just the woman stay like that?’
- (8) *Llakikuyan atuqqa. “Diharuwan kumpadriy. ¿Kanan imaynataq kutishaq?”* AMV
 llaki-ku-ya-n atuq-qa diha-ru-wa-n kumpadri-y kanan
 be.sad-REFL-PROG-3 fox-TOP leave-URGT-1.OBJ-3 compadre-1 now
 imayna-taq kuti-shaq
 how-SEQ return-1.FUT
 ‘The fox was sad. “My compadre left me. Now how am I going to get back?”’
- (9) *¿Mayqinnin tunirun? ¿Kusinan?* AMV
 mayqin-ni-n tuni-ru-n kusina-n
 which-EUPH-3 crumble-URGT-3 kitchen-3
 ‘Which of them crumbled? Her kitchen?’
- (10) *Lutuyuqmi kayan wak runakuna. ¿Mamanchutr ñañanchutr? ¿Maqinraq wañukun?* LT
 lutu-yuq-mi ka-ya-n wak runa-kuna mama-n-chu-tr
 mourning-POS-EVD be-PROG-EVD DEM.D person-PL mother-3-Q-EVC
 ñaña-n-chu-tr maqin-raq wañu-ku-n
 sister-3-Q-EVC which-CONT die-REFL-3
 ‘Those people are wearing mourning. Would it be their mother or their sister? Which died?’
- (11) *¿Aykañatr awmintarun kabranqa?* AMV
 ayka-ña-tr awminta-ru-n kabra-n-qa
 how.many-DISC-EVC increase-URGT-3 goat-3-TOP
 ‘How much have her goats increased?’
- (12) *Chaypaqa ¿Aykaktataq pagaya:?* CH
 chay-pa-qa ayka-ka-taq paga-ya-:
 DEM.D-LOC-TOP how.much-ACC-SEQ pay-PROG-1

3 Substantives

‘How much am I paying there?’

- (13) *Pipis fakultaykuwananpaq.* LT
 pi-pis fakulta-yku-wa-na-n-paq
 pi-ADD facilitate-EXCEP-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘So someone will help me out.’
- (14) *Wak chimpata pasashpaqa imallatapis.* SP
 wak chimpa-ta pasa-shpa-qa ima-lla-ta-pis
 DEM.D opposite.side-ACC pass-SUBIS-TOP what-RSTR-ACC-ADD
 ‘When you go by there on the opposite side – [it could do] anything.’
- (15) *Chay muquykuna imaypis nanaptin.* AMV
 chay muqu-y-kuna imay-pis nana-pti-n
 DEM.D knee-1-PL when-ADD hurt-SUBDS-3
 ‘Any time my knees hurt.’
- (16) *Kay qullqita qushqayki. ¡Ripukuy maytapis!* AMV
 kay qullqi-ta qu-shqayki ripu-ku-y may-ta-pis
 DEM.P money-ACC give-3>1PL.FUT go-REFL-IMP where-ACC-ADD
 ‘I’m going to give you this money. Get going where ever!’
- (17) *Kitrarun imaynapis yaykurun Lluqi-Makiqa.* AMV
 kitra-ru-n imayna-pis yayku-ru-n Lluqi-Maki-qa
 open-URGT-3 how-ADD enter-URGT-3 Lluqi-Maki-TOP
 ‘Strong Arm opened it any way [he could] and entered.’
- (18) *Manam kaytaqa dihayta muna:chu. Imaynapaqpis hinatam ruwakulla:.* ACH
 mana-m kay-ta-qa diha-y-ta muna:-chu imayna-paq-pis
 no-EVD DEM.P-ACC-TOP leave-INF-ACC want-1-NEG how-ABL-ADD
 hina-ta-m ruwa-ku-lla-:
 thus-ACC-EVD make-REFL-RSTR-1
 ‘I don’t want to leave this. Like this, I just make whichever way.’

- (19) *Imaynapis yatrashaqmi. Limapaqa buskaq kanmiki.* LT
 imayna-pis yatra-shaq-mi Lima-pa-qa buska-q ka-n-mi-ki
 how-ADD know-1.FUT-EVD Lima-LOC-TOP look.for-AG be-3-EVD-KI
 ‘Any way about it, I’m going to find out. In Lima, there are people
 who read cards.’
- (20) *Chay wambra imapaqpis rabyarirun.* AMV
 chay wambra ima-paq-pis rabya-ri-ru-n
 DEM.D child what-PURP-ADD be.mad-INCEP-URGT-3
 ‘That child gets mad for any reason.’
- (21) *Ayvis dimandakurun tiyrayuqkuna trakrakunapaq imapaqpis.* SP
 ayvis dimanda-ku-ru-n tiyra-yuq-kuna trakra-kuna-paq
 sometimes denounce-REFL-URGT-3 land-POSS-PL field-PL-ABL
 ima-paq-pis
 what-ABL-ADD
 ‘Sometimes they denounced landholders for their fields,
 for any thing at all.’
- (22) *Mana pipis yatranchu.* AMV
 mana pi-pis yatra-n-chu
 no who-ADD know-3-NEG
 ‘No one lives here.’
- (23) *Puntrawqa manam imapis kanchu.* SP
 puntraw-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-n-chu
 day-TOP no-EVD what-ADD be-3-NEG
 ‘In the day, there’s nothing.’
- (24) *Piru mana imaypis kaynaqa.* AMV
 piru mana imay-pis kayna-qa
 but no when-ADD thus-TOP
 ‘But never like that.’

3 Substantives

- (25) *Kasarakura: kayllapam hinallam kay lawpa kawsaku: tukuy watan watan manam maytapis lluqsi:chu.* ACH
kasara-ku-ra: kay-lla-pa-m hina-lla-m kay
marry-REFL-PST-1 DEM.P-RSTR-LOC-EVD thus-RSTR-EVD DEM.P
law-pa kawsa-ku: tukuy wata-n wata-n mana-m
side-LOC live-REFL-1 all year-3 year-3 no-EVD
may-ta-pis lluqsi:-chu
where-ACC-ADD go.out-1-NEG
‘I got married right here. Just like that, here I live, year in, year out, I don’t go anywhere.’
- (26) *Mana talilachu maytrawpis.* CH
mana tali-la-chu may-traw-pis
no find-PST-NEG where-LOC-ADD
‘They haven’t found him anywhere.’
- (27) *Ñakarinchikmi sapallanchikqa manam imaynapis.* SP
ñaaka-ri-nchik-mi sapa-lla-nchik-qa mana-m imayna-pis
suffer-UNINT-1PL-EVD alone-RSTR-1PL-top no-EVD how-ADD
‘We suffer alone without any way [to make money].’
- (28) *Mayqinnikipis mana yuyachiwarqankichu.* AMV
mayqin-ni-ki-pis mana yuya-chi-wa-rqa-nki-chu
which-EUPH-2-ADD no remember-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-2-NEG
‘Neither of you reminded me.’
- (29) *Rayaqa manam aykas kanchu.* ACH
raya-qa mana-m ayka-s ka-n-chu
row-TOP no-EVD how.many-ADD be-3-NEG
‘There isn’t even a small number of rows.’

Indefinite pronouns may figure in exclamations (33). Interrogative pronouns are suffixed with the case markers corresponding to the questioned element (34). Enclitics generally attach to the final word in the interrogative phrase: where the interrogative pronoun completes the phrase, the enclitic attaches directly to the interrogative (plus case suffixes, if any) (35); where the phrase includes an NP, the enclitic attaches to the NP (*pi-paq-taq* ‘for whom’ *ima qullqi-tr*

‘what money’) (36), (37). The interrogative enclitic is not employed in the interior of a subordinate clause but may attach to the final word in the clause (*¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-nki?* ‘Who did you see trample the cat?’ *¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta-ta qawa-rqa-nki?* ‘Who did you see trample the cat?’).

Interrogative phrases generally raise to sentence-initial position (38); they may, however, sometimes remain *in-situ*, even in non-echo questions (39). Interrogative indefinites are sometimes employed as relative pronouns (40), (41). Speakers use both *ima ura* and *imay ura* ‘what hour’ and ‘when hour’ to ask the time (42). Interrogative pronouns may be stressed with *diyablu* ‘devil’ and like terms (43). Possessive suffixes attach to indefinites to yield phrases like ‘your things’ and ‘my people’ (44–46); attaching to *mayqin* ‘which’, they yield ‘which of PRON’ (47). *Imapaq* ‘why’ is also sometimes realized as *imapa* in ACH (48). Negative indefinites may be formed with *ni* ‘nor’ as well as *mana* (49); they may sometimes be formed with no negator at all (50), (51). Suffixed with the combining verb *na-*, *ima* ‘what’ forms a verb meaning ‘do what’ or ‘what happen’ (52–54). In the CH dialect, *imayna* alternates with *imamish* (55).

- (30) *¿Ima maldisyaw chay Dimunyu! ¿Pudirniyuq!* AMV
 ima maldisyaw chay dimunyu pudir-ni-yuq
 what damned DEM.D devil power-EUPH-POS
 ‘How damned is the Devil! He’s powerful!’
- (31) *¿Runkuwanchu qaqurushaq? ¿Imawantag qaquruyman?* AMV
 runku-wan-chu qaqu-ru-shaq ima-wan-taq qaqu-ru-y-man
 sack-INSTR-Q rub-URGT-1.FUT what-INSTR-SEQ rub-URGT-1-COND
 ‘Should I rub it with a sack? With what can I rub it?’
- (32) “*¿Imapaqmi qam puka traki kanki?*” *nishpa*. SP
 ima-paq-mi qam puka traki ka-nki ni-shpa
 what-PURP-EVD you red foot be-2 say-SUBIS
 “‘Why are your feet red?’ he said, they say.”
- (33) *¿Ukaliptuta pitaq simbranqa? ¿Pipaqñataq?* AMV
 ukaliptu-ta pi-taq simbra-nqa pi-paq-ña-taq
 eucalyptus-ACC who-SEQ plant-3.FUT who-BEN-DISC-SEQ
 ‘Who’s going to plant eucalyptus trees? For whom?’

3 Substantives

- (34) ¿*Ayka watañataq kanan nubinta i trispaq?* AMV
 ayka wata-ña-taq kanan nubinta i tris-paq
 how.many year-DISC-SEQ now ninety and three-ABL
 ‘How many years is it already since ninety-three?’
- (35) ¿*Piwan tumashpatr pay hamun?* AMV
 pi-wan tuma-shpa-tr pay hamu-n
 who-INSTR take-SUBIS-EVC he come-3
 ‘Who did he come drinking with?’
- (36) ¿*Qaliqa likun maytataq?* CH
 qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq
 man-TOP come-REFL-3 where-ACC-SEQ
 ‘The man went where?’
- (37) *pashñaqa piwan trayaramun†* AMV
 pashña-qa pi-wan traya-ra-mu-n
 girl-TOP who-INSTR arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘the girl with whom she came’
- (38) *Familyanqa qawarun imayna wañukusam pustapa.* AMV
 familia-n-qa qawa-ru-n imayna wañu-ku-sa-m pusta-pa
 family-3-TOP see-URGT-3 how die-REFL-NPST-EVD clinic-LOC
 ‘Her family saw how she had died in the clinic.’
- (39) ¿*Imay urataq huntanqa kay yakuqa?* LT
 imay ura-taq hunta-nqa kay yaku-qa
 when hour-SEQ fill-3.FUT DEM.P water-TOP
 ‘What time will this water fill up?’
- (40) ¿*Ima diyabluyá ñuqanchik kanchik?* AMV
 ima diyablu-yá ñuqa-nchik ka-nchik
 what devil-EMPH I-1PL be-1PL
 ‘What the hell are we?’

- (41) *mana imaykipis kaptin* ACH
 mana ima-yki-pis ka-pti-n
 no what-2-ADD be-SUBDS-3
 ‘if you don’t have anything’
- (42) *Yasqayaruptiki mana pinikipis kanqachu.* ACH
 yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki mana pi-ni-ki-pis ka-nqa-chu
 old-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-2 no who-EUPH-2-ADD be-3FUT-NEG
 ‘When you’re old, you won’t have anyone.’
- (43) *Mana vakanchik imanchik kaptin hawkatr tiyakuchuwan.* AMV
 mana vaka-nchik ima-nchik ka-pti-n hawka-tr
 no cow-1PL what-1PL be-SUBDS-3 tranquil-EVC
 tiya-ku-chuwan
 sit-REFL-1PL.COND
 ‘Without our cows and our stuff, we could sit [live/be] in peace.’
- (44) “*¿Mayginninchik pirdirishun? Kuisam kayhina silbaku:*” *nin.* SP
 mayqin-ni-nchik pirdi-ri-shun kusi-sa-m kay-hina
 which-EUPH-1PL lose-INCEP-1PL.FUT sew-PRF-EVD DEM.P-COMP
 silba-ku-: ni-n
 whistle-REFL-1 say-3
 “‘Which of us will lose? Sewed up like this, I whistle,” he said.’
- (45) *¿Imapam chayta ruwara paytaq? ¿Imaparaq?* ACH
 ima-pa-m chay-ta ruwa-ra pay-taq ima-pa-raq
 what-PURP-EVD DEM.DACC make-PST he-SEQ what-PURP-CONT
 ‘Why did they do that to him? Why ever?’
- (46) *Manañam kanan chay llamatapis qawanchikchu ni imaypis kanan unayñam.* ACH
 mana-ña-m kanan chay llama-ta-pis qawa-nchik-chu ni
 no-DISC-EVD now DEM.D llama-ACC-ADD see-1PL-NEG nor
 imay-pis kanan unay-ña-m
 when-ADD now before-DISC-EVD
 ‘Now we don’t see llamas any more ever. For a long time now.’

3 Substantives

- (47) *Katraykurun. ¡Imapis kanchu! “¡Ñuqata ingañamara!” nishpa.* SP
 katra-yku-ru-n ima-pis ka-n-chu! ñuqa-ta ingaña-ma-ra
 release-EXCEP-URGT-3 what-ADD be-3-NEG I-ACC trick-1.OBJ-PST
 ni-shpa
 say-SUBIS
 ‘[The fox just] let it go and – nothing!’ ‘He tricked me!’ said [the fox].’
- (48) *Wakhina inutilisadu kakuyan imapaqpis balinchu.* LT
 wak-hina inutilisadu ka-ku-ya-n ima-paq-pis
 DEM.D-COMP unused be-REFL-PROG-3 what-PURP-ADD
 bali-n-chu
 be.worth-3-NEG
 ‘It’s unused like that. It’s not good for anything.’
- (49) *Wañuq runalla hukvidata llakikuyan. “Kananqa prisutriki ñuqaqa rikushaq. ¿Imanashaq?”* SP
 wañu-q runa-lla huk-vida-ta llaki-ku-ya-n kanan-qa
 die-AG person-RSTR one-life-ACC sorrow-REFL-PROG-3 now-TOP
 prisu-tri-ki ñuqa-qa riku-shaq ima-na-shaq
 imprisoned-EVC-KI I-TOP go-1.FUT what-VRBZ-1.FUT
 ‘She was very sorry for the deceased person. “Now I’m going to go to jail. What will I do?”’
- (50) *“¿Karahu-ta-taq imanaruntaq?” qawaykushpaqa huk utrpata qapikushpa kay kunkanman pasaykurun.* AMV
 karahu-ta-taq ima-na-ru-n-taq qawa-yku-shpa-qa huk
 jerk-ACC-SEQ what-VRBZ-URGT-3-SEQ look-EXCEP-SUBIS-TOP one
 utrpa-ta qapi-ku-shpa kay kunka-n-man pasa-yku-ru-n
 ash-ACC grab-REFL-SUBIS kay throat-3-ALL pass-EXCEP-URGT-3
 ‘She watched him then she said, “What happened to that bastard?”
 and grabbed some ashes and stuffed them down his throat.’
- (51) *Wañukunmantriki. ¿Imananmantaq? ¿Imayna mana kutikamunmanchu?* ACH
 wañu-ku-n-man-tri-ki ima-na-n-man-taq imayna mana
 die-REFL-3-COMP-EVC-KI what-VRBZ-3-COND-SEQ why no
 kuti-ka-mu-n-man-chu
 return-REFL-CISL-3-COND-NEG

‘He could die, of course. What could happen? Why can’t he come back?’

- (52) *Quni qunim ñuqa kaya:, kumadri. ¿Qam imamish kayanki?* CH
 quni quni-m ñuqa ka-ya: kumadri qam imamish
 warm warm-EVD I be-PROG-1 comadre you how
 ka-ya-nki
 BE-PROG-2
 ‘I’m really warm, comadre. How are you?’

3.2.4 Adjectives

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, adjectives may be sorted into two classes: regular adjectives (*puka* ‘red’), adverbial adjectives (*sumaq-ta* ‘nicely’). An additional class – not native to SYQ nor Quechua generally may be distinguished: gender adjectives (*kuntinta* ‘happy’). All three classes figure towards the end of the stack of potential noun modifiers, all of which precede the noun. Nouns may be modified by demonstratives (*chay trakra* ‘that field’), quantifiers (*ashlla trakra* ‘few fields’), numerals (*trunka trakra* ‘ten fields’), negators (*mana trakra-yuq* ‘person without fields’), pre-adjectives (*dimas karu trakra* ‘field too far away’), adjectives (*chaki trakra* ‘dry field’) and other nouns (*sara trakra* ‘corn field’). Where modifiers appear in series, they appear in the order DEM-QUANT-NUM-NEG-preADJ-ADJ-ATR-NUCLEUS (*chay trunka mana dimas chaki sara trakra* ‘these ten not-too-dry corn fields’)². § 3.2.4.1–3.2.4.4 cover regular adjectives, adverbial adjectives, gender adjectives, and preadjectives. Numeral adjectives are covered in § 3.2.5.

3.2.4.1 Regular adjectives

The class of regular adjectives includes all adjectives not included in the other two classes (*trawa* ‘raw’, *putka* ‘turbid’). (1–2) give examples. Adjectives are often repeated. The effect is augmentative (*uchuk* ‘small’ → *uchuk-uchuk* ‘very small’). When adjectives are repeated, the last consonant or the last syllable of the first instance is generally elided (*alli-allin* ‘very good’, *hat-hatun* ‘very big’).

² Analysis and example taken from Parker (1976), confirmed in elicitation

3 Substantives

- (1) *Wak pishqu mikukuyan mikunayta – ¡qatra pishqu!* AMV
wak pishqu miku-ku-ya-n miku-na-y-ta qatra pishqu
DEM.D bird eat-REFL-PROG-3 eat-NMLZ-1-ACC dirty bird
'That bird is eating my food – dirty bird!'
- (2) *Wak umbruyanñatr mamanta. Hat hatun kayan.* AMV
wak umbru-ya-n-ña-tr mama-n-ta hat-hatun
DEM.D carry.on.shoulder-PROG-3-DISC-EVC mother-3-ACC big-big
ka-ya-n
be-PROG-3
'That one would be carrying his mother on his shoulders already –
he's really big!'

3.2.4.2 Adverbial adjectives

Adjectives may occur adverbally, in which case they are generally but not necessarily inflected with *-ta* (*quyu* 'ugly' → *quyu-ta* 'awfully'). (1–2) give examples.

- (1) *Aburikurun sakristanqa wama-wamaqta kampanata suynachiptin* AMV
aburi-ku-ru-n sakristan-qa wama-wamaq-ta kampana-ta
annoy-REFL-URGT-3 deacon-TOP a.lot-a.lot-ACC bell-ACC
suyna-chi-pti-n
sound-CAUS-SUBDS-3
'The deacon got annoyed that [Lluqi Maki] rang the bell so much.'
- (2) *Rupanchikta trurakunchik qilluta.* AMV
rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik qillu-ta.
clothes-1PL/ACC put-REFL-1PL yellow-ACC
'We dress [in] yellow.'

3.2.4.3 Gender adjectives

A few adjectives, all borrowed from Spanish, may inflect for gender (masculine /u/ or feminine /a/) (*kuntintu* 'happy', *luka* 'crazy') in case they modify nouns referring to animate male or female individuals, respectively. Some nouns indigenous to SYQ specify the gender of the referent (*masha* 'son-in-law', *llumchuy* 'daughter-in-law') (1). Indeed, some names of family relations specify the gender

of both members of the relationship (*wawqi* ‘brother of a male’, *ñaña* ‘sister of a female’) (2–4). Where it is necessary to specify the gender of the referent of a noun that does not indicate gender, *syq* modifies that noun with *qari* ‘man’ or *warmi* ‘mujer’ in the case of people (*warmi wawa* ‘daughter’ *lit.* ‘girl child’) and *urqu* ‘male’ or *trina* ‘female’ in the case of animals (5), (6).

- (1) *Masha:pis qalipis walmipis wawi:kunapaq.* CH
 masha-:-pis qali-pis walmi-pis wawi-:-kuna-paq
 son.in.law-1-ADD man-ADD woman-ADD baby-1-PL-GEN
 ‘My son-in-law, too, my children’s sons and daughters.’

- (2) *Wañurachin wawqinñataqa, “¡Ama wawqi:ta!” niptin.* ACH
 wañu-ra-chi-n wawqi-n-ña-ta-qa ama wawqi-:-ta
 die-URGT-CAUS-3 brother-3-DISC-ACC-TOP PROH brother-1-ACC
 ni-pti-n
 say-SUBDS-3
 ‘They killed his brother when he said, “Don’t [kill] my brother!”’

- (3) *Ñañaypis turiypis karqam piru wañukunña.* AMV
 ñaña-y-pis turi-y-pis ka-rqa-m piru wañu-ku-n-ña
 sister-1ADD brother-1-ADD be-PST-EVD but die-REFL-3-DISC
 ‘I had a sister and a brother, but they died already.’

- (4) *chay ubihapa wawanta chay karnirupa churinta.* AMV
 chay ubiha-pa wawa-n-ta chay karniru-pa churi-n-ta
 DEM.D sheep-GEN baby-3-ACC DEM.D ram-GEN child-3-ACC
 ‘the baby of that sheep, the baby of that ram’

- (5) *“Pagashunñam rigarunanpaqmi. Balikurunki”, niwara ya chay wawi warmi.* LT
 paga-shun-ña-m riga-ru-na-n-paq-mi
 pay-1PL.FUT-DISC-EVD irrigate-URGT-NMLZ-3-PURP-EVD
 bali-ku-ru-nki ni-wa-ra ya chay wawi
 request.service-REFL-URGT-2 say-1.OBJ-PST EMPH DEM.D baby
 warmi
 woman
 ‘We’re going to pay already to water. You’re going to request someone,” my daughter said to me.’

3 Substantives

- (6) *Wak vakanqa watrarusu. ¿Wak urquchu wawan, trinachu?* AMV
wak vaka-n-qa watra-ru-sa wak urqu-chu wawa-n
DEM.D cow-3-TOP give.birth-URGT-NPST DEM.D male-Q baby-3
trina-chu
female-Q
'His cow gave birth. Is it a male or a female?'

3.2.4.4 Preadjectives

Adjectives admit modification by adverbs (1) and nouns functioning adjectivally; the latter are suffixed with *-ta*.

- (1) *Pasaypaq chanchu sapatu pasaypaq lapi chuku pasaypaqshi ritamun*
paypis. LT
pasaypaq chanchu sapatu pasaypaq lapi chuku pasaypaq-shi
completely old shoe completely old hat completely-EVR
rita-mu-n pay-pis
go-CISL-3 he-ADD
'He, too, went with totally old shoes and a completely worn hat, they
say.'

3.2.5 Numerals

syQ employs two sets of cardinal numerals. The first is native to Quechua; the second is borrowed from Spanish. The latter is always used for time and almost always for money. Also borrowed from Spanish are the ordinal numerals, *primiru* 'first', *sigundu* 'second', and so on. There is no set of ordinal numerals native to syQ. § 3.2.5.1–3.2.5.3 cover general numerals, ordinal numerals, and time numerals in turn. § 3.2.5.4 and 3.2.5.5 cover numerals inflected for possessive and the special case of *huk* 'one', respectively.

3.2.5.1 General numerals

The set of cardinal numerals native to syQ includes twelve members: *huk* 'one'; *ishkay* 'two'; *kimsa* 'three'; *tawa* 'four'; *pichqa* 'five'; *suqta* 'six'; *qanchis* 'seven'; *pusaq* 'eight'; *isqun* 'nine'; *trunka* 'ten'; *patrak* 'hundred'; and *waranqa* 'thousand' (1–3). 'twenty', 'thirty' and so on are formed by placing a unit numeral –

ishkay ‘two’, *kimsa* ‘three’, etc. – in attributive construction with *trunka* ‘ten’ (4). ‘forty-one’ and ‘forty-two’ and so on are formed by adding another unit numeral – *huk* ‘one’, *ishkay* ‘two’, and so on – using *-yuq* or, following a consonant, its allomorph, *-ni-yuq* (*ishkay trunka pusaq-ni-yuq* ‘twenty-eight’) (5). General numerals are ambivalent, functioning both as adjectives and pronouns (6).

- (1) *Ishkay Wanka samakushqa huk matraypi.* AMV
 ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi
 two Huancayoan rest-REFL-NPST one cave-LOC
 ‘Two Huancayoans rested in a cave.’
- (2) *Kimsa killam kaypaq paranqa.* AMV
 kimsa killa-m kay-paq para-nqa
 three month-EVD DEM.P-LOC rain-3.FUT
 ‘It’s going to rain for three months here.’
- (3) *Ingañaykun. Chay waranqa kwistasantam ...* ACH
 ingañayku-n chay waranqa kwista-sa-n-ta-m
 cheat-EXCEP-3 DEM.D thousand cost-PRF-3-ACC-EVD
 ‘They cheat them. That which cost one thousand ...’
- (4) *Riganchik chay sarataqa ishkay trunka kimsa trunka puntrawniyuqtamá.* AMV
 riga-nchik chay sara-ta-qa ishkay trunka kimsa trunka
 irrigate-1PL DEM.D corn-ACC-TOP two ten three ten
 puntraw-ni-yuq-ta-m-á
 day-EUPH-POSS-ACC-EVD-EMPH
 ‘We water the corn that’s twenty or thirty days old.’
- (5) *Trunka ishkayniyuqpaqpis ruwanchik.* AMV
 trunka ishkay-ni-yuq-paq-pis ruwa-nchik
 ten two-EUPH-POSS-ABL-ADD make-1PL
 ‘We make them out of twelve [strands], too.’

3 Substantives

- (6) *Ishkayllata apikunaypaq. Shantipa mana kashachu.* LT
ishkay-lla-ta api-ku-na-y-paq Shanti-pa mana
two-RSTR-ACC pudding-REFL-NMLZ-1-PURP Shanti-GEN no
ka-sha-chu
be-NPST-NEG
'Just two so I can make pudding. Shanti didn't have any.'

3.2.5.2 Ordinal numerals

SYQ has no native system of ordinal numerals. It borrows the Spanish 'primero' 'segundo' and so on (1), (2). The expression *punta-taq* is sometimes employed for 'first' (3).³

- (1) *"Chay mamakuqta siqachinki primiru yatrachishunaykipaq", nin.* ACH
chay mamakuq-ta siqa-chi-nki primiru
DEM.D old.lady-ACC go.up-CAUS-2 first
yatra-chi-shu-na-yki-paq ni-n
know-CAUS-3>2-NMLZ-3>2-PURP say-3
'"Make the old woman go up first in order to teach you," they said.'
- (2) *Kwartulla kintulla manam puchukachiwarqapischu.* AMV
kwartu-lla kintu-lla mana-m puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-pis-chu
fourth-RSTR fifth-RSTR no-EVD finish-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-ADD-NEG
'They had me finish fourth [grade], no more, fifth [grade], no more.'
- (3) *Qarinman sirvirun puntataq hinashpa kikinpis mikuruntriki.* AMV
qari-n-man sirvi-ru-n punta-taq hinashpa kiki-n-pis
man-3-ALL serve-URGT-3 point-SEQ then self-3-ADD
miku-ru-n-tri-ki
eat-URGT-3-EVC-KI
'She served her husband [the poisoned tuna] first then she herself
must have eaten it.'

³ An anonymous reviewer points out that "most Quechuan languages express ordinals by attaching the enclitic *-kaq* to the numeral," as in *ishkay-kaq* 'second', literally 'that which is number two'. "The *-kaq* enclitic derives historically from the copula *ka- plus agentive *-q." This structure is not attested in Yauyos.

3.2.5.3 Time numerals and prenumerals

syq makes use of the full set of Spanish cardinal numerals: *unu* ‘one’, *dus* ‘two’, *tris* ‘three’, *kwatru* ‘four’, *sinku* ‘five’, *sis* ‘six’, *siyti* ‘seven’, *uchu* ‘eight’, *nuybi* ‘nine’, *dis* ‘ten’, and so on. It is this set that is used in telling time. As in Spanish, time numerals are preceded by the prenumerals *la* or *las* (1). Time expressions are generally suffixed with *-ta* (*a las dusi-ta* ‘at twelve o’clock’) (2).

- (1) *Puñukun tuta a las tris di la mañanataqa.* AMV
 puñu-ku-n tuta a las tris di la mañana-ta-qa
 sleep-REFL-3 night at the three of the morning-ACC-TOP
 ‘He went to sleep at night – at three in the morning.’
- (2) *Las tris i midyata qaykuruni.* AMV
 las tris i midya-ta qayku-ru-ni
 the three and middle-ACC corral-URGT-1
 ‘I threw him in the corral at three thirty.’

3.2.5.4 Numerals with possessive suffixes

Any numeral, NUM, may be suffixed with any plural possessive suffix – *-nchik*, *-Yki*, or *-n*. These constructions translate ‘we/you/they NUM’ or ‘the NUM of us/you/them’ (*kimsanchik* ‘we three’, ‘the three of us’) (1). In the case of *ishkay* this translates ‘both of’ (2). *huknin* translates both ‘one of’ and ‘the other of’ (3).

- (1) *Ishkaynin, kimsan kashpaqa mikunyá.* AMV
 ishkay-ni-n kimsa-n ka-shpa-qa miku-n-yá
 two-EUPH-3 three-3 be-SUBIS-TOP eat-3-EMPH
 ‘If there are two of them or three of them, they eat.’
- (2) *Ishkayninchik ripukushun.* AMV
 ishkay-ni-nchik ripu-ku-shun
 two-EUPH-1PL leave-REFL-1PL.FUT
 ‘Let’s go both of us.’

3 Substantives

- (3) *Hukninpis hukninpis hinaptin sapalla: witrqarayachin.* ACH
 huk-ni-n-pis huk-ni-n-pis hinaptin sapa-lla-:
 one-EUPH-3-ADD one-EUPH-3-ADD then alone-RSTR-1
 witrqa-ra-ya-chi-n
 close-UNINT-INTENS-CAUS-3
 ‘One of them then the other of them [leaves] and I’m closed in all alone.’

3.2.5.5 *huk*

huk ‘one’ has several functions in addition to its function as a numeral (1) and numeral adjective (2). It may serve both as an indefinite determiner (3), (4) and as a pronoun (5), (6). With ‘another’ interpretation, *huk* may be inflected with plural *-kuna* (7). Suffixed with allative/dative *-man*, it may be interpreted ‘different’ or ‘differently’ (8).

- (1) *Pichqa mulla. Huk, ishkay, kimsa, tawa, pichqa.* CH
 pichqa mulla huk ishkay kimsa tawa pichqa
 five quota one two three four five
 ‘Five quotas [of water]. One, two, three, four, five.’
- (2) *Achka ... llusqin huk pakayllapaq.* AMV
 achka llusqin huk pakay-lla-paq
 a.lot come.out-3 one pacay-RSTR-ABL
 ‘A lot [of seeds] come out of just one pacay.’
- (3) *Huk inhiniyrush rikura. Chay ubsirvaq hinashpash ...* ACH
 huk inhiniyu-sh riku-ra chay ubsirva-q hinashpa-sh
 one engineer-EVR go-PST DEM.D observe-AG then-EVR
 ‘An engineer went. That observer, then, they say ...’
- (4) *Hinaptinña huk atrqay pasan, ismu atrqay. “Huk turutam pagasayki”.* SP
 hinaptin-ña huk atrqay pasa-n, ismu atrqay huk turu-ta-m
 then-DISC one eagle pass-3 grey eagle one bull-ACC-EVD
 paga-sayki
 pay-1>2.FUT
 ‘Then an eagle passed by, a gray eagle. “I’ll pay you a bull,” [said the girl].’

- (5) *Puchka: paqarinninta hukta ruwa: minchanta hukta.* ACH
 puchka-: paqarin-ni-n-ta huk-ta ruwa-:
 spin-1 tomorrow-EUPH-3-ACC one-ACC make-1
 mincha-n-ta huk-ta
 day.after.tomorrow-3-ACC one-ACC
 ‘I’ll spin tomorrow and make one; the day after tomorrow, another.’
- (6) *Ayvis lliw chinkarun ayvis huklla ishkayllata tariru.* ACH
 ayvis lliw chinka-ru-n ayvis huk-lla ishkay-lla-ta
 sometimes all lose-URGT-3 sometimes one-RSTR two-RSTR-ACC
 tari-ru-:
 find-URGT-1
 ‘Sometimes all get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.’
- (7) *Kikiypaq ruwani hukkunapaq ruwani.* AMV
 kiki-y-paq ruwa-ni huk-kuna-paq ruwa-ni
 self-1-BEN make-1 one-PL-BEN make-1
 ‘I make them for myself and I make them for others.’
- (8) *Waytachaypis hukman llusqiruwan ishkay trakiyuqhina llusqirun.* AMV
 wayta-cha-y-pis huk-man llusqi-ru-wa-n ishkay
 flower-DIM-1-ADD one-ALL come.out-URGT-1.OBJ-3 two
 traki-yuq-hina llusqi-ru-n
 foot-POSS-COMP come.out-URGT-3
 ‘My flower came out differently on me. It came out like with two feet.’

3.2.6 Multiple-class substantives

Some substantives are ambivalent. Regular nouns may appear as regular adjectives (1) and adverbial adjectives (2); interrogative pronouns as indefinite and relative pronouns (3); dependent pronouns as unit numerals (4); unit numerals as pronouns (5), (6); and dependent pronouns as adverbs (7) and quantitative (8) adjectives.

3 Substantives

Examples: Multiple-class substantives

(1)	<i>mishki</i>	‘a sweet’, ‘sweet’
(2)	<i>tardi</i>	‘afternoon’, ‘late’
(3)	<i>ima</i>	‘thing’, ‘what’, ‘that’
(4)	<i>sapa</i>	‘each’, ‘one alone’
(5)	<i>huk</i>	‘one’, ‘I’
(6)	<i>ishkay</i>	‘two[stones]’, ‘two[came]’
(7)	<i>kuska</i>	‘we/you/they together’ ‘together’
(8)	<i>llapa</i>	‘all of us/you/them’ ‘all’

3.2.7 Dummy *na*

na is a dummy noun, standing in for any substantive that doesn’t make it off the tip of the speaker’s tongue (1), (2). *na* inflects as does any other substantive – for case (3), number, and possession (4). *na* is ambivalent, serving also as a dummy verb (5).

- (1) *Wak na lawkunapa Wañupisa. Yanak lawkunapatr.* ACH
 wak na law-kuna-pa Wañupisa Yanak law-kuna-pa-tr
 DEM.D DMY side-PL-LOC Wañupisa Yanak side-PL-LOC-EVC
 ‘Around that what-is-it – Wañupisa. Around Yanak, for sure.’

- (2) *Wanqakunchik nakta papaktapis uqaktapis. Walmi.* CH
 wanqa-ku-nchik na-hta papa-hta-pis uqa-hta-pis walmi
 turn-REFL-1PL DMY-ACC potato-ACC-ADD oca-ACC-ADD woman
 ‘We turn the what-do-you-call-them – the potatoes, the oca. [We] women.’

- (3) *Wak natatr qawanqa hinashpatr rimanqa.* AMV
 wak na-ta-tr qawa-nqa hinashpa-tr rima-nqa
 DEM.D DMY-ACC-EVC see-3.FUT then-EVC talk-3.FUT
 ‘She’s going to look at that thingamajig, then she’ll talk.’

- (4) *Waqayan. Uraylawpa apamunki chay nanta.* AMV
 waqa-ya-n uray law-pa apa-mu-nki chay na-n-ta
 cry-PROG-3 down.hill side-LOC bring-CISL-2 DEM.D DMY-3-ACC
 ‘He’s crying. Bring his thingy down there!’

- (5) *Chaykuna rimañña narushpaqa.* AMV
 chay-kuna rima-nqa-ña na-ru-shpa-qa
 DEM.D-PL talk-3.FUT-DISC DMY-URGT-SUBIS-TOP
 ‘They’ll talk after doing that.’

3.3 Substantive inflection

Substantives in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, inflect for person, number and case.

The substantive (“possessive”) person suffixes of SYQ are *-y* (AMV, LT) or *-:* (ACH, CH, SP) (1P), *-Yki* (2P), *-n* (3P), and *-nchik* (1PL) (*mishi-y*, *mishi-:* ‘my cat’; *asnu-yki* ‘your donkey’).

The plural suffix of SYQ is *-kuna* (*urqu-kuna* ‘hills’).

SYQ counts ten case suffixes: comparative *-hina* (*María-hina* ‘like María’); limitative *-kama* (*marsu-kama* ‘until March’); allative, dative *-man* (*Cañete-man* ‘to Cañete’); genitive and locative *-pa* (*María-pa* ‘María’s’ *Lima-pa* ‘in Lima’); ablative, benefactive, and purposive *-paq* (*Viñac-paq* ‘from Viñac’, *María-paq* ‘for María’ *qawa-na-n-paq* ‘in order for her to see’); locative *-pi* (*Lima-pi* ‘in Lima’); exclusive *-puRa* (*amiga-pura* ‘among friends’); causative *-rayku* (*María-rayku* ‘on account of María’); accusative *-ta* (*María-ta* ‘María’ (direct object)), and comitative and instrumental *-wan* (*María-wan* ‘with María’, *acha-wan* ‘with an axe’).

All case processes consist in adding a suffix to the last word in the nominal phrase. When a stem bears suffixes of two or three classes, these appear in the order person-number-case (1), (2).

- (1) *¡Blusallaykunata kayllaman warkurapuguay!* AMV
 blusa-lla-y-kuna-ta kay-lla-man warku-ra-pu-wa-y
 blusa-RSTR-1-PL-ACC DEM.P-RSTR-ALL hang-URGT-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Hang just my blouses up just over there for me!’
- (2) *Kusasninchikkunallatatr ñitinman.* AMV
 kusas-ni-nchik-kuna-lla-ta-tr ñiti-n-man
 things-EUPH-1PL-PL-RSTR-ACC-EVC crush-3-COND
 ‘Just our things would crush.’

3 Substantives

§ 3.3.1–3.3.3 cover inflection for possession, number and case, respectively. Most case suffixes are mutually exclusive; § 3.3.3.2 gives some possible combinations.

3.3.1 Possessive (person)

The possessive suffixes of SYQ are the same in all dialects for all persons except the first-person singular. Two of the five dialects – AMV and LT – follow the QII pattern, marking the first-person singular with -y; three dialects – ACH, CH, and SP – follow the QI pattern, marking it with -: (vowel length). The SYQ nominal suffixes, then, are: -y or -: (1P), -Yki (2P), -n (3P), -nchik (1PL). Stems of the following substantive classes may be suffixed with person suffixes: nouns (*wambra-yki* ‘your child’) (1), general numerals (*kimsa-nchik* ‘the three of us’) (2), dependent pronouns (*kiki-n* ‘she herself’) (3), demonstrative pronouns (*chay-ni-y* ‘this of mine’) (4) and interrogative-indefinites (5). In the case of words ending in a consonant, -ni – semantically vacuous – precedes the person suffix (6). The third person possessive suffix, -n, attaching to *may* ‘where’ and other expressions of place, forms an idiomatic expression interpretable as ‘via’ or ‘around’ (7), (8). In the first person singular, the noun *papa* ‘father’ inflects *papa-ni-y* to refer to one’s biological or social father (9).⁴ SYQ possessive constructions are formed SUBSTANTIVE-POSS *ka-* (*allqu-n ka-rqa* ‘she had a dog’ (*lit.* ‘her dog was’)) (10). Finally, possessive suffixes attach to the subordinating suffix -pti as well as to the nominalizing suffixes -na and -sa to form subordinate (11), purposive (12), complement (13) and relative (14) clauses.

Table 3.3: possessive (substantive) suffixes

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

⁴ An anonymous reviewer writes, “As a loan word, most Central Quechuan languages have *papa*: with final vowel length (reinterpretation of final accent in Spanish ‘papá’). As such, -ni is required before a syllable-closing suffix, such as -y. Though *papa* does not end in a long vowel in SYQ, it probably did at one time, and the effect is retained.”

- (1) *Hinashpaqa pubriqa kutimusa llapa animalninwan wasinman.* AMV
hinashpa-qa pubri-qa kuti-mu-sa llapa animal-ni-n-wan
then-TOP poor-TOP return-CISL-NPST all animal-EUPH-3-INSTR
wasi-n-man
house-3-ACC
‘Then the poor man returned to his house with all his animals.’
- (2) *“Kananqa aysashun kay sugawan”, nishpa ishka^ynin aysapa:kun sanqaman.* SP
kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan ni-shpa ishka^y-ni-n
now-TOP pull-1PL DEM.P rope-INSTR say-SUBIS two-EUPH-3
aysa-pa:-ku-n sanqa-man
pull-JTACC-3 ravine-ALL
‘Now we’ll pull with this rope,’ he said and the two of them pulled it toward the ravine.’
- (3) *Pay sapallan hamuyan kay llaqtataqa.* AMV
pay sapa-lla-n hamu-ya-n kay llaqta-ta-qa
she alone-RSTR-3 come-PROG-3 DEM.P town-ACC-TOP
‘She’s coming to this town all alone.’
- (4) *Chaynikita pristawanki.* AMV
chay-ni-ki-ta prista-wa-nki
DEM.D-EUPH-2-ACC lend-1.OBJ-2
‘Lend me that [thing] of yours.’
- (5) *Manam mayqinniypis wañuniraqchu.* AMV
mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu
no-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG
‘None of us has died yet.’
- (6) *¿Maynintapis ripunqañatr? Gallu Rumi altuntapis ripunqañatr.* AMV
may-ni-n-ta-pis ripu-nqa-ña-tr Gallu Rumi
where-EUPH-3-ACC-ADD go-3.FUT-DISC-EVC Cock Rock
altu-n-ta-pis ripu-nqa-ña-tr
high-3-ACC-ADD go-3.FUT-DISC-EVC
‘Whereabouts will he go? He’ll go up above Gallu Rumi, for sure.’

3 Substantives

- (7) *Hamuyaq kayninta.* AMV
 hamu-ya-q kay-ni-n-ta
 come-PROG-AG DEM.P-EUPH-3-ACC
 ‘He used to be coming around here.’
- (8) *Vikuñachayta diharuni papaniywan.* AMV
 vikuña-cha-y-ta diha-ru-ni papa-ni-y-wan
 vikuña-DIM-1-ACC leave-URGT-1 father-EUPH-1-INSTR
 ‘I left my little vikuña with my father.’
- (9) *Mana wambrayki kanchu mana qariyki kanchu.* ACH
 mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana qari-yki ka-n-chu
 no child-2 be-3-NEG no man-2 be-3-NEG
 ‘You don’t have children and you don’t have a husband.’
- (10) *Yasqayaruptiki mana pinikipis kanqachu.* ACH
 yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki mana pi-ni-ki-pis ka-nqa-chu
 old-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-2 no who-EUPH-2-ADD be-3.FUT-NEG
 ‘When you’re old, you won’t have anyone.’
- (11) *Hampikunaykipaq yatrunki.* AMV
 hampi-ku-na-yki-paq yatra-nki
 cure-REFL-NMLZ-2-PURP know-2
 ‘You’ll learn so that you can cure.’
- (12) *Atipasantatriki ruwan.* ACH
 atipa-sa-n-ta-tri-ki ruwa-n
 be.able-PRF-3-ACC-EVC-KI make-3
 ‘They do what they can.’
- (13) *Chay wawqin ama nisantas wañuchisataq.* ACH
 chay wawqi-n ama ni-sa-n-ta-s wañu-chi-sa-taq
 DEM.D brother-3 PROH say-PRF-3-ACC-ADD die-CAUS-NPST-SEQ
 ‘They also killed his brother who said “No!”’

- (14) *Truraykun frutachankunata – llapa gustasan.* AMV
 trura-yku-n fruta-cha-n-kuna-ta llapa gusta-sa-n
 save-EXCEP-3 fruit-DIM-3-PL-ACC all like-PRF-3
 ‘They put out their fruit and all – everything they liked.’

3.3.2 Number *-kuna*

-kuna pluralizes regular nouns (1), the personal pronouns *ñuqa*, *qam* and *pay* (2), demonstrative pronouns (3), and interrogative-indefinites (4) (*kabra* ‘goat’ → *kabra-kuna* ‘goats’). *-kuna* follows the stem and possessive suffix, if any, and precedes the case suffix, if any (5). Number-marking in SYQ is optional. Noun phrases introduced by numerals or quantifying adjectives generally are not inflected with *-kuna* (6). *-kuna* may receive non-plural interpretations and, like *-ntin*, may indicate accompaniment or non-exhaustivity (7).⁵ Finally, words borrowed from Spanish already inflected for plural – *i.e.*, with Spanish plural “s” – are generally still suffixed with *-kuna* (‘cosas’ → *kusas-ni-nchik-kuna*) (8).

- (1) *Kabrakunata hapishpa mikukuyan.* AMV
 kabra-kuna-ta hapi-shpa miku-ku-ya-n
 goat-PL-ACC grab-SUBIS eat-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Taking ahold of the goats, [the puma] is eating them.’
- (2) *Awanmi paykunapisriki.* AMV
 awa-n-mi pay-kuna-pis-r-iki
 weave-3-EVD he-PL-ADD-R-IKI
 ‘They, too, weave.’
- (3) *Chaykunapa algunusqa pamparayan.* AMV
 chay-kuna-pa algunus-qa pampa-ra-ya-n
 DEM.D-PL-LOC some.people-TOP bury-UNINT-INTENS-3
 ‘Some people are buried in those.’

⁵ This example is, in fact, ambiguous between as reading in which *-kuna* receives a non-plural interpretation and one in which it simply pluralizes the possessed item. Thus, *kwirpu-y-kuna* could also refer to ‘your (plural) bodies’, as an anonymous reviewer points out.

3 Substantives

- (4) *¿Imakunam ubihaykipa sutin?* AMV
ima-kuna-m ubiha-yki-pa suti-n
what-PL-EVD sheep-2-GEN name-3
'What are your sheep's names?'
- (5) *Chamisininkunata upyarin kukankunata akun.* AMV
chamis-ni-n-kuna-ta upya-ri-n kuka-n-kuna-ta aku-n
chamis-EUPH-3-PL-ACC drink-INCEP-3 coca-3-PL-ACC chew-3
'They drink their chamis and they chew their coca.'
- (6) *Ishkay yatrarqa, ishkay warmi.* AMV
ishkay yatra-rqa ishkay warmi
two live-PST two woman
'Two lived [there], two women.'
- (7) *Chay kwirpuykikuna mal kanman umaykikuna nananman.* AMV
chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man
DEM.D body-2-PL bad be-3-COND head-2-pl hurt-3-COND
'Your whole body could be not well; your head and everything could hurt.'
- (8) *Qayashpa waqashpa purin animalisninchikunaqa.* AMV
qaya-shpa waqa-shpa-m puri-n animalis-ni-nchik-kuna-qa
scream-SUBIS cry-SUBIS-EVD walk-3 animals-EUPH-1PL-PL-TOP
'Our animals walk around screaming, crying.'

3.3.3 Case

A set of ten suffixes constitutes the case system of SYQ. These are: *-hina* (comparative), *-kama* (limitative), *-man* (allative, dative), *-pa/-pi* (genitive, locative), *-paq* (ablative, benefactive, purposive), *-puRa* (exclusive), *-rayku* (reason), *-ta* (accusative), and *-wan* (comitative, instrumental). Genitive, instrumental and allative/dative may specify noun-verb in addition to noun-noun relations. *-pa* is the default form for the locative, but *-pi* is often and *-paq* is sometimes used. The CH dialect uses a fourth form, *-traw*, common to the QI languages. The CH dialect is also unique among the five in its realization of accusative *-ta* as *-kta* after a short vowel. *-puRa* – attested only in Viñac – and *-rayku* are employed only rarely.

The genitive and accusative may form adverbs (*tuta-pa* ‘at night’, *allin-ta* ‘well’). Instrumental *-wan* may coordinate NPs (*llama-wan alpaca-wan* ‘the llama and the alpaca’). All case processes consist in adding a suffix to the last word in the nominal group. Most case suffixes are mutually exclusive. § 3.3.3.1–3.3.3.12 cover each of the case suffixes in turn. (Examples in Table 3.4 are fully glossed in the sections to which they correspond).

Table 3.4: Case suffixes with examples

<i>-hina</i>	comparative	Runa- <u>hina</u> , uyqa- <u>hina</u>	‘ <u>Like</u> people, <u>like</u> sheep’
<i>-kama</i>	limitative	Fibiru marsu- <u>kama</u> -raq-tri para-nqa.	‘It will rain still <u>until</u> February or march.’
<i>-man</i>	allative, dative	Lima runa-kuna traya-mu-pti-n siyra-n- <u>man</u> .	‘When people from Lima return <u>to</u> their sierra.’
<i>-pa₁</i>	genitive	Algunus- <u>pa</u> puchka-n tipi-ku-ya-n-mi.	‘Some people’s <u>s</u> thread breaks on them.’
<i>-pa₂</i>	locative	Urqu-lla- <u>pa</u> -m chay-qa wiña-n.	‘It grows only <u>in</u> the mountains.’
<i>-pi</i>	locative	Yana-ya-sa qutra-pa pata-n- <u>pi</u> qutra-pa tuna-n- <u>pi</u> .	‘Blackened <u>on</u> the banks of the lake, <u>in</u> the corner of the lake.’
<i>-paq₁</i>	ablative	Huangáscar- <u>paq</u> -mi hamu-ra wama-wamaq polisiya-pis.	‘Lots of policemen came <u>from</u> Huangáscar.’
<i>-paq₂</i>	benefactive	Chay qari-kuna mana ishpa-y-ta atipa-q- <u>paq</u> .	‘This is <u>for</u> the men who can’t urinate.’
<i>-paq₃</i>	purposive	Qawa-na-y- <u>paq</u> ima-wan wañu-ru-n ... kitra-ni.	‘ <u>In order to</u> see what he died from ... I opened him up.’
<i>-puRa</i>	reciprocal	Qam pay-wan wawqi ñaña- <u>pura</u> ka-nki.	‘You and she are going to be true brothers and sisters.’
<i>-rayku</i>	reason	Chawa-shi-q lichi-lla-n-rayku ri-y-man-tri.	‘I might go help milk <u>on account</u> of her milk.’
<i>-ta</i>	accusative	¿Maqta-kuna- <u>ta</u> pusha-nki icha pashña-ta?	‘Are you going to take the boys or the girl?’
<i>-wan₁</i>	comitative	¿Imapaq-mi wak kundinaw- <u>wan</u> puri-ya-nki?	‘Why are you walking around <u>with</u> that zombie?’
<i>-wan₂</i>	instrumental	Ichu- <u>wan</u> -mi chay-ta ruwa-nchik.	‘We make this one <u>with</u> straw.’
in Caca-Hongos dialect only:			
<i>-Kta</i>	replaces <i>-ta</i> to mark accusative		
<i>-traw</i>	alternates with <i>-pa</i> and <i>-pi</i> to mark the locative		

3 Substantives

3.3.3.1 Simulative *-hina*

Simulative. *-hina* indicates resemblance or comparison (*yawar-hina* ‘like blood’) (1–7). It can generally be translated ‘like’. In Cakra and sometimes in Hongos, *-mish* is employed in place of *-hina* (8), (9).

- (1) *Ñawilla: pukayarura tutal puka. Yawarhina ñawi: kara.* ACH
ñawi-lla-: puka-ya-ru-ra total puka yawar-hina ñawi-:
eye-RSTR-1 red-INCH-URGT-PST completely red blood-COMP eye-1
ka-ra
be-PST
‘My eyes turned red, totally red. My eyes were like blood.’
- (2) *Karsilpahinam. Witrqamara wambra:kuna istudyaq pasan.* ACH
karsil-pa-hina-m witrqa-ma-ra wambra-:kuna istudya-q pasa-n
prison-LOC-COMP close.in-1.OBJ-PST child-1-PL study-AG pass-3
‘It was like in prison. When my children went to school, they closed
me in.’
- (3) *Trakin, ishkaynin trakin kayan maniyashahina.* LT
traki-n, ishkay-ni-n traki-n ka-ya-n maniya-sha-hina
foot-3 two-EUPH-3 foot-3 be-PROG-3 bind.feet-PRF-COMP
‘His feet, it’s like both are shackled.’
- (4) *Wakhinallam purikuni. ¿Imanashaqmi?* LT
wak-hina-lla-m puri-ku-ni ima-na-shaq-mi
DEM.D-COMP-RSTR-EVD walk-REFL-1 what-VRBZ-1.FUT-EVD
‘Just like that I go about. What am I going to do?’
- (5) *Huk rumi kayan warmihina. Chaypish inkantara unay unay.* SP
huk rumi ka-ya-n warmi-hina chay-pi-sh inkanta-ra
one stone be-PROG-3 woman-COMP DEM.D-LOC-EVR enchant-PST
unay unay
before before
‘There’s a stone like [in the form of] a woman. A long, long time ago,
it bewitched [people] there, they say.’

- (6) *Tutakuna puriyan qarqaryahina.* AMV
 tuta-kuna puri-ya-n qariya-hina
 night-PL walk-PROG-3 zombie-COMP
 ‘At night, he walks around like a zombie.’
- (7) *Kayhinakunachatam (=kayhinachakunatam) ruwani.* AMV
 kay-hina-kuna-cha-ta-m (=kay-hina-cha-kuna-ta-m) ruwa-ni
 DEM.P-COMP-PL-DIM-ACC-EVD DEM.P-COMP-DIM-PL-ACC-EVD make-1
 ‘I make all of them just like this.’
- (8) *Kilun paqwalun. Mikuyta atipanchu. Awilamish.* CH
 kilu-n paqwa-lu-n miku-y-ta atipa-n-chu
 tooth-3 finish.off-URGT-3 eat-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG
 awila-mish
 grandmother-COMP
 ‘Her teeth finished off. He can’t eat. Like an old lady.’
- (9) *¿Imamish wawipaq takin?* CH
 ima-mish wawi-paq taki-n
 what-COMP baby-GEN song-3
 ‘What is a baby’s song like?’

3.3.3.2 Limitative *-kama*

Limitative. *-kama* – sometimes realized *kaman* – indicates a limit in space (1), (2) or time (3–5). In case time is delimited by an event, the usual structure is STEM-NMLZ-POSS-*kama* (*puri-na-yki-kama* ‘so you can walk’) (6), (7). *-kama* can appear simultaneously with *asta* (cf. Spanish, *hasta* ‘up to’, ‘until’) (8). *-kama* can form distributive expressions: in this case, *-kama* attaches to the quality or characteristic that is distributed (9), (10). In case it indicates a limit, *-kama* can usually be translated as ‘up to’ or ‘until’; in case it indicates distribution, it can usually be translated as ‘each’.

- (1) *Qatimushaq vakata kaykama.* AMV
 qati-mu-shaq vaka-ta kay-kama
 follow-CISL-1.FUT COW-ACC DEM.P-LIM
 ‘I’m going to drive the cows over here.’

3 Substantives

- (2) *Chay wambraykita katrarunki mayurnikikama wawqikikamaqa.* LT
 chay wambra-yki-ta katra-ru-nki mayur-ni-ki-kama
 DEM.D child-2-ACC release-URGT-2 eldest-EUPH-2-ALL
 wawqi-ki-kama-qa
 brother-2-ALL-TOP
 ‘You sent your children over to your older brother, over to your brother.’
- (3) *Fibriru marsukamaraqtri paranqa.* AMV
 fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa
 February March-LIM-CONT-EVC rain-3.FUT
 ‘It will rain still until February or March.’
- (4) *¿Imaykama kanki?* AMV
 imay-kama ka-nki
 when-LIM be-2
 ‘Until when are you going to be (here)?’
- (5) *Kandawniypis warkurayan altupam. Manam kanankamapis trurachinichu.* LT
 kandaw-ni-y-pis warku-raya-n altu-pa-m mana-m
 padlock-EUPH-1-ADD hang-PASS-3 high-LOC-EVD no-EVD
 kanan-kama-pis trura-chi-ni-chu
 now-LIM-ADD put-CAUS-1-NEG
 ‘My padlock, too, is hung up there. Until now I haven’t had it put on.’
- (6) *Traki paltanchikpis pushllunankama purinchik. Trakipis ampulla hatarinankaman rirqani.* AMV
 traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama puri-nchik traki-pis
 foot sole-1PL-ADD blister-NMLZ-3-ALL walk-1PL foot-ADD
 ampulla hatari-na-n-kaman ri-rqa-ni
 blister get.up-NMLZ-3-ALL go-PST-1
 ‘We walked while blisters formed on the souls of our feet. I went while blisters came up on my feet.’

- (7) *Apuraw mikunankama turuqa kayna tuksirikusa.* SP
 apuraw miku-na-n-kama turu-qa kayna tuksi-ri-ku-sa
 quickly eat-NMLZ-3-ALL bull-TOP thus prick-INCEP-REFL-NPST
 ‘Until the bull ate quickly, she pricked him like this.’
- (8) *San Jerónimopaq asta kaykama.* AMV
 San Jerónimo-paq asta kay-kama
 San Jerónimo-ABL until DEM.P-ALL
 ‘From San Jerónimo to here.’
- (9) *Uñachayuqkama kayan.* AMV
 uña-cha-yuq-kama ka-ya-n
 calf-DIM-POSS-ALL be-PROG-3
 ‘They all [each] have their little young.’
- (10) *Trayaramun arman qipikusakama. Manchaku:.* ACH
 traya-ra-mu-n arma-n qipi-ku-sa-kama mancha-ku-:
 arrive-URGT-CISL-3 weapon-3 carry-REFL-PRF-ALL scare-REFL-1
 ‘They arrived each carrying weapons. I got scared.’

3.3.3.3 Allative, dative *-man*

Allative, dative (directional). *-man* indicates movement toward a point (1), (2) or the end-point of movement or action more generally (3), (4). It may function as a dative, indicating a non-geographical goal (5), (6). With verbs of giving, it marks the recipient (7), (8); with verbs of communication, the person receiving the communication (9), (10). It may indicate a very approximate time specification (11). With verbs indicating change of state, quantity or number, it may indicate the result or extent of change (12), (13). It may also indicate the goal in the sense of purpose of movement (14), (15). It can usually be translated as ‘to’, ‘toward’.

- (1) *Qin̄walman trayarachiptiki wañukunman.* AMV
 qin̄wal-man traya-ra-chi-pti-ki wañu-ku-n-man
 quingual.grove-ALL arrive-URGT-CAUS-SUBDS-2 die-REFL-3-COND
 ‘If you make her get to the quingual grove, she could die.’

3 Substantives

- (2) *Hinashpa chaypaq wichayman pasachisa chay Amador kaqmanñataq.* ACH
 hinashpa chay-paq wichay-man pasa-chi-sa chay Amador
 then DEM.D-ABL up.hill-ALL pass-CAUS-NPST DEM.D Amador
 ka-q-man-ña-taq
 be-AG-ALL-DISC-SEQ
 ‘Then, from there they made them go up high to Don Amador’s place.’
- (3) *Wak wasikunamanshi yaykurun kundinawqa.* SP
 wak wasi-kuna-man-shi yayku-ru-n kundinaw-qa
 DEM.D house-PL-ALL-EVR enter-URGT-3 zombie-TOP
 ‘The zombie entered those houses, they say.’
- (4) *¿Kabrata qaqaman imapaq qarquranki?” nishpa.* SP
 kabra-ta qaq-man ima-paq qarqu-ra-nki ni-shpa
 goat-ACC cliff-ALL what-PURP toss-PST-2 say-SUBIS
 ‘“Why did you let the goats loose onto the cliff?” he said.’
- (5) *Pashñaqa quykurusa mushuqta watakurusa chumpita wiqawninman.* AMV
 pashña-qa qu-yku-ru-sa mushuq-ta wata-ku-ru-sa
 girl-TOP give-EXCEP-URGT-NPST new-ACC tie-REFL-URGT-NPST
 chumpi-ta wiqaw-ni-n-man
 sash-ACC waist-EUPH-3-ALL
 ‘The girl gave [the young man] a sash, a new one, and she tied it around his waist.’
- (6) *Chay lliw lliw listamanshi trurara. Chay listaman trurasan rikura.* ACH
 chay lliw lliw lista-man-shi trura-ra chay lista-man trura-sa-n
 DEM.D all all list-ALL-EVR put-PST DEM.D list-ALL put-PRF-3
 riku-ra
 go-PST
 ‘[The Shining Path] put everyone on the list. Those who were put on the list left.’
- (7) *¿Imatataq qunki kay pubriman?* AMV
 ima-ta-taq qu-nki kay pubri-man
 what-ACC-SEQ give-2 DEM.P poor.person-ALL

‘What are you going to give to this poor man?’

- (8) ¿*Urquman qapishuptiki imatataq qaranki?* AMV
 urqu-man qapi-shu-pti-ki ima-ta-taq qara-nki?
 hill-ALL grab-3>1-SUBDS-3>1 what-ACC-SEQ serve-2
 ‘What are you going to serve to the hill when it grabs you?’
- (9) *Chayshi mamanman willakun.* AMV
 chay-shi mama-n-man willa-ku-n
 DEM.D-EVR mother-3-ALL tell-REFL-3
 ‘With that, she told her mother.’
- (10) *Chayllapaq willakurusa turruristaman hinaptin chayta wañurachin.* ACH
 chay-lla-paq willa-ku-ru-sa turrurista-man hinaptin
 DEM.D-RSTR-ABL tell-REFL-URGT-NPST terrorist-ALL then
 chay-ta wañu-ra-chi-n
 DEM.D-ACC die-URGT-CAUS-3
 ‘So they told it to the terrorists and then they killed him.’
- (11) *Trayanqa sabaduman.* AMV
 traya-nqa sabadu-man
 arrive-3.FUT Saturday-ALL
 ‘She’ll arrive on Saturday [or around there].’
- (12) *Pasaypaq runapaq kunvirtirun kabraman.* LT
 pasaypaq runa-paq kunvirti-ru-n kabra-man
 completely person-ABL convert-URGT-3 goat-ALL
 ‘Completely, from people they turned into goats.’
- (13) *Wiñarun hatunman.* AMV
 wiña-ru-n hatun-man
 grow-URGT-3 big-ALL
 ‘She grew tall.’

3 Substantives

- (14) *Karu karum. ¿Imaynataq, imamantaq hamuranki?* AMV
karu karu-m imayna-taq ima-man-taq hamu-ra-nki
far far-EVD how-SEQ what-ALL-SEQ come-PST-2
‘Very far. How, for what did you come?’
- (15) *Chaypaq rishaq wak animalniyman wak infirmuykunaman.* LT
chay-paq ri-shaq wak animal-ni-y-man wak
DEM.D-ABL go-1.FUT DEM.D animal-EUPH-Y-ALL DEM.D
infirmu-y-kuna-man
sick.person-1-PL-LL
‘I’m going to go to my animals and to my sick [husband] and all.’

3.3.3.4 Genitive, locative *-pa*₁, *-pa*₂

Genitive, locative. As a genitive, *-pa* indicates possession (1), (2); it is often paired with possessive inflection (3), (4). As a locative, *-pa* indicates temporal (5) and spatial location (6–9). In all dialects, *-paq* is often used in place of *-pa* and *-pi* as both a locative (10) and genitive (11); in the CH dialect, *-traw* is used in addition to *-pa* and *-pi* as a locative (12), (13). As a genitive, *-pa* can usually be translated ‘of’ or with a possessive pronoun; as a locative, it can usually translated ‘in’ or ‘on’.

- (1) *Runapa umallaña trakillaña kayashqa.* AMV
runa-pa uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-shqa
person-GEN head-RSTR-DISC leg-RSTR-DISC be-PROG-NPST
‘There was only the head and the hand of the person.’
- (2) *¿Imaynataq qampa trakikiqa kayan qillu qillucha?* SP
imayna-taq qam-pa traki-ki-qa ka-ya-n qillu qillu-cha
how-SEQ you-GEN foot-2-TOP be-PROG-3 yellow yellow-DIM
‘How are your feet nice and yellow?’
- (3) *Manañam miranñachu ganawninqa paypaqa.* AMV
mana-ña-m mira-n-ña-chu ganaw-ni-n-qa pay-pa-qa
no-DISC-EVD reproduce-3-DISC-NEG cattle-EUPH-3-TOP he-GEN-TOP
‘His animals no longer reproduce.’

- (4) *Puchkanchik. Vakata harkanchik vakapa qipanpa millwinchik.* AMV
 puchka-nchik vaka-ta harka-nchik vaka-pa qipa-n-pa
 spin-1PL cow-ACC herd-1PL cow-GEN behind-3-LOC
 millwi-nchik
 wool-1PL
 ‘We spin. We herd the cows and behind the cows, we [twist] our
 yarn.’
- (5) *Manam biranupahinachu.* AMV
 mana-m biranu-pa-hina-chu
 no-EVD summer-LOC-COMP-NEG
 ‘Not like in summer.’
- (6) *Trabahu: maypapis maypapis.* ACH
 trabahu-: may-pa-pis may-pa-pis
 work-1 where-LOC-ADD where-LOC-ADD
 ‘I work where ever, where ever.’
- (7) *Filapa trurakurun mana hukllachu.* AMV
 fila-pa trura-ku-ru-n mana huk-lla-chu
 line-LOC put-REFL-URGT-3 no one-RSTR-NEG
 ‘They put themselves in a line – not just one.’
- (8) *Iskwilapam niytu:kunaqa wawa:kunaqa rinmi. ñuqallam ka:
 analfabitu.* SP
 iskwila-pa-m niytu-:kuna-qa wawa-:kuna-qa ri-n-mi
 school-LOC-EVD nephew-1-PL-TOP baby-1-PL-TOP go-3-EVD
 ñuqa-lla-m ka-: analfabitu
 I-RSTR-EVD be-1 illiterate
 ‘My grandchildren and my children are in school. Just I am illiterate.’
- (9) *Takllawan haluyanchik chaypaqa. Uqa trakla. Yakuwan ichashpa
 chaypaqa.* CH
 taklla-wan halu-ya-nchik chay-pa-qa uqa trakla yaku-wan
 plow-INSTR plow-PROG-1PL DEM.D-LOC-TOP oca field water-INSTR
 icha-shpa chay-pa-qa
 toss-SUBIS DEM.D-LOC-TOP

3 Substantives

‘We’re plowing with a [foot] plow in there. The oca fields. Adding water in there.’

- (10) *Dimunyum chayqa. Chay ... altu rumipaq ukunpaq yatran.* ACH
 Dimunyu-m chay-qa chay altu rumi-paq uku-n-paq
 Devil-EVD DEM.D-TOP DEM.D high stone-LOC inside-3-LOC
 yatra-n
 live-3
 ‘It was a devil. It ... lives in the stone up inside it.’
- (11) *¿Ima paypaq huchan? Qaykruptinqa hawkam sayakun uñankunata fwiraman diharuptinchik.* AMV
 ima pay-paq hucha-n qayku-ru-pti-n-qa hawka-m
 what she-GEN fault-3 corral-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP tranquil-EVD
 saya-ku-n uña-n-kuna-ta fwira-man diha-ru-pti-nchik
 stand-REFL-3 calf-3-PL-ACC outside-ALL leave-URGT-SUBDS-1PL
 ‘What fault is it of hers? When you toss her into the corral, she stands there calmly when we leave her babies outside.’
- (12) *Pustatrawshi chay mutu.* CH
 pusta-traw-shi chay mutu
 clinic-LOC-EVR DEM.D motorcycle
 ‘That motorcycle is in the health clinic.’
- (13) *ñuqakunaqa faynatrawmi kaya:.* CH
 ñuqa-kuna-qa fayna-traw-mi ka-ya-:
 I-PL-TOP community.work.day-LOC-EVD be-PROG-1
 ‘We’re in the middle of community work days.’
- (14) *Chaytam nin kichwapa: “Wichayman qatishaq”.* AMV
 chay-ta-m ni-n kichwa-pa wichay-man qati-shaq
 DEM.D-ACC-EVD say-3 Quechua-LOC up.hill-ALL follow-1.FUT
 ‘They say that in Quechua: “I’ll herd it up hill.”’

3.3.3.5 Ablative, benefactive, purposive *-paq*

Ablative, benefactive, purposive. As an ablative, *-paq* indicates provenance in space (1–3) or time (4), (5); origin or cause (6), (7); or the material of which an

item is made (8), (9). As a benefactive, *-paq* indicates the individual who benefits from – or suffers as a result of – an event (10). As a purposive, *-paq* indicates the purpose of an event (11), (12). *-paq* may also alternate with *-pa* and *-pi* to indicate the genitive (13) or locative (14), (15). *-paq* also figures in a number of fixed expressions (16), (17). Suffixing to the distal demonstrative *chay*, *-paq* indicates a close temporal or causal connection between two events, translating ‘then’ or ‘so’ (18). In comparative expressions, *-paq* attaches to the base of comparison (19), (20); it may be combined with the Spanish-origin comparatives *mihur* (‘mejor’ ‘better’) and *piyur* (‘peor’ ‘worse’) (21). It can generally be translated ‘for’; in its capacity as a purposive, it can generally be translated ‘in order to’.

- (1) *Imaytaq llaqtaykipaq llusimulanki?* CH
 imay-taq llaqta-yki-paq llusi-mu-la-nki
 when-SEQ town-2-ABL go.out-CISL-PST-2
 ‘When did you go out from your country?’

- (2) *Kustapaq altuta siqaptinchik umanchik nanan.* AMV
 kusta-paq altu-ta siqa-pti-nchik uma-nchik nana-n
 coast-ABL high-ACC go.up-SUBDS-1PL head-1PL hurt-3
 ‘When we come up from the coast, our heads hurt.’

- (3) “¿Maypaqtaqmi suwamuranki?” nishpa. LT
 may-paq-taq-mi suwa-mu-ra-nki ni-shpa
 where-ABL-SEQ-EVD steal-CISL-PST-2 say-SUBIS
 ‘Where did you steal it from?’ he said.’

- (4) *Uchuklla kasa:paq.* ACH
 uchuk-lla ka-sa-:-paq
 small-RSTR be-PRF-1-ABL
 ‘From [the time when] I was little.’

- (5) *Kananpaq riqsinakushun.* CH
 kanan-paq riqsi-naku-shun
 now-ABL know-RECIP-1PL.FUT
 ‘From now on, we’re going to get to know each other.’

3 Substantives

- (6) *Chay huk walmitaqa talilushpaqa apalunñam uspitalman. Pasaypaq mikuypaq alalaypaq, ¿aw?* CH
 chay huk walmi-ta-qa tali-lu-shpa-qa
 DEM.D one woman-ACC-TOP find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP
 apa-lu-n-ña-m uspital-man pasaypaq miku-y-paq
 bring-URGT-3-DISC-EVD hospital-ALL completely eat-INF-ABL
 alala-y-paq aw
 cold-INF-ABL yes
 ‘When they found the other woman they brought her to the hospital – completely [sick] from hunger and cold, no?’
- (7) *Wambray lichipaq, kisuypaq waqaptin ñuqa rikurani urquta.* LT
 wambra-y lichi-paq, kisu-paq waqa-pti-n ñuqa riku-ra-ni
 child-ACC milk-ABL cheese-ABL cry-SUBDS-3 I go-PST-1
 urqu-ta
 hill-ACC
 ‘When my children cried for [because they had no] milk or cheese, I went to the hill.’
- (8) *Llikllakuna, punchukuna, puñunakuna, ruwa: lliw lliw imatapis ruwa: kaypaqmi, kay millwapaqmi.* ACH
 lliklla-kuna, punchu-kuna, puñu-na-kuna ruwa-: lliw lliw
 shawl-PL poncho-PL sleep-NMLZ-PL make-1 all all
 ima-ta-pis ruwa-: kay-paq-mi kay millwa-paq-mi
 what-ACC-ADD make-1 DEM.P-ABL-EVD DEM.P wool-ABL-EVD
 ‘Shawls, ponchos, blankets – everything, everything I make from this, from this yarn.’
- (9) *Ayvis ruwani wiqapaq uvihapaq.* AMV
 ayvis ruwa-ni wiqa-paq uviha-paq
 sometimes make-1 twisted.wool-ABL sheep-ABL
 ‘Sometimes I make them out of twisted wool, out of sheep’s wool.’
- (10) *Chay allin chay qarikuna mana ishpayta atipaqqaq.* AMV
 chay allin chay qari-kuna mana ishpa-y-ta
 DEM.D good DEM.D man-PL no urinate-INF-ACC
 atipa-q-paq
 be.able-AG-BEN
 ‘This is good for men who can’t urinate.’

- (11) *Quni quni plantam chayqa. Chiripaqmi allin.* AMV
 quni quni planta-m chay-qa chiri-paq-mi allin
 warm warm plant-EVD DEM.D-TOP cold-PURP-EVD good
 ‘This plant is really warm. It’s good for (fighting) the cold.’
- (12) *Qawanaypaq imawan wañurun nishpa kitrani.* AMV
 qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ni-shpa kitra-ni
 see-NMLZ-1-PURP what-INSTR die-URGT-3 say-SUBIS open-1
 ‘To see what he died from, I said, and I opened him up.’
- (13) *Manam kanchu ñuqapaq puchukarun.* AMV
 mana-m ka-n-chu ñuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n
 no-EVD be-3-NEG I-GEN finish-URGT-3
 ‘There aren’t any – mine are all finished up.’
- (14) *Asnu alla-allita atuq watakun kunkapaq trakipaq sugawan watarun.* SP
 asnu alla-alli-ta atuq wata-ku-n kunka-paq traki-paq
 donkey a.lot-a.lot-ACC fox tie-REFL-3 throat-ABL foot-ABL
 suga-wan wata-ru-n
 rope-INSTR tie-URGT-3
 ‘The fox tied him up really well. He tied him up with a rope on his neck and on his foot.’
- (15) *Kay llaqta-paq kundinawmi lliw lliw runata puchukayan.* AMV
 kay llaqta-paq kundinaw-mi lliw lliw runa-ta puchuka-ya-n
 DEM.D town-LOC zombie-EVD all all person-ACC finish-PROG-3
 ‘In this town, a zombie is finishing off all the people.’
- (16) *Pasaypaq uyqaytapis puchukarun. ¿Imatataq mikushaq?* AMV
 pasaypaq uyqa-y-ta-pis puchuka-ru-n ima-ta-taq
 completely sheep-1-ACC-ADD finish-URGT-3 what-ACC-SEQ
 miku-shaq
 eat-1.FUT
 ‘My sheep are completely finished off. What will I eat?’

3 Substantives

- (17) *Kuyayllapaq waqakuyan yutuqa, kuyakuyllapaq chay waychawwan yutuqa.* SP
 kuya-y-lla-paq waqa-ku-ya-n yutu-qa kuya-ku-y-lla-paq
 love-INF-RSTR-ABL cry-REFL-PROG-3 partridge-TOP love-REFL-INF-ABL
 chay waychaw-wan yutu-qa
 DEM.D waychaw.bird-INSTR partridge-TOP
 ‘The partridge is singing beautifully. The waychaw and the partridge [sing] beautifully.’
- (18) *Balinaku: “Paqarin yanapamay!” u “Paqarin ñuqakta chaypaq talpushun qampaktañaataq”, ninaku:mi.* CH
 balinaku: paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin
 request.a.service-RECIP-1 tomorrow help-1.OBJ-IMP or tomorrow
 ñuqa-kta chay-paq talpu-shun qam-pa-kta-ña-taq
 I-ACC DEM.D-ABL plant-1PL.FUT you-GEN-ACC-DISC-SEQ
 ni-naku:-mi
 say-RECIP-1-EVD
 ‘We ask for each other’s services. “Help me tomorrow!” or, “Tomorrow mine then we’ll plant yours,” we say to each other.’
- (19) *Qayna puntrawpaq masmi.* AMV
 qayna puntraw-paq mas-mi
 previous day-ABL more-EVD
 ‘It’s more than yesterday.’
- (20) *Celiapaqpis masta chawan.* SP
 Celia-paq-pis mas-ta chawa-n
 Celia-ABL-ADD more-ACC milk-3
 ‘She milks more than Celia.’
- (21) *Pularpaqpis mas mihurtam chayqa allukun.* ACH
 pular-paq-pis mas mihur-ta-m chay-qa allu-ku-n
 fleece-ABL-ADD more better-ACC-EVD DEM.D-TOP wrap-REFL-3
 ‘Better than fleece – this bundles you up.’

3.3.3.6 Locative *-pi*

Locative. As a locative, *-pi* indicates temporal (1), (2) and spatial location (3–5). It is used in the expression to speak in a language (6). It can be translated as ‘in’, ‘on’, or ‘at’. *-pi* has a marginal use as a genitive indicating subordinative relations – including, prominently, relationships of possession – between nouns referring to different items (7). In this capacity it is translated as ‘of’ or with a possessive.

- (1) *Kanan puntrawpi rishaq.* AMV
kanan puntraw-pi ri-shaq
now day-LOC go-1.FUT
‘I’ll go today.’
- (2) *Uktubri paqwaypiñachu hamunki?* CH
uktubri paqwa-y-pi-ña-chu hamu-nki
October finish-INF-LOC-DISC-Q come-2
‘Are you coming at the end of October?’
- (3) *Chaypi chakirusa walantin vistiduntinshi.* ACH
chay-pi chaki-ru-sa wala-ntin vistidu-ntin-shi
DEM.D-LOC dry-URGT-NPST skirt-INCL dress-INCL-EVR
‘There she dried out with her skirt and her dress.’
- (4) *Chay lagunapi yatraqñataq nira, “¿Imaynam qam kayanki puka traki?”* SP
chay laguna-pi yatra-q-ña-taq ni-ra imayna-m qam
DEM.D lake-LOC live-AG-DISC-SEQ say-PST how-EVD you
ka-ya-nki puka traki
be-PROG-2 red foot
‘The one that lives in the lake said, “How do you have red feet?”’
- (5) *Kundurñataq atuqta apustirun, “¿Mayqinninchik lastapi urqupi wañurushun?”* SP
kundur-ña-taq atuq-ta apusti-ru-n mayqin-ni-nchik lasta-pi
condor-DISC-SEQ fox-ACC bet-URGT-3 which-EUPH-1PL snow-LOC
urqu-pi wañu-ru-shun
hill-LOC die-URGT-1PL.FUT
‘The condor bet the fox, “Which of us will die in the snow, in the hills?”’

3 Substantives

- (6) *Kastillanupi rimaq chayllamanñam shimin riyan manayá kay*
kichwa. AMV
kastillanu-pi rima-q chay-lla-man-ña-m shimi-n ri-ya-n
Spanish-LOC talk-AG DEM.D-RSTR-ALL-DISC-EVD mouth-3 go-PROG-3
mana-yá kay kichwa
no-EMPH DEM.P Quechua
‘Those who speak in Spanish, their mouths are running just there.
Not [those who speak in?] Quechua.’
- (7) *Chay plantapi yatan.* AMV
chay planta-pi yata-n
DEM.D tree-GEN side-3
‘The side of that tree.’

3.3.3.7 Exclusive *-puRa*

Exclusive. *-puRa* – realized *-pula* in the CH dialect (1) and *-pura* in all others – indicates the inclusion of the marked individual among other individuals of the same kind. It can be translated as ‘among’ or ‘between’. *-puRa* is not commonly employed; more commonly employed is the particle *intri* ‘between’, borrowed from Spanish (*entre* ‘between’) (2).

- (1) *Walmipula qutunakulanchik.* CH
walmi-pula qutu-naku-la-nchik
woman-EXCL gather-RECIP-PST-1PL
‘We women gathered amongst ourselves.’
- (2) *Intri warmiqa ¿Imatatr ruwanman hapinakushpa?* AMV
intri warmi-qa ima-ta-tr ruwa-n-man hapi-naku-shpa
between woman-TOP what-ACC-EVC make-3-COND grab-RECIP-SUBIS
‘Between women, what are they going to do when they grab each other?’

3.3.3.8 Reason *-rayku*

Reason. *-rayku* indicates motivation (1), (2) or reason (3), (4). It generally but not obligatorily follows possessive inflection (1–4). It can generally be translated

‘because’, ‘because of’ or ‘on account of’. *-rayku* is not frequently employed: ablative *-paq* is more frequently employed to indicate motivation or reason (5), although this *-paq* does not, as an anonymous reviewer points out, mark the same relation. *-kawsu* (from Spanish *causa* ‘cause’) may be employed in place of *-rayku* (6). Recognized but not attested spontaneously outside AMV and CH.

- (1) *Chawashiq lichillanrayku riymantri*. AMV
 chawa-shi-q lichi-lla-n-rayku ri-y-man-tri
 milk-ACMP-AG milk-RSTR-3-REASN go-1-COND-EVC
 ‘I could go help milk on account of her milk.’
- (2) *Papallaykiraykupis awapakuruymán*. AMV
 papa-lla-yki-rayku-pis awa-paku-ru-y-man
 potato-RSTR-2-REASN-ADD weave-MUTBEN-URGT-1-COND
 ‘Even for your potatoes, I’d weave.’
- (3) *Waynayki shamunanrayku*. CH
 wayna-yki shamu-na-n-rayku
 lover-2 come-NMLZ-3-REASN
 ‘On account of your lover’s coming.’
- (4) *Mikunallanraykupis yanukunqatr*. AMV
 miku-na-lla-n-rayku-pis yanu-ku-nqa-tr
 eat-NMLZ-RSTR-3-REASN-ADD cook-REFL-3.FUT-EVC
 ‘On account of her food, she’ll probably cook.’
- (5) *Qatra vakaqa wanuyan qutranman. Sikintin qaykusanpaq*. AMV
 qatra vaka-qa wanu-ya-n qutra-n-man siki-ntin
 dirty cow-TOP excrete-PROG-3 lake-3-ALL calf-INCL
 qayku-sa-n-paq
 corral-PRF-3-ABL
 ‘That dirty cow is pissing in the reservoir! For having been let out with her calf.’
- (6) *Manam lichi kanchu. Pastu kawsu*. AMV
 mana-m lichi ka-n-chu pastu-kawsu
 no-EVD milk-3 be-3-NEG pasture.grass-cause
 ‘There’s no milk. Because of the grass.’

3 Substantives

3.3.3.9 Accusative *-Kta* and *-ta*

Accusative. In the CH dialect, the accusative is realized *-kta* after a short vowel and *-ta* after a long vowel or consonant (1), (2); in all other dialects it is realized as *-ta* in all environments. *-ta* indicates the object or goal of a transitive verb (3), (4). *-ta* may occur more than once in a clause, marking multiple objects (5), (6) or both object and goal. In case one noun modifies another, case-marking on the head N is obligatory (7); on the modifying N, optional (3). Complement clauses are suffixed with *-ta* (8–10). *-ta* always attaches to the last word in a multi-word phrase (11). With *-na* nominalizations, *-ta* may be omitted. In many instances, *-ta* does not indicate accusative case. *-ta* may indicate the goal of movement of a person (12), (13), *-n-ta* may indicate PATH (14).⁶ *-ta* marks substantives – nouns, adjectives, numerals, derived nouns – when they function as adverbs (15–18). It may also mark an item directly affected by an event or time period culminating in an event (19). With verbs referring to natural phenomena, *-ta* may mark a place affected by an event (20), (21). With verbs of communication, it may mark the person receiving the communication (22), (23).

- (1) *Tilivisyunta likakuyan, piluta pukllaqkunaktam.* CH
tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n piluta puklla-q-kuna-cta-m
television-ACC look-REFL-PROG-3 ball play-AG-PL-ACC-EVD
'They're watching television, ball players.'
- (2) *"Suti:ta apakunki", iniy! "Llapanta apakunki".* CH
suti:-ta-m apa-ku-nki ni-y llapa-n-ta apa-ku-nki
name-1-ACC-EVD bring-REFL-2 say -IMP all-3-ACC bring-REFL-2
'Say, "You're going to take along my name. You're going to take along them all."'
- (3) *Asñuqa nin, "Ñuqa tarisisayki sugaykitaqa".* SP
asnu-qa ni-n, ñuqa tari-si-sayki suga-yki-ta-qa
donkey-TOP say-3 I find-ACMP-1>2.FUT rope-2-ACC-TOP
'The mule said, "I'm going to help you find your rope."'
- (4) *Wak Kashapatapiñam maqarura César Mullidata.* LT
wak Kashapata-pi-ña-m maqa-ru-ra César Mullida-ta
DEM.D Kashapata-LOC-DISC-EVD beat-URGT-PST César Mullida-ACC
'They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.'

⁶ Thanks to Willem Adelaar for pointing this out to me.

- (5) *¿Maqtakunata pushanki icha pashñata?* AMV
 maqta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta
 young.man-PL-ACC bring.along-2 or girl-ACC
 ‘Are you going to take the boys or the girl?’
- (6) *¡Vakata lliwta qaquuruy! Rikurushaq hanaypim.* AMV
 vaka-ta lliw-ta qaqu-ru-y riku-ru-shaq hanay-pi-m
 cow-ACC all-ACC toss.out-URGT-IMP go-URGT-1.FUT up.hill-LOC-EVD
 ‘Toss out the cows, all of them! I’m going to go up hill.’
- (7) *Sibadata trakrata kwidanchik.* AMV
 sibada-ta trakra-ta kwida-nchik
 barley-ACC field-ACC care.for-1PL
 ‘We take care of the barley field.’
- (8) *Qaqapaq llusiyta atipanchu. Qayakun, “¿Imaynataq kanan llusishaq?”* SP
 qaqapaq llusiy-ta atipa-n-chu qaya-ku-n imayna-taq
 cliff-ABL go.out-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG shout-REFL-3 how-SEQ
 kanan llusiy-shaq
 now go.out-1.FUT
 ‘She couldn’t get off the cliff. She shouted, “Now, how am I going to get down?”’
- (9) *Chaypaq kabrata mikuyta qallakuykun.* SP
 chay-paq kabra-ta miku-y-ta qalla-ku-yku-n
 DEM.D-ABL goat-ACC eat-INF-ACC begin-REFL-EXCEP-3
 ‘So, the fox started to eat the goat.’
- (10) *Wambra willasuptiki imayna kutirimusanta.* LT
 wambra willa-su-pti-ki imayna kuti-ri-mu-sa-n-ta
 child tell-3>2-SUBDS-3>2 how return-INCEP-URGT-PRF-3-ACC
 ‘When the children told you how they had returned.’

3 Substantives

- (11) *Chayshi yatrarun kundur kashanta.* AMV
chay-shi yatra-ru-n kundur ka-sha-n-ta
DEM.D-EVR know-URGT-3 condor be-PRF-3-ACC
'That's how they found out he was a condor.'
- (12) *Siqashpaqa chuqaykaramun ukuta almataqa.* AMV
siqa-shpa-qa chuqa-yka-ra-mu-n uku-ta alma-ta-qa
ascend-SUBIS-TOP throw-EXCEP-URGT-CISL-3 inside-ACC soul-ACC-TOP
'Going up, he threw the ghost inside.'
- (13) *Qin̄waltam rirqani yanta qipikuq.* AMV
qin̄wal-ta-m ri-rqa-ni yanta qipi-ku-q
quingual.grove-ACC-EVD go-PST-1 firewood carry-REFL-AG
'I went to the quingual grove to carry firewood.'
- (14) *Ukunta shamushpa. Qaqunanta shamushpapis.* CH
uku-n-ta shamu-shpa Qaquna-n-ta shamu-shpa-pis
inside-3-ACC come-SUBIS Qaquna-3-ACC come-SUBIS-ADD
'Coming via the interior. Coming via Qaquna.'
- (15) *Kikinga allintaraqtaq gusaq.* SP
kiki-n-qa allin-ta-raq-taq gusa-q
self-3-TOP good-ACC-CONT-SEQ enjoy-AG
'They themselves enjoyed them well still.'
- (16) *Rupanchikta trurakunchik qilluta.* AMV
rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik qillu-ta
clothes-1PL-ACC put-REFL-1PL yellow-ACC
'We dress ourselves in yellow.'
- (17) *Ishkay ishkaytam plantaramuni.* AMV
ishkay ishkay-ta-m planta-ra-mu-ni
two two-ACC-EVD plant-URGT-CISL-1
'I planted them two by two.'

- (18) “*Kumpadri, ¿Imaynataq waqayanki qamqa? ¡Kuyayllata waqanki!*”
nin. SP
 kumpadri, imayna-taq waqa-ya-nki qam-qa kuya-y-lla-ta
 compadre why-SEQ cry-PROG-2 you-TOP love-INF-RSTR-ACC
 waqa-nki ni-n
 cry-2 say-3
 “‘*Compadre*, why are you crying? How lovely you sing!” he said.’
- (19) *Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abrilta llusqirun waway. AMV*
 chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abril-ta
 DEM.D one morning thirty and one of April-ACC
 llusqi-ru-n wawa-y
 go.out-URGT-3 baby-1
 ‘On that morning, the thirty-first of April, my son left the house [and was kidnapped].’
- (20) *Yakupis tukuy pampata rikullaq. AMV*
 yaku-pis tukuy pampa-ta ri-ku-lla-q
 water-ADD all ground-ACC go-REFL-RSTR-AG
 ‘The water, too, would go all over the ground.’
- (21) *¿Llaqtaykita paranchu? AMV*
 llaqta-yki-ta para-n-chu?
 town-2-ACC rain-3-Q
 ‘Does it rain on your town?’
- (22) “*Kay swirupis allquypaqpis. Faltan*”, *nikurunshi subrinuntaqa. LT*
 kay swiru-pis allqu-y-paq-pis falta-n ni-ku-ru-n-shi
 DEM.D whey-ADD dog-1-BEN-ADD lack-3 say-REFL-URGT-3-EVR
 subrinu-n-ta-qa
 nephew-3-ACC-TOP
 “‘This whey of mine, too, is for my dog. There isn’t enough,” he said
 to his nephew.’

3 Substantives

- (23) *Tarpuriptinchikpis mikunchu wak Shullita wak Erminiota nini.* AMV
 tarpu-ri-pti-nchik-pis miku-n-chu wak Shulli-ta wak
 plant-INCEP-SUBDS-1PL-ADD eat-3-NEG DEM.D Shulli-ACC DEM.D
 Erminio-ta ni-ni
 Erminio-ACC say-1
 ‘If we plant it, they won’t eat it, I said to my younger brother,
to Erminio.’

3.3.3.10 Instrumental, comitative -wan

Instrumental, comitative. -wan indicates means or company. -wan may mark an instrument or item which is essential to the event (1), (2). -wan marks all means of transportation (3). It may mark illnesses (4). -wan may mark any animate individual who takes part in an event together with the performer (5), (6); it may also mark the actor in an event referred to by a causative verb (7). wan may mark coordinate relations between nouns or nominal groups; case matching attaches to all items except the last in a coordinate series (8). It can usually be translated ‘with’.

- (1) *Chaymi qalatuykushpa kuriyanwan alli-allita chikutita qura.* LT
 chay-mi qalatu-yku-shpa kuriya-n-wan alli-alli-ta
 DEM.D-EVD strip.naked-EXCEP-SUBIS belt-3-INSTR good-good-ACC
 chikuti-ta qu-ra
 whip-ACC give-PST
 ‘Then they stripped him naked and gave him a whipping with his belt.’
- (2) *Qaliqa takllawanmi halun. Qipantañataq kulpakta maqanchik pikuwan.* CH
 qali-qa taklla-wan-mi halu-n qipa-n-ta-ña-taq
 man-TOP plow-INSTR-EVD turn.earth-3 behind-3-ACC-DISC-SEQ
 kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan
 clod-ACC hit-1PL pick-INSTR
 ‘Men turn the earth with a [foot] plow. Behind them, we break up the clods with a pick.’

- (3) *Karruwantri kapas trayamunña. Mutuwanshi hamula.* CH
 karu-wan-tri kapas traya-mu-n-ña mutu-wan-shi
 car-INSTR-EVC maybe arrive-CISL-3-DISC motorcycle-INSTR-EVR
 hamu-la
 come-PST
 ‘Maybe she came on the bus. She came by motorbike, she says.’
- (4) *¿Prustatawantri kayanki?* CH
 prustata-wan-tri ka-ya-nki
 prostate-INSTR-EVC be-PROG-2
 ‘Would you have prostate [problems]?’
- (5) *Taytachalla:wan kawsakura: mamachalla:wan kawsakura: Mama:qa huk kumprumisuwan rikun huk lawta.* ACH
 tayta-cha-lla-:-wan kawsa-ku-ra-: mama-cha-lla-:-wan
 father-DIM-RSTR-1-INSTR live-REFL-PST-1 mother-DIM-RSTR-1-INSTR
 kawsa-ku-ra-: mama-:-qa huk kumprumisu-wan ri-ku-n
 live-REFL-PST-1 mother-1-TOP one commitment-INSTR go-REFL-3
 huk law-ta
 one side-ACC
 ‘I lived with just my grandfather and my grandmother. My mother went to another place with another commitment.’
- (6) *¿Imapaqmi wak kundinawwan puriyanki?* AMV
 ima-paq-mi wak kundinaw-wan puri-ya-nki
 what-PURP-EVD DEM.D zombie-INSTR zombie-PROG-2
 ‘Why are you walking around with that zombie?’
- (7) *Manaraqmi qari:pis kararaqchu. Sapalla: wak wasipa puñukura: vaka:wan.* ACH
 mana-ra-q-mi qari-:-pis ka-ra-ra-q-chu sapa-lla-: wak
 no-CONT-EVD man-1-ADD be-PST-CONT-NEG alone-RSTR-1 DEM.D
 wasi-pa puñu-ku-ra-: vaka-:-wan
 house-LOC sleepREFL-PST-1 cow-1-INSTR
 ‘I still didn’t have my husband. I slept alone in my house with my cows.’

3 Substantives

- (8) *Milawan Aliciawan Hilda trayaramun.* † AMV
 Mila-wan Alicia-wan Hilda traya-ra-mu-n
 Mila-INSTR Alicia-INSTR Hilda arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘Hilda arrived with Mila and Alicia.’

3.3.3.11 Possible combinations

Combinations of case suffixes are rare. They do occur, however, notably with *-pa*, *-wan*, and *-hina*. Where a noun phrase marked with genitive *-pa* or *-paq* functions as an anaphor, the phrase may be case marked as its referent would be (1), (2). In addition to functioning as a case marker, *-wan* also serves to conjoin noun phrases. In this capacity, *-wan* may follow other case markers (3), (4). Elicited examples (5), (6) follow Parker (1976). Comparative *-hina* may also combine with other case markers (7), (8).

- (1) *Paqarin yanapamay u paqarin ñuqapakta chaypaq talpashun qampaktañataq.* CH
 paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ñuqa-pa-kta chay-paq
 tomorrow help-1.OBJ-IMP or tomorrow I-GEN-ACC DEM.D-ABL
 talpu-shun qam-pa-kta-ña-taq
 plant-1PL.FUT you-GEN-ACC-DISC-SEQ
 ‘Help me tomorrow or tomorrow mine and then we’ll plant yours.’
- (2) *Piluntaqa yupayanshari chay chapupaqta. Ushachinchu yupayta.* AMV
 pilu-n-ta-qa yupa-ya-n-sh-ari chay chapu-paq-ta
 hair-3-ACC-SEQ count-PROG-3-EVR-ARI DEM.D dog-GEN-ACC
 ushachi-n-chu yupa-y-ta
 be.able-3-NEG count-INF-ACC
 ‘He’s counting the hairs of that hairless dog, but he can’t count them.’
- (3) *Mishkita yawarnintam mikurunchik mutintawan papantawan.* AMV
 mishki-ta yawar-ni-n-ta-m miku-ru-nchik
 sweet-ACC blood-EUPH-3-ACC-EVD eat-URGT-1PL
 muti-n-ta-wan papa-n-ta-wan
 hominy-3-ACC-INSTR potato-3-ACC-INSTR
 ‘We eat its blood with hominy and with potatoes – deliciously.’

- (4) *Chay kabranpawan vakanpawantri kisuchan.* AMV
 chay kabr-n-pa-wan vaka-n-pa-wan kisu-cha-n
 DEM.D goat-3-GEN-INSTR COW-3-GEN-INSTR cheese-DIM-3
 ‘Her cheese would be from her goats’ [milk] and from her
 cows’[milk].’
- (5) *Qaripurawan kambyashun.* † AMV
 qari-pura-wan kambya-shun
 man-EXCL-INSTR change-1PL.FUT
 ‘Let’s exchange husbands[one for one another].’
- (6) *Piliyarachin wambrapurata.* † AMV
 piliya-ra-chi-n wambra-pura-ta
 fight-URGT-CAUS-3 child-EXCL-ACC
 ‘He made the boys fight among themselves.’
- (7) *Karsilpahinam witrqamara. Wambra:kuna istudyaq pasan.* ACH
 karsil-pa-hina-m witrqa-ma-ra wambra-:kuna istudya-q
 prison-LOC-COMP-EVD close.in-1.OBJ-PST child-1-PL study-AG
 pasa-n
 pass-3
 ‘They closed me in like in a jail. My children leave to study.’
- (8) *Kanan vakata pusillaman chawayanchik kabratahina.* AMV
 kanan vaka-ta pusi-lla-man chawa-ya-nchik kabra-ta-hina
 now COW-ACC cup-RSTR-ALL milk-PROG-1PL goat-ACC-COMP
 ‘Now we milk a cow into a cup like a goat.’

3.3.3.12 More specific noun-noun relations

Noun-noun relations more specific than the ‘in’ and ‘of’, for example, of *-pi* and *-pa* are expressed by noun phrases headed by nouns which name relative positions (see § 3.2.1.4 on locative nouns) (1–4). Such nouns include, for example, *qipa* ‘rear’; *hawa* ‘top’; and *trawpi* ‘center’. The head (relational) noun is inflected for person, agreeing with the noun to which it is related; this noun may be inflected with genitive *-pa* (*pantyun-pa qipa-n* ‘behind the cemetery’ *lit.* ‘of the cemetery its behind’).

3 Substantives

- (1) *Wak urqu qipanpa karu karutam muyumunchik.* AMV
wak urqu qipa-n-pa karu karu-ta-m muyu-mu-nchik
DEM.D hill behind-3-LOC far far-ACC-EVD circle-CISL-1PL
'We circle around very far behind that hill.'
- (2) *Kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki.* SP
kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki
condor sit-PROG-3 rock top-3-LOC what-EVC-IKI
'The condor must be sitting on top of a rock.'
- (3) *Waka ukunpatriki runa wañura unay.* ACH
waka uku-n-pa-tri-ki runa wañu-ra unay
ruins inside-3-LOC-EVC-IKI person die-PST before
'Inside the ruins, people must have died before.'
- (4) *Wak wambra qaq trawpintam pasayan manam manchakuyan.* AMV
wak wambra qaq trawpi-n-ta-m pasa-ya-n mana-m
DEM.D child cliff center-3-ACC-EVD pass-PROG-3 no-EVD
mancha-ku-ya-n
scare-REFL-PROG-3
'That boy passes between the cliffs. He's not afraid.'

3.4 Substantive derivation

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, suffixes deriving substantives may be divided into two classes, governing and restrictive. Governing suffixes may be further divided into two subclasses: those which derive substantives from verbs (-*na*, -*q*, -*sHa*, -*y*) and those which derive substantives from other substantives (-*ntin*, -*sapa*, -*yuq*, -*masi*). SYQ has a single restrictive suffix deriving substantives, diminutive -*cha*. -*lla* also functions to restrict substantives, but it is treated here not as a derivational morpheme but as an enclitic. § 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 cover the the governing suffixes deriving substantives from verbs and those deriving substantives from other substantives, respectively.

3.4.1 Substantive derived from verbs

Four suffixes derive substantives from verbs in SYQ: *-na*, *-q*, *-sHa*, and *-y*. All four form both relative and complement clauses. *-na*, *-q*, *-sHa*, and *-y* form subjunctive, agentive, indicative, and infinitive clauses, respectively. The nominalizing suffixes attach directly to the verb stem, with the exception that the first- and second-person object suffixes, *-wa/ma* and *-sHa*, may intercede. § 3.4.1.1–3.4.1.4 cover *-na*, *-q*, *-sHa*, and *-y* in turn.

3.4.1.1 *-na*

-na derives nouns that refer to (a) the instrument with which the action named by the base is realized (*alla-na* ‘harvesting tool’) (1), (2); (b) the place in which the event referred to occurs (*michi-na* ‘pasture’) (3); and (c) the object in which the action named by the base is realized (*upya-na* ‘drinking water’, *milla-na* ‘nau-sea’) (4), (5). Followed by an possessive suffix plus the copula auxiliary inflected for third person (null just in case tense/aspect are not specified), *-na* indicates necessity (i.e., it forms a universal deontic/teleological modal) (*taqsa-na-yki* ‘you have to wash’) (6), (7). The past tense of necessity is formed by adding *ka-RQa*, the third person simple past tense form of *ka-* ‘be’ (*palla-na-y ka-ra* ‘I had to pick’) (8), (9). In combination with the purposive case suffix *-paq*, *-na* forms subordinate clauses that indicate the purpose of the action expressed in the main clause (*qawa-na-y-paq* ‘so I can see’) (10–13). *-na* forms subjunctive complement clauses with the verb *muna-* ‘want’ (*tushu-na-n-ta muna-ni* ‘I want her to dance’) (14), (15). *-na* nominalizations, relative to the event of the main clause, refer to actions still to be completed (16), (17).

- (1) *Mulinchik makinapaq kamcharinchik kallanapa*. AMV
mulin-chik makina-paq kamcha-ri-nchik kalla-na-pa
grind-1PL machine-LOC toast-INCEP-1PL toast-NMLZ-LOC
‘We grind it in a machine and then we toast it in the toasting pan.’
- (2) *Llikllakuna, punchukuna, puñunakuna ruwa:.* ACH
liklla-kuna, punchu-kuna, puñu-na-kuna, ruwa:-
shawl-PL poncho-PL sleep-NMLZ-PL make-1
‘I make shawls, ponchos and blankets.’
- (3) *Iskina hawanpa michinayki*. AMV
iskina hawa-n-pa michi-na-yki
corner above-3-LOC pasture-NMLZ-2

3 Substantives

‘Above the corner where you pasture.’

- (4) *Mamayqa wichayta mikunayta apashpa asnuchanwan kargachakusa hamuq.* AMV

mama-y-qa wichay-ta miku-na-y-ta apa-shpa
mother-1-TOP up.hill-ACC eat-NMLZ-1-ACC bring-SUBIS
asnu-cha-n-wan karga-cha-ku-sa hamu-q
donkey-DIM-3-INSTR carry-DIM-REFL-PRF come-AG

‘My mother would come up hill bringing my food, carrying it with her donkey.’

- (5) *Mikunantapis lliw lliwshi sibandanta trigunta ima kaqtapis katriwan takurachisa.* ACH

miku-na-n-ta-pis lliw lliw-shi sibada-n-ta trigu-n-ta ima
eat-NMLZ-3-ACC-ADD all all-EVR barley-3-ACC wheat-3-ADD what
ka-q-ta-pis katri-wan taku-ra-chi-sa
be-AG-ACC-ADD salt-INSTR mix-URGT-CAUS-NPST

‘Their food, too, everything, everything, their barley, their wheat, anything, they mixed it with salt.’

- (6) *Sibadayta wayrachishaq abasniyta pallanay kayan.* AMV

sibada-y-ta wayra-chi-shaq abas-ni-y-ta palla-na-y
barley-1-ACC wind-CAUS-1.FUT broad.beans-EUPH-1-ACC pick-NMLZ-1
ka-ya-n
be-PROG-3

‘I’m going to winnow my barley – I have to pick my broad beans.’

- (7) *Hinata risani yanukunay kakuyaptin.* LT

hina-ta risa-ni yanu-ku-na-y ka-ku-ya-pti-n
thus-ACC pray-1 cook-REFL-NMLZ-1 be-REFL-PROG-SUBDS-3

‘I pray like that – when he’s there, I have to cook.’

- (8) *Kutikamura qari wambra: yaykunan kara manaña atiparachu.* ACH

kuti-ka-mu-ra qari wambra-: yayku-na-n ka-ra
return-PASSACC-CISL-PST man child-1 enter-NMLZ-3 be-PST
mana-ña atipa-ra-chu
no-DISC be.able-PST-NEG

‘My son came back – he was supposed to enter [university] but he couldn’t any more.’

- (9) *Shinkakunaqa kasunan kara madriqa rabyasatr kutin.* AMV
 shinka-kuna-qa kasu-na-n ka-ra madri-qa
 drunk-PL-TOP pay.attention-NMLZ-3 be-PST nun-TOP
 rabya-sa-tr kuti-n
 be.mad-PRF-EVC return-3
 ‘The drunks had to pay [should have paid] attention. The nun must have gotten mad.’
- (10) *Ganawkuna michina:paq chay chaytam trakra trabahana:paq.* SP
 ganaw-kuna michi-na:-paq chay chay-ta-m trakra
 cattle-PL pasture-NMLZ-1-PURP DEM.D DEM.D-ACC-EVD field
 trabaha-na:-paq
 work-NMLZ-1-PURP
 ‘So I can herd the cows, so I can work in the fields.’
- (11) *Tambopaq apamuq kani, “¡Mikuy! ¡Hampishunaykipaq!” nini.* AMV
 Tambo-paq apa-mu-q ka-ni, miku-y hampi-shu-na-yki-paq
 Tambo-ABL bring-CISL-AG be-1 eat-IMP cure-3>2-NMLZ-3>2-PURP
 ni-ni
 say-1
 ‘I used to bring it from Tambopata. “Eat it so it can cure you!” I said.’
- (12) *Manaña yapa maqashunaykipaq.* AMV
 mana-ña yapa maqa-shu-na-yki-paq
 no-DISC again hit-3>2-NMLZ-3>2-PURP
 ‘So she doesn’t hit you again.’
- (13) *”¿Imay ura chay kuniuqa kutimunqa yanapamananpaq?” nin.* SP
 imay ura chay kuniu-qa kuti-mu-nqa
 when hour DEM.D rabbit-TOP return-CISL-3.FUT
 yanapa-ma-na-n-paq ni-n
 help-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP say-3
 “‘What time is that rabbit going to come back so he can help me?’
 said [the fox].’

3 Substantives

- (14) *Pagananta munayan, rantinanta gasolinata.* ACH
paga-na-n-ta muna-ya-n ranti-na-n-ta gasolina-ta
pay-NMLZ-3-ACC want-PROG-3 buy-NMLZ-3-ACC gasoline-ACC
'He wants her to pay, to buy gasoline.'
- (15) *Hinaptinshi paytaqa mana tarpunanta munasachu.* ACH
hinaptin-shi pay-ta-qa mana tarpu-na-n-ta muna-sa-chu
then-EVR he-ACC-TOP no plant-NMLZ-3-ACC want-NPST-NEG
'Then, they say, they didn't want him to plant.'
- (16) *Mansanapaqña wak turun kayan.* AMV
mansa-na-paq-ña wak turu-n ka-ya-n
tame-NMLZ-PURP-DISC DEM.D bull-3 be-PROG-3
'That bull is to be tamed/for taming already.'
- (17) *Ñuqa laqyarushaq siki-paq. Kiputaqa. Laqyapanash kayan.* AMV
ñuqa laqya-ru-shaq siki-paq Kipu-ta-qa
I slap-URGT-1.FUT behind-LOC Kipu-ACC-TOP
laqya-pa-na-sh ka-ya-n
slap-REPET-NMLZ-EVR be-PROG-3
'I'm going to slap him on the behind. Kipu [a dog]. It's there to be hit.'

3.4.1.2 Agentive -q

-q is agentive, deriving nouns that refer to the agent of the verb to which it attaches (*michi-q* 'shepherd', *ara-q* 'plower') (1–4). -q nominalizations may form adjectival and relative clauses (*chinka-ku-q pashña* 'the lost girl', 'the girl who was lost') (5–8). With verbs of movement, -q forms complement clauses indicating the purpose of the displacement (*taki-q hamu-nqa* 'they will come to sing') (9–11). With the verb *kay* 'be' -q forms the habitual past (*asi-ku-q ka-nki* 'you used to laugh') (12–14) (see § 4.3.3.4).

- (1) *Qaripis kanmi wawachikuq. Wawachin hapishpa.* ACH
 qari-pis ka-n-mi wawa-chi-ku-q wawa-chi-n
 man-ADD be-3-EVD give.birth-CAUS-REFL-AG give.birth-CAUS-3
 hapi-shpa
 grab-SUBIS
 ‘There are also men midwives. Holding on, they birth the baby.’
- (2) *Manam munaqkunakta pushakuyan.* CH
 mana-m muna-q-kuna-cta pusha-ku-ya-n
 no-EVD want-AG-PL-ACC bring.along-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘They’re bringing along people who don’t want to.’
- (3) *Wak bandiduqa munarqachu manash wawayuqta. Wawapakuqtriki kidaqqa.* ACH
 wak bandidu-qa muna-rqa-chu mana-sh wawa-yuq-ta
 DEM.D bastard-TOP want-PST-NEG want-EVR baby-POSS-ACC
 wawa-paku-q-tri-ki kida-rqa
 baby-MUTBEN-AG-EVC-KI remain-PST
 ‘That bastard didn’t want [a woman] with a baby, they say. She remained a single mother, for sure.’
- (4) *Imaynataq wak miyrdaq ganayawan?* AMV
 imayna-taq wak miyrda-q gana-ya-wa-n?
 how-SEQ DEM.D shit-AG win-PROG-1.OBJ-3
 ‘How is that shit-head beating me?’
- (5) *Trabahapakuya: llapan rigakuq luna. Trabahaya:.* CH
 trabaha-paku-ya-: llapa-n riga-ku-q luna trabaha-ya-:
 work-MUTBEN-PROG-1 all-3 irrigate-REFL-AG person work-PROG-1
 ‘All the people who water are working, we’re working.’
- (6) *Istudyaq wambrakunapaqshi mas mimuryanpaq.* AMV
 istudya-q wambra-kuna-paq-shi mas mimurya-n-paq
 study-AG child-PL-BEN-EVR more memory-3-PURP
 ‘For the children who study, they say, so that they have more memory.’

3 Substantives

- (7) *Maqtawan pashña chinkakuqqa* ACH
 maqta-wan pashña chinka-ku-q-qa
 young.man-INSTR girl get.lost-REFL-AG-TOP
 ‘The boy and the girl who were lost’
- (8) *Mana rikchaq runakuna* SP
 mana rikcha-q runa-kuna
 no go-AG person-pl
 ‘The people who aren’t going’
- (9) *Maskakuq wak vikuñachataw wakchakuq ritamunki.* LT
 maska-ku-q wak vikuña-cha-ta-m wakcha-ku-q
 look.for-REFL-AG DEM.D vicuña-DIM-ACC-EVD raise-REFL-AG
 ri-tamu-nki
 go-IRREV-1
 ‘You left to look for that little vicuña to domesticate.’
- (10) *Misa lulaq shamun.* CH
 misa lula-q shamu-n
 mass make-AG come-3
 ‘They come to hold mass.’
- (11) *¡Haku michiq! Michimushun chay llamata.* LT
 haku michi-q michi-mu-shun chay llama-ta
 let’s pasture-AG pasture-CISL-1PL.FUT DEM.D llama-ACC
 ‘Let’s [go to] herd! We’ll herd those llamas.’
- (12) *Unayqa paykunaqa ... mantilta ruwaq, mantilta burdaq, unayqa.* AMV
 unay-qa pay-kuna-qa mantil-ta ruwa-q mantil-ta
 long.ago-TOP he-PL-TOP table.cloth-ACC make-AG table.cloth-ACC
 burda-q unay-qa
 embroider-AG long.ago-TOP
 ‘Formerly, they used to make table cloths; they used to embroider
 table cloths, formerly’.

- (13) *Huybisninpa dumingunpa kisuta apaq ka: ishkay.* ACH
 huybis-ni-n-pa dumingu-n-pa kisu-ta apa-q ka-:
 Thursday-EUPH-3-LOC Sunday-3-LOC cheese-ACC bring-AG be-1
 ishkay
 two
 ‘On Thursdays and Sundays, I used to bring two cheeses [to sell].’
- (14) *Sirdallawan chumakuq kanchik, kaspichallawan aychiq kanchik. Winku purucham kaq.* Antis. AMV
 sirda-lla-wan chuma-ku-q ka-nchik, kaspi-cha-lla-wan
 bristle-RSTR-INSTR strain-REFL-AG be-1PL stick-DIM-RSTR-INSTR
 aychi-q ka-nchik winku puru-cha-m ka-q antis
 stir-AG be-1PL crooked pot-DIM-EVD be-AG before
 ‘We used to strain it with just bristles, we used to stir it with just a stick. There used to be a crooked little bottle. Before.’

3.4.1.3 Perfective *-sHa*

-sHa is perfective, deriving stative participles. It is realized as *-sa* in ACH, AMV and SP and as *-sha* in LT and CH. *-sHa* nominalizations form adjectives (*chaki-sa* ‘dried’) (1–2) as well as relative (*apa-sa-y* ‘that I bring’) (3–7), and complement clauses (*atipa-sha-y-ta* ‘what I can’) (8–10). *-sHa* complement clauses are common with the verbs *yatra-* ‘know’, *qunqa-* ‘forget’, *qawa* ‘see’ and *uyari-* ‘hear’ (*upya-sa-n-ta uyari-rqa-ni* ‘I heard that he drank’) (11). As substantives, they are inflected with possessive suffixes, not verbal suffixes (*ranti-sa-yki* **ranti-sa-nki* ‘that you sold’); these may be reinforced with possessive pronouns (*gam-pa ranti-sa-yki* ‘that you sold’) (12). *-sHa* may form nouns referring to the place where E (*dipurti ka-sha-n* ‘where there are sports’) (13–15). *-sHa* nominalizations, relative to the E of the main clause, refer to actions already completed (16), (17).

- (1) *Mandillaykunaqa chakisa kayan.* AMV
 mandil-lla-y-kuna-qa chaki-sa ka-ya-n
 apron-RSTR-1-PL-TOP dry-PRF be-PROG-3
 ‘My aprons and all are dry.’

3 Substantives

- (2) *Wak runapa trakinga punkisam kayan tulluntri kuyusa kayan.* ACH
 wak runa-pa traki-n-qa punki-sa-m ka-ya-n tullu-n-tri
 DEM.D person-GEN foot-3-TOP swell-PRF-EVD be-PROG-3 bone-3-EVC
 kuyu-sa ka-ya-n
 move-PRF be-PROG-3
 ‘That person’s foot is swollen, the bone must be moved [out of place].’
- (3) *Chay ganaw dividisanwan rikisiyantri.* SP
 chay ganaw dividi-sa-n-wan rikisi-ya-n-tri
 DEM.D cattle devide-PRF-3-INSTR get.rich-PROG-3-EVC
 ‘They must be getting rich with the cattle that they divided up [among themselves].’
- (4) *Pampakurun matraymanqa chay wañusan tardiqa.* AMV
 pampa-ku-ru-n matray-man-qa chay wañu-sa-n tardi-qa
 bury-REFL-URGT-3 cave-ALLTOP DEM.D die-PRF-3 afternoon
 ‘They buried him in a cave the afternoon that he died.’
- (5) *Unay imas pasamashanchik ...* CH
 unay ima-s pasa-ma-sha-nchik
 before what-ADD pass-1.OBJ-PRF-1PL
 ‘Before, anything that happened to us ...’
- (6) *Kalamina rantishanchikkuna* LT
 kalamina ranti-sha-nchik-kuna
 corrugated.iron buy-PRF-1PL-PL
 ‘The tin roofing that we bought’
- (7) *Ratuskamanshi kisuta ruwasaykita qawanqa.* AMV
 ratus-kaman-shi kisu-ta ruwa-sa-yki-ta qawa-nqa
 moments-LIM-EVR cheese-ACC make-PRF-2-ACC see-3.FUT
 ‘A little later, she says, she’ll see the cheese that you made.’

- (8) *¿Imatataq kanan ñuqa Lutupa ubihawan yattrasayta willakushaq?* AMV
 ima-ta-taq kanan ñuqa Lutu-pa ubiha-wan yatra-sa-y-ta
 what-ACC-SEQ now I Lutu-LOC sheep-INSTR live-PRF-1-ACC
 willa-ku-shaq
 tell-REFL-1.FUT
 ‘Now what am I going to tell you about what I lived in Lutu with my sheep?’
- (9) *Luchashaq. Atipashaytatrik ruwakushaq.* LT
 lucha-shaq atipa-sha-y-ta-tri-k ruwa-ku-shaq
 fight-1.FUT be.able-PRF-1-ACC-EVC-1K make-REFL-1.FUT
 ‘I’ll fight. I’ll do what I can.’
- (10) *Ñuqapataqa silinsyu kaptin munashantaña ruwayan.* LT
 ñuqa-pa-ta-qa silinsyu ka-pti-n muna-sha-n-ta-ña
 I-GEN-ACC-TOP abandoned be-SUBDS-3 want-PRF-3-ACC-DISC
 ruwa-ya-n
 make-PROG-3
 ‘When it falls silent, they’re doing what they want already to my things.’
- (11) *Ñuqaqa wambran qipikusanta qawarqanichu.* AMV
 ñuqa-qa wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-ni-chu
 I-TOP child-3 carry-REFL-PRF-3-ACC see-PST-1-NEG
 ‘I didn’t see that she carried her baby.’
- (12) *Qampa rantikurasaykiyá chay shakash.* AMV
 qam-pa rantiku-ra-sayki-yá chay shakash
 you-GEN sell-URGT-2>1-EMPH DEM.D guinea.pig
 ‘That guinea pig that you sold me.’
- (13) *Wambraqa pukllayasanpa tutaykarachin.* SP
 wambra-qa puklla-ya-sa-n-pa tuta-yka-ra-chi-n
 child-TOP play-PROG-PRF-3-LOC night-EXCEP-URGT-CAUS-3
 ‘Night fell where the girls were playing.’

3 Substantives

- (14) *Tilivisyunta likakuyan piluta pukllaqkunaktam maytraw dipurti kashankunakta.* CH
tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n piluta puklla-q-kuna-kta-m
television-ACC look-REFL-PROG-3 ball play-AG-PL-ACC-EVD
may-traw dipurti ka-sha-n-kuna-kta
where-LOC sport be-PRF-3-PL-ACC
'They're watching television – the ball-players and
where there are sports.'
- (15) *Riyananpiqa trayarun, pwintiman.* AMV
ri-ya-sa-n-pi-qa traya-ru-n, pwinti-man
go-PROG-PRF-3-LOC-TOP arrive-URGT-3 bridge-ALL
'He arrived where he was going, at a bridge.'
- (16) *Yapa kutishqa awakusanman.* AMV
yapa kuti-shqa awa-ku-sa-n-man
again return-SUBIS weave-REFL-PRF-3-ALL
'When she returned again to what/where she had woven.'
- (17) *¿Pi yaykukuntri? Mana ya yatranichu pi kashantapis.* AMV
pi yayku-ku-n-tri mana ya yatra-ni-chu pi
who enter-REFL-3-EVC mana EMPH know-1-NEG who
ka-sha-n-ta-pis
be-PRF-3-ACC-ADD
'Who would have entered? I don't know who it was, either.'

3.4.1.4 Infinitive -y

-y indicates the infinitive or what in English would be a gerund (*tushu-y* 'to dance, dancing') (1), (2). -y nominalizations may refer to the object or event in which *v* is realized (*ishpa-* 'urinate' → *ishpa-y* 'urine'; *nana-* 'hurt' → *nana-y* 'pain'; *rupa-* 'burn' → *rupa-y* 'sunshine') (3–7). -y nominalizations form adjectival and relative clauses (*ranti-y kahun* 'bought casket', *yanu-ku-y tardi* 'the afternoon that we cook') (8–10) and infinitive complement clauses (*waqa-y-ta qalla-ku-n* 'it started to wail') (11). The latter are particularly common with the auxiliary verbs *muna-* 'want', *atipa-* 'be able', and *yatra-* 'know' (*iskribi-y-ta muna-ni* 'I want to write') (12–16). Infinitive complements are case-marked with accusative

-ta (17). In the CH dialect, accusative marking in this structure is sometimes elided, (18).

- (1) *Ni puñuy ni mikuy.* AMV
 ni puñu-y ni miku-y
 nor sleep-INF nor eat-INF
 ‘Neither sleeping nor eating.’
- (2) *Paqwayanñam talpukuy.* CH
 paqwa-ya-n-ña-m talpu-ku-y
 finish-PROG-3-DISC-EVD plant-REFL-INF
 ‘The planting is finishing up.’
- (3) *Warminpa ishpaynintash tuman.* AMV
 warmi-n-pa ishpa-y-ni-n-ta-sh tuma-n
 woman-3-GEN urinate-INF-EUPH-3-ACC-EVR drink-3
 ‘He drinks his wife’s urine, they say.’
- (4) *Traki nanaywan karqani.* AMV
 traki nana-y-wan ka-rqa-ni
 foot hurt-INF-INSTR be-PST-1
 ‘I’ve had foot pain.’
- (5) *Tutal sudayllaña hamukuyan kwirpunchikpapis “¡Chaq! ¡Chaq! ¡Chaq!”*
sutukuyan sudayniki. ACH
 tutal suda-y-lla-ña hamu-ku-ya-n
 completely sweat-INF-RSTR-DISC come-REFL-PROG-3
 kwirpu-nchik-pa-pis chaq chaq chaq sutu-ku-ya-n
 body-1PL-LOC-ADD tak tak tak drip-REFL-PROG-3
 suda-y-ni-ki
 sweat-INF-EUPH-2
 ‘Just a whole lot of sweat is coming on our bodies – “*Chak! Chak! Chak!*” – your sweat is dripping.’
- (6) *¿Uktubri paqwaypiñachu hamunki?* CH
 uktubri paqwa-y-pi-ña-chu hamu-nki
 October finish-INF-LOC-DISC-Q come-2
 ‘Are you coming at the end of October?’

3 Substantives

- (7) *Aligrakuyan suygran wañukusantatr. Manayá pampakuyninpa karqachu, ¿aw?* AMV
 aligra-ku-ya-n suygra-n wañu-ku-sa-n-ta-tr
 happy-REFL-PROG-3 mother.in.law-3 die-REFL-PRF-3-ACC-EVC
 mana-yá pampa-ku-y-ni-n-pa ka-rqa-chu aw
 no-EMPH bury-REFL-INF-EUPH-3-LOC be-PST-Q yes
 ‘He must be very happy his mother-in-law died. He wasn’t at her burial, was he?’
- (8) *Rantiy kahun mana yaykunchu.* AMV
 ranti-y kahun mana yayku-n-chu
 buy-INF coffin no enter-3-NEG
 ‘Bought coffins won’t fit it.’
- (9) *Waqtakunata llusqishpa runas puñuy.* ACH
 waqta-kuna-ta llusqi-shpa runa-s puñu-y
 hillside-PL-ACC go.out-SUBIS person-ADD sleep-INF
 ‘The people, too, asleep, they came out on the hillsides.’
- (10) *Chay yanukuy tardish almaqa trayamun.* AMV
 chay yanu-ku-y tardi-sh alma-qa traya-mu-n
 DEM.D cook-REFL-INF afternoon-EVR soul-TOP arrive-CISL-3
 ‘The souls arrive on the afternoon that we cook, they say.’
- (11) *Waqayta qallakun, “¡Oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh!”* SP
 waqa-y-ta qalla-ku-n oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh
 cry-INF-ACC start-REFL-3 oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh
 ‘It started to wail, “Oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh!”’
- (12) *Manañam diskutiya ñuqa munanichu kayna.* LT
 mana-ña-m diskuti-y-ta ñuqa muna-ni-chu kayna
 no-DISC-EVD dispute-INF-ACC I want-1-NEG thus
 ‘I don’t want to fight about it like this any more.’

- (13) *¿Kukata akuykuyta munankichu?* AMV
 kuka-ta aku-yku-y-ta muna-nki-chu
 coca-ACC chew-EXCEP-INF-ACC want-2-Q
 ‘Do you want to chew coca?’
- (14) *Wak vakaypa atakanmi mal kayan puriyta atipanchu.* AMV
 wak vaka-y-pa ataka-n-mi mal ka-ya-n puri-y-ta
 DEM.D COW-1-GEN leg-3-EVD bal be-PROG-3 walk-INF-ACC
 atipa-n-chu
 be.able-3-NEG
 ‘My cow’s leg is hurt – she can’t walk.’
- (15) *Iskribiytapis usachinichu ni firmaytapis. Total analfabitu.* CH
 iskribi-y-ta-pis usachi-ni-chu ni firma-y-ta-pis total
 write-INF-ACC-ADD be.able-1-NEG nor sign-INF-ACC-ADD totally
 analfabitu
 illiterate
 ‘I can’t write or sign [my name], either. Completely illiterate.’
- (16) *Mana risakuyta yatrarchu. Satanaswan yatrara.* SP
 mana risa-ku-y-ta yatra-ra-chu Satanas-wan yatra-ra
 no pray-REFL-INF-ACC know-PST-NEG Satan-INSTR live-PST
 ‘They didn’t know how to pray. They lived with Satan.’
- (17) *Wakhina mana vininu tumayta munashpatri manam yaykuyta munanchu ubihaqa.* AMV
 wak-hina mana vininu tuma-y-ta muna-shpa-tri mana-m
 DEM.D-COMP no poison take-INF-ACC want-SUBIS-EVC no-EVD
 yayku-y-ta muna-n-chu ubiha-qa
 enter-INF-ACC want-3-NEG sheep-TOP
 ‘Like that, not wanting to drink poison, the sheep don’t want to go in.’
- (18) *Manam lulay munanchu.* CH
 mana-m lula-y muna-n-chu
 no-EVD make-INF want-3-NEG
 ‘He doesn’t want to do it.’

3 Substantives

3.4.2 Substantives derived from substantives

Four suffixes derive substantives from substantives in SYQ: *-kuna*, *-ntin*, *-sapa*, and *-yuq*. The first two of these – *-kuna* and *-ntin* – indicate accompaniment, adjacency, or completeness (*llama-n-kuna* ‘with her llama’, *amiga-ntin* ‘with her friends’); *-yuq* and *-sapa* indicate possession (*llama-yuq* ‘person with llamas’, *llama-sapa* ‘person with more llamas than usual’). § 3.4.2.1–3.4.2.4 cover *-kuna*, *-ntin*, *-sapa*; and *-yuq*, in turn.

3.4.2.1 Non-exhaustivity *-kuna*₂

Non-exhaustivity. *-kuna*₂ indicates that the referent of its base is accompanied by another entity, generally of the same class (*qusa-yki-kuna* ‘your husband and all’) (1–4).

- (1) *Ispusu:ta mama:kuna tayta:kunakta qayakushpa manam ...*
hiwyaku:chu. CH
ispusu:-ta mama:-kuna tayta:-kuna-kta qaya-ku-shpa
husband-1-ACC mother-1-PL father-1-PL-ACC call-REFL-SUBIS
mana-m hiwya-ku:-chu
no-EVD scare-REFL-1-NEG
‘Calling on my husbands and on my mothers and my fathers, I’m not scared.’
- (2) *Chay kwirpuykikuna mal kanman umaykikuna nananman.* AMV
chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man
DEM.D body-2-PL bad be-3-COND head-2-PL hurt-3-COND
‘Your body and all could be sick; your head and all could hurt.’
- (3) *Wak rikisunninkunata narun warkurun.* AMV
wak rikisun-ni-n-kuna-ta na-ru-n warku-ru-n
DEM.D cheese.curd-EUPH-3-PL-ACC DMY-URGT-3 hang-URGT-3
‘She did that, she hung up her cheese curd and everything.’
- (4) *“Pachamankakuna kayan alli allin mikushun kanan tardi”, nishpa.* SP
pachamanka-kuna ka-ya-n alli allin miku-shun kanan
barbecue-PL be-PROG-3 good good eat-1PL.FUT now
tardi ni-shpa
afternoon say-SUBIS

“There’s a barbecue and all – we’re going to eat really, really well this afternoon,” said [the rabbit].’

3.4.2.2 Accompaniment, adjacency *-ntin*

Accompaniment, adjacency. *-ntin* indicates that the referent of the base accompanies or is adjacent to another entity (*allqu-ntin* ‘with her dog’) (1–4).

- (1) *Vistigashpaqa pasakun vistigaq lliw gwardyantin huysnintin. SP*
vistiga-shpa-qa pasa-ku-n vistiga-q lliw gwardya-ntin
investigate-SUBIS-TOP pass-REFL-3 investigate-AG all police-ACMP
huys-ni-ntin
judge-EUPH-ACMP
‘After they investigated, the investigators left with the policemen and judges.’
- (2) *Hinashpash pwirtanta kandawnintinta kuchurusa, ¿aw? AMV*
hinashpa-sh pwirta-n-ta kandaw-ni-ntin-ta kuchu-ru-sa aw
then-EVR door-3-ACC lock-EUPH-3-ACC cut-URGT-NPST yes
‘Then, they say, they cut the door with its lock and all, no?’
- (3) *Qullqintin riptin krusnintinshi qullqintinshi. AMV*
qullqi-ntin ri-pti-n krus-ni-ntin-shi qullqi-ntin-shi
money-ACMP go-SUBDS-3 cross-EUPH-INCL-EVR money-ACMP-EVR
‘Leaving with her money – with her cross and with her money, they say.’
- (4) *Trayamura puntantin puntantin payqa. SP*
traya-mu-ra punta-ntin punta-ntin pay-qa
arrive-URGT-PST point-ACMP point-ACMP he-TOP
‘He arrived peak by peak, he did.’

3.4.2.3 Multiple possession *-sapa*

“Super” possession (possession of more than usual). *-sapa* derives a nouns referring to the possessor of the referent of the base. It is different from *-yuq* in that what is possessed is more than usual⁷ (*uma* ‘head’ → *uma-sapa* ‘person with a

⁷ Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for correcting my understanding of this structure.

3 Substantives

head bigger than usual', *yuya-y* 'memory' → *yuya-y-sapa* 'person with a memory better than usual'.

- (1) “*¡Ñam tukuchkaniña!*” *puk, puk, puk sikisapa sapu*. AMV
 ña-m tuku-chka-ni-ña puk puk puk siki-sapa sapu
 DISC-EVD finish-DUR-1-DISC puk puk puk behind-MULT.ALL frog
 “I’m already finishing up!” – *puk, puk, puk* – [said] the frog
with the rear bigger than usual.

- (2) *Figura alli-allin waqrasapa ukunpa, iglisypash*. AMV
 figura alli-allin waqra-sapa uku-n-pa iglisya-pa-sh
 figure good-good horn-MULT.ALL inside-3-loc church-GEN-EVR
 ‘Inside the church, they say, a statue with horns bigger than usual.’

- (3) *Qamqa wawasapa kayanki paypis wawasapash churisapash*. LT
 qam-qa wawa-sapa ka-ya-nki pay-pis wawa-sapa-sh
 you-TOP baby-MULT.ALL be-PROG-2 he-ADD baby-MULT.ALL-EVR
 churi-sapa-sh
 son-MULT.ALL-EVR
 ‘You have more children than usual. He, too, has
more children than usual, more sons than usual, they say.’

3.4.2.4 Possession -*yuq*

Possession. -*yuq* derives nouns referring to the possessor of the referent of the base (1–3). Ownership applies to substantives, including interrogative indefinites (4), numerals (5), pronouns (6), and so on. In case the base ends in a consonant, the semantically vacuous particle -*ni* precedes -*yuq* (7). [yuq] is in free variation with [qu] following [i] (8). -*yuq* is used in the expression ‘to be *n* years old’ (9) as well as in the construction of compound numerals (10). -*yuq* nouns may function adverbially without case-marking or other modification (11), (12).

- (1) *Ayvis dimandakurun tiyrayuqkunata*. SP
 ayvis dimanda-ku-ru-n tiyra-yuq-kuna-ta
 sometimes denounce-REFL-URGT-3 land-POSS-PL-ACC
 ‘Sometimes they denounced the ones with land.’

- (2) *Kwirpu:mi hutrayuq. CH*
kwirpu-:-mi hutra-yuq
body-1-EVD fault-POSS
‘My body is the guilty one.’
- (3) *Wiñan altupam puka waytachayuqmi. AMV*
wiña-n altu-pa-m puka wayta-cha-yuq-mi
grow-3 high-LOC-EVD red flower-DIM-POSS-EVD
‘The one with a little red flower grows in the hills.’
- (4) *Imayuqpis kankichu. LT*
ima-yuq-pis ka-nki-chu
what-POSS-ADD be-2-NEG
‘You don’t have anything.’ *lit.* ‘you aren’t one with something’
- (5) *Kimsayuq kayan. AMV*
kimsa-yuq ka-ya-n
three-POSS be-PROG-3
‘She has three.’ *lit.* ‘she is one with three’
- (6) *Chayyuqtriki chayqa. CH*
chay-yuq-tri-ki chay-qa
DEM.D-POSS-EVC-IKI DEM.D-TOP
‘It must have that.’
- (7) *Kuknin kasa kaqniku huknin mana kaqniku. AMV*
huk-ni-n ka-sa ka-q-ni-qu huk-ni-n mana
one-EUPH-3 be-NPST be-AG-EUPH-POSS one-EUPH-3 no
ka-q-ni-qu
be-AG-EUPH-POSS
‘One was wealthy, one had nothing.’
- (8) *¿Ayka watayuq nishurankitaqqa? AMV*
ayka wata-yuq ni-shu-ra-nki-taq-qa?
how.many year-POSS say-3>2-PST-3>2-SEQ-TOP
‘How old did she tell you she was?’

3 Substantives

- (9) *Chay trunka pichqayuq puntrawnintaqa ñam trakrantañam tapamun.* AMV
chay trunka pichqa-yuq puntraw-ni-n-ta-qa ña-m
DEM.D ten five-POS day-EUPH-3-ACC-TOP DISC-EVD
trakra-n-ta-ña-m tapa-mu-n
field-3-ACC-EVD cover-CISL-3
'At fifteen days they cover the field.'
- (10) *Imayuqpis kankichu chay wambraykita katrarunki mayurnikikama.* LT
ima-yuq-pis ka-nki-chu chay wambra-yki-ta katra-ru-nki
what-POSS-ADD be-2-NEG DEM.D child-2-ACC release-URGT-2
mayur-ni-ki-kama
older-EUPH-2-LIM
'You don't have anything and you sent your son to your older brother.'
- (11) *Puntantam hamullarqani kuka kintu quqawniyuqllam.* SP
punta-n-ta-m hamu-lla-rqa-ni kuka kintu
point-3-ACC-EVD come-RSTR-PST-1 coca leaf
quqaw-ni-yuq-lla-m
picnic-EUPH-POSS-RSTR-EVD
'I've come by the peak with just a picnic of coca leaves.'
- (12) *Pallayara puka pantalunniyuq ginduntaqa nini.* LT
palla-ya-ra puka pantalun-ni-yuq gindun-ta-qa ni-ni
pick-PROG-PST red pants-EUPH-POSS peach-ACC-TOP say-1
'She was picking peaches in red pants, I said.'

3.4.2.5 Partnership -masi

Partnership. -masi indicates partnership. It attaches to NS to derive NS generally translated 'N-mate' 'fellow N' (1), (2), or 'co-N' (*puñu-q* → *puñu-q-masi* 'bedmate'). -masi is not very widely employed.

- (1) *¡Runamasinchikta mikurunchik, wawqi!* AMV
runa-masi-nchik-ta miku-ru-nchik, wawqi
person-PART-1PL-ACC eat-URGT-1PL brother
'We ate our fellow people, brother!'

- (2) *Chaywan apakatrakushpam rikakayachin runamasinchiktaqa.* LT
 chay-wan apa-katra-ku-shpa-m rika-ka-ya-chi-n
 DEM.D-INSTR bring-FREQ-REFL-SUBIS-EVD see-PASSACC-PROG-CAUS-3
 runa-masi-nchik-ta-qa
 person-PART-1PL-ACC-TOP
 ‘Carrying those [their arms], they made our fellow people look.’
- (3) *Chay yatraqmasinqa ayqikuyan.* AMV
 chay yatra-q-masi-n-qa ayqi-ku-ya-n
 DEM.D live-AG-PART-3-TOP escape-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Her neighbor is escaping.’
- (4) *Qunqaytaqqa, chay ukuchamasin apamun trupataqa.* ACH
 qunqaytaq-qa, chay ukucha-masi-n apa-mu-n trupa-ta-qa
 suddenly-TOP DEM.D mouse-PART-3 bring-CISL-3 tail-ACC-TOP
 ‘Suddenly, the mouse’s companion [arrived and] took away the tail.’

3.4.2.6 Restrictive suffix: *-cha*

Diminutive, limitative. *-cha* attaches to NS to derive NS with the meaning ‘little n’ (1–3). It may also express an affectionate attitude toward the referent of N (4). (5) is taken from a song in which a girl addresses her lover. Applied to other substantives *-cha* may function as a limitative – ‘just s’, ‘only s’ (6). *Mama-cha* (mother-DIM) and *tayta-cha* (father-DIM) are lexicalized, meaning ‘grandmother’ and ‘grandfather’ respectively (7). In addition to *-cha*, speakers sometimes employ the borrowed Spanish diminutive suffix, *-itu/a* (or its post-consonant form *-citu/a*) (8).

- (1) *Wambra, uchuchuk wambra. Kayna wambrachakunalla.* LT
 wambra uch-uchuk wambra kayna wambra-cha-kuna-lla
 child small-small child thus child-DIM-PL-RSTR
 ‘Little, little children – like this – just small children.’
- (2) *Santupa karqa kurunachankuna.* AMV
 Santu-pa ka-rqa kuruna-cha-n-kuna
 Saint-GEN be-PST crown-DIM-3-PL
 ‘The saints had their little crowns.’

3 Substantives

- (3) *Turnuchawan ñuqakunaqa trabaha:.* CH
 turnu-cha-wan ñuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-:
 turn-DIM-INSTR I-PL-TOP work-1
 ‘We work by short turns.’
- (4) *Katraramuy indikananpaq, Hildacha.* AMV
 katra-ra-mu-y indika-na-n-paq Hilda-cha
 send-URGT-CISL-IMP indicate-NMLZ-3-PURP Hilda-DIM
 ‘Send him so that he shows him, Hilda, dear.’
- (5) *Pulvuchapaq tapaykullasa, wayrachapaq apaykullasa, kay sityuchaman trayaykamunki.* SP
 pulvu-cha-paq tapa-yku-lla-sa wayra-cha-paq
 dust-DIM-ABL cover-EXCEP-RSTR-PRF wind-DIM-ABL
 apa-yku-lla-sa kay sityu-cha-man traya-yka-mu-nki
 bring-EXCEP-RSTR-PRF DEM.P place-DIM-ALL arrive-EXCEP-CISL-2
 ‘Covered with dust, carried by the wind, you’re going to come to this place.’
- (6) *Chaychapam kakullayan.* AMV
 chay-cha-pa-m ka-ku-lla-ya-n
 DEM.D-DIM-LOC-EVD be-REFL-RSTR-PROG-3
 ‘It’s just right there.’
- (7) *Tiyu:pa sirvintin mamacha:pis sirvintin ñuqa kara:.* AMV
 tiyu:-pa sirvinti-n mama-cha:-pis sirvinti-n ñuqa ka-ra-:
 uncle-1-GEN servant-3 mother-DIM-1-ADD servant-3 I be-PST-1
 ‘I was my uncles’s and my grandmother’s servant.’
- (8) *Chay urunguysitu llusqiramushqa chay kahapaq.* AMV
 chay urunguy-situ llusqi-ra-mu-shqa chay kaha-paq
 DEM.D fly-DIM go.out-URGT-CISL-SUBIS DEM.D coffin-ABL
 ‘That little fly came out of the coffin.’

4 Verbs

This chapter covers the verbal system of Southern Yauyos Quechua. Its four sections treat verb stems, verb types, verbal inflection and verbal derivation, in that order.

4.1 Verb stems

In Southern Yauyos Quechua, as in other Quechuan languages, verb stems always end in a vowel (*yanapa-* ‘help’). Verb stems are bound forms: with the single exception of *haku* ‘let’s go!’ they never appear in isolation. They are subject to both inflectional and derivational processes, both suffixing (*wañu-n*, die-3, ‘they die’; *wañu-chi-n*, die-CAUS-3, ‘they kill’). The order of inflectional suffixes is fixed; the order of derivational suffixes is highly regular but admits exception. Inflection for person is obligatory (**qawa-katra-ya* see-FREQ-PROG); derivational processes are optional (*qawa-n* see-3). The different person suffixes are mutually exclusive; different derivational suffixes may attach in series (*qipi-ra-chi-ku-sa* carry-URGT-CAUS-REFL-NPST ‘she got herself carried’).

4.2 Types of verbs

Quechua verb stems are usually classed as (di-)transitive (*qu-* ‘give’, *riku-* ‘see’), intransitive (*puñu-* ‘sleep’), or copulative (*ka-* ‘be’). A fourth class can be set apart: onomatopoeic verbs (*chuqchuqya-* ‘nurse, make the sound of a calf nursing’). Special cases include the deictic verb *hina-*; the dummy verb *na-*; and the combining verbs (*-naya-* ‘give desire’ (§ 4.4.1.6) and (*-na-* ‘do what; matter; happen’ (§ 4.4.1.5). § 4.2.1–4.2.4 cover transitive, intransitive, equational, and onomatopoeic verbs, in turn.

4.2.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are standardly defined for Quechuan languages as those that can take regular-noun direct objects case-marked accusative (*llama-ta maqa-rqa*

‘They hit the llama’) (1–4). In addition to regular transitives, verbs of motion (*lluqsi*- ‘leave’) (5) and impersonal (“weather”) verbs (*riti*- ‘snow’) (6), (7) may appear in clauses with regular nouns case-marked *-ta*. In these instances, however, *-ta* does not indicate accusative case.¹

- (1) *Wak Kashapatapiñam maqarura César Mullidata.* 1T
 wak Kashapata-pi-ña-m maqa-ru-ra César Mullida-ta
 DEM.D Kashapata-LOC-DISC-EVD beat-URGT-PST César Mullida-ACC
 ‘They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.’

- (2) *Asñuqa nin, “Ñuqa tarisisayki sugaykitaqa.”* SP
 asnu-qa ni-n, ñuqa tari-si-sayki suga-yki-ta-qa
 donkey-TOP say-3 I find-ACMP-1>2.FUT rope-2-ACC-TOP
 ‘The mule said, “I’m going to help you find your rope.”’

- (3) *¿Maqtakunata pushanki icha pashñata?* AMV
 maqta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta
 young.man-PL-ACC bring.along-2 or girl-ACC
 ‘Are you going to take the boys or the girl?’

- (4) *¡Vakata lliwta qaquuruy! Rikurushaq hanaypim.* AMV
 vaka-ta lliw-ta qaqu-ru-y ri-ku-ru-shaq
 cow-ACC all-ACC toss.out-URGT-IMP go-REFL-URGT-1.FUT
 hanay-pi-m
 up.hill-LOC-EVD
 ‘Toss out the cows, all of them! I’m going to go up hill.’

- (5) *Yakupis tukuy pampata rikullaq.* AMV
 yaku-pis tukuy pampa-ta ri-ku-lla-q
 water-ADD all ground-ACC go-REFL-RSTR-AG
 ‘The water used to run all over the ground.’

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that the verbs in (6) and (7) could be interpreted as transitive (telic) verbs with accusative arguments. *para*-, for example, is interpretable as ‘rain on’ and *pukuta*- as ‘cloud over’, in which case *-ta* in *llaqta-yki-ta* and *-kta* in *llaqta-kta* would have to be interpreted as genuine accusatives.

- (6) *¿Llaqtaykita paranchu?* AMV
 llaqta-yki-ta para-n-chu
 town-2-ACC rain-3-Q
 ‘Does it rain on your town?’
- (7) *Tukuy puntraw pukutalunqa llaqtakta.* CH
 tukuy puntraw pukuta-lu-nqa llaqta-cta
 all day cloud-URGT-3.FUT town-ACC
 ‘It’s going to cloud over on the town all day.’

4.2.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those, like *puñu-* ‘sleep’ (1) and *wiña-* ‘grow’ (2), that cannot occur in clauses including a regular noun case-marked accusative (**puñu-ni kama-ta* target meaning: ‘I sleep the bed’). Also included among the intransitives are the impersonal weather verbs, like *qasa-* ‘freeze’, which do not take subjects (*qasa-ya-n* ‘it’s freezing’).² Verbs of motion (*hamu-* ‘come’, *lluqsi-* ‘exit’) form a subclass of intransitive verbs. These often have adverbial complements marked with the directional suffixes *-ta* (accusative), *-man* (allative, dative), *-paq* (ablative) and *-kama* (limitative) (3), (4), and they may occur in clauses that include a nominalization with the agentive suffix *-q* indicating the purpose of movement (5), (6).

- (1) *Kamapam ñuqa puñukuya: ishkayni.* ACH
 kama-pa-m ñuqa puñu-ku-ya-: ishkay-ni-:
 bed-LOC-EVD I sleepREFL-PROG-1 two-EUPH-1
 ‘We were both sleeping in bed.’
- (2) *Chaypaqa wiñaraptinga, ¿ayka puntrawnintataq riganchik?* AMV
 chay-pa-qa wiña-ra-pti-n-qa ayka
 DEM.D-LOC-TOP grow-UNINT-SUBDS-3-TOP how.many
 puntraw-ni-n-ta-taq riga-nchik
 day-EUPH-3-ACC-SEQ irrigate-1PL
 ‘When it grows, at how many days do we water it?’

² The weather verbs admit only their corresponding weather nouns for subjects. *Para para-ya-n.* ‘The rain is raining.’

4 Verbs

- (3) *Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abrilta llusirun waway.* AMV
chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abril-ta
DEM.D one morning thirty and one of April-ACC
lluqi-ru-n wawa-y
go.out-URGT-3 baby-1
'On that morning, the thirty-first of April, my son left the house [and was kidnapped].'
- (4) *Hinashpa chaypaq wichayman pasachisa chay Amador kaqmanñataq.* ACH
hinashpa chay-paq wichay-man pasa-chi-sa chay Amador
then DEM.D-ABL up.hill-ALL pass-CAUS-NPST DEM.D Amador
ka-q-man-ña-taq
be-AG-ALL-DISC-SEQ
'Then, from there they made them march [to] up high to Don Amador's place.'
- (5) *Llaman qutuq risa, mayuta pawayashpash saqakarusa.* AMV
llama-n qutu-q ri-sa mayu-ta pawa-ya-shpa-sh
llama-3 gather-AG go-NPST river-ACC jump-PROG-SUBIS-EVR
saqa-ka-ru-sa
go.down-PASSACC-URGT-NPST
'She went to gather her llamas and when she jumped the river, she fell.'
- (6) *Kabraykiwan qatishiq hamusa ninkimiki.* AMV
kabra-yki-wan qati-shi-q hamu-sa ni-nki-mi-ki
goat-2-INSTR follow-ACMP-AG come-NPST say-2-EVD-IKI
'He came to help bring your goats, you said.'

4.2.3 Copulative/equational verbs

SYQ counts a single copulative verb, *ka-*. Like the English verb *be*, *ka-* has both copulative ('I am a llama') (1), (2) and existential ('There are llamas') (3), (4) interpretations. Combined with the progressive, *ya-*, it may but need not have a stative interpretation as well (equivalent to the Spanish *estar*) (5), (6). *ka-* is irregular: the third person singular present tense form, *ka-n*, never appears in

equational statements, but only in existential statements (7), (8).³ In these cases, *ka-ya-n* may be employed instead (9), (10).

- (1) *Ñuqa-nchik fwirti kanchik, patachita, matrkata, trakranchik llusqiqa mikushpam.* AMV
 ñuqa-nchik fwirti ka-nchik patachi-ta
 I-1PL strong be-1PL wheat.soup-ACC
 matrka-ta trakra-nchik llusqi-q-ta miku-shpa-m
 ground.cereal.meal-ACC field-1PL come.out-AG-ACC eat-SUBIS-EVD
 ‘We are strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and machka.’
- (2) *Qammi salvasyunniy kanki.* AMV
 qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y ka-nki
 you-EVD salvation-EUPH-1 be-2
 ‘You are my salvation.’
- (3) *Kanña piña turu.* AMV
 ka-n-ña piña turu
 be-3-DISC mad bull
 ‘There are mean bulls.’
- (4) *Rantiqpis kantaqmi.* AMV
 ranti-q-pis ka-n-taq-mi
 buy-AG-ADD be-3-SEQ-EVD
 ‘There are also buyers.’
- (5) *¿Cañete, maypahinañatr kayanchik? Karru, mutu, ¡Asu machu!* AMV
 Cañete, may-pa-hina-ña-tr ka-ya-nchik karru mutu
 Cañete where-LOC-COMP-DISC-EVC be-PROG-1PL bus motorcycle
 ‘Cañete, like we are where already? Cars, motorcycles – My Lord!’
- (6) *Qam sumaq sumaq warmim kayanki.* ACH
 qam sumaq sumaq warmi-m ka-ya-nki
 you pretty pretty woman-EVD be-PROG-2
 ‘You are a very pretty woman.’

³ The verbal system includes just two irregularities, the second being that *haku* ‘let’s go’ is never conjugated.

4 Verbs

- (7) *Wira wiram matraypi puñushpa, allin pastuta mikushpam.* AMV
wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa allin pastu-ta
fat fat-EVD cave-LOC sleep-SUBIS good pasture.grass-ACC
miku-shpa-m
eat-SUBIS-EVD
'Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow is really fat.'
- (8) *Llutanshiki.* LT
llutan-shi-ki
deformed-EVR-IKI
'They are deformed, they say.'
- (9) *Watunqa fiyu fiyu wiqam kayan.* AMV
watu-n-qa fiyu fiyu wiqa-m ka-ya-n
rope-3-TOP ugly ugly twisted-EVD be-PROG-3
'Her rope is really horrid twisted wool.'
- (10) *¿Alpakachu wak kayan?* AMV
alpaka-chu wak ka-ya-n
alpaca-Q DEM.D be-PROG-3
'Is that alpaca [wool]?'

4.2.4 Onomatopoetic verbs

Onomatopoetic verbs can be distinguished from other verbs by the shape of their stem. The majority involve the repetition – two to four times – of a syllable or syllable group, most often with the suffixation of *-ya*. Four patterns dominate:

Pattern 1: $[(C_1V_1(C_2))_{S_1}][C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_1}(-ya)(-ku)$

Pattern 1 involves the repetition of a single syllable twice or three times, generally with *-ya* or, more rarely, *-ku* or *-ya-ku*, i.e., $(S_1)S_1S_1(-ya)(-ku)$.

Example: *qurqurya*- 'snore', *luqluqluqya*- 'boil'.

Examples: Onomatopoetic verbs

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--|
| (1) | <i>taqtaq-ya-</i> | knock, make the sound of knocking on wood |
| (2) | <i>qurqur-ya-</i> | snore, make the sound of snoring |
| (3) | <i>kurrkurr-ya-</i> | ribbit (make the sound of a frog) |
| (4) | <i>punpun-ya-</i> | flub-dub, beat (make the sound of the heart) |
| (5) | <i>qasqas-ya-</i> | make the sound of dry leaves |
| (6) | <i>katkat-ya-</i> | tremble, shake (intrans.) |
| (7) | <i>chuqchuq-ya-</i> | nurse, make the sound of an animal nursing |
| (8) | <i>pakpak-ya-ku-</i> | make the sound of a guinea pig |
| (9) | <i>qullqullqull-ya-</i> | gurgle, make the sound of a stomach |
| (10) | <i>luqluqluq-ya-</i> | boil, make the sound of water boiling |
| (11) | <i>quququ-ya-ku-</i> | croak (make the sound of a frog) |
-

Pattern 2: $[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S_1}[C_3V_1]_{S_2}[C_3V_1]_{S_2}[C_3V_1]_{S_2}(-ya)(-ku)$

Pattern 2, like pattern 1, involves the repetition of a single syllable generally with *-ya* or, more rarely, *-ku* or *-ya-ku*. Pattern 2 differs from Pattern 1, however, in that the repeated syllable is (1) always repeated three times; (2) never includes a coda; and (3) is preceded by a non-cognate syllable which generally if not always includes the same vowel as does the repeated syllable, *i.e.*, $S_1S_2S_2S_2(-ya)(-ku)$.

Example: *bunrururu-* ‘thunder’.

Examples: Onomatopoetic verbs

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

4 Verbs

Pattern 3:

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

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

Example: *chiplichipli-* ‘sparkle’.

Examples: Onomatopoetic verbs

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>chiplichipli-</i> | shine, sparkle |
| (2) | <i>piiiiichiwpiiiiichiw-</i> | make the sound of a pichusa |
| (3) | <i>iraniraniran-ya-ku-</i> | moo (make the sound of a cow) |
| (4) | <i>wilwichwilwich-ya-ku-</i> | make the sound of a pheasant |
-

Pattern 4: Pattern 4, like Patterns 1 and 3, involves the repetition of a single syllable or two-syllable unit two or three times, generally with *-ya* or *-ku*. Pattern 4 differs from Patterns 1 and 3, however, in that the final consonant in the final iteration is eliminated or changed.

Examples: *waqwaqwaya-* ‘guffaw’, *chalaqchalanya-* ‘clang’.

Examples: Onomatopoetic verbs

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|
| (1) | <i>chalaqchalan/ya-</i> | clang, make the sound of metal things coming into contact with each other |
| (2) | <i>waqwaqwa-ya-</i> | laugh heartily, guffaw |
| (3) | <i>chiwachiwa-ya-ku-</i> | make the sound of a chivillo bird |
-

There are further, less-common variations. For example, *kurutukutu*- ‘make the sound of a male guinea pig chasing a female guinea pig’ involves the repetition of a three-syllable unit with the elimination of the second syllable in the final iteration.

- (1) *Fwirapapis katkatyakuyanchik*. ACH
 fwira-pa-pis katkatyaku-ya-nchik
 outside-LOC-ADD tremble-PROG-1PL
 ‘Outside, too, we’re trembling.’

- (2) *Tutaña killapa sumaq sumaq kaballiriya hamukuyasa pampata chiplichiplishpa*. AMV
 tuta-ña killa-pa sumaq sumaq kaballiriya
 night-DISC moon-LOC pretty pretty horse
 hamu-ku-ya-sa pampa-ta chiplichipli-shpa
 come-REFL-PROG-NPST ground-ACC sparkle-SUBIS
 ‘At night, under the moon, a beautiful horse was coming across the ground, sparkling.’

- (3) *Unayqa wamaq wamaq rayu kakullaq. “¡Qangran! ¡Qangran!” taqlaqyakuq*. AMV
 unay-qa wamaq wamaq rayu ka-ku-lla-q qangra-n
 before-TOP a.lot a.lot thunder be-REL-RSTR-AG growl-3
 qangra-n taqlaqyaku-q
 growl-3 rumble-AG
 ‘Before, there was a whole lot of thunder. “Bbrra-boom! Bbrra-boom!” it rumbled.’

- (4) *Chitchityakushpa rikullan kabrakunaqa*. LT
 chitchityaku-shpa ri-ku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa
 say.chit.chit-SUBIS go-REFL-RSTR-3 goat-PL-TOP
 ‘Chit-chitting, the goats left.’

4.3 Verb inflection

4.3.1 Summary

Verbs in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, inflect for person, number, tense, conditionality, imperativity, aspect, and subordination.

In practice, SYQ counts three persons: first, second, and third (*ñuqa*, *qam*, and *pay*). SYQ verbs inflect for plurality in the first person (*-nchik*); singular and plural suffixes are identical in the second and third persons (*-nki*, *-n*). Although SYQ makes available a three-way distinction between dual, inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural (*ñuqanchik*, *ñuqanchikkuna*, *nuqakuna*), in practice, in all but the CH dialect, the dual form is employed in all three cases; inclusive and exclusive interpretations being supplied by context, both linguistic and extra-linguistic.

Transitive verbs with non-reflexive first or second person objects inflect for actor-object reference (*-wan*, *-yki*, etc.) Verbal inflection in SYQ marks three tenses, present, past (*-RQa*), and future (portmanteau); the perfect (*-sHa*); the progressive (*-ya*); the present and past conditional (*-man* (*karqa*)); and the second person and first person plural imperative (*-y*, *-shun*) and third person injunctive (*-chun*). In practice, SYQ counts two adverbial subordinating suffixes, one employed when the subjects of the main and subordinated clauses are different (*-pti*); the other when they are the identical (*-shpa*). A third subordinating suffix (*-shтин*), also employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical, is recognized, if not frequently used. Inflectional suffixes (IA) follow derivational suffixes (DA), if any; derivational suffixes attach to the verb stem (vs). Thus, a SYQ verb is built: vs – (DA) – IA (see § 7.1 and 7.12 on constituent order and sentences).

The dialects of SYQ differ in the suffixes they employ in the first person. One set – AMV and LT – follow the pattern of the QII languages, employing *-ni* to mark the first-person singular nominative and *-wa* to mark the accusative/dative; another set – ACH, SP, CH – follow the QI pattern, employing *-:* (vowel length) for the first-person singular nominative and *-ma* for the accusative dative. The person-number suffixes are: *-ni* or *-:* (1P), *-nki* (2P), *-n* (3P), and *-nchik* or *-ni/ -:* (1PL). SYQ verbs also inflect for actor-object reference. The subject-object suffixes are: *-yki* (1>2), *-wanki* or *-manki* (2>1), *-wan* or *-man* (3>1), *-shunki* (3>2), *-wanchik* or *-manchik* (3>1PL), and *-sHQayki* (1>2.FUT). Examples: *ni-nki* ‘You say’; *qawa-yki* ‘I see you’ (See § 4.3.2).

The simple present tense is unspecified for time. It generally indicates temporally unrestricted or habitual action. The simple present tense is indicated by the suffixation of person-number suffixes alone, *i.e.*, unaccompanied by any other

inflectional markers. Example: *yanu-ni (sapa puntraw)* ‘I cook (every day)’ (See § 4.3.3.1).

Future suffixes simultaneously indicate person, number and tense. The future suffixes are: *-shaq* (1P), *-nki* (2P), *-nqa* (3P), and *-shun* (1PL). Note that the second person future suffix is identical to the second person simple present suffix. Examples: *chawa-shaq* ‘I will milk’; *pawa-nki* ‘you will jump’; *picha-nqa* ‘they will sweep’ (See § 4.3.3.2).

The simple past tense alone generally does not receive a completive interpretation; indeed, speakers generally translate it into Spanish with the present perfect. The simple past tense is indicated by the suffix *-RQa*, realized as *-rqa* in AMV, *-ra* in ACH, LT, SP, and *-la* in CH. These are immediately followed by person-number suffixes which are identical to the present tense person-number suffixes with the single exception that the third person is realized not as *-n* but as *-ø*. Examples: *qawa-rqa-ni* ‘I saw’ or ‘I have seen’; *patrya-la-ø* ‘it/they exploded or ‘it/they has/have exploded’; *hamu-ra-nki* ‘you came’ or ‘you have come’ (see § 4.3.3.3.1).

The quotative simple past tense can be used in story-telling. The quotative simple past is indicated by the suffix *-shQa*, realized as *-sa* in ACH, AMV and SP and *-sha* in CH and LT. It is sometimes realized in all dialects as *-shqa* in the first and sometimes last line of a story. Examples: *nasi-sa-* ‘I was born’; *ri-shqa* ‘he went’; *hamu-sa-ø* ‘they came’ (see § 4.3.3.3.2).

Within the morphological paradigm, *-sHa* – realized as *-sa* in ACH, AMV and SP and *-sha* in CH and LT – occupies a slot that seems to be reserved for the perfect. Its interpretation, however, is more subtle and it is most often employed as a completive past. *-sHa* is immediately followed by the same person-number suffixes as is simple past (i.e., the third person is realized as *-ø*). Example: *ri-sa-nki* ‘you have gone’ (see § 4.3.3.3.3).

The iterative past is indicated by the combination – as independent words – of the agentive verb form (V-*q*) and – in the first and second persons – the corresponding present tense form of the verb *-ka* ‘to be’. Examples: *ri-q* ‘she used to go’; *ri-q ka-nchik* ‘we used to go’ (see § 4.3.3.3.4).

The conditional (also called “potential” or “irrealis”) covers more territory than does the conditional in English. It corresponds to the existential and universal ability, circumstantial, deontic, epistemic, and teleological modals of English. The regular conditional is indicated by the suffix *-man*. *-man* is immediately preceded by person-number suffixes. In the case of the first person singular, the suffixes of the nominal (possessive) paradigm are employed: *-y* in the AMV and LT dialects and *-:* in the ACH, CH, and SP dialects. Alternative conditional forms are attested in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect and first person

plural in all dialects. *-waq* indicates the second person conditional; *-chuwan*, the first person plural conditional. Both these morphemes simultaneously indicate person and conditionality and are in complementary distribution both with tense and inflectional morphemes. The past conditional is formed by the addition of *ka-RQa* – the third person simple past tense form of *ka-* ‘be’ to either the regular or alternative present-tense conditional form. Examples: *ri-nki-man* ‘you can go’; *ri-chuwan* ‘we can go’ (see § 4.3.4).

Imperative suffixes simultaneously indicate person, number and imperativity. The imperative suffixes are: *-y* (2P) and *-shun* (1PL); the injunctive suffix is *-chun* (1PL). Examples: *¡Ri-y!* ‘Go!’, *¡Ruwa-shun!* ‘Let’s do it!’, and *¡Lluqsi-chun!* ‘Let him leave!’ (see § 4.3.5).

Progressive aspect is indicated by the derivational suffix *-ya*. *-ya* precedes⁴ person-number suffixes and time suffixes, if any. Example: *ri-ya-n* ‘she/he/they is/are going’; *ri-ya-ra-ø* ‘she/he/they was/were going’ (see § 4.3.6).

Subordination is not entirely at home with verbal inflection. Subordinating suffixes are different from inflectional suffixes in that, first, they cannot combine with tense, imperativity, or conditionality suffixes, and, second, they are inflected with the person-number suffixes of the nominal paradigm and not those of the verbal paradigm. *syQ* makes use of three subordinating suffixes: *-pti*, *-shpa* and *-shtin*: *-pti* is used when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different; *-shpa* and *-shtin*, when the subjects are identical. Caca, following the pattern of the *qi* languages, uses *-r* (realized [l]) in place of *-shpa*. *-pti* is generally translated ‘when’, but also occasionally receives the translations ‘if’, ‘because’, or ‘although’. *-shpa* may receive any of these translations, but is most often translated with a gerund. *-shtin* is translated with a gerund exclusively. All three inherit tense, conditionality, and aspect specification from the main-clause verb. *-pti* always inflects for person-number; *-shpa* and *-shtin* never do. Person-number suffixes are those of the nominal paradigm: *-y* or *-:* (1P), *-Yki* (2P), *-n* (3P), and *-nchik* (1PL). Examples: *Hamu-pti-ki llusqi-rqa-ø* ‘when/because you came, she left’; *Kustumbra-ku-shpa hawka-m yatra-ku-nchik* ‘When/if we adjust, we live peacefully’ (see § 4.3.7).

Table 4.1 summarizes this information. In this and the tables that follow, for reasons of space, unless otherwise specified, all dialects employ the same forms.

⁴ The derivational affixes *-mu*, *-chi*, and *-ru* may intervene between *-ya* and the inflectional affixes.

The following abbreviations and conventions are employed.

‘you’	→ you.S/you.PL
‘he’	→ he/she/it/they
‘can ...’	→ can/could/will/would/shall/should/may/might
‘could ...’	→ could/would/should/might
‘when ...’	→ when/if/because/although/not until or V-ing

A verb appearing inside angled brackets <like this> indicates a root without tense, conditionality or aspect specified.

Dialects differ from each other in four sets of cases. They diverge in terms of (1) their treatment of the first person singular and the first person plural exclusive; (2) their realization of the simple past tense morpheme *-RQa*; (3) their realization of the perfect morpheme *-sHa* and (4) their realization of */r/.

Table 4.1 displays the differences among the dialects that are relevant to verbal inflection.

Table 4.1: Verbal inflectional suffixes with different realizations in syQ dialects

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

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 give the verbal inflection paradigm of syQ. All processes are suffixing, i.e., a verb root precedes all inflectional morphemes. Translations are given as if for the verb *ni-* ‘say.’ Details of form and use as well as extensive examples follow in § 4.3.2–4.3.7.

Table 4.2: Verbal inflection paradigm

Tense	1P	2P	3P	1PL
Present	-ni _{AMV, LT}	-nki	-n	-nchik
	-‘ACH, CH, SP ‘I say’	‘you say’	‘he says’	‘we say’
Future	-shaq	-nki	-nqa	-shun
	‘I will say’	‘you will say’	‘he will say’	‘we will say’
Past	-rqa-ni _{AMV}	-rqa-nki _{AMV}	-rqa-∅ _{AMV}	-rqa-nchik _{AMV}
	-ra-ni _{LT}	-ra-nki _{ACH, LT, SP}	-ra-∅ _{ACH, LT, SP}	-ra-nchik _{ACH, LT, SP}
	-ra-‘ACH, SP	-la-nki _{CH}	-la-∅ _{CH}	-la-nchik _{CH}
	-la-‘CH ‘I (have) said’	‘you (have) said’	‘he (has) said’	‘we (have) said’
Narrative past	-sa-ni _{AMV}	-sa-nki _{ACH, AMV, SP}	-sa-∅ _{ACH, AMV, SP}	-sa-nchik _{ACH, AMV, SP}
	-sha-ni _{LT}	-sha-nki _{CH, LT}	-sha-∅ _{CH, LT}	-sha-nchik _{CH, LT}
	-sa-‘ACH, SP			
	-sha-‘CH ‘I have said’	‘you have said’	‘he has said’	‘we have said’
Habitual past	-q ka-ni _{AMV, LT}	-q ka-nki	-q	-q ka-nchik
	-q ka-‘ACH, CH, SP ‘I used to say’	‘you used to say’	‘he used to say’	‘we used to say’
Continuative	-ya-ni _{AMV, LT}	-ya-nki	-ya-n	-ya-nchik
	-ya-‘ACH, CH, SP ‘I am saying’	‘you are saying’	‘he is saying’	‘we are saying’

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Table 4.2. Continued from previous page

Tense	1P	2P	3P	1PL
Conditional (potential)	-y-man _{AMV, LT}	-nki-man	-n-man	-nchik-man
	-:-man _{ACH, CH, SP} 'I can...say'	'you can...say'	'he can...say'	'we can...say'
Alternative conditional	×	-waq _{AMV} 'you could...say'	×	-chuwan 'we could...say'
Past conditional	-y-man karqa _{AMV}	-nki-man ka-rqa _{AMV}	-n-man ka-rqa _{AMV}	-nchik-man ka-rqa _{AMV}
	-y-man ka-ra _{LT}	-nki-man ka-ra _{ACH, LT, SP}	-n-man ka-ra _{ACH, LT, SP}	-nchik-man ka-ra _{ACH, LT, SP}
	-:-man ka-ra _{ACH, SP}	-nki-man ka-la _{CH}	-n-man ka-la _{CH}	-nchik-man ka-la _{CH}
	-:-man ka-la _{CH} 'I could...have said'	'you could...have said'	'he could...have said'	'we could...have said'
Alternative past conditional	×	-waq ka-rqa _{AMV} -waq ka-ra _{LT}	×	-chuwan ka-rqa _{AMV} -chuwan ka-ra _{ACH, SP, LT} -chuwan ka-la _{CH} 'we could...have said'
Imperative	×	-y 'Say!'	-chun 'Let him say!'	-shun 'Let's say!'
Subordinator different subjects	-pti-y _{AMV, LT}	-pti-ki	-pti-n	-pti-nchik
	-pti-:- _{ACH, CH, SP} when ... I <say>	when ... you <say>	when ... he <say>	when ... we <say>
Subordinator identical subj. 1	-shpa	-shpa	-shpa	-shpa
	'when ... I <say>'	'when ... you <say>'	'when ... he <say>'	'when ... we <say>'
Subordinator identical subj. 2	-shtin	-shtin	-shtin	-shtin
	'saying'	'saying'	'saying'	'saying'

Table 4.3: Verbal inflection paradigm, actor-object suffixes

Tense	2>1	3>1	3>1PL	1>2	3>2
Present	-wa-nki _{AMV, LT}	-wa-n _{AMV, LT}	-wa-nchik _{AMV, LT}	-yki	-shu-nki
	-ma-nki _{ACH, CH, SP} 'you say to me'	-ma-n _{ACH, CH, SP} 'he says to me'	-man-chik _{ACH, CH, SP} 'he says to us'	'I say to you'	'he says to you'
Future	-wa-nki _{AMV, LT}	-wa-nga _{AMV, LT}	-wa-shun _{AMV, LT}	-sHQayki	-shu-nki
	-ma-nki _{ACH, CH, SP} 'you will say to me'	-ma-nga _{ACH, CH, SP} 'he will say to me'	-ma-shun _{ACH, CH, SP} 'he will say to us'	'I will say to you'	'he will say to you'
Past	-wa-rqa-nki _{AMV}	-wa-rqa-Ø _{AMV}	-wa-rqa-nchik _{AMV}	-rqa-yki _{AMV}	-shu-rqa-nki _{AMV}
	-wa-ra-nki _{LT}	-wa-ra-Ø _{LT}	-wa-ra-nchik _{LT}	-ra-yki _{LT, ACH, SP}	-shu-ra-nki _{LT, ACH, SP}
	-ma-ra-nki _{ACH, SP}	-ma-ra-Ø _{ACH, SP}	-ma-ra-nchik _{ACH, SP}	-la-yki _{CH}	-shu-la-nki _{CH}
	-ma-la-nki _{CH} 'you (have) said to me'	-ma-la-Ø _{CH} 'he (has) said to me'	-ma-la-nchik _{CH} 'he (has) said to us'	'I (have) said to you'	'he (has) said to you'
Narrative past	-wa-sa-nki _{AMV}	-wa-sa-Ø _{AMV}	-wa-sa-nchik _{AMV}	-sa-yki _{AMV, ACH, SP}	N/A
	-wa-sha-nki _{LT}	-wa-sha-Ø _{LT}	-wa-sha-nchik _{LT}	-sha-yki _{LT, CH}	N/A
	-ma-sa-nki _{ACH, SP}	-ma-sa-Ø _{ACH, SP}	-ma-sa-nchik _{ACH, SP}		
	-ma-sha-nki _{CH} 'you (have) said to me'	-ma-sha-Ø _{CH} 'he (has) said to me'	-ma-sha-nchik _{CH} 'he (has) said to us'	'I (have) said to you'	'he (has) said to you'
Habitual past	-wa-q ka-nki _{AMV, LT}	-wa-q _{AMV, LT}	N/A	N/A	N/A
	-ma-q ka-nki _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-q _{ACH, CH, SP}	N/A	N/A	N/A

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Table 4.3. Continued from previous page

Tense	2>1	3>1	3>1PL	1>2	3>2
Continuous	-ya-wa-nki _{AMV, LT}	-ya-wa-n _{AMV, LT}	-ya-wa-nchik _{AMV, LT}	-ya-yki	-ya-shu-nki
	-ya-ma-nki _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ya-ma-n _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ya-ma-nchik _{ACH, CH, SP}		
	'you are saying to me'	'he is saying to me'	'he is saying to us'	'I am saying to you'	'he is saying to you'
Conditional	-wa-nki-man _{AMV, LT}	-wa-n-man _{AMV, LT}	-wa-nchik-man _{AMV, LT}	-yki-man	-shu-nki-man
	-ma-nki-man _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-n-man _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-nchik-man _{ACH, CH, SP}		
	'you can... say to me'	'he can... say to me'	'he can... say to us'	'I can... say to you'	'he can... say to you'
Alternative conditional	×	×	-wa-chuwan _{AMV, LT}	×	×
	×	×	-ma-chuwan _{ACH, CH, SP}	×	×
			'he ca... say to us'		
Past conditional	-wa-nki-man	-wa-n-man	-wa-nchik-man	-yki-man	-shu-nki-man
	ka-rqa _{AMV}	ka-rqa _{AMV}	ka-rqa _{AMV}		ka-rqa _{AMV}
	-wa-nki-man	-wa-n-man	-wa-nchik-man	-yki-man	-shu-nki-man
	ka-ra _{LT}		ka-ra _{LT}		ka-ra _{LT}
	-ma-nki-man	-ma-n-man	-ma-nchik-man		
	ka-ra _{ACH, SP}	ka-ra _{ACH, SP}	ka-ra _{ACH, SP}		
	-ma-nki-man	-ma-n-man	-ma-nchik-man		
	ka-la _{CH}	ka-la _{CH}	ka-la _{CH}		
	'you could... have said to me'	'he could... have said to me'	'he could... have said to us'	'I could... have said to you'	'he could... have said to you'

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Table 4.3. Continued from previous page

Tense	2>1	3>1	3>1Pl	1>2	3>2
Alternative past conditional	×	×	-wa-chuwan ka-rqa _{AMV}	×	×
	×	×	-ma-chuwan	×	×
	×	×	ka-ra _{LT, ACH, SP} -ma-chuwan	×	×
			ka-la _{CH}		
Subordinator different subjects			'he could... say to us'		
	-wa-pti-ki _{AMV, LT} -ma-pti-ki _{ACH, CH, SP}	-wa-pti-n _{AMV, LT} -ma-pti-n _{ACH, CH, SP}	-wa-pti-nchik _{AMV, LT} -ma-pti- nchik _{ACH, CH, SP}	-pti-ki	-shu-pti-ki
	'when ... you say to me'	'when ... he says to me'	'when ... he says to us'	'when ... I say to you'	'when ... he says to you'

4.3.2 Person and number

SYQ non-subordinate verbs inflect for actor and object reference; substantives inflect for allocation.

4.3.2.1 Subject

The first person is indicated in both the verbal and substantive paradigms in ACH, CH, and SP by $-\text{ACH,CH,SP}$; in AMV LT; these are indicated by $-\text{ni}_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ and $-\text{y}_{\text{AMV,LT}}$, respectively. $-$ and $-\text{ni}$ attach to verb stems (plus derivational or inflectional suffixes, if any, with the single exception that $-\text{ni}$ cannot precede the conditional suffix $-\text{man}$) (*puri-ni*, *puri-* ‘I walk’). $-$ and $-\text{y}$ attach to the subordinating suffix $-\text{pti}$ (*qawa-pti-y*, *qawa-pti-* ‘when ... I see’) and to the verb stem in the conditional (*lluqsi-y-man*, *lluqsi-* ‘I could leave’).

In all dialects the second person is indicated in the verbal paradigm by $-\text{nki}$ and in the substantive paradigm by $-\text{yki}$. $-\text{nki}$ attaches to verb stems (plus derivational or inflectional suffixes, if any, except $-\text{man}$) (*puri-nki* ‘you walk’); $-\text{yki}$ allomorph $-\text{ki}$ attaches to the subordinator $-\text{pti}$ (*qawa-pti-ki* ‘when ... you see’. In Cacara, $-\text{k}$ indicates the second person is the object of action by the first person in the present tense (*qu-k* ‘I give you’).

$-\text{n}$ indicates the third person and $-\text{nchik}$ refers to a group that includes the speaker and the addressee and, potentially, others in both the verbal and substantive paradigms. $-\text{n}$ and $-\text{nchik}$ attach to verb roots (plus derivational and inflectional suffixes, if any) (*puri-n* ‘he/they walk/s’; *puri-nchik* ‘we walk’) and the subordinating suffix $-\text{pti}$ as well (*qawa-pti-n* ‘when ... you see’ *qawa-pti-nchik* ‘when ... you see’). This information is summarized in Table 4.4.

4.3.2.2 Actor and object reference

$-\text{wa}_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ and $-\text{ma}_{\text{ACH,CH,SP}}$ indicate a first person object. Followed by the second person verbal suffix ($-\text{nki}$) $-\text{wa}$ and $-\text{ma}$ indicate that the speaker is the object of action by the addressee (*qu-wa-nki*, *qu-ma-nki* ‘you give me’) (1), (2); followed by third person verbal suffix ($-\text{n}$), they indicate that the speaker is the object of action by a third person (*qu-wa-n*, *qu-ma-n* ‘he/she/they give/s me’) (3), (4). $-\text{nchik}$ pluralizes a first-person object (*qu-wa-nchik*, *qu-ma-nchik* ‘he/she/they give/s us’) (5–7). Followed by second person imperative suffix ($-\text{y}$), $-\text{wa}/-\text{ma}$ indicates that the speaker is the object of action by the addressee (*Qu-wa-y!*, *Qu-ma-y!* ‘Give me!’) (8), (9).

Table 4.4: Person suffixes by environment

Person	verb stem + suffixes	subordina- tor <i>-shpa</i>	subordina- tor <i>-pti</i>	substantive (short) i final	substantive (short) a, u final	substantive C. (or long V.) final	condi- tional V. stem + suffixes
1	-ni _{AMV,LT}	-y _{AMV,LT}	-y _{AMV,LT}	-y _{AMV,LT}	-y _{AMV,LT}	-ni- y _{AMV,LT}	-y _{AMV,LT}
	- _{ACH,CH,SP}	- _{ACH,CH,SP}	- _{ACH,CH,SP}	- _{ACH,CH,SP}	- _{ACH,CH,SP}	-ni- _{ACH,CH,SP}	- _{ACH,CH,SP}
2	-nki	-yki	-ki	-ki	-yki	-ni-ki	-nki
3	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-ni-n	-n
1PL	-nchik	-nchik	-nchik	-nchik	-nchik	-ni-nchik	-nchik

-*shu*, followed by a second person verbal suffix (-*nki*), indicates that the addressee is the object of action by a third person (*qu-shu-nki* ‘he/she/they give/s you’) (10). -*sHQayki* indicates that the addressee is the object of future action by the speaker (*qu-sa-yki* ‘I give you’) (11–14).

The object suffixes – *-wa/-ma*, -*shu* and -*sHQa* – succeed aspect suffixes (15–17) and precede tense (18–20) and subordinating suffixes (21–27), as well as the nominalizing suffix -*na* (28), (29) (*qu-ya--wa-nki* ‘you are giving me’; *qu-wa-rqa-ø* ‘you gave me’; *qu-su-pti-ki* ‘when he/she/they gave you’; *qu-wa-na-n-paq* ‘so he/she/they give/s me’). Both object and subject suffixes – *-wa/-ma*, -*shu* and -*sHQa*, as well as -*nki*, -*YkI*, and -*n* – precede the conditional suffix -*man* (*qu-wa-nki-man* ‘you could give me’) (30–32). Exceptions to these rules arise in case the object is 1PL. First, the first-person object pluralizer, -*nchik*, does not precede aspect, tense, subordinating, nominalizing and conditional suffixes, but, rather, succeeds them (*ñiti-ru-wa-n-man-chik* ‘it could crush us’) (33–35). Second, 3>1PL future is not indicated by *-*wa/ma-nqa-nchik*, but rather by -*wa/mashun* (44), (45). Finally, third, just as the 1PL conditional may be indicated by either of two forms, one regular (-*nchik-man*) one alternative/portmanteau (-*chuwan*), the 3>1PL conditional, too, may be indicated by either a regular (-*wa/ma-n-man-chik*) or a portmanteau form (-*wa/ma-chuwan*) (*chuka-ru-wa-chuwan* ‘it can make us sick’) (37), (38). In all other cases, subject-object suffixes combine with standard morphology (41–43).

A typological note. Number is expressed in spontaneously-occurring examples only in those cases in which there is a first-person plural object (36). In these cases all SYQ dialects follow the Southern QII pattern ordering suffixes : OBJ-TNS-

SBJ-NUM. Note, though, that while in the Southern QII languages *-chik* pluralizes the subject, in SYQ *-chik* pluralizes the object. There are no spontaneous examples following the Central QII pattern NUM-OBJ-TNS-SBJ.

There are no special forms for third-person objects. A third-person object is indicated by the case-marking of the third-person pronoun *pay* with either accusative *-ta* or allative/dative *-man* (*pay-ta qawa-nchik* ‘we see him/her’, *pay-kuna-man qu-nki* ‘you give them’) (39). First-and second-person object suffixes may be reinforced with similarly case-marked pronouns (40).

There are no special forms for actors acting on themselves or any group that includes them: reflexive action is indicated with the derivational suffix *-ku*. ‘I see myself’ is *ñuqa qawa-ku-ni/-:* and ‘I see us’ is ‘*ñuqa ñuqanchik-ta qawa-ni/-:*’.

Actor-object suffixes are employed both with transitive and ditransitive verbs (*Miku-ru-shunki* ‘He’s going to eat you’; *Kay qullqi-ta qu-sqayki* ‘I’m going to give you this money’). Actor-object suffixes may be reinforced – but not replaced – by accusative- and dative-marked personal pronouns (*Ñuqa--ta-s harqu-ru-wa-ra-ø* ‘He tossed me out, too’).

Except in the two cases $2 > 1\text{PL}$ and $3 > 1\text{PL}$, where *-chik* indicates a plural object, when either the actor or the object is plural, the verb optionally takes the joint action suffix *-pakU* ($3\text{PL} > 2$ *Pay-kuna qu-paku-shunki tanta-ta qam-man*. ‘They give you.s bread’; $1 > 2\text{PL}$ *Ñuqa qu-paku-yki tanta-ta qam-kuna-man* ‘I give you.PL bread’). In practice, the plural forms, although recognized, are not spontaneously invoked.

This information is summarized in Table 4.5. Naturally-occurring examples of the five principal subject-object reference processes ($1 > 2$, $2 > 1$, $3 > 1$, $3 > 2$, $3 > 1\text{PL}$) are presented in (1–45).

Table 4.5: Actor-object inflectional suffixes

	1OBJ	2OBJ	1PL OBJ
1 SBJ	×	Present: $-\text{YkI}_{\text{ACH,AMV,LT,SP}}$ Future: $-\text{sHQa-yki}$	×
2 SBJ	$-\text{wa-nki}_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-\text{ma-nki}_{\text{ACH,CH,SP}}$	×	
3 SBJ	$-\text{wa-N}_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-\text{ma-N}_{\text{ACH,CH,SP}}$	$-\text{shu-nki}$	$-\text{wa-nchik}_{\text{AMV,LT}}$ $-\text{ma-nchik}_{\text{ACH,CH,SP}}$

4 Verbs

- (1) *¡Dios Tayta! ¿Imata willakuyawanki?* AMV
 Dios tayta ima-ta willa-ku-ya-wa-nki
 God father what-ACC tell-REFL-PROG-1.OBJ-2
 ‘My God! What are you telling me?’

- (2) *Qam nimaranki, “¿Kuyurayanchu?”* SP
 qam ni-ma-ra-nki, kuyu-ra-ya-n-chu
 you say-1.OBJ-PST-2 move-PASSACC-PROG-3-Q
 ‘You asked me, “Was it moving?”’

- (3) *Kaywan pampachiwan.* AMV
 kay-wan pampa-chi-wa-n
 DEM.P-INSTR bury-CAUS-1.OBJ-3
 ‘He’ll bury me with this.’

- (4) *Hapiraman.* ACH
 hapi-ra-ma-n
 grab-URGT-1.OBJ-3
 ‘It took hold of me.’

- (5) *Lliw lliw mushuq kambyachiwanchik rupanchiktam hinashpam kahunman winawanchik.* AMV
 lliw lliw mushuq kambya-chi-wa-nchik rupa-nchik-ta-m
 all all new change-CAUS-1.OBJ-1PL clothes-1PL-ACC-EVD
 hinashpa-m kahun-man wina-wa-nchik
 then coffin-ALL toss.in-1.OBJ-1PL
 ‘They change us into brand new clothes. Then they toss us into a coffin.’

- (6) *Mancharichimanchik tuta.* ACH
 mancha-ri-chi-man-chik tuta
 scare-INCEP-CAUS-1.OBJ-1PL night
 ‘It scares us at night.’

- (7) *Mitamik. Truramanchik kwadirnuman sutinchikta.* CH
 mita-mi-k trura-ma-nchik kwadirnu-man suti-nchik-ta
 quota-EVD-1K put-1.OBJ-1PL notebook-ALL name-1PL-ACC
 ‘A water quota. They put us, our names, in a notebook.’

- (8) *¡Qawaykachiway chay kundinawpa wasinta!* AMV
 qawa-yka-chi-wa-y chay kundinaw-pa wasi-n-ta
 see-EXCEP-CAUS-1.OBJ-IMP DEM.D zombie-GEN house-3-ACC
 ‘Show me the zombie’s house!’
- (9) *“¡Amayá diharamaychu!” nishpa lukuyakuyan.* ACH
 ama-yá diha-ra-ma-y-chu ni-shpa
 PROH-EMPH leave-URGT-1.OBJ-IMP-NEG say-SUBIS
 luku-ya-ku-ya-n
 crazy-INCH-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Saying, “Don’t leave me!” he is going crazy.’
- (10) *Makinchikqa tusku kaptinqa vakapa nanachinqa chichinta saytarushpa diharushunki.* AMV
 maki-nchik-qa tusku ka-pti-n-qa vaka-pa nana-chi-nqa
 hand-1PL-TOP rough be-SUBDS-3-TOP cow-GEN hurt-CAUS-3.FUT
 chichi-n-ta sayta-ru-shpa diha-ru-shunki
 teat-3-ACC kick-URGT-SUBIS leave-URGT-3>2
 ‘When our hands are rough, they make the cow’s teats hurt and she kicks and leaves you.’
- (11) *Wirayachisayki.* ACH
 wira-ya-chi-sayki
 fat-INCH-CAUS-1>2.FUT
 ‘I’m going to fatten you up.’
- (12) *Kanallan shuyakaramusayki.* SP
 kanallan shuya-ka-ra-mu-sayki
 just.now wait-PASSACC-URGT-CISL-1>2.FUT
 ‘Right now, I’m going to wait for you.’
- (13) *Kay qullqita qusqayki.* AMV
 kay qullqi-ta qu-sqayki
 DEM.P money-ACC give-1>2.FUT
 ‘I’m going to give you this money.’

- (14) *Ñuqa qipirushqayki llaqtayta.* AMV
 ñuqa qipi-ru-shqayki llaqtayta
 I carry-URGT-1>2.FUT town-1-ACC
 ‘I’m going to carry you to my town.’
- (15) *Munashantañam ruwan runaqa tantyayawantriki.* LT
 muna-sha-n-ta-ña-m ruwa-n runa-qa
 want-PRF-3-ACC-DISC-EVD make-3 person-TOP
 tantya-ya-wa-n-tri-ki
 size.up-PROG-1.OBJ-3-EVC-IKI
 ‘People do what they want already. They must be sizing me up, for sure.’
- (16) *Kwirpum nanayan. Kaymi kay runam aysayamanña.* ACH
 kwirpu-m nana-ya-n kay-mi kay runa-m
 body-EVD hurt-PROG-3 DEM.P-EVD DEM.P person-EVD
 aysa-ya-ma-n-ña
 pull-PROG-1.OBJ-3-DISC
 ‘[My] body is hurting. These people are pulling me over here like this.’
- (17) *Huktriki apayashunki. ¿Kikillaykichu puriyanki mutuwan?* AMV
 huk-tri-ki apa-ya-shunki kiki-lla-yki-chu puri-ya-nki
 one-EVC-IKI bring-PROG-3>2 self-RSTR-2-Q walk-PROG-2
 mutu-wan
 motorcycle-INSTR
 ‘Someone else must be bringing you. Or are you yourself wandering around with a motorbike?’
- (18) *Chaynam kundur qipiwarga matrayta.* AMV
 chayna-m kundur qipi-wa-rqa matray-ta
 thus-EVD condor carry-1.OBJ-PST cave-ACC
 ‘Like that, the condor carried me to his cave.’
- (19) *“¿Imapaq aysapamaranki ñuqa hawka puñukupti:?” nishpash.* SP
 imapaq aysa-pa-ma-ra-nki ñuqa hawka puñu-ku-pti-:
 why pull-BEN-1.OBJ-PST-2 I tranquil sleep-REFL-SUBDS-1
 ni-shpa-sh
 say-SUBIS-EVR

“Why did you tug at me when I was sleeping peacefully?” said [the zombie].’

- (20) *Nirayki*. SP

ni-ra-yki

say-PST-1>2

‘I said to you.’

- (21) *Hamullarqani chikchik paralla tapallawaptin yana puyulla*

ñitillawaptin. AMV

hamu-lla-rqa-ni chikchik para-lla tapa-lla-wa-pti-n yana

come-RSTR-PST-1 hail rain-RSTR cover-RSTR-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3 black

puyu-lla ñiti-lla-wa-pti-n

cloud-RSTR crush-RSTR-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3

‘I came when the freezing rain was covering me, when the black fog was crushing me.’

- (22) *¡Kay pampaman qatimuchun! Wakpa ñitiruwaptinqa*. AMV

kay pampa-man qati-mu-chun wak-pa

DEM.P plain-ALL follow-CISL-INJUNC DEM.D-LOC

ñiti-ru-wa-pti-n-qa

crush-URGT-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3-TOP

‘Let him bring it toward that plain – over there he would crush me.’

- (23) *Mana yakukta qumaptin, ¡Imaynataq alfa:pis planta:pis kanqa?* CH

mana yaku-hta qu-ma-pti-n, imayna-taq alfa:-pis

no water-ACC give-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3 how-SEQ alfalfa-ADD

planta:-pis ka-nqa

plant-1-ADD be-3.FUT

‘If they don’t give me water, how will I have alfalfa and plants?’

- (24) *Wamra willasuptiki*. LT

wamra willa-su-pti-ki

child tell-2.OBJ-SUBDS-2

‘When the children told you.’

- (25) *Sudarachishuptiki kapasmi surqurunman.* AMV
 suda-ra-chi-shu-pti-ki kapas-mi surqu-ru-n-man
 sweat-URGT-CAUS-2.OBJ-SUBDS-2 perhaps-EVD take.out-URGT-3-COND
 ‘When it makes you sweat, it’s possible he could remove it.’
- (26) *Tantyawashpa chayta ruwan.* LT
 tanta-wa-shpa chay-ta ruwa-n
 size.up-1.OBJ-SUBIS DEM.D-ACC make-3
 ‘Sizing me up, they do that.’
- (27) *Wasarimashpam nuchipis kwintakuq.* SP
 wasa-ri-ma-shpa-m nuchi-pis kwinta-ku-q
 wake-INCEP-1.OBJ-SUBIS-EVD night-ADD tell.story-REFL-AG
 ‘At night, they would wake me up and tell stories.’
- (28) *Pipis fakultaykuwananpaq.* LT
 pi-pis fakulta-yku-wa-na-n-paq
 who-ADD assist-EXCEP-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘So someone can help me out.’
- (29) *Rakishunaykipaq.* AMV
 raki-shu-na-yki-paq
 separate-2.OBJ-NMLZ-2-PURP
 ‘So he sets some aside for you.’
- (30) *Sarurullawankiman. Manam saruwanantaq munaniñachu.* AMV
 saru-ru-lla-wa-nki-man mana-m saru-wa-na-n-taq
 trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-COND-2 no-evd trample-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-SEQ
 muna-ni-ña-chu
 want-1-DISC-NEG
 ‘You could trample me. I don’t want him to trample me any more.’
- (31) *Mana chichiyuq kaptikiqa chayna llugarishunkimantri.* AMV
 mana chichi-yuq ka-pti-ki-qa chayna
 no breast-POSS be-SUBDS-2-TOP thus
 lluga-ri-shu-nki-man-tri
 top-INCEP-2.OBJ-lsc2-COND-EVC

‘When you don’t have breasts they can top you.’

- (32) *¡Kwidadu! Chaypitaq qalqali mikulushunkiman.* CH
 kwidadu chay-pi-taq qalqali miku-lu-shunki-man
 careful DEM.D-LOC-SEQ zombie eat-URGT-2.OBJ-lsc2-COND
 ‘Be careful! A demon could eat you there.’
- (33) *Mana kanan tumaytam munanchu qaninpaq
 shinkarachiwarqanchik.* AMV
 mana kanan tuma-y-ta-m muna-n-chu qanin-paq
 no now drink-INF-ACC-EVD want-3-NEG previous-ABL
 shinka-ra-chi-wa-rqa-nchik
 get.drunk-URGT-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-1PL
 ‘She doesn’t want to drink now. Earlier, they had got us drunk.’
- (34) *Chiri pasawaptinchikpis, wiksa nanaykunapaq.* AMV
 chiri pasa-wa-pti-nchik-pis wiksa nana-y-kuna-paq
 cold pass-31.OBJ-SUBDS-1PL-ADD stomach hurt-INF-PL-ABL
 ‘When we get chills or for stomach pain [this plant is good].’
- (35) *Ñitiruwanchik.* AMV
 ñiti-ru-wan-ma-nchik
 crush-URGT-1.OBJ-lsc1pl-COND-3>1PL
 ‘It could crush us.’
- (36) *Mana riqkuna, ¿Imatam rimasayki? Yatranchikchu.* AMV
 mana ri-q-kuna ima-ta-m rima-sayki yatra-nchik-chu
 no go-AG-PL what-ACC-EVD talk-1>2 know-1PL-NEG
 ‘People who haven’t gone, what am I going to say to you? We don’t know.’
- (37) *Kayanmi uniku qullqiyuqpaq. ¿Maypam rigalawachuwan runaqa?* AMV
 ka-ya-n-mi uniku qullqi-yuq-paq may-pa-m
 be-PROG-3-EVD only money-POSS-BEN where-LOC-EVD
 rigala-wa-chuwan runa-qa
 gift-1.OBJ-1PL.COND person-TOP
 ‘There are only for rich people. Where can people give us things for free?’

- (38) *Mikumachuwantri*. ACH
 miku-ma-chuwan-tri
 eat-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EVC
 ‘He could eat us.’
- (39) *Kay swirupis allquypaqpis ... nikurunshi subrinuntaqa*. LT
 kay swiru-pis allqu-y-paq-pis ni-ku-ru-n-shi
 DEDM.P whey-ADD dog-1-BEN-ADD say-REFL-URGT-3-EVR
 subrinu-n-ta-qa
 nephew-3-ACC-TOP
 ‘This whey also for my dog also ... he said, they say, to his nephew.’
- (40) *Ñuqata uywamara mamacha: tiyu: tiya:*. SP
 ñuqa-ta uywa-ma-ra mama-cha: tiyu: tiya:
 I-ACC raise-1.OBJ-PST mother-DIM-1 uncle -1 aunt-1
 ‘My grandmother and my uncle and aunt raised me.’
- (41) *Qampis kuntistamuwankimá*. AMV
 qam-pis kuntista-mu-wa-nki-m-á
 you-ADD answer-CISL-1.OBJ-2-EVD-EMPH
 ‘You, too, are going to answer me.’
- (42) *¿Allichawanqachu manachu? Yatrarunqaña kukantaqa qawaykushpa*. AMV
 alli-cha-wa-nqa-chu mana-chu yatra-ru-nqa-ña
 good-FACT-1.OBJ-3.FUT-Q no-Q know-URGT-3.FUT-DISC
 kuka-n-ta-qa qawa-yku-shpa
 coca-3-ACC-TOP see-EXCEP-SUBIS
 ‘Is he going to heal me or not? He’ll find out by looking at his coca.’
- (43) *Tirruristam hamuyan. Wak turutatr pagaykushaqqa manam wañuchimanqachu*. ACH
 tirrurista-m hamu-ya-n wak turu-ta-tr
 terrorist-EVD come-PROG-3 DEM.D bull-ACC-EVC
 paga-yku-shaq-qa mana-m wañu-chi-ma-nqa-chu
 pay-EXCEP-1.FUT-TOP no-EVD die-CAUS-1.OBJ-3.FUT-NEG

‘The terrorists are coming. I’ll pay them a bull and
they won’t kill me.’

- (44) *Mundum ñitiramashun. Kaytam sustininkia. SP*
 mundu-m ñiti-ra-ma-shun kay-ta-m sustini-nki-qa
 world-EVD crush-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.FUT DEM.P-ACC-EVD sustain-2-TOP
 ‘The world is going to crush us. Hold this one up.’

- (45) *Watyarunshi. Chaynatr watyaramashun ñuqanchiktapis. ACH*
 watya-ru-n-shi chayna-tr watya-ra-ma-shun
 bake-URGT-3-EVR thus-EVC bake-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.FUT
 ñuqa-nchik-ta-pis
 I-1PL-ACC-ADD
 ‘They got baked, they say. Like that, we’re going to get baked, us,
too.’

4.3.3 Tense

SYQ counts three tenses: present, past, and future (*maska-nchik* ‘we look for’, *maska-rqa-nchik* ‘we looked for’, *maska-shun* ‘we will look for’). With the exception of the first person plural, person suffixes in SYQ are unmarked for number. *-nki* corresponds to the second person singular and plural (*yanapa-nki* ‘you.S/PL help; *maylla-nki* ‘you.S/PL wash’). *-N* corresponds to the third person singular and plural (*taki-n* ‘she/he/it/they sing(s)’). § 4.3.3.1–4.3.3.3 cover the simple present, future and past tenses, in turn.

4.3.3.1 Simple present

The present tense subject suffixes in SYQ are *-ni* and *-:* (1P), *-nki* (2P), *-n* (3P), and *-nchik* (1PL) (*atrqay-tuku-ni/-:* ‘I pretend to be an eagle’, *kundur-tuku-nki* ‘you pretend to be a condor’, *rutu-tuku-n* ‘he pretends to be a *rutu*’ (small mountain bird), *qari-tuku-nchik* ‘we pretend to be men’) (1–8). Although it generally indicates temporally unrestricted or habitual action, the simple present is unmarked for time. Present tense forms may receive past and future tense interpretations in different contexts (*qawa-chi-n* ‘he showed/shows/will show’) (9).

SYQ makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural, between *ñuqanchik* (dual), *ñuqanchikkuna* (inclusive), and *ñuqakuna* (exclusive). In practice, *ñuqanchik* is employed with dual, inclusive and exclusive interpretations to

the virtual complete exclusion of the other two forms, except in the CH dialect. Verbs and substantives appearing with the inclusive *ñuqanchikkuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default *ñuqanchik* (10); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive *ñuqakuna* inflect as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular *ñuqa* (11). Although *ñuqa* is generally interpreted as singular – likely an implicature attributable to the availability of plural forms in the first person – it is, in fact, unspecified for number and may receive plural interpretations (12).

Table 4.6: Present tense inflection

Person	Singular	Plural
1		-nchik (dual, incl.)
	-ni _{AMV,LT}	-ni _{AMV,LT} (excl.)
	-ṽ _{ACH,CH,SP}	-ṽ _{ACH,CH,SP} (excl.)
2	-nki	-nki
3	-n	-n

Table 4.7: Present tense inflection – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-nki _{AMV,LT}	-wa-n _{AMV,LT}	-wa-nchik _{AMV,LT}	-yki	-shunki
-ma-nki _{ACH,CH,SP}	-ma-n _{ACH,CH,SP}	-ma-nchik _{ACH,CH,SP}		

- (1) *Wasiyta ñuqaqa pichakuni tallawanmi.* AMV
 wasi-y-ta ñuqa-qa picha-ku-ni talla-wan-mi
 house-1-ACC I-TOP sweep-REFL-1 straw-INSTR-EVD
 ‘I sweep my house with straw.’
- (2) *Manam ñuqa yatra:chu.* ACH
 mana-m ñuqa yatra:-chu
 no-EVD I know-1-NEG
 ‘I don’t know (how).’

- (3) *Qamqa ritamunki urquta.* LT
 qam-qa ri-tamu-nki urqu-ta
 you-TOP go-IRREV-2 hill-ACC
 ‘You left for the hill for good.’
- (4) *Allqu mikukun wakchuchataqa.* AMV
 allqu miku-ku-n wakchu-cha-ta-qa
 dog eat-REFL-3 lamb-DIM-ACC-TOP
 ‘The dog ate up the lamb.’
- (5) *Viyhunchikta ruwanchik hinashpaqa kañanchikmi.* AMV
 viyhu-nchik-ta ruwa-nchik hinashpa-qa kaña-nchik-mi
 effigy-1PL-ACC make-1PL then-TOP burn-1PL-EVD
 ‘We make our effigy then burn it.’
- (6) *Familyallan ñuqakuna suya:.* CH
 familia-lla-n ñuqa-kuna suya:
 family-RSTR-3 I-PL wait-1
 ‘Just their relatives – we waited.’
- (7) *Kanan qamkunatr hamuyanki.* SP
 kanan qam-kuna-tr hamu-ya-nki
 now you-PL-EVC come-PROG-2
 ‘Now you.PL are coming.’
- (8) *Suqta wanka vakata tumban.* AMV
 suqta wanka vaka-ta tumba-n
 six hired.hand cow-ACC tackle-3
 ‘Six hired hands tackle the cow.’
- (9) *Chaytaqa qawaykushpa valurta hapini.* AMV
 chay-ta-qa qawa-yku-shpa valur-ta hapi-ni
 DEM.D-ACC-TOP see-EXCEP-SUBIS courage-ACC grab-1
 ‘Looking at that, I gathereded courage.’

4 Verbs

- (10) *Kaypi ñuqanchikkunaqa kustumbrawmi kayanchik.* AMV
 kay-pi nuqa-nchik-kuna-qa kustumbraw-mi ka-ya-nchik
 DEM.P-LOC I-1PL-PL-TOP accustomed-EVD be-PROG-1PL
 ‘Here, we’re accustomed to it.’
- (11) *Wañuq taytachaymi chaytaqa ñuqakunaman willawarqa.* AMV
 wañu-q tayta-cha-y-mi chay-ta-qa ñuqa-kuna-man
 die-AG father-DIM-1-EVD DEM.D-ACC-TOP I-PL-ALL
 willa-wa-rqa
 tell-1.OBJ-PST
 ‘Our late grandfather told that to us.’
- (12) *Kamapam ñuqa puñukuya: ish kayni.* ACH
 kama-pa-m ñuqa puñu-ku-ya: ish kay-ni:
 bed-LOC-EVD I sleep-REFL-PROG-1 two-EUPH-1
 ‘We were both sleeping in bed.’
- (13) *Dispidichin churinkunata hinashpaqa kañan.* AMV
 dispidi-chi-n churi-n-kuna-ta hinashpa-qa kaña-n
 bid.farewell-CAUS-3 child-3-PL-ACC then-TOP burn-3
 ‘One has their children say good bye and then burns it [the effigy].’

4.3.3.2 Future

The future tense suffixes in SYQ are *-shaq* (1PL), *-nki* (2), *-nqa* (3), and *-shun* (1s) (1–6). The second person suffix is ambiguous between present and future tense. Second person and third person plural suffixes are the same as those for the second and third persons singular (7–9).

- (1) *Manam iskapanqachu. Wañurachishaqmi.* AMV
 mana-m iskapa-nqa-chu wañu-ra-chi-shaq-mi
 no-EVD escape-3.FUT-NEG die-URGT-CAUS-1.FUT-EVD
 ‘She’s not going to escape. I’ll kill her.’

Table 4.8: Future tense inflection

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

Table 4.9: Future tense inflection – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-nki _{AMV, LT}	-wa-nqa-ø _{AMV, LT}	-wa-shun _{AMV, LT}	-sHQayki	-shunki
-ma-nki _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-nqa-ø _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-shun _{ACH, CH, SP}		

- (2) *Ubiha:ta michimushaq vaka:ta chawarushaq kisuta ruwarushaq. SP*
 ubiha:-ta michi-mu-shaq vaka:-ta chawa-ru-shaq
 sheep-1-ACC pasture-CISL-1.FUT cow-1-ACC milk-URGT-1.FUT
 kisu-ta ruwa-ru-shaq
 cheese-ACC make-URGT-1.FUT
 ‘I’m going to herd my sheep; I’m going to milk my cows;
I’m going to make cheese.’
- (3) *Vakatash harkan̄ki vakata chawan̄ki. AMV*
 vaka-ta-sh harka-nki vaka-ta chawa-nki
 cow-ACC-EVR herd-2 cow-ACC milk-2
 ‘You’ll herd the cows; you’ll milk the cows.’
- (4) *Ruparingatr. AMV*
 rupa-ri-nqa-tr
 burn-INCEP-3.FUT-EVC
 ‘It will be warm [tomorrow].’
- (5) *Shimikita sirarushun. SP*
 shimi-ki-ta sira-ru-shun
 mouth-2-ACC sew-URGT-1PL.FUT
 ‘We’re going to sew your mouth shut.’

4 Verbs

- (6) *Kaytatr paqarikushun.* AMV
kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun
DEM.P-ACC-EVC wash-INCEP-REFL-1PL.FUT
'We'll wash this.'
- (7) *Qamkunallam parlanki.* CH
qam-kuna-lla-m parla-nki
you-PL-RSTR-EVD talk-2
'Just you.PL are going to talk.'
- (8) *Qampa mamaykis taytaykis wañukunqa turikipis ñañaykipis.* ACH
qam-pa mama-yki-s tayta-yki-s wañu-ku-nqa turi-ki-pis
you-GEN mother-2-ADD father-2-ADD die-REFL-3.FUT brother-2-ADD
ñaña-yki-pis
sister-2-ADD
'Your mother and father will die, your brother and your sister, too.'
- (9) *Manalaq yakukta qumanqachu.* CH
mana-laq yaku-cta qu-ma-nqa-chu
no-CONT water-ACC give-1.OBJ-3.FUT-NEG
'They still aren't going to give me water.'

4.3.3.3 Past

syQ distinguishes between the simple past, the perfect, and the iterative past. The simple past is indicated by the past tense morpheme *-RQa* (*rima-rqa/ra-nchik* 'we spoke'). In practice *-RQa* is assigned both simple past and present perfect (non-completive) interpretations. The quotative simple past (*-sHQa*) is used in story-telling (*apa-mu-sa-ø* 'she brought it'). The past tense (completive) is indicated by the suffix *-sHa* (*uyari-sa-ni* 'I heard'). The habitual past is indicated by the agentive noun – formed by the suffixation of *-q* to the verb stem – in combination with the relevant present-tense form of *ka-* 'be' (*taki-q ka-nki* 'you used to sing'). § 4.3.3.3.1–4.3.3.3.4 cover the simple past, the narrative past, the perfect, and the iterative past, in turn. The past conditional is covered in § 4.3.4.3.

4.3.3.3.1 Simple past -RQa -RQa⁵ indicates the past tense. The morpheme is realized -rqa in AMV (1), (2); -ra in ACH (3), LT (4), (5), and SP (6); and -la in CH (7), (8). In all five dialects, person-number inflection in the past tense is as in the present tense, with the exception that in the third person, -n is replaced by -ø (9), (10). In all five dialects, -RQa indicates tense but not aspect and is thus consistent with both perfective (11) and imperfective aspect (12–15). Perfective aspect is, rather, indicated by the derivational suffix -RU (16–22). -rQa and -Ru are thus not in paradigmatic opposition and differ in their distribution. -RQa, but not -Ru, is used in the construction of the habitual past (23), (24) and the past conditional (2), (25); while -Ru, but not -RQa, may be used in combination with -sHa (26), (27) as well as with -shpa (6), (22) and -pti (3), (28), (29), in which case it indicates the precedence of the subordinated event to the main-clause event.

Table 4.10: Past tense inflection

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-rqa-ni _{AMV} -ra-ni _{LT} -ra- _{ACH,SP} -la- _{CH}	-rqa-nchik _{AMV} -ra-nchik _{ACH,SP,LT} -la-nchik _{CH}
2	-rqa-nki _{AMV} -ra-nki _{ACH,SP,LT} -la-nki _{CH}	-rqa-nki _{AMV} -ra-nki _{ACH,SP,LT} -la-nki _{CH}
3	-rqa-ø _{AMV} -ra-ø _{ACH,SP,LT} -la-ø _{CH}	-rqa-ø _{AMV} -ra-ø _{ACH,SP,LT} -la-ø _{CH}

- (1) *Iskwilanta lliwta ya wamrayta puchukachirqani.* AMV
 iskwila-n-ta lliw-ta ya wamra-y-ta puchuka-chi-rqa-ni
 school-3-ACC all-ACC EMPH child-1-ACC finish-CAUS-PST-1
 ‘I made all my children finish their schooling.’

⁵ -RQa signals the preterite in all Quechuan languages; -RU, according to Cerrón-Palomino (1987), is a later evolution in some Quechuan languages from the modal suffix -RQu (outward direction). In Tarma Q and Pacaraos Q -rQu is now a perfective aspect marker Adelaar (1988: 18–29). An anonymous reviewer points out that in Southern Conchucos Quechua, -ru in Southern Conchucos Q originally indicated outward direction. It became a derivational perfective then an inflectional past (see Hintz 2011: 192–197).

Table 4.11: Past tense inflection – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-rqa-nki _{AMV}	-wa-rqa-ø _{AMV}	-wa-rqa-nchik _{AMV}	-rqa-yki _{AMV}	-shu-rqa-nki _{AMV}
-wa-ra-nki _{LT}	-wa-ra-ø _{LT}	-wa-ra-nchik _{LT}	-ra-yki _{LT, ACH, SP}	-shu-ra-nki _{LT, ACH, SP}
-ma-ra-nki _{ACH, SP}	-ma-ra-ø _{ACH, SP}	-ma-ra-nchik _{ACH, SP}		
-ma-la-nki _{CH}	-ma-la-ø _{CH}	-ma-la-nchik _{CH}	-la-yki _{CH}	-shu-la-nki _{CH}

- (2) *¿Imapaqtaq niwarqanki? ¡Pagarullawanmantri karqa!* AMV
ima-paq-taq ni-wa-rqa-nki paga-ru-lla-wa-n-man-tri
what-PURP-SEQ say-1.OBJ-PST-2 pay-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC
ka-rqa
be-PST
‘Why did you say that to me? He would have sacrificed me!’
- (3) *Kutikamura: lliw ganawnintin wamra: lliw listu hishpiruptinña.* ACH
kuti-ka-mu-ra-: lliw ganaw-ni-ntin wamra-: lliw listu
return-REFL-CISL-PST-1 all cattle-EUPH-INCL child-1 all ready
hishpi-ru-pti-n-ña
educate-URGT-SUBDS-3-DISC
‘I came back with all my cattle when my children had been educated.’
- (4) *Kanan Primitivoqa ñuqa istankamurani.* LT
kanan Primitivo-qa ñuqa istanka-mu-ra-ni
now Primitovo-TOP I fill.reservoir-CISL-PST-1
‘Now Primitivo [says] I filled the reservoir.’
- (5) *Qam pasaypaqtriki riranki Diosninchikta tariq.* LT
qam pasaypaq-tri-ki ri-ra-nki Dios-ni-nchik-ta tari-q
you completely-EVC-1KI go-PST-2 God-EUPH-1PL-ACC find-AG
‘You surely went to look for our God.’

- (6) *Antaylumata tarirushpaqa pallakullara hinaptinshi.* SP
 antayluma-ta tari-ru-shpa-qa palla-ku-lla-ra
 antayluma.berry-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP pick-REFL-RSTR-PST
 hinaptin-shi
 then-EVR
 ‘When she found the antayluma berries, she picked them then, they say.’
- (7) *Suwanakushpatr llusila.* CH
 suwa-naku-shpa-tr llusila
 steal-RECIP-SUBIS-EVC go.out-PST
 ‘They left eloping.’
- (8) *¿Manachu rimidyukta apakamulanki?* CH
 mana-chu rimidyu-ka apa-ka-mu-la-nki
 no-Q remedy-ACC bring-PASSACC-CISL-PST-2
 ‘You didn’t bring any medicine?’
- (9) *¿Llaqtaykipa pasarqachu?* AMV
 llaqta-yki-pa pasa-rqa-chu
 town-2-LOC pass-PST-Q
 ‘Did [the earthquake] go through your town?’
- (10) *Unaymi chayna pulilaø chay tirruku. Awturidadkunakta ashushpa wañuchiya munała.* CH
 unay-mi chayna puli-la chay tirruku
 before-EVD thus walk-PST DEM.D Shining.Path
 awturidad-kuna-ka ashushpa wañu-chi-y-ta muna-la
 authority-PL-ACC approach-SUBIS die-CAUS-INF-ACC want-PST
 ‘The Shining Path walked about like that. They approached the officials. They wanted to kill them.’
- (11) *Alliallitayari lucharanchik wak hurquruptingqa.* LT
 alli-alli-ta-ya-ri lucha-ra-nchik wak
 good-good-ACC-EMPH-ARI fight-PST-1PL DEM.D
 hurqu-ru-pti-n-qa
 remove-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘We fought really well when they took that out.’

- (12) *Manam ñuqakunaqa talpula:chu.* CH
 mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa talpu-la-:-chu
 no-EVD I-PL-TOP plant-PST-1-NEG
 ‘We haven’t planted.’
- (13) *Chayllatam tumachirqani. Manam iksistirqachu chay rantiypaq kay Viñacpaqa wak Gloria.* AMV
 chay-lla-ta-m tuma-chi-rqa-ni mana-m iksisti-rqa-chu
 DEM.D-RSTR-ACC-EVD drink-CAUS-PST-1 no-EVD exist-PST-NEG
 chay ranti-y-paq kay Viñac-pa-qa wak Gloria
 DEM.D sell-INF-ABL DEM.P Viñac-LOC-TOP DEM.D Gloria
 ‘I fed them only goat milk and cheese. Gloria, milk for sale, didn’t exist here in Viñac.’
- (14) *Chay limpu limpu chunyakulanchik ayvis.* CH
 chay limpu limpu chunya-ku-la-nchik ayvis
 DEM.D all all silent-REFL-PST-1PL sometimes
 ‘But we were completely silent here sometimes.’
- (15) *Ripukuytam munarqanchik.* AMV
 ripu-ku-y-ta-m muna-rqa-nchik
 go-REFL-INF-ACC-EVD want-PST-1PL
 ‘We wanted to run away.’
- (16) *Uyqa, chayta kasarashpa puchukarunchik.* AMV
 uyqa chay-ta kasara-shpa puchuka-ru-nchik
 sheep DEM.D-ACC marry-SUBIS finish-URGT-1PL
 ‘When we got married, we finished with those, the sheep.’
- (17) *Wak runaqa wawanta pamparun qipichaykushpam.* AMV
 wak runa-qa wawa-n-ta pampa-ru-n
 DEM.D person-TOP baby-3-ACC bury-URGT-3
 qipi-cha-yku-shpa-m
 carry-DIM-REFL-SUBIS-EVD
 ‘The people buried their son, carrying him.’

- (18) *Yaqam wañurun.* ACH
 yaqa-m wañu-ru-n
 almost-EVD die-URGT-3
 ‘He almost died.’
- (19) *Pusuman hiqaykuruni. kaypaq urayman.* LT
 pusu-man hiqa-yku-ru-ni kay-paq uray-man
 reservoir-ALL go.down-EXCEP-URGT-1 DEM.P-ABL down.hill-ALL
 ‘I fell towards the reservoir. From here down hill.’
- (20) *Mana ganaw uywaqkunaman chayman partikurun.* SP
 mana ganaw uywa-q-kuna-man chay-man parti-ku-ru-n
 no cattle raise-AG-PL-ALL DEM.D-ALL divide-REFL-URGT-3
 ‘They distributed it to those who don’t raise cattle.’
- (21) *Disparisirunñam. Manam uyari:chu.* SP
 disparisi-ru-n-ña-m mana-m uyari:-chu
 disappear-URGT-3-DISC-EVD no-EVD hear-1-NEG
 ‘They disappeared already. I don’t hear them [anymore].’
- (22) *Chay walmita talilushpaqa apalunñam uspitalman.* CH
 chay walmi-ta tali-lu-shpa-qa apa-lu-n-ña-m
 DEM.D woman-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP bring-URGT-3-DISC-EVD
 uspital-man
 hospital-ALL
 ‘When they found the woman they took her to the hospital.’
- (23) *Dumingunpa kisuta apaq kara: (*karu:) ishkay.* ACH
 dumingun-pa kisu-ta apa-q ka-ra-: ishkay
 Sunday-3-LOC cheese-ACC bring-AG be-PST-1 two
 ‘On Sundays, I would bring two cheeses.’
- (24) *Trayamushpa manchachikuq kala.* CH
 traya-mu-shpa mancha-chi-ku-q ka-la
 arrive-CISL-SUBIS scare-CAUS-REFL-AG be-PST
 ‘When she came, she would scare them.’

- (25) *Kundinakurunmantri kara* (*karun) *qullqi chay kasa*. SP
 kundina-ku-ru-n-man-tri ka-ra qullqi chay ka-sa
 condemn-REFL-URGT-3-COND-EVC be-PST money DEM.D be-NPST
 ‘She would have condemned herself – that was money.’
- (26) *Cañeteta ayarikura*:. *Ispusu:ta listaman trurarusa* (*trurarqasa, *trurasarqa). ACH
 Cañete-ta ayari-ku-ra: ispusu:-ta lista-man
 Cañete-ACC escape-REFL-PST-1 husband-1-ACC list-ALL
 trura-ru-sa
 put-URGT-NPST
 ‘I escaped to Cañete. They had put my husband on the list.’
- (27) *Chayllapaq willakarusa*. (*willakarqasa). ACH
 chay-lla-paq willa-ka-ru-sa
 DEM.D-RSTR-ABL tell-PASSACC-URGT-NPST
 ‘That’s why they had told on him.’
- (28) *Chay hawlaruptinshi, atuq trayarun* (*hawlaraptin). SP
 chay hawla-ru-pti-n-shi atuq traya-ru-n
 DEM.D cage-URGT-SUBDS-3-EVR fox arrive-URGT-3
 ‘When he had caged [the rabbit], the fox arrived.’
- (29) *Chay mulapaq siqaykruptin puñukuratrik shinkaqqa*. ACH
 chay mula-paq siqa-yku-ru-pti-n
 DEM.D mule-ABL go.down-EXCEP-URGT-SUBDS-3
 puñu-ku-ra-tri-k shinka-q-qa
 sleep-REFL-PST-EVC-1K get.drunk-AG-TOP
 ‘When he fell off that mule, the drunk must have been asleep.’

4.3.3.3.2 **Quotative simple past tense -sHQa** In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, when speakers have only second-hand knowledge of the events they report, they may recur to a another past tense form, -sHQa, often referred to as the “narrative past” because it is used systematically in story-telling. In SYQ, -sHQa – realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in CH and LT – is used predominantly in story-telling (1), (2), historical narrative (3–5), and, generally,

in relating information one has received from others (6–10). It may also be used in dream reports (11). The morpheme is realized as *-shqa*, it seems, only in the first or culminating line of a story, and rarely even there (12). *-RQa* and *-Ru*, may also be employed in the same contexts as is *-sHQa*, even in combination with the reportative evidential, *-shI* (13), (14). Inside quotations in story-telling *RQa* and *-Ru* are generally employed (15), (16).

- (1) *Huklla atuqshi kasa.* SP
 huk-lla atuq-shi ka-sa
 one-RSTR fox-EVR be-NPST
 ‘[Once upon a time] there was a fox, they say.’
- (2) *Chay ukucha kasa maqtatukushpa.* AMV
 chay ukucha ka-sa maqta-tuku-shpa
 DEM.D mouse be-NPST young.man-SIMUL-SUBIS
 ‘It was a rat pretending to be a man.’
- (3) *Hinashpa qalay qalay Chavin miniruwanshi partiṣa.* ACH
 hinashpa qalay qalay Chavin miniru-wan-shi parti-sa
 then all all Chavin miner-INSTR-EVR divide-NPST
 ‘Then they divided everything up with the Chavin miners.’
- (4) *Chay intanadanqa ayqikusa.* ACH
 chay intanada-n-qa ayqi-ku-sa
 DEM.D step.daughter-3-TOP escape-REFL-NPST
 ‘His step-daughter escaped.’
- (5) *Tariramusha armata.* LT
 tari-ra-mu-sha arma-ta
 find-URGT-CISL-NPST weapon-ACC
 ‘They found firearms.’
- (6) “¡Mátalo!” *nishashiki.* CH
 mátalo ni-sha-shi-ki
 [Spanish] say-NPST-EVR-IKI
 “Kill him!’ she said, they say.’

- (7) *Wañukachishpash qipirusa karuta mana disiyananpaq.* AMV
 wañu-ka-chi-shpa-sh qipi-ru-sa karu-ta mana
 die-PASSACC-CAUS-SUBIS-EVR carry-URGT-NPST far-ACC no
 disya-na-n-paq
 suspect-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘When she killed him, they say, she carried him far, so they wouldn’t suspect.’
- (8) *Wak warmiqa lllaman qutuq risa. Mayuta pawayashpash siqaykurusa; karu karutash aparusa.* AMV
 wak warmi-qa llama-n qutu-q ri-sa mayu-ta
 DEM.D woman-TOP llama-3 gather-AG go-PST river-ACC
 pawa-ya-shpa-sh siqa-yku-ru-sa karu karu-ta-sh
 jump-PROG-SUBIS-EVR go.down-EXCEP-URGT-NPST far far-ACC-EVR
 apa-ru-sa
 bring-URGT-NPST
 ‘That woman went to gather up her llamas. Jumping the river, she fell and [the river] took her far, they say.’
- (9) *Fiystaman hamushpa siqaykurusha.* ACH
 fiysta-man hamu-shpa siqa-yku-ru-sha
 festival-ALL come-SUBIS go.down-EXCEP-URGT-NPST
 ‘When they were coming to the festival they fell [into the canyon].’
- (10) *Wak runaqa achka aychata aparamusa llama aychash sibadawan kambyakunanpaq.* AMV
 wak runa-qa achka aycha-ta apa-ra-mu-sa llama
 DEM.D person-TOP a.lot meat-ACC bring-URGT-CISL-NPST llama
 aycha-sh sibada-wan kambya-ku-na-n-paq
 meat-EVR barley-INSTR exchange-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘Those people brought a lot of meat – llama meat, they say, to exchange for barley.’
- (11) *Lliw lliw kuchihinam mituman yaykurusa.* SP
 lliw lliw kuchi-hina-m mitu-man yayku-ru-sa
 all all pig-COMP-EVD mud-ALL enter-URGT-NPST
 ‘All, like pigs, entered the mud.’

- (12) *Ishkay Wanka samakushqa huk matraypi, tarukapa kasanpi. Wama wamaq karka kasa.* AMV
 ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi, taruka-pa
 two Wanka rest-REFL-NPST one cave-LOC taruka-GEN
 ka-sa-n-pi wama wamaq karka ka-sa
 be-PRF-3-LOC a.lot a.lot manure be-NPST
 ‘Two Huancayoans were resting in a cave, in some tarucas’ place.
 There was a whole lot of manure.’
- (13) *Rutupis ingañarqash maqtatukushpa pashñata.* AMV
 rutu-pis ingaña-rqa-sh maqta-tuku-shpa pashña-ta
 rutu.bird-ADD trick-PST-EVR young.man-SIMUL-SUBIS girl-ACC
 ‘A rutu-bird, too, deceived a girl by making himself out to be a young
 man, they say.’
- (14) *Millisunqa wañururqash huknin.* AMV
 millisu-n-qa wañu-ru-rqa-sh huk-ni-n
 twin-3-TOP die-URGT-PST-EVR one-EUPH-3
 ‘His twin, the other one, died, they say.’
- (15) *Trayarunshari, ‘¿Maymi chay warmiy?’* AMV
 traya-ru-n-sh-ari, may-mi chay warmi-y
 arrive-URGT-EVR-ARI where-EVD DEM.D woman-1
 ‘The condor arrived, they say, [and said], “Where is my wife?”’
- (16) *Chaynam kundur qipiwarka matrayta chaypi wawakuruni.* AMV
 chayna-m kundur qipi-wa-rqa matray-ta chaypi
 thus-EVD condor carry-1.OBJ-PST cave-ACC DEM.D-LOC
 wawa-ku-ru-ni
 give.birth-REFL-URGT-1
 ‘That condor carried me like that to a cave and I gave birth there.’

4.3.3.3.3 *Perfect* -sHa – realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in CH and LT – may be argued sometimes to admit interpretations cognate with the English perfect, indicating events beginning in the past and either continuing into the present or with effects continuing into the present (1–3). That said, the non-nominalizing instances of -sHa in the corpus, almost without exception, have

more readily-available interpretations as narrative pasts (see § 4.3.3.3.2) (4).⁶ Indeed, speakers offer only simple past translations for verbs suffixed with *-sHa*; perfect translations may be offered, rather, for *-Rqa*, *-RU* (very rarely), or the present⁷ (5–7) (see § 4.3.3.3.1).⁸ Speakers do consistently translate the combination of *-RU* and *-sHa* with the Spanish past perfect (8–10); in Andean Spanish, however, this construction does not share the semantics of the Standard Spanish.⁹ Given, however, the restrictions on the distribution of *-RU-sHa* – it inflects only for third person¹⁰ and it is not contentful either with stative verbs or with the copulative, *ka-* – it is improbable that it that would constitute the language’s principal strategy for rendering the past perfect. Rather, to indicate the sequence of two completed events, speakers of SYQ generally employ either the subordinator *-pti* (11), (12) or a connective like *hinashpa* or *hinaptin* (13).¹¹

- (1) *Chay alkulta mana tapasanichu.* AMV
 chay alkul-ta mana tapa-sa-ni-chu
 DEM.D alcohol-ACC no cover-SA-1-NEG
 ‘I haven’t capped that alcohol.’

- (2) *Grasyusu kasanki.* AMV
 grasyusu ka-sa-nki
 funny be-SA-2
 ‘You’ve been funny.’

⁶ The corpus counts 1157 instances of *-sHa*; a sample of 50 turned up no translation to the Spanish perfect.

⁷ In elicitation sessions, speakers of SYQ do interpret *-ri* as indicating the present perfect; in a sample of 50 of the 353 instances of *-Ri* in the corpus, however, only once did the speakers assign it a perfect interpretation (*Spkr 1: Yapa-mi-k kuti-nqa, ¿aw?* *Spkr 2: Puchuka-ri -n-chu.* ‘She’s going to go back again, no?’ ‘She hasn’t finished yet.’)

⁸ The the translations in (1–3) were proposed only to suggest possible perfect interpretations of sentences that, I argued, are better interpreted as narrative pasts.

⁹ This construction generally can only awkwardly be translated as a past perfect in English, however.

¹⁰ The corpus counts 330 instances of *-RU (-ø/-chi/-mu) -sHa*, only two inflected for any other than third person.

¹¹ It has been suggested to me that an additional function of *-sHa* might be to indicate ‘sudden discovery’ (Adelaar 1977) or surprise. That is, *-sHa* might indicate the mirative, as do the perfect marker *-shka* in Ecuadorian Q (Muysken 1977) and ‘non-experienced’ past tense marker *-sqá* in Cuzco Q (Faller 2003) (as cited in Peterson 2014: 223–33). This is a hypothesis I am currently investigating.

Table 4.12: Inflection of *-sHa*

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-sa-ni _{AMV} -sha-ni _{LT} -sha- _{CH} -sa- _{AMV,SP}	-sa-nchik _{AMV,ACH,SP} -sha-nchik _{CH,LT}
2	-sa-nki _{AMV,ACH,SP} -sha-nki _{CH,LT}	-sa-nki _{AMV,ACH,SP} -sha-nki _{CH,LT}
3	-sa- \emptyset _{AMV,ACH,SP} -sha- \emptyset _{CH,LT}	-sa- \emptyset _{AMV,ACH,SP} -sha- \emptyset _{CH,LT}

Table 4.13: Inflection of *sHa* – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-sa-nki _{AMV}	-wa-sa- \emptyset _{AMV}	-wa-sa-nchik _{AMV}	-sa-yki _{AMV, ACH, SP}	N/A
-wa-sha-nki _{LT}	-wa-sha- \emptyset _{LT}	-wa-sha-nchik _{LT}	-sha-yki _{LT, CH}	N/A
-ma-sa-nki _{ACH, SP}	-ma-sa- \emptyset _{ACH, SP}	-ma-sa-nchik _{ACH, SP}		
-ma-sha-nki _{CH}	-ma-sha- \emptyset _{CH}	-ma-sha-nchik _{CH}		

- (3) *Mikushayari. Mikushayari. LT*
 miku-sha-y-ari miku-sha-y-ari
 miku-SHA-EMPH-ARI eat-SHA-EMPH-ARI
 ‘They’ve eaten them, all right. They’ve eaten them.’
- (4) *Mulankunawan kargarikushpa pasan wañurichishpa wak Chavin lawpash. Hinashpa qalay qalay Chavin miniruwanshi partisa. ACH*
 mula-n-kuna-wan karga-ri-ku-shpa pasa-n
 mule-3-PL-INSTR carry-INCEP-REFL-SUBIS pass-3
 wañu-ri-chi-shpa wak Chavin law-pa-sh hinashpa qalay
 die-INCEP-CAUS-SUBIS DEM.D Chavin side-LOC-EVR then all
 qalay Chavin miniru-wan-shi parti-sa
 all Chavin miner-INSTR-EVR divide-SA

‘Carrying everything with their mules, they left, killing people over by Chavin, they say. Then they divided up absolutely everything with the miners.’

- (5) *¿Maypaqtaq suwamuranki?’ nishpa.* LT
 may-paq-taq suwa-mu-ra-nki ni-shpa
 where-ABL-SEQ steal-CISL-PST-2 say-SUBIS
 “‘Where have you stolen these from?’ he said.’
- (6) *Kananqa shimi:lla qacharun hat-hatun.* SP
 kanan-qa shimi:-lla qacha-ru-n hat-hatun
 now-TOP mouth-1-RSTR rip-URGT-3 big-big
 ‘Now my mouth has ripped open wide.’
- (7) *Ni pi qawanchu ni pi tarinchu.* ACH
 ni pi qawa-n-chu ni pi tari-n-chu
 nor who see-3-NEG nor who find-3-NEG
 ‘No one has seen her and no one has found her.’
- (8) *¡Wak suwa liyunqa ubihayta tumbarsa!* AMV
 wak suwa liyun-qa ubiha-y-ta tumba-ru-sa
 DEM.D thief lion-TOP sheep-1-ACC knock.down-URGT-SA
 ‘That thieving puma had knocked off my sheep!’
- (9) *Trakraymi tuñirun. Yakutam katraykurusa.* AMV
 trakra-y-mi tuñi-ru-n yaku-ta-m katra-yku-ru-sa
 field-1-EVD crumble-URGT-3 water-ACC-EVD release -EXCEP-URGT-SA
 ‘My field washed away. They had released water.’
- (10) *Payllatam wañurachira runa ... hapirusa karrupi.* ACH
 pay-lla-ta-m wañu-ra-chi-ra runa hapi-ru-sa karrupi
 he-RSTR-ACC-EVD die-URGT-CAUS-PST person grab-URGT-SA car-LOC
 ‘The people killed just him ... They had grabbed him on the bus.’
- (11) *Liluptinqa, li:.* CH
 li-lu-pti-n-qa li:
 go-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP go-1
 ‘When (after) he went, I went.’

- (12) *Hinaptinshi iskinapa kayaptin baliyarun.* ACH
 hinaptin-shi iskina-pa ka-ya-pti-n baliya-ru-n
 then-EVR corner-LOC be-PROG-SUBDS-3 shoot-URGT-3
 ‘Then, they say, when he was in the corner, they shot him.’
- (13) *Suyarusa hinashpa maqarusa. Chayshi nirqamik tumarun.* AMV
 suya-ru-sa hinashpa maqa-ru-sa chay-shi ni-rqa-mi-k
 wait-URGT-SA then beat-URGT-SA DEM.D-EVR say-PST-EVD-3
 tuma-ru-n
 take-URGT-3
 ‘She had waited for her then she had hit her. That’s why he took [the
 poison], they say.’

4.3.3.3.4 Habitual past -q ka- The habitual past is indicated by the combination of the agentive noun – formed by the addition of -q to the verb stem – and the relevant present-tense form of ka- ‘be’ (zero in the third person) (1–4). Generally translated in Spanish with the imperfect, the structure can be translated in English as ‘used to V’ or ‘would V’. Object suffixes precede -q (5), (6).

Table 4.14: Habitual past inflection

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-q ka-ni _{AMV,LT} -q ka- _{ACH,CH,SP}	-q ka-nchik
2	-q ka-nki	-q ka-nki
3	-q	-q

Table 4.15: Habitual past inflection – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-q ka-nki _{AMV,LT}	-wa-q _{AMV,LT}	N/A	N/A	N/A
-ma-q ka-nki _{ACH,CH,SP}	-ma-q _{ACH,CH,SP}			

4 Verbs

- (1) *Wak Marcopukyopa, triguta hurqupakamuq kani.* AMV
 wak Marcopukyo-pa, trigu-ta hurqu-paka-mu-q ka-ni
 DEM.D Marcopukyo-LOC wheat-ACC remove-MUTBEN-CISL-AG be-1
 ‘There in Marcopukyo, I used to harvest wheat.’
- (2) *Chayhina puriq kanchik ayvis fufuru puchukaruq.* AMV
 chay-hina puri-q ka-nchik ayvis fufuru puchuka-ru-q
 DEM.D-COMP walk-AG be-1PL sometimes match finish-URGT-AG
 ‘We would walk around like that; sometimes the matches would run out.’
- (3) *Awturidadkunaqa pakakuq huk law likuq.* CH
 awturidad-kuna-qa paka-ku-q huk law li-ku-q
 authority-PL-TOP hide-REFL-AG one side go-REFL-AG
 ‘The officials would hide, they would go other places.’
- (4) *Chay turruristawan kay Azángaropaq rikuyaq. Wama wamaq piliyakuyaq.* ACH
 chay turrurista-wan kay Azángaro-paq riku-ya-q wama
 DEM.D terrorist-INSTR DEM.P Azángaro-ABL go-PROG-AG a.lot
 wamaq piliya-ku-ya-q
 a.lot fight-REFL-PROG-AG
 ‘They would be going from Azángaro with the terrorists. They would be fighting a lot.’
- (5) *Wasiyta hamuruptiy uquchiwaq. Huk vidatam wakwanqa pukllarirqani.* AMV
 wasi-y-ta hamu-ru-pti-y uqu-chi-wa-q huk
 house-1-ACC come-URGT-SUBDS-1 wet-CAUS-1.OBJ-AG one
 vida-ta-m wak-wan-qa puklla-ri-rqa-ni
 life-ACC-EVD DEM.D-INSTR-TOP play-INCEP-PST-1
 ‘When I would come home, they would get me wet. I played around with them a lot.’
- (6) *Taytacha: willamaq chayhinam antigwu viyhukuna purira nishpa.* SP
 tayta-cha: willa-ma-q chay-hina-m antigwu viyhu-kuna
 father-DIM-1 tell-1.OBJ-AG DEM.D-COMP-EVD ancient old-PL
 puri-ra ni-shpa
 walk-PST say- SUBIS

‘My grandfather used to tell me [stories]. The ancients walked about like that, he said.’

4.3.4 Conditional

syQ verbs inflect for conditionality, present and past. Two different forms indicate the conditional in syQ. The first, the regular conditional, is attested in all persons, singular and plural, in all dialects. Alternative conditional forms are attested in the first person plural in all dialects and in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect. Both the regular and alternative conditional may be interpreted as ability, circumstantial, deontological, epistemological, and teleological modals, both existential and universal, at least. For more extensive discussion of the interpretation of the conditional under the scope of the various evidential enclitics and their modifiers, see § 6.2.11.

4.3.4.1 Regular conditional (potential) *-man*

All syQ dialects indicate the conditional with the suffix *-man*. In the first person, it is the person-number suffixes of the nominal (possessive) paradigm that are used in combination with *-man* (i.e., *-y* and not *-ni* is used for the first-person singular in the QII-aligned dialects) (1). *-man* follows all other inflectional suffixes (*ri-nki-man* **ri-man-ni-nki*) (32); *-man* is in complementary distribution with tense morphemes (**ri-rqa-nki-man*) (the examples cited are given in § 4.3.4.2).

Table 4.16: Regular conditional inflection

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

4.3.4.2 Excursis: modality

The syQ conditional covers far more territory than does the conditional in Spanish or English, receiving ability (2–6), circumstantial (7), (8), (29), deontic (10),

Table 4.17: Regular conditional inflection – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-nki-man _{AMV, LT}	-wa-n-man _{AMV, LT}	-wa-nchik-man _{AMV, LT}	-yki-man	-shu-nki-man
-ma-nki-man _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-n-man _{ACH, CH, SP}	-ma-nchik-man _{ACH, CH, SP}		

(11), (26), (33), teleological (12), (28), and epistemological (9), (30), (31) modal readings, both existential and universal. As detailed in § 6.2.11, *syQ* modals are themselves unspecified for force: modal force is determined by context and is generally specified by the evidential modifiers. Weak modal readings result when the modal is under the scope either of no evidential or of an evidential modified by the evidential modifier \emptyset ; strong universal readings result when the evidential is modified by the evidential modifier *-iki* (*siqa-yku-n-man-tri- \emptyset* ‘it might fall’, *siqa-yku-n-man-tri-ki* ‘it will most likely fall’; *istudya-nki-man-mi- \emptyset* ‘you should study’, *istudya-nki-man-mi-ki* ‘you must study’); moderately strong modal readings result when the modifier *-ik* takes scope over the modal. Ability modals also result from the combination of the infinitive and the verb *atipa-* ‘be able’ (15–16). The verbs *usHachi-* and *puydi-*, both translated ‘be able,’ as well as *yatra-* ‘know’ may also be employed in this construction (18–20). *atipa-*, *usHachi-*, and *puydi-* appear in verbal constructions only when negated; they appear non-negated only in nominalizations (21), (22). Universal deontic readings additionally follow from the combination of the nominalizer, *-na* with nominal (possessive) person inflection (23); they are available, too, with the simple present tense. In (24), the adverb *hawka* ‘tranquil’ modifying a future tense verb receives an existential deontic modal reading. As detailed in § 6.2.11.3, under the scope of the conjectural evidential, *-trI*, conditionals are generally restricted to epistemic interpretations; under the scope of the direct evidential *-mI*, they receive all but conjectural interpretations. Attaching to verbs inflected with second-person *-iki*, *-man*, may be interpreted as a caution (34). And finally, it appears that *-man* never attaches to either of the alternative-conditional morphemes, *-waq* or *-chuman*.¹² This information is summarized in Table 4.18 (examples are given for the third person with the verb *qawa-* ‘see’).

¹² I have not yet tested these for grammaticality in elicitation sessions. I can only say that in a corpus with 85 instances of *-iki-man* and 24 instances of *-nchick-man*, **-waq-man* and **-chuwman-man* remain unattested.

Table 4.18: Modal system

	Existential	Universal*
Ability	V-COND-EVD <i>qawa-n-man-mi</i> manam V-INF-ACC atipa-INFL-chu *EV <i>manam qawa-y-ta atipa-n-chu</i>	x
Circumstantial	V-COND-EVD <i>wiña-n-man-mi</i>	x
Deontic	V-COND-EVD <i>qawa-n-man-mi</i> Hawka V-FUT-EVD <i>hawka qawa-nqa-m</i>	V-COND-EVD <i>qawa-n-man-mi</i> V-NMLZ-POSS-EVD (be-PST) <i>qawa-na-n-mi</i>
Epistemic	V-COND-EVC <i>qawa-n-man-tri</i>	V-COND-EVC (be-PST) <i>qawa-n-man-tri</i>
Teleological	V-COND-EVD <i>qawa-n-man-mi</i> V-PRES-EVD <i>qawa-n-mi</i>	V-COND-EVD <i>qawa-n-man-mi</i> V-PRES-EVD <i>qawa-n-m</i>

*The verbs *usHachi-* ‘be able’, *puydi-* ‘be able’, and *yatra-* ‘know’ can replace *atipa-*.

- (1) *Ruwayman lliw lliw.* AMV
 ruwa-y-man lliw lliw
 make-1-COND all all
 ‘I can do everything.’
- (2) *Kanan chayta rinman.* LT
 kanan chay-ta ri-n-man
 now DEM.D-ACC go-3-COND
 ‘Now, he could go there.’
- (3) *¿Manachu kuska linman?* CH
 mana-chu kuska li-n-man
 no-Q together go-3-COND
 ‘Can’t they go together?’

- (4) *Ulvidaru:, manayá yuyari:manchu. SP*
 ulvida-ru-: mana-yá yuyari:-man-chu
 forget-URGT-1 no-EMPH remember-1-COND-NEG
 ‘I’ve forgotten. I can’t remember.’
- (5) *¿Imatataq ruwankiman? ¿Imatataq ruwanman? ACH*
 ima-ta-taq ruwa-nki-man ima-ta-taq ruwa-n-man
 what-ACC-SEQ make-2-COND what-ACC-SEQ make-3-COND
 ‘What can you do? What can they do?’
- (6) *Manañam kawsa:manchu. CH*
 mana-ña-m kawsa:-man-chu
 no-DISC-EVD live-1-COND-NEG
 ‘I can’t live any more.’
- (7) *Manatr wak lawpa pastu kanmanchu. AMV*
 mana-tr wak law-pa pastu ka-n-man-chu
 no-EVC DEM.D side-LOC pasture.grass be-3-COND-NEG
 ‘There can’t be any pasture on that side.’
- (8) *Sarurullawanman. AMV*
 saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man
 trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND
 ‘She could trample me.’
- (9) *Wasikunapis saqaykunmantri fwirti kaptinqa. AMV*
 wasi-kuna-pis saqa-yku-n-man-tri fwirti ka-pti-n-qa
 house-PL-ADD go.down-EXCEP-3-COND-EVC strong be-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘The houses, also, could fall if there were a strong one [earthquake].’
- (10) *Wawakunkimanmi hukllatas. ACH*
 wawa-ku-nki-man-mi huk-lla-ta-s
 give.birth-REFL-2-COND-EVD one-RSTR-ACC-ADD
 ‘You should give birth to at least one [child].’

- (11) *Yatarunkimantaq.* AMV
 yata-ru-nki-man-taq
 catch-URGT-2-COND-SEQ
 ‘Be careful not to catch it.’
- (12) *Allin nutata surqunaykipaq istudyankimanmiki.* † AMV
 allin nuta-ta surqu-na-yki-paq istudya-nki-man-mi-ki
 good grade-ACC take.out-NMLZ-2-PURP study-2-COND-EVD-IKI
 ‘If you want to get good grades, you have to study.’
- (13) *Suwakunmantriki.* LT
 suwa-ku-n-man-tri-ki
 rob-REFL-3-COND-EVC-IKI
 ‘[Where it’s abandoned] it’s very likely they will rob [you].’
- (14) *Turantin siqaykursa. Chay ukupaqa puchukarunmantriki.* AMV
 tura-ntin siqa-yku-ru-sa chay uku-pa-qa
 bull-INCL go.down-EXCEP-URGT-NPST DEM.D inside-LOC-TOP
 puchuka-ru-n-man-tri-ki
 finish-URGT-3-COND-EVC-IKI
 ‘He fell [from the roof] with the bull. He really might [have] been finished off inside.’
- (15) *Manaña riyta atipanchu pishipakuyan.* AMV
 mana-ña ri-y-ta atipa-n-chu pishipa-ku-ya-n
 no-DISC go-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG tire-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘They can’t go – they’re getting tired.’
- (16) *Wawan kaptinqa, manaña uywayta atipanchu.* ACH
 wawa-n ka-pti-n-qa, mana-ña uywa-y-ta atipa-n-chu
 baby-3 be-SUBDS-3-TOP no-DISC raise-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG
 ‘When they have babies, they can’t raise [cattle] any more.’
- (17) *Qutrash. Manash pawayta atipanchu chaypaq.* AMV
 qutra-sh mana-sh pawa-y-ta atipa-n-chu chaypaq
 reservoir-EVR no-EVR jump-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG DEM.D-ABL
 ‘It’s a lake, they say. They can’t jump out of there, they say.’

- (18) *Chay ninaman pawayta hawanta munayan mana usachinchu.* AMV
 chay nina-man pawa-y-ta hawa-n-ta muna-ya-n mana
 DEM.D fire-ALL jump-INF-ACC above-3-ACC want-PROG-3 no
 usachi-n-chu
 be.able-3-NEG
 ‘They want to jump over the fire, but they can’t.’
- (19) *Piluntaqa yupayanshari chay chapupaqa. Ushachinchu yupayta.* AMV
 pilu-n-ta-qa yupa-ya-n-sh-ari chay chapu-paq-ta
 hair-3-ACC-TOP count-PROG-3-EVR-ARI DEM.D little.dog-GEN-ACC
 ushachi-n-chu yupa-y-ta
 be.able-3-NEG count-INF-ACC
 ‘[The zombie] is counting the hairless dog’s hairs. He can’t count them.’
- (20) *Puriyta yatranñam.* AMV
 puri-y-ta yatra-n-ña-m
 walk-INF-ACC know-3-DISC-EVD
 ‘She can already walk.’
- (21) *Hinashpa trayarushpaqa ... waqtakuyanchikña atipasanchikkama.* CH
 hinashpa traya-ru-shpa-qa waqta-ku-ya-nchik-ña
 then arrive-URGT-SUBIS-TOP hit-REFL-PROG-1PL-DISC
 atipa-sa-nchik-kama
 be.able-PRF-1PL-LIM
 ‘Then, when you get there, when there is any, you’re already hitting it as much as you can.’
- (22) *Burrunchikwan rinchik Cañetekama maykamapis atipasanchikkama.* AMV
 burru-nchik-wan ri-nchik Cañete-kama may-kama-pis
 donkey-1PL-INSTR go-1PL Cañete-LIM where-LIM-ADD
 atipa-sa-nchik-kama
 be.able-PRF-1PL-LIM
 ‘With our donkeys we went to Cañete, to where ever, where ever we could.’

- (23) *Chaymi vaka harkaq rikunaykimiki.* AMV
 chay-mi vaka harka-q riku-na-yki-mi-ki
 DEM.D-EVD cow herd-AG go-NMLZ-2-EVD-IKI
 ‘That’s why you have to go pasture the cows.’
- (24) *Hawkañam tushunqa.* AMV
 hawka-ña-m tushu-nqa
 tranquil-DISC-EVD dance-3.FUT
 ‘She can go dancing.’
- (25) *¡Kwidadu! Chaypitaq qalqali mikulushunkiman.* CH
 kwidadu chay-pi-taq qalqali miku-lu-shunki-man
 be.careful DEM.D-LOC-SEQ zombie eat-URGT-3>2-COND
 ‘Be careful! A zombie could eat you there.’
- (26) *Chayshi manash invidyusu kaytaq atipanchikmanchu.* LT
 chay-shi mana-sh invidyusu kay-taq atipa-nchik-man-chu
 DEM.D-EVR no-EVR jealous DEM.P-SEQ be.able-1PL-COND-NEG
 ‘That’s why we shouldn’t be jealous.’
- (27) *Manam wañu:manchu.* SP
 mana-m wañu-:-man-chu
 no-EVD die-1-COND-NEG
 ‘I can’t die.’
- (28) *Agua florida u krisutapis apamunkimanmi.* ACH
 agua florida-ta u krisu-ta-pis apa-mu-nki-man-mi
 water florida-ACC or Croesus-ACC-ADD bring-CISL-2-COND-EVD
 ‘You can bring florida water or croesus [so as not to get sick].’
- (29) *Suwapis rikarunman chaypa.* ACH
 suwa-pis rika-ru-n-man chay-pa
 thief-ADD see-URGT-3-COND DEM.D-LOC
 ‘Thieves also can pop up around there.’

4 Verbs

- (30) *Chayqa waqayan. ¿Imataq kanman?* SP
 chay-qa waqa-ya-n ima-taq ka-n-man
 DEM.D-TOP cry-PROG-3 what-SEQ be-3-COND
 ‘It’s crying. What could that be?’
- (31) *Wañukunmantriki. ¿Imayna mana kutikamunmanchu?* ACH
 wañu-ku-n-man-tri-ki imayna mana kuti-ka-mu-n-man-chu
 die-REFL-3-COND-EVC-IKI how no return-REFL-CISL-3-COND-NEG
 ‘He might have died. Why can’t he come back?’
- (32) *Mana chichiyuq kaptikiqa chayna llugarishunkimantri.* AMV
 mana chichi-yuq ka-pti-ki-qa chayna
 no breast-POSS be-SUBDS-2-TOP thus
 lluga-ri-shu-nki-man-tri
 walk.grabbing-INCEP-2.OBJ-2-COND-EVC
 ‘If you don’t have breasts they might lean on you.’
- (33) *Ishchallataña shutuykachiymán, ¿aw?* AMV
 ishcha-lla-ta-ña shutu-yka-chi-y-man aw
 little-RSTR-ACC-DISC drip-EXCEP-CAUS-1-COND yes
 ‘I should make it drip just a little, right?’
- (34) *Viñacta rishpa kichkata manam saruramunkiman.* AMV
 Viñac-ta ri-shpa kichka-ta mana-m saru-ra-mu-nki-man
 Viñac-ACC go-SUBIS thorn-ACC no-EVD trample-URGT-CISL-2-COND
 ‘Be careful not to step on thorns when you go to Viñac.’
- (35) *Sarurullawanman manam saruwanantaq munanichu.* AMV
 saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man mana-m saru-wa-na-n-taq
 trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND no-EVD trample-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-SEQ
 muna-ni-chu
 want-1-NEG
 ‘She might trample me. I don’t want her to trample me.’

4.3.4.3 Alternative conditional *-waq* and *-chuwan*

Alternative conditional forms are attested in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect and first person plural in all dialects. *-waq* indicates the second person conditional (1–3); *-chuwan* indicates the first person plural conditional (4–7); *-waq* may be explicitly pluralized with *-pa(:)ku* (8). Both morphemes simultaneously indicate person and conditionality and are in complementary distribution both with tense and inflectional morphemes. *-w/ma-chuwan* is used with a first-person plural object (9–12). Ability (13), (14), circumstantial (15), deontic (16), (19) epistemic (17) and teleological (18) readings are all available. In case a word ends with *-chuwan*, stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable (19).

- (1) *¿Imallatapis mikuchaykuwaqchu mamay?* AMV
 ima-lla-ta-pis miku-cha-yku-waq-chu mama-y?
 what-RSTR-ACC-ADD eat-DIM-EXCEP-2.COND-Q mother-1
 ‘Can you eat any little thing, Miss?’

- (2) *Wak tinapa alchawaq.* AMV
 wak tina-pa alcha-waq
 DEM.D tub-LOC fix-2.COND
 ‘You can fix it in that tub.’

- (3) *¡Ama! Huk lawman hitraykurullawaq.* AMV
 ama huk law-man hitra-yku-ru-lla-waq
 PROH one side-ALL spill-EXCEP-URGT-RSTR-2.COND
 ‘Don’t! Be careful you don’t spill it on the other side.’

- (4) *Ratu ratum chaywanqa shinkaruchuwan.* ACH
 ratu ratu-m chay-wan-qa shinka-ru-chuwan
 moment moment-EVD DEM.D-INSTR-TOP get.drunk-URGT-1PL.COND
 ‘We can get drunk really quickly with that.’

- (5) *Huk quptinqa mikuruchuwanmi.* ACH
 huk qu-pti-n-qa miku-ru-chuwan-mi
 one give-SUBDS-3-TOP eat-URGT-1PL.COND-EVD
 ‘When another gives, we can eat.’

- (6) *Manañam kwintakuchuanñachu.* LT
 mana-ña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-ña-chu
 no-DISC-EVD account-REFL-1PL.COND-DISC-NEG
 ‘We can no longer become aware of it.’
- (7) *Tutayaqpaq, manam imatapis ruwachuwan.* AMV
 tuta-ya-q-paq mana-m ima-ta-pis ruwa-chuwan
 night-INCH-AG-LOC no-EVD what-ACC-ADD make-1PL.COND
 ‘In the darkness, we couldn’t do anything.’
- (8) *Yanapapakuwaq.* AMV
 yanapa-paku-waq
 help-JTACC-2.COND
 ‘You.PL should help.’
- (9) *Vininamachuwantri.* ACH
 vinina-ma-chuwan-tri
 poison-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EVC
 ‘It can poison us.’
- (10) *Sapallanchiktaqa mikurumachuwantri.* ACH
 sapa-lla-nchik-ta-qa miku-ru-ma-chuwan-tri
 alone-REST-1PL-ACC-TOP eat-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.COND
 ‘[When we’re] alone, [the Devil] can eat us.’
- (11) *Dibil kaptinchik chukaruwachuwanyá.* AMV
 dibil ka-pti-nchik chuka-ru-wa-chuwan-yá
 weak be-SUBDS-1PL crash-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EMPH
 ‘When we’re weak, it can make us sick.’
- (12) *Midiku hudiruwachuwanmi.* AMV
 midiku hudi-ru-wa-chuwan-mi
 doctor screw-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EVD
 ‘Doctors can screw us up.’

- (13) *¿Vakata chuqamuwaqchu?* AMV
 vaka-ta chuqa-mu-waq-chu
 cow-ACC throw.stones-CISL-2.COND-Q
 ‘Can you throw stones at [herd] cows?’
- (14) *Yaku usun chaymi llaqtata rishaq. Manam rigachuwanchu.* LT
 yaku usu-n chay-mi llaqta-ta ri-shaq
 water waste.on.the.ground-3 DEM.D-EVD town-ACC go-1.FUT
 mana-m riga-chuwan-chu
 no-EVD irrigate-1PL.COND-NEG
 ‘Water is spilling. So I’m going to go to town. We can’t water.’
- (15) *Kayanmi uniku qullqiyuqpaqyá ¿Maypam rigalawachuwan runaqa?* AMV
 ka-ya-n-mi uniku qullqi-yuq-paq-yá may-pa-m
 be-PROG-3-EVD only money-POSS-BEN-EVD where-LOC-EVD
 rigala-wa-chuwan runa-qa?
 give.as.a.gift-1.OBJ-1PL.COND person-TOP
 ‘There are some just for people with money. Where can people give us things as gifts?’
- (16) *Chikitu llamachata apakuwaq.* AMV
 chikitu llama-cha-ta apa-ku-waq
 small llama-DIM-ACC bring-REFL-2.COND
 ‘You could bring a small little llama.’
- (17) *Wañuyapaqpis kayachuwantri.* AMV
 wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuwan-tri
 die-INF-PURP-ADD be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC
 ‘We could be also about to die.’
- (18) *Trabahawaqmi mikuyta munashpaqa.* AMV
 trabaha-waq-mi miku-y-ta muna-shpa-qa
 work-2.COND-EVD eat-INF-ACC want-SUBIS-TOP
 ‘You have to work if you want to eat.’

- (19) *Pulíchuwan kuskanchik.* CH
 puli-chuwan kuska-nchik
 walk-1PL.COND together-1PL
 ‘We should walk together.’

4.3.4.4 Past conditional (irrealis)

The past conditional is indicated by the combination – as distinct words – of the conditional with *ka-RQa*, the third person past tense form of *ka-* ‘be’ (1–4). The regular conditional form may be used in all dialects (5–8); the alternative conditional forms may be used in those dialects in which they are available in the present tense (9–10).

- (1) *Riruyman karqa ñuqapis yanga hanaypaq.* AMV
 ri-ru-y-man ka-rqa ñuqa-pis yanga hanay-paq
 go-URGT-1-COND be-PST I-ADD lie up.hill-ABL
 ‘I, too, would have gone in vain from up hill.’
- (2) *Chay pachalla ... ruwashinkiman karqa.* AMV
 chay pacha-lla ruwa-shi-nki-man ka-rqa
 DEM.D date-RSTR make-ACMP-2-COND be-PST
 ‘That time, you could have helped make it.’

Table 4.19: Past conditional inflection

Person	Singular	Plural
1	-y-man karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}	-nchik-man karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}
	-y-man kara- \emptyset _{LT}	-nchik-man kara- \emptyset _{ACH,LT,SP}
	-:-man kara- \emptyset _{ACH,SP}	-nchik-man kala- \emptyset _{CH}
	-:-man kala- \emptyset _{CH}	-chuwan karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}
2	-nki-man karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}	-chuwan kara- \emptyset _{ACH,LT}
	-nki-man kara- \emptyset _{ACH,LT,SP}	-nki-man karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}
	-nki-man kala- \emptyset _{CH}	-nki-man kara- \emptyset _{ACH,LT,SP}
	-waq karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}	-nki-man kala- \emptyset _{CH}
3	-n-man karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}	-waq karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}
	-n-man kara- \emptyset _{ACH,SP,LT}	-n-man karqa- \emptyset _{AMV}
	-n-man kala- \emptyset _{CH}	-n-man kara- \emptyset _{ACH,SP,LT}
		-n-man kala- \emptyset _{CH}

Table 4.20: Past conditional inflection – actor-object suffixes

	2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
-wa-nki-man	ka-rqa _{AMV}	-wa-n-man ka-rqa _{AMV}	-wa-nchik-man ka-rqa _{AMV}	-yki-man ka-rqa _{AMV}	-shu-nki-man ka-rqa _{AMV}
-wa-nki-man	ka-ra _{LT}	-wa-n-man ka-ra _{LT}	-wa-nchik-man ka-ra _{LT}	-yki-man ka-ra _{LT}	-shu-nki-man ka-ra _{LT}
-ma-nki-man	ka-ra _{ACH, SP}	-ma-n-man ka-ra _{extscach, SP}	-ma-nchik-man ka-ra _{ACH, SP}		
-ma-nki-man	ka-la _{CH}	-ma-n-man ka-la _{extscch}	-ma-nchik-man ka-la _{CH}		

- (3) *Mastam katraykurunman karqa.* AMV
 mas-ta-m katra-yku-ru-n-man ka-rqa
 more-ACC-EVD release-EXCEP-URGT-3-COND be-PAST
 ‘She should have let more out.’
- (4) *¿Imapis mas piyurtri kanchikman karqa?* AMV
 ima-pis mas piyur-tri ka-nchik-man ka-rqa
 what-ADD more worse-EVC be-1PL-COND be-PST
 ‘What worse thing could we have been?’
- (5) *Dimunyu chayqa kara. Mikuramanmantri kara icha aparamanmantri kara.* ACH
 Dimunyu chay-qa ka-ra miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra
 Devil DEM.D-TOP be-PST eat-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC be-PST
 icha apa-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra
 or bring-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC be-PST
 ‘That was the devil. He could have eaten me or he could have taken me away.’
- (6) *Kundinakurunmantri kara. Qullqi chay kasa.* SP
 kundina-ku-ru-n-man-tri ka-ra qullqi chay ka-sa
 condemn-REFL-URGT-3-COND-EVC be-PST money DEM.D be-NPST
 ‘She would have condemned herself [to being a zombie]. That was money.’
- (7) *“Lusta pagankimantri karqa lusninta,” niniyá.* AMV
 lus-ta paga-nki-man-tri ka-rqa lus-ni-n-ta ni-ni-yá
 light-ACC pay-2-COND-EVC be-PST light-EUPH-3-ACC say-1-EMPH
 “‘You should have paid the electric bill, his electric bill,’ I said then.’
- (8) *Chayta pushakarunkiman kara.* LT
 chay-ta pusha-ka-ru-nki-man ka-ra
 chay-ACC bring.along-PASSACC-URGT-2-COND be-PST
 ‘You should have taken her.’
- (9) *Mastam chawaruwaq karqa.* AMV
 mas-ta-m chawa-ru-waq ka-rqa
 more-ACC-EVD milk-URGT-2.COND be-PST

‘You could have milked more.’

- (10) *¿Chay rikisun kayarachu? Rikushpatr mikuchuwana kara.* AMV
 chay rikisun ka-ya-ra-chu riku-shpa-tr miku-chuwan
 DEM.D cheese.curd be-PROG-PST-Q go-SUBIS-EVC eat-1PL.COND
 ka-ra
 be-PST
 ‘Was there the cheese curd? We could have gone and eaten it.’

4.3.5 Imperative and injunctive

4.3.5.1 Imperative -y

-y indicates the second-person singular imperative (1). -y is suffixed to the verb stem, plus derivational suffixes, if any (2). In case the verb has a first-person singular direct or indirect object, -y attaches to the 2>1 actor-object suffix -ma/wa (3), (4). The second-person plural imperative may be indicated by the joint action derivational suffix, -pa(:)kU, immediately preceding -y, and -ma/wa, if present (5), (6). The first-person plural imperative is identical to the first person plural future: it is indicated by the suffix -shun (7), (8). Prohibitions are formed by suffixing the imperative with -chu and preceding it with ama (9–12). *¿Haku!* ‘Let’s go!’ is irregular: it cannot be negated or inflected (13), (14), except, optionally, with the first-person plural -nchik. The second-person future tense, too, is often interpreted as an imperative (15), and prohibitions can be formed by preceding this with ama (16).

- (1) *¿Chay kullarnikitaqa surquruy!* AMV
 chay kullar-ni-ki-ta-qa surqu-ru-y
 DEM.D necklace-EUPH-2-ACC-TOP take.out-URGT-IMP
 ‘That necklace of yours, take it out!’
- (2) *¿Wañurachiy wakta!* ACH
 wañu-ra-chi-y wak-ta
 die-URGT-CAUS-IMP DEM.D-ACC
 ‘Kill that one!’

4 Verbs

- (3) *¡Ñuqamanpis qachamay!* SP
 ñuqa-man-pis qacha-ma-y
 I-ALL-ADD rip-1.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Rip it for me, too!’
- (4) *¡Samaykachillaway, awilita!* AMV
 sama-yka-chi-lla-wa-y awilita
 rest-EXCEP-CAUS-RSTR-1.OBJ-IMP grandmother
 ‘Just make (have/let) me rest, grandmother!’
- (5) *¡Lluqsipakuy (llapayki)!†* AMV
 lluksi-paku-y (llapa-yki)
 go.out-JTACC-IMP all-2
 ‘Leave.PL!’
- (6) *¡Takipakuy!†* ACH
 taki-paku-y
 sing-JTACC-IMP
 ‘Sing PL!’
- (7) *¡Tushushun!* AMV
 tushu-shun
 dance-1PL.FUT
 ‘Let’s dance!’
- (8) *¡Kuskallam wañukushun!* LT
 kуска-lla-m wañu-ku-shun
 together-RSTR-EVD die-REFL-1PL.FUT
 ‘Let’s die together!’
- (9) *“¡Amayá diharamaychu” nishpa lukuyakuyan.* ACH
 ama-yá diha-ra-ma-y-chu ni-shpa
 PROH-EMPH leave-URGT-1.OBJ-IMP-NEG say-SUBIS
 luku-ya-ku-ya-n
 crazy-INCH-REFL-PROG-3
 “‘Don’t leave me!’ he said, going crazy.’

- (10) ¡*Ama ñuqaktaqa imanamaypischu!* CH
 ama ñuqa-cta-qa ima-na-ma-y-pis-chu
 PROH I-ADD-TOP what-VRBZ-1.OBJ-IMP-ADD-NEG
 ‘Don’t do anything to me!’
- (11) ¡*Ama manchariychu!* ¡*Ama qawaychu!* AMV
 ama mancha-ri-y-chu ama qawa-y-chu
 PROH scare-INCEP-IMP-NEG PROH look-IMP-NEG
 ‘Don’t be scared! Don’t look!’
- (12) ¡*Amam nunka katraykanakushunchu!* LT
 ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun-chu
 PROH-EVD never release-EXCEP-RECP-1PL.FUT-NEG
 ‘Let’s never leave each other!’
- (13) ¡*Hakuña, taytay, pakananpaq chay aychata!* AMV
 haku-ña, tayta-y paka-na-n-paq chay aycha-ta
 let’s.go-DISC father-1 hide-NMLZ-3-PURP DEM.D meat-ACC
 ‘Let’s go, mate, so he can hide this meat!’
- (14) ¡*Ama rishunchu* (**haku*)! AMV
 ama ri-shun-chu
 PROH go-1PL.FUT-NEG
 ‘Let’s not go!’ ‘We shouldn’t go.’
- (15) *Diosninchikqa nin, “¡Iha, apanki pukatrakita, wamanripata!”* LT
 Dios-ni-nchik-qa ni-n iha apa-nki pukatraki-ta
 God-EUPH-1PL-TOP say-3 daughter bring-2 pukatraki.flower-ACC
 wamanripa-ta
 wamanripa.flower-ACC
 ‘Our God said, “Daughter, bring pukatraki plants and wamanripa plants!”’
- (16) ¡*Ama kutimunkichu!* *Qamqa isturbum kayanki.* CH
 ama kuti-mu-nki-chu qam-qa isturba-m ka-ya-nki
 PROH return-CISL-2-NEG you-TOP nuisance-EVD be-PROG-2
 ‘Don’t come back! You’re being a nuisance.’

4.3.5.2 Injunctive *-chun*

-chun indicates the third person injunctive (1–3), the suggestion on the part of the speaker as to the advisability of action by a third party. There are no first or second person injunctive suffixes. *-chun* attaches to the verb stem, plus derivational suffixes, if any (4–6). It simultaneously indicates injunctivity and person, and is in complementary distribution with other inflectional suffixes. The negative injunctive is formed by suffixing *-chu* to the injunctive and preceding it with *ama* (7), (8). The third-person future tense can sometimes be interpreted as an injunctive (9).

- (1) *¡Kukantaraq akuykuchun!* AMV
 kuka-n-ta-raq aku-yku-chun
 coca-3-ACC-CONT chew-EXCEP-INJUNC
 ‘Let her take her coca still!’
- (2) *¡Uqusakuna hinalla kachun!* AMV
 uqu-sa-kuna hina-lla ka-chun
 wet-PRF-PL thus-RSTR be-INJUNC
 ‘Let the wet ones be like that!’
- (3) *¡Witrqachun piliyaqkunata kalabusupi!* AMV
 witrqa-chun piliya-q-kuna-ta kalabusu-pi
 close.in-INJUNC fight-AG-PL-ACC prison-LOC
 ‘Let them shut the brawlers up in the prison!’
- (4) *¡Kutimuchun! Wañuchina:paq.* ACH
 kuti-mu-chun wañu-chi-na:-paq
 return-CISL-INJUNC die-CAUS-NMLZ-1-PURP
 ‘Have him come back – so I can kill him!’
- (5) *Papaniy wañukuchunpis wamran kawsakuchun ninshi. Chaykunata upyachiwaptinshi kawsakurqani.* AMV
 papa-ni-y wañu-ku-chun-pis wamra-n kawsa-ku-chun
 father-EUPH-1 die-REFL-INJUNC-ADD child-3 live-REFL-INJUNC
 ni-n-shi chay-kuna-ta upya-chi-wa-pti-n-shi
 say-3-EVR DEM.D-PL-ACC drink-CAUS-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3-EVR
 kawsa-ku-rqa-ni
 live-REFL-PST-1

‘Let him die; let his child live, my father said, they say. When they made me take those [cures], I lived.’

- (6) *¡Hinallaña kayachun!* LT
 hina-lla-ña ka-ya-chun
 thus-RSTR-DISC be-PROG-INJUNC
 ‘Let it be just like that!’
- (7) *¡Ama llusichunchu tukuy puntraw!* CH
 ama llusichunchu tukuy puntraw
 PROH go.out-INJUNC-NEG all day
 ‘Don’t let him leave all day!’
- (8) *Ishkay palumaqa nin, “¡Ama yantataqa apayachunchu!”* ACH
 ishkay paluma-qa ni-n ama yanta-ta-qa
 two dove-TOP say-3 PROH firewood-ACC-TOP
 apa-ya-chun-chu
 bring-PROG-INJUNC-NEG
 ‘The two doves said, “Don’t let them bring the firewood!”’
- (9) *Wañuchiptin, ‘¡Amam pampankichu! ¡Hinam ismunqa!’ ninshi.* ACH
 wañu-chi-pti-n ama-m pampa-nki-chu hina-m ismu-nqa
 die-CAUS-SUBDS-3 PROH-EVD bury-2-NEG thus-EVD rot-3.FUT
 ninshi
 say-3-EVR
 ‘When they killed him, “Don’t bury him! Let him rot like that!” he said.’

4.3.6 Aspect

In SYQ, continuous aspect is indicated by *-ya*. *-ya* belongs to the set of derivational affixes. Unlike inflectional morphemes, *-ya* can appear in subordinate clauses and nominalizations (*puñu-ya-pti-n* ‘when he is sleeping’; *ruwa-ya-q* ‘one who is making’) and can – and, indeed, sometimes must – precede some derivational suffixes (*miku-ya-chi-n* ‘he is making him eat’). Perfective aspect, generally indicated by *-Ru*, may, in some cases, also be indicated by reflexive *-kU*. § 4.3.6.1–4.3.6.3 cover *-ya* and *-kU*, respectively.

4.3.6.1 Continuous *-ya*

All dialects of SYQ indicate continuous aspect with *-ya*. *-ya* marks both the progressive (1–6) and durative components (7), (8) of the continuous, indicating both actions and states continuing in time. *-ya* may be used with or in place of *-q* to mark habitual action (9–11) when such action is customary.¹³ *-ya* can appear in subordinate clauses (12), (13). *-ya* precedes *-mu* and *-chi* (14), (15) and precedes all inflectional suffixes. It forms the present (16), past (17), (18) and future (19) progressive.

- (1) *Lliwmantriki invitayan payqa.* AMV
 lliw-man-tri-ki invita-ya-n pay-qa
 all-ALL-EVC-IKI invite-PROG-3 she-TOP
 ‘She must be inviting everyone, for sure, her.’

- (2) *Kumunidadllañam napa:kuya: trabahapa:kuya:.* CH
 kumunidad-lla-ña-m na-pa:ku-ya-: trabaha-pa:ku-ya-:.
 community-RSTR-DISC-EVD DMY-JTACC-PROG-1 work-JTACC-PROG-1
 ‘Just the community, we’re doing it, we’re working.’

- (3) *Walmikunaqa talpuya: allichaya: kulpakta maqaya:.* CH
 walmi-kuna-qa talpu-ya-: alli-cha-ya-: kulpa-kta
 woman-PL-TOP plant-PROG-1 good-FACT-PROG-1 clod-ACC
 maqa-ya-:
 hit-PROG-1
 ‘The women are planting, improving, hitting big clumps of earth.’

- (4) *¿Imatatrik ruwayan? Trabahayantriki.* ACH
 ima-ta-tri-k ruwa-ya-n trabaha-ya-n-tri-ki
 what-ACC-EVC-K make-PROG-3 work-PROG-3-EVC-IKI
 ‘What is he doing? He must be working.’

¹³ An anonymous reviewer points out that *-ya* in Yauiyos seems to resemble the cognate suffix *-yka:* in Huallaga Q, which Weber (1989) calls a general imperfective. The cognate suffix in South Conchucos Q, *-yka*, in contrast, does not appear in habitual contexts. Hintz (2011) observes that while it is not a general imperfective, it is still much broader than a simple progressive; Hintz concludes that *-yka:* in South Conchucos is continuous aspect.

- (5) *Chayshi Diosninchik, “¿Imatam ashiyanki?” nin.* LT
 chay-shi Dios-ni-nchik ima-ta-m ashi-ya-nki ni-n
 DEM.D-EVR God-EUPH-1PL what-ACC-EVD look.for-PROG-2 say-3
 ‘Then Our God said, “What are you searching for?”’
- (6) *Uchuypis pasapasaypaqmi chakirun, uchuypis chakisham kayan.* LT
 uchu-y-pis pasa-pasaypaq-mi chaki-ru-n, uchu-y-pis
 chili-1-ADD complete-completely-EVD dry-URGT-3 chili-1-ADD
 chaki-sha-m ka-ya-n
 dry-PRF-EVD be-PROG-3
 ‘The chilies completely dried out; the chilies are dried out.’
- (7) *Pipis. Ñuqa ukupaw kakuyani.* AMV
 pi-pis ñuqa ukupaw ka-ku-ya-ni
 who-ADD I busy be-REFL-PROG-1
 ‘No one. I’m busy.’
- (8) *Hitakaruyta munayani.* AMV
 hita-ka-ru-y-ta muna-ya-ni
 fall-PASSACC-URGT-INF-ACC wany-PROG-1
 ‘I want to fall.’
- (9) *Mana suliyasa kaptinqa wakta suliyachiyanchik.* AMV
 mana suliya-sa ka-pti-n-qa wak-ta suliya-chi-ya-nchik
 no sun-PRF be-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D-ACC sun-CAUS-PROG-1PL
 ‘When [the oca] hasn’t been sunned, we sun it.’
- (10) *Uyqapa millwantam kaypaq puchkayanchik.* AMV
 uyqa-pa millwa-n-ta-m kay-paq puchka-ya-nchik
 sheep-GEN wool-3-ACC-EVD DEM.P-ABL spin-PROG-1PL
 ‘We spin sheep’s wool here.’
- (11) *Fwirsawan wawakuyanchik.* ACH
 fwirsa-wan wawa-ku-ya-nchik
 force-INSTR give.birth-REFL-PROG-1PL
 ‘With effort, we give birth.’

- (12) *Hinaptinshi iskinapa kayaptin baliyarun.* ACH
 Hinaptin-shi iskina-pa ka-ya-pti-n baliya-ru-n
 then-EVR corner-LOC be-PROG-SUBDS-3 shoot-URGT-3
 ‘Then when he was in the corner, they shot him.’
- (13) *Wak runaqa warminta wañurachin maqayashpalla.* AMV
 wak runa-qa warmi-n-ta wañu-ra-chi-n
 DEM.D person-TOP woman-3-ACC die-URGT-CAUS-3
 maqa-ya-shpa-lla
 beat-PROG-SUBIS-RSTR
 ‘That man, turning jealous, killed his wife, when he was beating her.’
- (14) *Limpu limpu runata firmakayachin.* LT
 limpu limpu runa-ta firma-ka-ya-chi-n
 all all person-ACC sign-PASSACC-PROG-CAUS-3
 ‘They’re making all the people sign.’
- (15) *Ladirankunapaq rumipis hinkuyamuntriki.* ACH
 ladira-n-kuna-paq rumi-pis hinku-ya-mu-n-tri-ki
 hillside-3-PL-ABL stone-ADD roll-PROG-CISL-EVC-IKI
 ‘Stones, too, would be rolling down the sides [of the mountain].’
- (16) *¡Suyaykamay! ¡Qarqaryam qipa:ta shamukuyan!* CH
 suya-yka-ma-y qarqarya-m qipa:-ta shamu-ku-ya-n
 wait-EXCEP-1.OBJ-IMP zombie-EVD behind-1-ACC come-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!’
- (17) *¿Maypa saqaykurqa? Paypis wishtu kayarqa.* AMV
 may-pa saqa-yku-rqa pay-pis wishtu ka-ya-rqa
 where-LOC go.down-EXCEP-PST she-ADD lame be-PROG-PST
 ‘Where did she fall? She, too, was limping.’
- (18) *Antaylumata tarirushpaqa pallakuyara hinaptinshi ...* SP
 antayluma-ta tari-ru-shpa-qa palla-ku-ya-ra
 antayluma.berries-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP pick-REFL-PROG-PST
 hina-pti-n-shi
 then-EVR

‘After finding some antayluma berries, she was gathering them up.
Then ...’

- (19) *Vakamik mandakuyanqa.* AMV
vaka-mi-k manda-ku-ya-nqa
cow-EVD-1K be.in.charge-REFL-PROG-3.FUT
‘The cows are going to be giving orders.’

4.3.6.2 Durative *-chka*

-chka is very rarely employed, occurring spontaneously in a non-quotative context only seven times in the corpus. Indeed, it is probably best qualified as non-productive in all but SP. *-chka* is in complementary distribution with continuative *-ya*, but has a more restricted semantics than does *-ya*. A *-chka* action or state is necessarily simultaneous with some other action or state, either explicit in the dialogue (1), (2) or supplied by context (3), (4).

- (1) *Kayllapam kwidachkanki ñuqaqa aparamu:.* ACH
kay-lla-pa-m kwida-chka-nki ñuqa-qa apa-ra-mu-:
DEM.P-RSTR-LOC-EVD care.for-DUR-2 I-TOP bring-URGT-CISL-1
‘You’ll go on taking care of this here [while] I bring it.’
- (2) *Mundum ñitiramashun kaytam sustininkiqa. Kayta sustinichkanki ñuqañataqmi huk waklawpis siqaykayamun.* SP
mundu-m ñiti-ra-ma-shun kay-ta-m sustini-nki-qa
world-EVD crush-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.FUT DEM.P-ACC-EVD sustain-2-TOP
kay-ta sustini-chka-nki ñuqa-ña-taq-mi huk wak law-pis
DEM.P-ACC sustain-DUR-2 I-DISC-SEQ-EVD one DEM.D side-ADD
siqa-yka-ya-mu-n
go.down-EXCEP-PROG-CISL-3
“‘The world is going to crush us. Hold this! You go on holding this one. I, too – another is falling over there.’”
- (3) *Aviva, tiyachkanki chayllapa.* AMV
Aviva tiya-chka-nki chay-lla-pa
Aviva sit-DUR-2 DEM.D-RSTR-LOC
‘Aviva, you’re going to be sitting just right there [while the others go looking].’

- (4) *¡Taqsaachkay!†* CH
 taqsa-chka-y
 wash-DUR-IMP
 ‘You go on washing [while I play].’

4.3.6.3 Perfective *-ku*

-ku may indicate completion of change of position with *ri-* ‘go’ and other verbs of motion (1–3); it also commonly occurs with *wañu-* ‘die’ (4), (5). Adelaar (2006: 135) writes of Tarma Quechua: “This *-ku-*, probably the result of a functional split of the ‘reflexive’ marker *-ku-*, has acquired a marginal aspectual function and indicates the completion of a change of position.”

- (1) *Pashñalla kidalun. ¿Qaliqa likun maytataq?* CH
 pashña-lla kida-lu-n qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq
 girl-RSTR stay-URGT-3 man-TOP go-REFL-3 where-ACC-SEQ
 ‘Just the girl stayed. The man went where?’
- (2) *Qullqita quykuptin ... pasakun.* AMV
 qullqi-ta qu-yku-pti-n pasa-ku-n
 money-ACC give-EXCEP-SUBDS-3 pass-REFL-3
 ‘When he gave him the money, he went away.’
- (3) *Ripukun paqwash llapa wawan tudu ripukun.* LT
 ripu-ku-n paqwash llapa wawa-n tudu ripu-ku-n
 go-REFL-3 completely all child-3 everything go-REFL-3
 ‘Then, he left for good – all his children – all left.’
- (4) *Baliyaptinga wañukun.* ACH
 baliya-pti-n-qa wañu-ku-n
 shoot-SUBDS-3-TOP die-REFL-3
 ‘When they shot him, he died.’
- (5) *¿Imanarunqatr? Wañukuntri.* ACH
 ima-na-ru-nqa-tr wañu-ku-n-tri
 what-VRBZ-URGT-3.FUT-EVC die-REFL-3-EVC
 ‘What will happen? He must have died.’

4.3.7 Subordination

syQ counts three subordinating suffixes – *-pti*, *-shpa*, and *-shtin* – and one subordinating structure – *-na-POSS-kama*. In addition, the nominalizing suffixes, *-na*, *-q*, *-sa*, and *-y* form subordinate relative and complement clauses (see § 3.4.1).

-pti is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different (*Huk qawa-pti-n-qa, ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu* ‘Although others see, we don’t see’); *shpa* and *-shtin* are employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical (*tushu-shpa/-shtin wasi-ta kuti-mu-n* ‘Dancing they return home’). Caca, but not Hongos, employs *-r* (realized [l]) in place of *-shpa* (*traqna-l pusha-la-mu-n* ‘binding his hands and feet, they took him along’). *-pti* generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause began prior to that of the main clause but may also be employed in the case the events of the two clauses are simultaneous (*urkista-qa traya-mu-pti-n tushu-rqa-nchik* ‘When the band arrived, we danced’). *-shpa* generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause (*Sapu-qa kurrkurrya-shpa kurri-ya-n* ‘The frog is running going *kurr-kurr*!’) but may also be employed in case the event of the subordinated event precedes that of the main-clause. *-shtin* is employed only when the main and subordinate clause events are simultaneous (*awa-shtin miku-chi-ni wamra-y-ta* ‘(By) weaving, I feed my children’). *-pti* subordinates are suffixed with allocation suffixes (*tarpu-pti-nchik* ‘when we plant’); *-shpa* and *-shtin* subordinates do not inflect for person or number (**tarpu-shpa-nchik*, **tarpu-shtin-yki*). *-shpa* appears 1432 times in the corpus; in three instances it is inflected for person. In elicitation, speakers adamantly reject the use of personal suffixes after *-shpa*. Subordinate verbs are never suffixed with any other inflectional morphemes, with the exception of *-ya* (**tarpu-rqa-shpa*, **tarpu-shaq-shpa*). The evidentials, *-mI*, *shI*, and *-trI* cannot appear on the interior of subordinate clauses, and the negative particle *-chu* can neither appear on the interior nor suffix to subordinate clauses (*mana-m rima-pti-ki* (**chu*) ‘if you don’t talk’). Subordinate verbs inherit tense, aspect and conditionality specification from the main clause verb (*ri-shpa qawa-y-man karqa* ‘If I would have gone, I would have seen’). Depending on the context, *-pti* and *-shpa* can be translated by ‘when’, ‘if’, ‘because’, ‘although’, or with a gerund; *-shtin* can be translated by a gerund only. This information is summarized in Table 4.21.

-na-POSS-kama is limitative. It forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to either (1) is simultaneous with or (2) limits the event referred to in the main clause (*puñu-na-y-kama* ‘while I was sleeping’; *wañu-na-n-kama* ‘until she died’).

Table 4.21: Subordinating suffixes

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

4.3.7.1 Different subjects *-pti*

-pti is employed when the subjects in the main and subordinated clauses are different (1), (2) and the event of the subordinated clause begins before (3) or is simultaneous with (4) the event of the main clause. *-pti* subordinates always inflect for person with allocation suffixes (5), (6). The structure is usually be translated in English by ‘when’ (7), (8) or, less often, ‘if’ (9), (10), ‘because’ (11–13), or ‘although’ (14). Topic marking with *-qa* does not generally disambiguate these readings. With *-raq*, *-pti* subordinates generally receive a ‘not until’ interpretation (15), (16). The first-person and second-person object suffixes, *-wa/ma* and *-sHu* precede *-pti* (17).

Table 4.22: *-pti* inflection

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-pti-y</i> _{AMV,LT} <i>-pti-:</i> _{ACH,CH,SP}	<i>-pti-nchik</i>
2	<i>-pti-ki</i>	<i>-pti-ki</i>
3	<i>-pti-n</i>	<i>-pti-n</i>

Table 4.23: *-pti* inflection – actor-object suffixes

2>1	3>1	3>1pl	1>2	3>2
<i>-wa-pti-ki</i> _{AMV,LT} <i>-ma-pti-ki</i> _{ACH,CH,SP}	<i>-wa-pti-n</i> _{AMV,LT} <i>-ma-pti-n</i> _{ACH,CH,SP}	<i>-wa-pti-nchik</i> _{AMV,LT} <i>-ma-pti-nchik</i> _{ACH,CH,SP}	<i>-pti-ki</i>	<i>-shu-pti-ki</i>

- (1) *Aruschata kumbidaptinchik mikunmanchu?* AMV
 arus-cha-ta kumbida-pti-nchik miku-n-man-chu
 rice-DIM-ACC share-SUBDS-1PL eat-3-COND-Q
 ‘If we share the rice, will she eat it?’
- (2) *Qusa: tiniynti alkaldi kaptin, “Kumpaņira, ¿maypim qusayki?” niman.* CH
 qusa-: tiniynti alkaldi ka-pti-n kumpaņira
 husband-1 lieutenant mayor be-SUBDS-3 compaņera
 may-pi-m qusa-yki ni-ma-n
 where-LOC-EVD husband-2 say-1.OBJ-3
 ‘When my husband was vice-mayor they asked me, “Compaņera,
 where is your husband?”’
- (3) *Chay kundurqa qipiptin huk turuta pagaykun.* SP
 chay kundur-qa qipi-pti-n huk turu-ta paga-yku-n
 DEM.D condor-TOP carry-SUBDS-3 one bull-ACC pay-EXCEP-3
 ‘After the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.’
- (4) *Huk mumintu puriyaptiki imapis prisintakurushunki.* AMV
 huk mumintu puri-ya-pti-ki ima-pis
 one moment walk-PROG-SUBDS-2 what-ADD
 prisinta-ku-ru-shu-nki
 present-REFL-URGT-2.OBJ-2
 ‘One moment you’re walking and something presents itself to you.’
- (5) *Kalurniyuq kaptikiqa yawarnin yanash.* AMV
 kalur-ni-yuq ka-pti-ki-qa yawar-ni-n yana-sh
 fever-EUPH-POSS be-SUBDS-2-TOP blood-EUPH-3 black-EVR
 ‘When you have a fever, it’s blood is black, they say.’
- (6) *Chay plantaman siqarupti:pis chay turuqa ... siqaramun qipa:paq plantaman.* ACH
 chay planta-man siqa-ru-pti-:pis chay turu-qa
 DEM.D tree-ALL go.up-URGT-SUBDS-1-ADD DEM.D bull-TOP
 siqa-ra-mu-n qipa-:paq planta-man
 go.up-URGT-CISL-3 behind-1-ABL tree-ALL
 ‘When I climbed up the tree, the bull ... climbed up the tree from
 behind me.’

- (7) *Kundinawqa, witrqakuruptinqa, wasi utrkunta altukunapash*
[yaykurun]. SP
 kundinaw-qa, witrqa-ku-ru-pti-n-qa wasi utrku-n-ta
 zombie-TOP close-REFL-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP house hole-3-ACC
 altu-kuna-pa-sh yayku-ru-n
 high-PL-LOC-EVR enter-URGT-3
 ‘When they shut themselves in, the zombie [entered] through a hole
 in the attic.’
- (8) *Hinaptinshi “Wak turuta pagaykusayki,” niptin asiptan. ACH*
 hinaptin-shi wak turu-ta paga-yku-sayki ni-pti-n
 then-EVR DEM.D bull-ACC pay-EXCEP-1>2.FUT say-SUBDS-3
 asipta-n
 accept-3
 ‘Then, they say, when he said, ‘I’ll pay you that bull,’ they accepted.’
- (9) *Manam pagawaptikiqa manam wamraykiqa alliyanqachu. LT*
 mana-m paga-wa-pti-ki-qa mana-m wamra-yki-qa
 no-EVD pay-1.OBJ-2-TOP no-EVD child-2-TOP
 alli-ya-nqa-chu
 good-INCH-3.FUT-NEG
 ‘If you don’t pay me, your son isn’t going to get better.’
- (10) *Wañuymantiri karqa. Mana hampiptinqa. AMV*
 wañu-y-man-tri ka-rqa mana hampi-pti-n-qa
 die-1-COND-EVC be-PST no cure-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘I might have died. If they hadn’t cured her.’
- (11) *Payqa rikunñash warmin saqiruptin. AMV*
 pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pti-n
 he-TOP go-REFL-3-DISC-EVR woman-3 abandon-URGT-SUBDS-3
 ‘He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.’

- (12) *Priyukupaw puriyan siyrtumpatr warmin mal kaptin nin.* AMV
 priyukupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n mal ka-pti-n
 worried walk-PROG-3 certainly-EVC woman-3 bad be-SUBDS-3
 n-in
 say-3
 ‘Certainly, he’d be wandering around worried because his wife is sick.’
- (13) *Mana qusa: kaptin. Mana qali: kaptin trabahaya.* CH
 mana qusa-: ka-pti-n mana qali-: ka-pti-n trabaha-ya-:
 no husband-1 be-SUBDS-3 no man-1 be-SUBDS-3 work-PROG-1
 ‘Because I don’t have a husband. I’m working because I don’t have a husband.’
- (14) *Huk qawaptinqa, ñuqa-nchik qawanchikchu.* AMV
 huk qawa-pti-n-qa ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu
 one see-SUBDS-3-TOP I-1PL see-1PL-NEG
 ‘Although others see it, we don’t see it.’
- (15) *Hamuptiyrq ñuqaqa manam llusirqachu.* † AMV
 hamu-pti-y-rq ñuqa-qa mana-m llusqi-rqa-chu
 come-SUBDS-1-CONT I-TOP no-EVD go.out-PST-NEG
 ‘Not until I came did she leave. (=‘Until I came, she didn’t leave.’)’
- (16) *Manañam puntrawyaruptin vakay chawachikunqachu.* AMV
 mana-ña-m puntraw-ya-ru-pti-n vaka-y
 no-DISC-EVD day-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-3 cow-1
 chawa-chi-ku-nqa-chu
 milk-CAUS-REFL-3.FUT-NEG
 ‘Until it’s day time, my cow won’t let herself be milked.’
- (17) *Chay pasarushpa sudarachishuptiki kapasmi surqurunman.* AMV
 chay pasa-ru-shpa suda-ra-chi-shu-pti-ki
 DEM.D pass-URGT-SUBIS sweat-URGT-CAUS-2.OBJ-SUBDS-2
 kapas-mi surqu-ru-n-man
 perhaps-EVD remove-URGT-3-COND
 ‘When you have it passed over you, when it makes you sweat, it’s possible it could remove it.’

4.3.7.2 Same-subjects *-shpa*

-shpa is employed when the subjects in the main and subordinated clauses are identical and the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with the event of the main clause (1); the event of the subordinated clause may, however, precede that of the main clause (2). *-shpa* subordinates do not inflect for person. *-shpa* can generally be translated with a gerund (3), as ‘when’ (4) or, less often, ‘if’ (5). Negated, V *-shpa* can be translated ‘without’ (6), ‘although’ (7) or ‘despite’. *-shpa* may attach to coordinated verbs (8), (9). Only Cakra uses the QI *-r* in place of the QII *-shpa* (compare (10–14) with (15)).

- (1) *Chitchityakushpa rikullan kabrakunaqa.* LT
 chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa
 say.chit.chit-REFL-SUBIS go-RSTR-3 goat-PL-TOP
 ‘“Chit-chitting,” the goats just left.’
- (2) *Familyanchikta wañurichishpaqa lliw partiyan.* SP
 familia-nchik-ta wañu-ri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n
 family-1PL-ACC die-INCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-TOP all divide-PROG-3
 ‘After they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.’
- (3) *Traguwan, kukawan tushuchishpallam kusichakuni.* AMV
 tragu-wan kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni
 liquor-INSTR coca-INSTR dance-CAUS-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD harvest-REFL-1
 ‘With liquor and coca, making them dance, I harvest.’
- (4) *Kustumbrawkushpa hawkam yatrakunchik kaypahina.* AMV
 kustumbraw-ku-shpa hawka-m yatra-ku-nchik kay-pa-hina
 accustom-REFL-SUBIS tranquil-EVD live-REFL-1PL DEM.P-LOC-COMP
 ‘When we adjust, we live peacefully, like here.’
- (5) *Kutishpaqa kutimushaq kimsa tawa watata.* AMV
 kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta
 return-SUBIS-TOP return-CISL-1.FUT three four year-ACC
 ‘If I come back, I’ll come back in three or four years.’
- (6) *Mana yanushpallam likwarunchik.* AMV
 mana yanu-shpa-lla-m likwa-ru-nchik
 no cook-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD liquify-URGT-1PL

‘Without boiling it, we liquify it.’

- (7) *Qullqita ganashpas bankuman ima trurakunki.* ACH
 qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki
 money-ACC win-SUBIS-ADD bank-ALL what put-REFL-2
 ‘Although you earn money and save it in the bank.’
- (8) *Kulurchakunata kayna trurashpa qawashpa ñakarini.* AMV
 kulur-cha-kuna-ta kayna trura-shpa qawa-shpa ñaka-ri-ni
 color-DIM-PL-ACC thus put-SUBIS look-SUBIS suffer-INCEP-1
 ‘Looking, putting the colors like this, I suffer.’
- (9) *Kukachakunata akushpa sigaruchakunata fumashpa richkan tutakama.* AMV
 kuka-cha-kuna-ta aku-shpa sigaru-cha-kuna-ta fuma-shpa
 coca-DIM-PL-ACC chew-SUBIS cigarette-DIM-PL-ACC smoke-SUBIS
 ri-chka-n tuta-kama
 go-DUR-3 night-LIM
 ‘Chewing coca, smoking cigarettes, they go on until the night.’
- (10) *Vakata harkanchik puchkashpa millwata puchkapuchkashpa.* AMV
 vaka-ta harka-nchik puchka-shpa millwa-ta puchka-puchka-shpa
 cow-ACC herd-1PL spin-SUBIS wool-ACC spin-spin-SUBIS
 ‘We herd the cows spinning – spinning and spinning wool.’
- (11) *Kutimushpaqa kayna baldillawan apakushaq niwan.* LT
 kuti-mu-shpa-qa kayna baldi-lla-wan apa-ku-shaq
 return-CISL-SUBIS-TOP thus bucket-RSTR-INSTR bring-REFL-1.FUT
 ni-wa-n
 say-1.OBJ-3
 “‘When I come back, I’ll bring them like this, with just a bucket,” he said to me.’
- (12) *Hinashpa maskashpa puriya:.* ACH
 hinashpa maska-shpa puri-ya-:
 then look.for-SUBIS walk-PROG-1
 ‘Then I’m walking around looking for them.’

- (13) *Wirtaman yaykurushpa klavilta lliw usharusa. SP*
 wirta-man yayku-ru-shpa klavil-ta lliw
 garden-ALL enter-URGT-SUBIS carnation-ACC all
 usha-ru-sa
 waste.on.the.ground-URGT-NPST
 ‘Entering the garden, he left all the carnations discarded on the ground.’
- (14) *Wiqawninchikman kayna katawan simillakta watakurushpa talpu. CH*
 wiqaw-ni-nchik-man kayna kata-wan similla-kta
 waist-EUPH-1PL-ALL thus shawl-INSTR seed-ACC
 wata-ku-ru-shpa talpu-:
 tie-REFL-URGT-SUBID plant-1
 ‘Like this, tying it to our waists with a shawl we plant seeds.’
- (15) *Waqal likun atuq kampukta. CH*
 waqa-l li-ku-n atuq kampu-kta
 cry-SUBIS go-REFL-3 fox countryside-ACC
 ‘Crying, the fox went to the countryside.’

4.3.7.3 Adverbial -*shtin*

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

- (1) *Yatrakunchik imaynapis ... waqakushtinpis ... asikushtinpis ... imaynapis. ACH*
 yatra-ku-nchik imayna-pis maski waqa-ku-shtin-pis
 live-REFL-1PL how-ADD maski cry-REFL-SUBADV-ADD
 asi-ku-shtin-pis imayna-pis
 laugh-REFL-SUBADV-ADD how-ADD
 ‘We live however we can, although we’re crying ... laughing ... however we can.’

- (2) *Yantakunata qutushtin lliptakunata kañakushtin, ... yatrana karqa.* AMV
 yanta-kuna-ta qutu-shtin llipta-kuna-ta kaña-ku-shtin
 firewood-PL-ACC gather-SUBADV ash-PL-ACC burn-REFL-SUBADV
 yatra-na ka-rqa
 live-NMLZ be-PST
 ‘Gathering wood, burning ash, we had to live [in the mountains].’
- (3) *Wak pubri ubiha watrashtin riyan.* AMV
 wak pubri ubiha watra-shtin ri-ya-n
 DEM.D poor sheep give.birth-SUBADV go-PROG-3
 ‘Those poor sheep are giving birth even as they walk.’
- (4) *Pushaykushtinqa wamrataqa makin yatapasha yantaman katran.* ACH
 pusha-yku-shtin-qa wamra-ta-qa maki-n
 bring.along-EXCEP-SUBADV-TOP child-ACC-TOP hand-ACC
 yata-pa-sha yanta-man katra-n
 feel-REPET-PRF firewood-ALL release-3
 ‘Bringing the boys [home], their hands held, she sent them for firewood.’
- (5) *Chay iskwilapaq wamran mikushtin.* LT
 chay iskwila-paq wamra-n miku-shtin
 DEM.D school-ABL child-3 eat-SUBADV
 ‘His child [came out] of school eating.’
- (6) “*Qarqaryam qipa:ta!*” *waqashtin shamukuyan.* CH
 qarqarya-m qipa:-ta waqa-shtin shamu-ku-ya-n
 zombie-EVD behind-1-ACC cry-SUBADV come-REFL-PROG-3
 “‘A zombie is behind me!’ he was coming crying.’
- (7) *Wagakushtin kayqa apayan waytakunakta.* CH
 waqa-ku-shtin kay-qa apa-ya-n wayta-kuna-akta
 cry-REFL-SUBADV DEM.P-TOP bring-PROG-3 flower-PL-ACC
 ‘Crying, they are bringing flowers.’

- (8) *Waqakushtin tristim ñuqanchikqa kidaranchik ñuqa mama.* SP
 waqa-ku-shtin tristi-m ñuqa-nchik-qa kida-ra-nchik ñuqa
 cry-REFL-SUBADV sad-EVD I-1PL-TOP stay-PST-1PL I
 mama:-
 mother-1
 ‘Crying, sad, we stayed, my mother and I.’

4.3.7.4 Limitative *-kama*

Limitative. In combination with the nominalizer *-na* and possessive inflection, *kama* forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to is either simultaneous with (1) or limits (2–5) the event referred to in the main clause.

- (1) *Mana vilakuranichu puñunaykamam.* AMV
 mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kama-m
 no keep.watch-REFL-PST-1-NEG sleep-NMLZ-1-LIM-EVD
 ‘I didn’t keep watch while I was sleeping.’
- (2) *Taksalla taksallapitaqa tarpukuni, mana hat-hatunpichu. Yaku kanankamalla.* AMV
 taksa-lla taksa-lla-pi-ta-qa tarpu-ku-ni mana
 small-RSTR small-RSTR-LOC-ACC-TOP plant-REFL-1 no
 hat-hatun-pi-chu yaku ka-na-n-kama-lla
 big-big-LOC-NEG water be-NMLZ-3-LIM-RSTR
 ‘I plant in just small, small [fields], not in really big ones.
While/as long as there’s water.’
- (3) *Chaytri wañuq qarin wañunankamam maqarqa.* AMV
 chay-tri wañu-q qari-n wañu-na-n-kama-m maqa-rqa
 DEM.D-EVR die-AG man-3 die-NMLZ-3-LIM-EVD beat-PST
 ‘That’s why her₁ late husband beat her₂ until she₂ died.’
- (4) *Almaqa wañunankama pampaman saqarun.* AMV
 alma-qa wañu-na-n-kama pampa-man saqa-ru-n
 soul-TOP die-NMLZ-3-LIM ground-ALL go.down-URGT-3
 ‘The ghost fell to the floor, to his death.’

- (5) *Trayanaykama ya hinalla kakun.* LT
 traya-na-y-kama ya hina-lla ka-ku-n
 arrive-NMLZ-1-LIM EMPH thus-RSTR be-REFL-3
 ‘He’s like that until I arrive.’

4.4 Verb derivation

Five suffixes derive verbs from substantives: factive *-cha*, reflexive *-ku*, simulative *-tuku*, inchoative *-ya*. Additionally, two verbs can suffix to nouns to derive verbs: *na-* ‘do, act’ and *naya-* ‘give desire’.

A set of nineteen suffixes derives verbs from verbs. These are: *-cha* (diminutive); *-chi* (causative); *-ka* (passive, accidental); *-katra* (iterative); *-kU* (reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive, completive); *-lla* (restrictive, limitative); *-mu* (cislocative, translocative);¹⁴ *-nakU* (reciprocal); *-naya* (desirative); *-pa* (repetitive); *-pa(:)kU* (joint action); *-pU* (benefactive); *-ra* (uninterrupted action); *-Ri* (inceptive); *-RU* (action with urgency or personal interest, completive); *-shi* (accompaniment); *-ya* (intensifying); and *-YkU* (exceptional performance). § 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 cover suffixes deriving verbs from substantives and from other verbs, respectively.

4.4.1 Suffixes deriving verbs from substantives

The suffixes deriving verbs from substantives are: factive *-cha*, reflexive *-ku*, simulative *-tuku*, and inchoative *-ya*. § 4.4.1.1–4.4.1.4 cover each of these in turn. (Examples are fully glossed in the corresponding sections).

4.4.1.1 Factive *-cha*

Factive. *-cha* suffixes to adjectives and nouns, deriving verbs with the meanings ‘to make A’ (*qatra-cha-* ‘to make dirty’) (1–3), ‘to make N’ or ‘to make into N’ (*siru-cha-* ‘form a hill’) (4), (5), ‘to locate something in N’ (*kustal-cha-* ‘to put into sacks’) (6), ‘to locate N in/on something’ (7), ‘to remove N’ (*usa-cha* ‘to remove lice’, *qiwa-cha* ‘to remove weeds’).

¹⁴ W. Adelaar (p.c.) points out that *-mu* might also be treated as an inflectional suffix. An anonymous reviewer agrees: “the suffixes *-ya*, *-ru* and *-ri* are all more derivational than *-mu*, [which] never co-occurs with *-ma* in QI,” they write. “Rather, *-mu* and *-ma* seem to be in paradigmatic contrast, where *-ma* essentially means ‘to ego,’ and *-mu* means more generally ‘to any deictic center.’”

Table 4.24: suffixes deriving verbs from substantives, with examples

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

- (1) *Maman kanan qatracharunqa pawakatrashpa.* AMV
 mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa pawa-katra-shpa
 mother-3 now dirty-FACT-URGT-3.FUT jump-FREQ-SUBIS
 ‘Now his mother is going to make it dirty jumping.’
- (2) *Hatunchanqatri kay.* AMV
 hatun-cha-nqa-tri kay
 big-FACT-3.FUT DEM.P
 ‘This one is going to make it big.’
- (3) *Cañeteman allicharachimunki kaypittr siguranaykipaqqa.* LT
 Cañete-man alli-cha-ra-chi-mu-nki kay-pi-tr
 Cañete-ALL good-FACT-URGT-CAUS-CISL-2 DEM.P-LOC-EVC
 sigura-na-yki-paq-qa
 insure-NMLZ-2-PURP-TOP
 ‘You’re going to have that fixed in Cañete to be able to insure yourself here.’
- (4) *Chayna siruchakurun.* AMV
 chayna siru-cha-ku-ru-n
 thus hill-FACT-REFL-URGT-3
 ‘It formed a hill like that.’

- (5) *Partichaykuptingqa chaki, chaki.* AMV
 parti-cha-yku-pti-n-qa chaki chaki
 parts-FACT-EXCEP-SUBDS-3-TOP dry dry
 ‘When she breaks it into parts – dry, dry!’
- (6) *Kustalchayan papatam.* AMV
 kustal-cha-ya-n papa-ta-m
 sack-FACT-PROG-3 potato-ACC-EVD
 ‘She’s bagging potatoes.’
- (7) *Chay turutaqa llampuchaykun chay yubuchanman.* AMV
 chay turu-ta-qa llampu-cha-yku-n chay yubu-cha-n-man
 DEM.D bull-ACC-TOP llampu-FACT-EXCEP-3 DEM.D yoke-DIM-3-ALL
 ‘They put llampu on his little yoke.’

4.4.1.2 Reflexive *-ku*

Reflexive. Suffixing to nouns referring to objects, *-ku* may derive verbs with the meaning ‘to make/prepare N’ (*qisha-ku* ‘to make a nest’) (1), (2); suffixing specifically to nouns referring to clothing and other items that can be placed on a person’s body, *-ku* derives verbs with the meaning ‘to put on N’ (*kata-ku* ‘put on a shawl’) (3), (4); suffixing to adjectives referring to human states – angry, guilty, envious – *A-ku* has the meaning ‘to become A’ (*piña-ku* ‘to become angry’) (5), (6). *-ku* derivation is very productive and can be idiosyncratic (*llulla-ku* ‘tell a lie’, *midida-ku* ‘measure’) (7), (8).

- (1) *Misakun. Manam kasunchu misata.* AMV
 misa-ku-n mana-m kasu-n-chu misa-ta
 mass-REFL-3 no-EVD pay.attention-3-NEG mass-ACC
 ‘She’s making [holding] mass. They don’t pay attention to mass.’
- (2) *Hirakurun.* ACH
 hira-ku-ru-n
 herranza-REFL-URGT-3
 ‘They made [held] an herranza.’

4 Verbs

- (3) *Walakuykurushaq.* AMV
wala-ku-yku-ru-shaq
skirt-REFL-EXCEP-URGT-1.FUT
'I'm going to put on my skirt.'
- (4) *Manash waytakunchikchu.* AMV
mana-sh wayta-ku-nchik-chu
no-EVR flower-REFL-1PL-NEG
'We don't put flowers on our hats [on All Saints' Day], they say.'
- (5) *Kumudakurun.* AMV
kumuda-ku-ru-n
comfortable-REFL-URGT-3
'He's made himself comfortable.'
- (6) *¡Kurriy! Qillakuyankitrari.* LT
kurri-y qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari
run-IMP lazy-REFL-PROG-2-EVC-ARI
'Run! You must be getting lazy.'
- (7) *Manam mansuchu yatran waqrakuyta.* AMV
mana-m mansu-chu yatra-n waqra-ku-y-ta
no-EVD tame-NEG know-3 horn-REFL-INF-ACC
'He's not tame – he can horn [gore] people.'
- (8) *Karruwan ... sillakuykushpam riyanchik.* SP
karru-wan silla-ku-yku-shpa-m ri-ya-nchik
bus-INSTR seat-REFL-EXCEP-EVD go-PROG-1PL
'In a car ... [it's like] we're riding horseback in a saddle.'

4.4.1.3 Simulative *-tuku*

Simulative. suffixing to nouns, *-tuku* derives verbs with the meaning 'to pretend to be N' or 'to become N' (*maqta-tuku*- 'pretend to be a young man') (1–3). The structure appears primarily – indeed, almost exclusively – in the corpus in the context of a very popular genre of stories in which an animal dresses up, pretending to be a man, to trick a girl.

- (1) *Chay ukucha kasa maqtatukushpa.* AMV
 chay ukucha ka-sa maqta-tuku-shpa
 DEM.D mouse be-PST young.man-SIMUL-SUBIS
 ‘It was a mouse pretending to be a man.’
- (2) “*¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Qam ingañamalanki qalitukushpa!*” CH
 sinvirgwinsa qam ingaña-ma-la-nki qali-tuku-shpa
 shameless you trick-1.OBJ-PST-2 man-SIMUL-SUBIS
 “‘Shameless bastard! You fooled me pretending to be a man!’”
- (3) *Wak wañuq wañurun... asnuqa wañuqtukurun.* AMV
 wak wañu-q wañu-ru-n asnu-qa wañu-q-tuku-ru-n
 DEM.D die-AG die-URGT-3 donkey-TOP die-AG-SIMUL-URGT-3
 ‘That “dead” one died... the donkey had pretended to be dead.’

4.4.1.4 Inchoative -ya

Inchoative. -ya suffixes to nouns and adjectives to derive verbs meaning ‘to become N’ (*rumi-ya* ‘petrify’) (1), (2), ‘to become A’ (*alli-ya* ‘get well’) (3–6), and ‘to perform a characteristic action with N’ (*kwahu-ya* ‘add curdling agent’).

- (1) *Puntrawyaruptinqa.* LT
 puntraw-ya-ru-pti-n-qa
 day-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘When it becomes day [dawns].’
- (2) *Hukyaruni.* LT
 huk-ya-ru-ni
 one-INCH-URGT-1
 ‘I joined them.’
- (3) *Siyrtumpimik chay rumikunamik yanayasa kayan.* AMV
 siyrtumpi-mi-k chay rumi-kuna-mi-k yana-ya-sa ka-ya-n
 certainly-EVD-1K DEM.D stone-PL-EVD-1K back-PROG-PRF be-PROG-3
 ‘It’s true – even the stones turn black there.’

- (4) *“Manam wamraykiqa alliyanqachu”, nini.* LT
 mana-m wamra-yki-qa alli-ya-nqa-chu ni-ni
 no-EVD child-2-TOP good-INCH-3.FUT-NEG say-1
 “‘Your son isn’t going to get better,” I said.’
- (5) *Duruyarunña. Duruyaruptin hurqunchik wankuman.* AMV
 duru-ya-ru-n-ña duru-ya-ru-pti-n hurqu-nchik
 hard-INCH-URGT-3-DISC hard-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-3 remove-1PL
 wanku-man
 mold-ALL
 ‘It’s already hard. When it gets hard, take it out [and put it] in the mold.’
- (6) *Chay wañuruptikiqa, ¿pima qawashunki? ¿Yasqayaruptikiqa?* ACH
 chay wañu-ru-pti-ki-qa pi-m-a qawa-shunki
 DEM.D die-URGT-SUBDS-2-TOP who-EVD-EMPH see-3>2
 yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki-qa
 old-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-2-TOP
 ‘When you die, who’s going to see to you? Or when you get old?’

4.4.1.5 ‘To do’ *na-*

na-, following a demonstrative pronoun, yields a transitive verb meaning ‘to be thus’ (1), (2) or ‘to do thus’ (3). Following the interrogative indefinite *ima* ‘what’ it yields a transitive verb, *imana-*, meaning ‘to do something’ (4), (5), ‘to happen to’ (6).

- (1) *Mana hampichtikiqa chaynanqam.* AMV
 mana hampi-chi-pti-ki-qa chay-na-nqa-m
 no cure-CAUS-SUBDS-2-TOP DEM.D-VRBZ-3.FUT-EVD
 ‘If you don’t have her cured, it’s going to be like that.’
- (2) *Qayna puntraw chaynan pararun tardi usyarirun.* AMV
 qayna puntraw chay-na-n para-ru-n tardi
 previous day DEM.D-VRBZ-3 rain-URGT-3 afternoon
 usya-ri-ru-n
 clear-INCEP-URGT-3

‘Yesterday it was like that – it rained and in the afternoon and it cleared up.’

- (3) *Mana apuraw alliyananchikpaqmi, qatra shakash chaynan.* AMV
mana apuraw alli-ya-na-nchik-paq-mi qatra shakash
no quickly good-INCH-NMLZ-1PL-PURP-EVD dirty guinea.pig
chay-na-n

DEM.D-VRBZ-3

‘So that we don’t get better quickly, the filthy guinea pig
goes like that.’

- (4) *Chay mamakuqa yataykun. ¿Imananqataq? Yataykachin.* ACH
chay mamaku-qa yata-yku-n ima-na-nqa-taq
DEM.D grandmother-TOP touch-EXCEP-3 what-VRBZ-3.FUT-SEQ
yata-yka-chi-n
touch-EXCEP-CAUS-3

‘The old woman touched [their arms]. What are they going to do?
They let her touch their arms.’

- (5) *Manam ñuqaqa imanashaykipischi. Kwirpu:mi hutrayuq.* CH
mana-m ñuqa-qa ima-na-shayki-pis-chu kwirpu:-mi
no-EVD I-TOP what-VRBZ-1>2.FUT-ADD-NEG body-1-EVD
hutra-yuq
fault-POSS

‘I’m not going to do anything to you. My body is guilty.’

- (6) *¿Wawayta imanaruntri?* ACH
wawa-y-ta ima-na-ru-n-tri
baby-1-ACC what-VRBZ-3-EVC

‘What would have happened to my son?’

4.4.1.6 Sensual and psychological necessity *naya-*

Sensual or psychological necessity. *naya-* – ‘to give desire’ – suffixing to a noun derives a verb meaning ‘to give the desire for N’ (1–3).

4 Verbs

- (1) *Pashñanayashunki.* † AMV
pashña-naya-shu-nki
girl-DESR-2.OBJ-2
'You want a girl.'
- (2) *Mishkinayaruwan.* AMV
mishki-naya-ru-wa-n
fruit-DESR-URGT-1.OBJ-3
'I want to eat fruit.'
- (3) "Yakunayawanmi", nin runaqa. Chayshi wamranta nin, "Yakuta apamuy!" LT
yaku-naya-wa-n-mi ni-n runa-qa chayshi wamra-n-ta
water-DESR-1.OBJ-3-EVD say-n person-TOP DEM.D-EVR child-3-ACC
ni-n yaku-ta apa-mu-y
say-3 water-ACC bring-CISL-IMP
'The person said, "I'm thirsty." So he said to his child, "Bring water!"'

4.4.2 Verbs derived from verbs

A set of eighteen suffixes derives verbs from verbs. They are: *-cha*, *-chi*, *-ka*, *-katra*, *-kU*, *-lla*, *-mu*, *-nakU*, *-naya*, *-pa*, *-pa(:)kU*, *-pU*, *-Ra*, *-Ri*, *-RU*, *-shi*, *-tamu*, and *-YkU*. Of the twenty, arguably only four – causative *-chi*, reflexive *-ku*, reciprocal *-nakU*, and desiderative *-naya* – actually change the root's theta structure and derive new lexical items. The rest specify mode and/or aspect and/or otherwise function adverbally. The analyses of § 4.4.2.1 identify some of the more common possible interpretations of these suffixes. That said, the interpretations given are hardly exhaustive or definitive, not in the least because each generally includes multiple vectors.

-chi (causative) derives verbs with the meaning 'cause V' or 'permit V' (*wañu-chi* 'kill' (lit. 'make die')). Compounded with reflexive *-ku*, *-chi* derives verbs with the meaning 'cause one's self to V' or 'cause one's self to be V-ed' (*yanapa-chi-ku* 'get one's self helped').

-ka (passive/accidental) indicates that the event referred to is not under the control either of a participant in that event or of the speaker (*puñu-ka* 'fall asleep').

-katra (iterative) indicates extended or repetitive action (*kurri-katra* 'to run around and around').

-*kU* (reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive) derives verbs with the meanings ‘V one’s self’ (*mancha-ku*- ‘scare one’s self’, ‘get scared’), ‘V for one’s self/one’s own benefit’ (*suwa-ku* ‘steal’) ‘be V-ed’ (*pampa-ku*- ‘be buried’).

-*lla* (restrictive, limitative) indicates that the event referred to remains limited to itself and is not accompanied by other events (*lluqsi-lla*- ‘just leave’).

-*mu* (cislocative, translocative) indicates – in the case of verbs involving motion – motion toward the speaker or toward a place which is indicated by the speaker (*apa-mu*- ‘bring here’).

-*nakU* (reciprocal) derives verbs with the meaning ‘V each other’ (*willa-naku*- ‘tell each other’); compounded with causative -*chi*, -*nakU* derives verbs with the meaning and ‘cause each other to V’ (*willa-chi-naku*- ‘cause each other to tell’).

-*naya* (desiderative) derives a compound verb meaning ‘to give the desire to V’ (*miku-naya*- ‘be hungry’ (lit. gives the desire to eat)).

-*pa* (repetitive) indicates renewed or repetitive action (*tarpu-pa*- ‘re-seed’, ‘repeatedly seed’); compounded with -*ya* (intensive) -*paya* derives verbs meaning ‘continue to V’ (*trabaha-paya*- ‘continue to work’).

-*pa(:)kU* (joint action) indicates joint action by a plurality of individuals (*trabaha-pa:ku*- ‘work (together with others)’).

-*pU* (benefactive) indicates that an action is performed on behalf – or to the detriment – of someone other than the subject (*pripara-pu*- ‘prepare (for s.o. else)’); compounded with -*kU*, -*pU* indicates that indicates the action is performed as a means or preparation for something else more important (including all remunerated labor) (*awa-paku*- ‘weave (for others, to make money)’).

-*Ra* (persistence) derives verbs with the meaning ‘continue to V’ (*qawa-ra*- ‘look at persistently’); compounded with -*ya* (intensive) -*raya* derives passive from transitive verbs; that is, -*raya* derives verbs meaning ‘be V-ed’ (*wata-raya*- ‘be tied’).

-*Ri* (inceptive) derives verbs meaning ‘begin to V’ (*shinka-ri*- ‘begin to get drunk’).

-*RU* (various) indicates action with urgency or personal interest (*chaki-ru*- ‘dry out (dangerously)’); very frequently used with a completive interpretation (*kani-ru-n* ‘bit’).

-*shi* (accompaniment) derives verbs meaning ‘accompany in V-ing’ or ‘help V’ (*harka-shi*- ‘help herd’).

-*tamu* (irreversible) indicates an irreversible change of state (*wañu--tamu*- ‘die’).

-*YkU* (exceptional) is perhaps the derivative suffix for which is it hardest to identify any kind of central interpretation; with regard to cognates in other Quechuan languages, it is sometimes said that it indicates action performed in some

4 Verbs

way different from usual.

Examples in Table 4.25 are fully glossed in the corresponding sections.

Table 4.25: Verb-verb derivational suffixes, with examples

-cha	diminutive	<i>Wilka-y-ta</i> <i>puklla-cha-ya-n.</i>	‘My grandson is playing.’
-chi	causative	<i>Ishpa-y-cha-ta</i> <i>tuma-ra-chi-rqa-ni.</i>	‘I <u>made him</u> drink urine.’
-ka	passive/accidental	<i>Puñu-ka-ru-n-mi.</i>	‘She has fallen asleep.’
-katra	iterative	<i>Pawa-katra-shpa</i>	‘jumping and jumping’
-kU	reflexive, passive	<i>Kikinpis Campionakurun.</i>	‘They themselves poisoned <u>themselves</u> with Campion.’
-lla	restrictive	<i>Wak runa-qa ...</i> <i>piliya-ku-lla-n.</i>	‘Those people ... <u>just</u> fight.’
-mu	cislocative	<i>Qati-mu-shaq kay-man.</i>	‘I’m going to bring it over here.’
-nakU	reciprocal	<i>Kay visinu-kuna-qa</i> <i>dinunsiya-naku-n</i> <i>maqa-naku-n.</i>	‘The neighbors denounce <u>each other</u> , they hit <u>each other</u> .’
-naya	desiderative	<i>Ishpa-naya-wa-n.</i>	‘I <u>want to</u> urinate.’
-pa	repetitive	<i>Qawa-pa-yku-pti-n-ña-</i> <i>taq-shi.</i>	‘If he’s looking <u>every second</u> .’
-pa(:)kU	joint action	<i>Tari-pa:ku-n-man-pis</i> <i>ka-rqa.</i>	‘ <u>They</u> might have found him.’
-pU	benefactive	<i>Chay-lla-pa</i> <i>pripara-pu-nki.</i>	‘Just there prepare it <u>for me</u> .’
-Ra	uninterrupted	<i>¿Ima-ta-m</i> <i>qawa-ra-ya-nki?</i>	‘What are you looking at (<u>persistently</u>)?’
-Ri	inceptive	<i>Warmi-kuna-qa</i> <i>shinka-ri-shpa ... waqa-n.</i>	‘When the women [start to] get drunk ... they cry.’
-RU	urgency, completive	<i>Miku-ru-shunki wak</i> <i>kundinaw-qa.</i>	‘(Careful!) that zombie will eat you.’
-shi	accompaniment	“Harka- <u>shi</u> -sa-yki-m”, <i>ni-n.</i>	“I’m going to <u>help</u> you pasture,” he said.’
-tamu	irreversible	<i>Wañu-tamu-sha qari-qa.</i>	‘The man <u>died</u> .’
-YkU	exceptional	<i>Kay-lla-pi, Señor,</i> <i>tiya-yku-y.</i>	‘Right here, Sir, <u>please</u> have a seat.’

§ 4.4.2.3 looks at each of these suffixes in turn. *-ya* (continuative), also VV derivative suffix, was treated above in § 4.3.6.1.

4.4.2.1 Distribution of VV derivational suffixes

The default order of VV derivational suffixes is given in Table 4.26. Although this order is generally rigid, some suffixes show optional order when appearing consecutively. Causative *-chi* is likely the most mobile; change in its placement results in a change in verb meaning (*wañu-chi-naya-wa-n* ‘it makes me want to kill’ *wañu-naya-chi-wa-n* ‘it makes me feel like I want to die’ (example from Albó (1964), as cited in Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 284). *-chi* and continuative *-ya* regularly commute (1), (2), as do exceptional *-ykU* and reflexive *-kU* (3), (4). Some combinations are not possible. Although some combinations are, arguably, precluded for pragmatic reasons (*i.e.*, they would denote highly unlikely or even impossible states or events), the exclusion of others begs other accounts (5).

Table 4.26: Default order of modal suffixes

ka pa Ra katra cha Ri ykU RU chi shi pU na kU mu lla

- (1) *Llamputa mikuykayachin shakashta.* AMV
 llampu-ta miku-yka-ya-chi-n shakash-ta
 llampu-ACC eat-EXCEP-PROG-CAUS-3 guinea.pig-ACC
 ‘He’s making the guinea pig eat the *llampu*.’
- (2) *Mana suliyasa kaptinqa wakta suliyachiyanchik.* AMV
 mana suliya-sa ka-pti-n-qa wak-ta suliya-chi-ya-nchik
 no sun-PRF subds-3-TOP DEM.D-ACC sun-CAUS-PROG-1PL
 ‘When it hasn’t been sunned, we sun it.’
- (3) *Ima kuchilluwanpis imawanpis apuntaykukushpa kayhina kurriyamun.* ACH
 ima kuchillu-wan-pis ima-wan-pis apunta-yku-ku-shpa
 what knife-INSTR-ADD what-INSTR-ADD point-EXCEP-REFL-SUBIS
 kay-hina kurri-ya-mu-n
 DEM.P-COMP run-PROG-CISL-3
 ‘With a knife or whatever, taking aim [at us] they’re running like this.’

- (4) *Ñuqanchikqa paraptin uvihanchik yatanpi puñunchik muntita mashtakuykushpam, ukunchikta yaku riptin.* AMV
 ñuqa-nchik-qa para-pti-n uviha-nchik yata-n-pi puñu-nchik
 I-1PL-TOP rain-SUBDS sheep-1PL side-3-LOC sleep-1PL
 munti-ta mashta-ku-yku-shpa-m uku-nchik-ta yaku
 brush-ACC spread-REFL-EXCEP-SUBIS-EVD below-1PL-ACC water
 ri-pti-n
 go-SUBDS-3
 ‘When it rains, we spread out brush and sleep next to our sheep –
 when the water goes below us.’
- (5) **kumudashikuyan* **kumudakushiyan* AMV
 *kumuda-shi-ku-ya-n *kumuda-ku-shi-ya-n
 comfortable-ACMP-REFL-PROG-3 comfortable-REFL-ACMP-PROG-3
 ‘Target meaning: They accompanied getting comfortable.’

4.4.2.2 Morphophonemics

Table 4.27: VV derivational suffixes – morphophonemics

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

Morpheme	Realized as	Before				Elsewhere as	
-kU	-ka	-ma _{1.OBJ}	-mu			-chi	-ku
-pU	-pa	-ma _{1.OBJ}	-mu	-kU			-pu
-RU	-Ra	-ma _{1.OBJ}	-mu	-kU	-pU	-chi	-Ru
-yKU	-yka	-ma _{1.OBJ}	-mu		-pU	-chi	-yku

In syQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the first-person-object suffix *-ma* (1) and the cislocative suffix *-mu* (2) trigger the lowering of a preceding vowel *-U-* to *-a-*; causative suffix *-chi* does so as well in case it precedes *-kU*, *-RU*, or *-yKU* (3). Additionally, in syQ, both *-pU* and *-kU* trigger vowel lowering, the first with *-RU* (4) and *-yKU* (5); the second with *-RU* (6) and *-pU* (7).

- (1) *Chay gwardya paqarinnintaq kaypaq trayaramun.* SP
 chay gwardya paqarin-ni-n-taq kay-paq
 DEM.D police tomorrow-EUPH-3-SEQ DEM.P-LOC
 traya-ra-mu-n
 arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘The next day the police arrived here.’
- (2) *Makiyta ñuqaqa paqakaramuniñam.* AMV
 maki-y-ta ñuqa-qa paqa-ka-ra-mu-ni-ña-m
 hand-1-ACC I-TOP wash-REFL-URGT-CISL-1-DISC-EVD
 ‘I’ve already washed my hands.’
- (3) *Wirayaykachishpam qamtaqa mikushunki.* ACH
 wira-ya-yka-chi-shpa-m qam-ta-qa miku-shunki
 fat-INCH-EXCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-EVD you-ACC-TOP eat-3>2
 ‘After she’s fattened you up, she’s going to eat you.’
- (4) *Tapumuptin traskirapamuway hinashpa allicharapway.* AMV
 tapu-mu-pti-n traski-ra-pa-mu-wa-y hinashpa
 ask-CISL-SUBDS-3 accept-UNINT-BEN-CISL-1.OBJ-IMP then
 alli-cha-ra-pu-wa-y
 good-FACT-UNINT-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP
 ‘When he asks, receive it for me then put it in order it for me.’
- (5) *Chaytatrik indikaykapuwanki.* AMV
 chay-ta-tri-k indika-yka-pu-wa-nki
 DEM.D-ACC-EVC-1K indicate-EXCEP-BEN-1.OBJ-2
 ‘You’re going to point that out to me.’
- (6) *Wak warmiqa wawapakurusam.* AMV
 wak warmi-qa wawa-pa-ku-ru-sa-m
 DEM.D woman-TOP give.birth-MUTBEN-URGT-NPST-EVD
 ‘That woman gave birth to an illegitimate child.’

W. Adelaar (p.c.) points out that that “the morphophonemic vowel lowering presented [here] is not locally restricted.” In *miku-yka-ya-chi-n*, for example,

he writes, *-ykU-* is apparently modified to *-yka-* under the influence of a non-adjacent suffix *-chi-*; and in *ushtichi-ka-la-mu-y*, *-kU* is apparently modified to *-ka* under the influence of the non-adjacent *-mu*. In these and similar cases, syq patterns with the Central Peruvian QI, he writes. He suggests that this non-local vowel lowering may be an archaic feature since Southern Peruvian Quechua does not have it.

4.4.2.3 Individual derivational and complementary suffixes

4.4.2.3.1 Diminutive *-cha* Diminutive. *-cha* indicates action performed by a child or in the manner of a child (1) or action of little importance. It may also indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker (2), (3). Not attested in the CH dialect.

- (1) *Chay willkayta uchuklla pukllachayan qawaykuni.* AMV
 chay willka-y-ta uchuk-lla puklla-cha-ya-n qawa-yku-ni
 DEM.D grandson-1-ACC small-RSTR play-DIM-PROG-3 look-EXCEP-1
 ‘I look. My little grandson is playing.’
- (2) *¿Imatataq ruwayan pay? Grabachayan.* AMV
 ima-ta-taq ruwa-ya-n pay graba-cha-ya-n
 what-ACC-SEQ make-PROG-3 she record-DIM-PROG-3
 ‘What is she doing? Recording.’
- (3) *Kanan nasicharamunña.* AMV
 kanan nasi-cha-ra-mu-n-ña
 now be.born-DIM-URGT-CISL-DISC-DISC
 ‘She’s already born now.’

4.4.2.3.2 Causative *-chi*, *-chi-ku* Causative. *-chi* indicates that the subject causes or permits an action on the part of another participant; that is, *-chi* derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause to V’ (1–4). Compounded with reflexive *-ku*, *-chi* indicates that the actor causes him/herself to act or causes or permits another to act on him/her (5), (6).

- (1) *Ishpaychata tumarachirqani.* AMV
 ishpay-cha-ta tuma-ra-chi-rqa-ni
 urine-DIM-ACC drink-URGT-CAUS-PST-1
 ‘I made/had him drink urine.’

- (2) *¿Imash waqachishunki? ¿Ayvis waqankichu?* ACH
 ima-sh waqa-chi-shu-nki ayvis waqa-nki-chu
 what-EVR cry-CAUS-2.OBJ-2 sometimes cry-2-Q
 ‘What makes you cry, she asks? Do you cry sometimes?’
- (3) *Ishchallataña shutuykachiymán, ¿aw?* AMV
 ishcha-lla-ta-ña shutu-yka-chi-y-man aw
 a.little-RSTR-ACC-DISC drip-EXCEP-CAUS-1-COND yes
 ‘I have to make it drip just a little, right?’
- (4) *Ñakayachiwanmi.* AMV
 ñaka-ya-chi-wa-n-mi
 suffer-PROG-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-EVD
 ‘He’s making me suffer.’
- (5) *Chirirushpaqa manañam llushtichikunchu.* AMV
 chiri-ru-shpa-qa mana-ña-m llushti-chi-ku-n-chu
 cold-URGT-SUBIS- no-DISC-EVD skin-CAUS-REFL-3-NEG
 ‘When it’s cold, it doesn’t let itself be [=can’t be] skinned any more.’
- (6) *Yanapachikunki.* AMV
 yanapa-chi-ku-nki
 help-CAUS-REFL-2
 ‘You’re going to get yourself helped.’

4.4.2.3.3 Passive/accidental -ka Passive, accidental. -ka indicates that the event referred to is not under the control either of a participant in that event or of the speaker (1–5).

- (1) *Puñukarunmi.* AMV
 puñu-ka-ru-n-mi
 sleep-PASSACC-URGT-3-EVD
 ‘She fell asleep.’

4 Verbs

- (2) *Pasaypaq punkisa purirqa. Qaparikashtin rin ninmi.* AMV
 pasaypaq punki-sa puri-rqa qapari-ka-shtin ri-n
 completely swell-PRF walk-PST shout-PASSACC-SUBADV go-3
 ni-n-mi
 say-3-EVD
 ‘He was walking totally swollen. He was shouting [despite himself].’
- (3) *Suyñukayanchik runallata fiyullataña.* ACH
 suyñu-ka-ya-nchik runa-lla-ta fiyu-lla-ta-ña
 dream-PASSACC-PROG-1PL person-RSTR-ACC ugly-RSTR-ACC-DISC
 ‘We’re having terrible dreams [nightmares] about the people.’
- (4) *Wakhina lliw lliw tumbakarushpa ...* AMV
 wak-hina lliw lliw tumba-ka-ru-shpa
 DEM.D-COMP all all fall-PASSACC-URGT-SUBIS
 ‘All of them, falling down like that ...’
- (5) *Achka luna huntalamusha. Taytalla:qa kallipa pulikusha ashikayan tayta:taq.* CH
 achka luna hunta-la-mu-sha tayta-lla-:-qa kalli-pa
 a.lot person gather-URGT-CISL-TK father-RSTR-1-TOP street-LOC
 puli-ku-sha ashi-ka-ya-n tayta-:-ta-qa
 walk-REFL-NPST laugh-PASSACC-PROG-3 father-1-ACC-TOP
 ‘A lot of people had gathered. My father was walking in the street
 and they made fun of him.’

4.4.2.3.4 **Iterative -katra** Iterative. -katra indicates extended (1–2), or repetitive (3–6) action.

- (1) *Qawakatrayan.* AMV
 qawa-katra-ya-n
 look-FREQ-PROG-3
 ‘She’s staring’, ‘She’s looking around.’
- (2) *Mana wayrakunaykipaq kaynacham apakatrakunki.* AMV
 mana wayra-ku-na-yki-paq kayna-cha-m apa-katra-ku-nki
 no wind-REFL-NMLZ-2-PURP thus-DIM-EVD bring-FREQ-REFL-2

‘So that you don’t get bad air [sick], you’ll carry along some just like this.’

- (3) *Killantin killantin maskani tapukatrashpa.* AMV
 killa-ntin killa-ntin maska-ni tapu-katra-shpa
 month-INCL month-INCL search.for-1 ask-FREQ-SUBIS
 ‘I looked for him for months and months, asking and asking.’
- (4) *Wak maqtaqa pukllayta atipanchu, qay. Yangam saytakatrayan.* AMV
 wak maqta-qa puklla-y-ta atipa-n-chu qay yanga-m
 DEM.D young.man-TOP play-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG hey in.vain-EVD
 sayta-katra-ya-n
 kick-FREQ-PROG-3
 ‘That boy can’t play [ball], eh. In vain, he’s kicking and kicking.’
- (5) *Qunirichirqatriki. Qaparikatrarqa. Arruhaytash qallakuykun.* AMV
 quni-ri-chi-rqa-tri-ki qapari-katra-rqa arruha-y-ta-sh
 warm-INCEP-CAUS-PST-EVC-IKI shout-FREQ-PST vomit-INF-ACC-EVR
 qalla-ku-yku-n
 begin-REFL-EXCEP-3
 ‘It must have heated him up. He shouted and shouted. [Then] he starts to throw up, they say.’
- (6) *Hinaptinqa qayakatrakun, “¡Abuelo Prudencio! ¡Suyaykamay! Qarqaryam qipa:ta shamukuyan.”* CH
 hinaptin-qa qaya-katra-ku-n abuelo Prudencio
 then-TOP shout-FREQ-REFL-3 grandfather Prudencio
 suya-yka-ma-y qarqarya-m qipa:-ta shamu-ku-ya-n
 wait-EXCEP-1.OBJ-IMP zombie-EVD behind-1-ACC come-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Then he called several times, “Grandfather Prudencio! Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!”’

4.4.2.3.5 Reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive -kU Reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive. -kU indicates that the subject acts on him/herself or that the subject of the verb is the object of the event referred to; that is, -kU derives verbs with the meanings ‘V one’s self’ (1–2), and ‘be V-ed’ (3). -kU often functions as a dative of interest, indicating that the subject has some particular interest in the

event referred to (4), (5). *-kU* is used with impersonal weather verbs (6); it can indicate completed action (a completed or more or less irreversible change of state) (7) (see § 4.3.6.3 on perfective *-ku*); and excess of action (8), (9). *-ku* appears in reflexive verbs borrowed from Spanish, translating the Spanish pronouns *me*, *te*, *se*, and *nos* (10), (11). Preceding either of the derivational suffixes *-mu* or *-chi* or the inflectional suffix *-ma*, *-kU* is realized as *-ka* (4).

- (1) *Kikinpis Campionakurun. AMV*
 kiki-n-pis Campiona-ku-ru-n
 self-3-ADD poison.with.Campion-REFL-URGT-3
 ‘They themselves poisoned themselves with Campion.’

- (2) *Kundinakurushpa chay pashña kaqta trayaramun. AMV*
 kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta
 condemn-REFL-URGT-SUBIS DEMD girl be-AG-ACC
 traya-ra-mu-n
 arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘Condemning himself [becoming a zombie], he arrived at the girl’s place at night.’

- (3) *Manam huyaku:chu. Manam imapis manchachimanchu. CH*
 mana-m huya-ku-:-chu mana-m ima-pis
 no-EVD scare-REFL-1-NEG no=EVD what-ADD
 mancha-chi-ma-n-chu
 scare-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-NEG
 ‘I’m not scared. Nothing scares me.’

- (4) *Kay inbidyusu wawqin, “¡Suwakamuranki tuta!” nishpa. LT*
 kay inbidyusu wawqi-n suwa-ka-mu-ra-nki tuta ni-shpa
 DEM.P jealous brother-3 steal-REFL-CISL-PST-2 night say-SUBIS
 ‘His jealous brother said, “You stole those at night!”’

- (5) *Mashwakuna ullukukunaktam ayvis talpukunchik. CH*
 mashwa-kuna ulluku-kuna-cta-m ayvis talpu-ku-nchik
 mashwa-PL ulluco-REFL-ACC-EVD sometimes plant-REFL-1PL
 ‘Sometimes we plant mashua and olluco and all.’

- (6) *Wayrakuyanmari. Wayrakuyan, qasakuyan, rupakuyan.* AMV
 wayra-ku-ya-n-m-ari wayra-ku-ya-n qasa-ku-ya-n
 wind-REFL-PROG-3-EVD-ARI wind-REFL-PROG-3 ice-REFL-PROG-3
 rupa-ku-ya-n
 burn-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘It’s windy. It’s windy, it’s freezing, it’s hot.’
- (7) *Traputaqa aparikushpa pasakun.* SP
 trapu-ta-qa apa-ri-ku-shpa pasa-ku-n
 rag-ACC-TOP bring-INCEP-REFL-SUBIS pass-REFL-3
 ‘Taking along the rag, she left.’
- (8) *Kashtukuyan.* AMV
 kashtu-ku-ya-n
 chew-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘He’s chewing a lot.’
- (9) *Tilivisyunta likakuyan. Manam ñuqakunaqa gustamanchu chayqa tantu.* CH
 tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa
 television-ACC look.at-REFL-PROG-3 no-EVD I-PL-TOP
 gusta-ma-n-chu chay-qa tantu
 be.pleasing-1.OBJ-3-NEG DEM.D a.lot
 ‘They’re watching television [a lot]. We don’t like that too much.’
- (10) *Manañam kwintakuchuwanchu.* LT
 mana-ña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-chu
 no-DISC-EVD realize-REFL-1PL.COND-NEG
 ‘We can no longer realize it’ *Sp.* ‘Ya no podemos darnos cuenta.’
- (11) *Iskapakushaq maymanpis.* CH
 iskapa-ku-shaq may-man-pis
 escape-REFL-1.FUT where-ALL-ADD
 ‘I’m going escape to where ever.’ *Sp.* ‘me voy a escapar’

4.4.2.3.6 Restrictive, limitative -lla Restrictive, limitative. *-lla* indicates that the event referred to remains limited to itself and is not accompanied by other events (1), (2). It may also express (a) an affectionate or familiar attitude toward the event (3), (4); (b) regret with regard to the event (5), (6); or (c) pity for event participants (7). Other interpretations are also available (8).

- (1) *Wak runaqa wama wamaqtam piliyakullan.* AMV
 wak runa-qa wama wamaq-ta-m piliya-ku-lla-n
 DEM.D person-TOP a.lot a.lot-ACC-EVD fight-REFL-RSTR-3
 ‘Those people fight too much, do nothing but fight.’
- (2) *Alkansaptin, “¡Suyaykullaway!” nishpa.* AMV
 alkansa-pti-n, suya-yku-lla-wa-y ni-shpa
 reach-SUBDS-3 wait-EXCEP-RESTR-IMP say-SUBIS
 ‘When he reached her, he said, “Just wait for me!”’
- (3) *Fiystapa tushukunki. Kanan irransa kakullanqatriki.* AMV
 fiysta-pa tushu-ku-nki kanan irransa
 festival-LOC dance-REFL-2 now herranza
 ka-ku-lla-nqa-tri-ki
 be-REFL-RSTR-3.FUT-EVC-IKI
 ‘You’ll dance at the festival. Now there’s going to be an herranza, for sure.’
- (4) *Aspirinakunata qayna puntraw apamullawan qaquwan trakiyta.* AMV
 aspirina-kuna-ta qayna puntraw apa-mu-lla-wa-n
 aspirin-PL-ACC previous day bring-CISL-RSTR-1.OBJ-3
 qaqu-wa-n traki-y-ta
 massage-1.OBJ-3 foot-1-ACC
 ‘She brought me aspirin and everything yesterday and she rubbed my foot.’
- (5) *Shunquy hunta llakiyuqtam saqillasqayki; ñawiy hunta wiqiyuqtam dihallasqayki.* AMV
 shunqu-y hunta llaki-yuq-ta-m saqi-lla-sqayki ñawi-y
 heart-1 full sorrow-POSS-ACC-EVD leave-RSTR-1>2.FUT eye-1
 hunta wiqi-yuq-ta-m diha-lla-sqayki
 full tear-POSS-ACC-EVD leave-RSTR-1>2.FUT

‘My heart full of sadness I’m going to abandon you, my eyes full of tears, I’m going to leave you.’

- (6) *Chay pubrikunaqa mana imatas yatranchu. Qullqitapis falsutapis traskillan.* ACH

chay pubri-kuna-qa mana ima-ta-s yatra-n-chu
 DEM.D poor-PL-TOP no what-ACC-ADD know-3-NEG
 qullqi-ta-pis falsu-ta-pis traski-lla-n
 money-ACC-ADD false-ACC-ADD accept-RSTR-3

‘Those poor people don’t know anything. They accept counterfeit money [poor things].’

- (7) *Chay wawakuna kidan hukvida tristi sapan. Runapam makinpaña yatrakullan.* ACH

chay wawa-kuna kida-n hukvida tristi sapa-n runa-pa-m
 DEM.D baby-PL stay-3 a.lot sad alone-3 person-GEN-EVD
 maki-n-pa-ña yatra-ku-lla-n
 hand-3-LOC-DISC live-REFL-RSTR-3

‘Those children remain really sad, alone. They live out of other people’s hands.’

- (8) *Qariqarillaraqchu qariqarillaraqmi niytaq niyallan hinashpa wañukun.* SP

qari-qari-lla-raq-chu qari-qari-lla-raq-mi ni-y-taq
 man-man-RSTR-CONT-Q man-man-RSTR-CONT-EVD say-IMP-SEQ
 ni-ya-lla-n hinashpa wañu-ku-n
 say-PROG-RSTR-3 then die-REFL-3

“‘Still brave and strong?’ “Yes, still brave and strong!” he said for the sake of saying and died.’

4.4.2.3.7 Cislocative, translocative -mu Cislocative, translocative. In the case of verbs involving motion, *-mu* indicates motion toward the speaker (1), (2) or toward a place which is indicated by the speaker (3–5). In the case of verbs that do not involve motion, *-mu* may have various senses. These may have in common that they all add a vector of movement to the action named by the V and, further, that such movement is “away from ego,” as an anonymous reviewer suggests (6), (7).

4 Verbs

- (1) *Ishkay killanta papaniy kartata pachimuwan wañukusanña.* AMV
 ishkay killa-n-ta papa-ni-y karta-ta pachi-mu-wa-n
 two month-3-ACC father-EUPH-1 letter-ACC send-CISL-1.OBJ-3
 wañu-ku-sa-n-ña
 die-REFL-PRF-3-DISC
 ‘Two months later, my father sent me a letter that [the vicuña] had died.’
- (2) *Navidadninchik trayamuptinqa tushukunchik.* CH
 navidad-ni-nchik traya-mu-pti-n-qa tushu-ku-nchik
 Christmas-EUPH-1PL arrive-CISL-SUBDS-3-TOP dance-REFL-1PL
 ‘When our Christmas comes, we dance.’
- (3) *Yuraq kaballuqa yuraq vakata arrastramusa.* AMV
 yuraq kaballu-qa yuraq vaka-ta arrastra-mu-sa
 white horse-TOP white cow-ACC drag-CISL-NPST
 ‘A white horse was dragging along a white cow.’
- (4) *Ladirankunapaq rumipis hinkuyamuntriki.* ACH
 ladira-n-kuna-paq rumi-pis hinku-ya-mu-n-tri-ki
 hillside-3-PL-ABL stone-ADD roll-PROG-CISL-3-EVC-IKI
 ‘Stones, too, must be rolling down from the hillsides.’
- (5) *Kanan wichayta riya: uvihaman. Uviha:ta michimushaq.* SP
 kanan wichay-ta ri-ya-: uviha-man uviha-:-ta
 now up.hill-ACC go-PROG-1 sheep-ALL sheep-1-ACC
 michi-mu-shaq
 herd-CISL-1.FUT
 ‘Now I’m going up hill to my sheep. I’m going to herd my sheep.’
- (6) *Lichita mañakaramuy tiyuykipa.* LT
 lichita maña-ka-ra-mu-y tiyu-yki-pa
 milk-ACC ask-REFL-URGT-CISL-IMP uncle-2-LOC
 ‘Go ask your uncle for milk.’

- (7) *¡Llushtichikalamuy hakuykikta!* CH
 llushti-chi-ka-la-mu-y haku-yki-kta
 skin-CAUS-REFL-URGT-CISL-IMP jacket-2-ACC
 ‘Go take off your jacket!’

4.4.2.3.8 Reciprocal -*nakU* Reciprocal. -*nakU* indicates that two or more actors act reciprocally on each other; that is, -*nakU* derives verbs with the meaning ‘V each other’ (1–3). -*na* never appears independent of -*kU*. -*chinakU* derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause each other to V’ (4–6). Preceding either of the derivational suffixes -*mu* or -*chi* or the inflectional suffix -*ma*, -(*chi*)*nakU* is realized as -(*chi*)*naka*.

- (1) *¿Wakpaq pantyunpa pampanakunman?* AMV
 wak-paq pantyun-pa pampa-naku-n-man
 DEM.D-ABL cemetery-LOC bury-RECP-3-COND
 ‘Can people there bury each other in the cemetery?’
- (2) *Kaypaqmá kay visinukuna piliyakullan hukvidata dinunsiyanakun maqanakun.* ACH
 kay-paq-m-á kay visinu-kuna piliya-ku-lla-n
 DEM.P-ABL-EVD-EMPH DEM.P neighbor-PL fight-REFL-RSTR-3
 hukvida-ta dinunsiya-naku-n maqa-naku-n
 a.lot-ACC denounce-RECP-3 hit-RECP-3
 ‘Around here, my neighbors fight a lot. They denounce each other; they hit each other.’
- (3) *Kikinkunatrik ruwanakun wak pastuta kitanakushpa.* LT
 kiki-n-kuna-tri-k ruwa-naku-n wak pastu-ta
 self-3-PL-EVC-IK make-RECP-3 DEM.D pasture.grass-ACC
 kita-naku-shpa
 take.away-RECP-SUBIS
 ‘They themselves do that to each other, taking that pasture grass from each other.’
- (4) *Yuyarichinakuyan.* AMV
 yuya-ri-chi-naku-ya-n
 remember-INCEP-CAUS-RECP-PROG-3
 ‘They’re making each other remember.’

- (5) *Kikinkamatr wañuchinakura. Gwardyakunatr wañuchira.* ACH
 kiki-n-kama-tr wañu-chi-naku-ra gwardya-kuna-tr wañu-chi-ra
 self-3-LIM-EVC die-CAUS-RECP-PST police-PL-EVC die-CAUS-PST
 ‘They must have killed each other themselves’ (*lit.* caused e.o. to die)’
- (6) *Ishkay kimsam. Yatrachinakuykushpa misita watarun kunkanman.* ACH
 ishkay kimsa-m yatra-chi-naku-yku-shpa misi-ta wata-ru-n
 two three-EVD know-CAUS-RECP-EXCEP-SUBIS cat-ACC tie-URGT-3
 kunka-n-man
 throat-3-ALL
 ‘Two or three. Teaching each other, they tied cats to their necks.’ (*lit.*
 cause e.o. to know)’

4.4.2.3.9 Desiderative -naya Desiderative. In combination with a verb stem, V, it yields a compound verb meaning ‘to give the desire to V’ (1–4). Particularly with weather verbs, -naya may indicate that the E named by the root V is imminent (5), (6).

- (1) *Tutakuykunña mikunayan lliwña.* SP
 tuta-ku-yku-n-ña miku-naya-n lliw-ña
 night-REFL-EXCEP-3-DISC eat-DESR-3 all-DISC
 ‘Night falls already and he is hungry and everything already.’
- (2) *Mashwata mikuptinchik ishpanayawanchik. Chay riñunninchikta limpiyanshi.* AMV
 mashwa-ta miku-pti-nchik ishpa-naya-wa-nchik chay
 mashwa-ACC eat-SUBDS-1PL urinate-DESR-1.OBJ-1PL DEM.D
 riñun-ni-nchik-ta limpiya-n-shi
 kidney-EUPH-1PL-ACC wash-3-EVR
 ‘When we eat mashua, it makes us want to urinate. It cleans our kidneys, they say.’
- (3) *Chayta siguruta watanki Hilda icha tiranayashpa iskaparunman.* AMV
 chay-ta siguru-ta wata-nki Hilda icha tira-naya-shpa
 DEM.D-ACC secure-ACC tie-2 Hilda or pull-DESR-SUBIS
 iskapa-ru-n-man
 escape-URGT-3-COND

‘Tie it up tight, Hilda, or else, wanting to pull, it could escape.’

- (4) *Hildapa turin maqta kay hanaypaq uraypaqa aritita ushtunayarachin.* AMV

Hilda-pa turi-n maqta kay hanay-paq
Hilda-GEN brother-3 young.man DEM.P up.hill-ABL
uray-pa-qa ariti-ta ushtu-naya-ra-chi-n
down.hill-LOC-TOP earring-ACC dress-DESR-URGT-CAUS-3
‘Hilda’s brother from up here, down [on the coast] wanted to have
an earring put on.’

- (5) *Paranayamun.* ACH

para-naya-mu-n.
rain-DESR-CISL-3
‘It’s about to rain.’

- (6) *Shakashqa wañunayanña.* AMV

shakash-qa wañu-naya-n-ña
giunea.pig-TOP die-DESR-3-DISC
‘The guinea pig is about to die already.’

4.4.2.3.10 Repetitive -pa Repetitive. *-pa* indicates repetitive action; that is, it derives verbs with the meaning ‘re-V’ or ‘V again’ or ‘repeatedly V’ (1–6) (*yata* ‘touch’ → *yata-pa* ‘fondle’). Unattested in the CH dialect. Compounded with intensive *-ya*, *-pa* indicates uninterrupted action; that is, *-paya* derives verbs meaning ‘continue to V’ (7).

- (1) *Liyun mikusa. Tuqapaykun. ‘¿Wañusachu kayan?’ nishpa.* AMV

liyun miku-sa tuqa-pa-yku-n wañu-sa-chu ka-ya-n
puma eat-NPST spit-REPET-EXCEP-3 dead-PRF-Q be-PROG-3
ni-shpa
say-SUBIS

‘The puma [began to] eat it. He spit repeatedly. ‘Is it dead?’ he said.’

- (2) *Huk puntraw huk tuta nanapashunki.* ACH

huk puntraw huk tuta nana-pa-shu-nki
one day one night hurt-REPET-2.OBJ-2

‘One day and one night it’s hurting and hurting you [to give birth].’

- (3) *‘Imapaqtaq wak yawar yawar kayan?’ diciendo dice qawapaykun.* AMV
 ima-paq-taq wak yawar ka-ya-n qawa-pa-yku-n
 what-PURP-SEQ DEM.D blood be-PROG-3 look-REPET-EXCEP-3
 “‘Why is there this blood, all this blood?’ [they said and] stared at him.’
- (4) *Qawapaykaramushpam.* LT
 qawa-pa-yka-ra-mu-shpa-m
 look-REPET-EXCEP-URGT-CISL-SUBIS-EVD
 ‘Going to go check it.’
- (5) *Warmi ka-pti-n-qa yata-pa-shpa-tr qaqu-ya-n.* AMV
 warmi ka-pti-n-qa yata-pa-shpa-tr qaqu-ya-n
 woman be-SUBDS-3-TOP touch-REPET-SUBIS-EVC rub-PROG-3
 ‘If it’s a woman he’ll be fondling her while he massages.’
- (6) *¿Imapaq aysapamaranki ñuqa hawka puñukupti?: ¡Manchachiman!* SP
 imapaq aysa-pa-ma-ra-nki ñuqa hawka puñu-ku-pti-:
 what-PRUP pull-BEN-1.OBJ-PST-2 I peaceful sleep-REFL-SUBDS-1
 mancha-chi-ma-n
 scare-CAUS-1.OBJ-3
 ‘Why did you tug/yank at me when I was sleeping peacefully? It scares me.’
- (7) *¿Pukllapayanchu? ¿Kaniruytachu munayan?* AMV
 puklla-pa-ya-n-chu kani-ru-y-ta-chu muna-ya-n
 play-REPET-INTENS-3-Q bite-URGT-INF-ACC-Q want-PROG-3
 ‘Is it still playing? Or does it want to bite?’

4.4.2.3.11 Benefactive, translocative -pU Benefactive, translocative. -pU Indicates that an action is performed on behalf (1), (2) – or to the detriment – of someone other than the subject. Preceding either of the derivational suffixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional suffix -ma, -pU is realized as -pa (3), (4).

- (1) *Chayllapa priparapunki.* AMV
 chay-lla-pa pripara-pu-nki
 DEM.D-RESTR-LOC prepare-BEN-2
 ‘Just there prepare it [for her].’
- (2) “*Hinata risarapaway! Pagashaykim,*” *niwan.* LT
 hina-ta risa-ra-pu-wa-y paga-shayki-m ni-wa-n
 thus-ACC pray-UNINT-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP pay-1>2.FUT-EVD say-1.OBJ-3
 “‘Pray for me like that! I’ll pay you,” he said to me.’
- (3) *Sigaru rantipamuwanki, Hilda, fumakushtin kutikamunanpaq.* AMV
 sigaru ranti-pa-mu-wa-nki Hilda fuma-ku-shtin
 cigarette buy-BEN-CISL-1.OBJ-2 Hilda smoke-REFL-SUBIS
 kuti-ka-mu-na-n-paq
 return-REFL-CISL-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘Hilda, go and buy me a cigarette so he can smoke while he’s coming back.’
- (4) “*Gwardapamanki! Gwardapamanki!*” *niman.* CH
 gwarda-pa-ma-nki gwarda-pa-ma-nki ni-ma-n
 save-BEN-1.OBJ-2 save-BEN-1.OBJ-2 say-1.OBJ-3
 “‘Save it for me! Save it for me!” he said to me.’

4.4.2.3.12 Joint action -pa(:)kU Joint action. -pa:kU indicates action performed jointly by two or more (groups of) actors, i.e., it indicates a plurality of actors (1–7). The long vowel may be dropped in those dialects where the first person is not indicated by vowel lengthening.

- (1) *Kutiramushpaqa kapastri taripa:kunman karka.* AMV
 kuti-ra-mu-shpa-qa kapas-tri tari-pa:ku-n-man
 return-URGT-CISL-SUBIS-TOP perhaps-EVC find-JTACT-URGT-COND
 ka-rqa
 be-PST
 ‘If they had returned maybe they would have found him.’

- (2) *Kayna hapipakunchik.* ACH
 kayna hapi-paku-nchik
 thus grab-JTACC-1PL
 ‘Like this. We hold on [to the woman to help her give birth].’
- (3) *Pasan. Lliw lliw ripa:kuyan. Sapalla: kashaq.* SP
 pasa-n lliw lliw ri-pa:ku-ya-n sapa-lla-: ka-shaq
 pass-3 all all go-JTACC-PROG-3 alone-RSTR-1 be-BE-1.FUT
 ‘They’re leaving. All [of them] are going. I’m going to be all alone.’
- (4) *Chayshik chay susiyukuna ruwapakurqa chay nichutanta.* AMV
 chay-shi-k chay susiyu-kuna ruwa-paku-rqa chay
 DEM.D-EVR-K DEM.D associate-REFL MAKE-MUTBEN-PST DEM.D
 nichu-ta-n-ta
 CRYPT-ACC-3-ACC
 ‘That’s why, they say, before, the members made the crypts together.’
- (5) *Kukakunata akupakunchik. Kustumbrinchikmi.* AMV
 kuka-kuna-ta aku-paku-nchik kustumbri-nchik-mi
 coca-PL-ACC chew-MUTBEN-1PL custom-1PL-EVD
 ‘We chew coca [together]. It’s our custom.’
- (6) *Uqaktam talpupa:kuya:.* CH
 uqa-kta-m talpu-pa:ku-ya-:
 oca-ACC-EVD plant-JTACC-PROG-1
 ‘We’re planting oca.’
- (7) *Kañapa:kurqani rupanta.* Comp. *Kañapakurqanchik.* AMV
 kaña-pa:ku-rqa-ni rupa-n-ta kaña-paku-rqa-nchik
 burn-JTACC-PST-1 clothes--3-ACC burn-JTACC-PST-1PL
 ‘We’ve been burning her clothes’. ‘We have burned [for someone else].’

4.4.2.3.13 **Mutual benefit -pakU** indicates actions performed outside the scope of original planning (1–3) as well as actions performed as a means or preparation

for something else more important (including all remunerated labor) (4–6). Preceding either of the derivational suffixes *-mu* or *-chi* or the inflectional suffix *-ma*, *-pakU* is realized as *-paka* (7).

- (1) *Sakristantam wañuchipakuruni.* AMV
 sakristan-ta-m wañu-chi-paku-ru-ni
 sacristan-ACC-EVD die-CAUS-MUTBEN-URGT-1
 ‘I killed the deacon [by accident].’

- (2) *Urqupaqa puchukapakunchikmiki.* AMV
 urqu-pa-qa puchuka-paku-nchik-mi-ki
 hill-LOC-TOP finish-MUTBEN-1PL-EVD-1KI
 ‘In the hills, we finish them [our matches] off [they run out on us].’

- (3) *Wak warmiqa wawapakurusam. Wawapakuqtriki kidarqa.* AMV
 wak warmi-qa wawa-paku-ru-sa-m
 DEM.D woman-TOP give.birth-MUTBEN-URGT-NPST-EVD
 wawa-paku-q-tri-ki kida-rqa
 give.birth-MUTBEN-AG-EVC-1KI remain-PST
 ‘That woman gave birth to an illegitimate child. She must have stayed a single mother.’

- (4) *Thipakushpalla wamran uywan.* AMV
 tihi-paku-shpa-lla wamra-n uywa-n
 weave-MUTBEN-SUBIS-RSTR child-3 raise-3
 ‘Just weaving [for pay], she’s raising her son.’

- (5) *Kay siyrapaqa pasiyapaku: michipaku:.* SP
 kay siyra-pa-qa pasiya-paku:- michi-paku:-
 DEM.P mountain-LOC-TOP walk-MUTBEN-1 herd-MUTBEN-1
 ‘In these mountains, I pasture, I herd [for others].’

- (6) *Karruwanñatr kanan imatapis rantipakuyan chay llamayuqkuna alpakayuqkuna.* ACH
 karru-wan-ña-tr kanan ima-ta-pis ranti-paku-ya-n
 car-INSTR-DISC-EVC now what-ACC-ADD buy-MUTBEN-PROG-3
 chay llama-yuq-kuna alpaka-yuq-kuna
 DEM.D llama-POSS-PL alpaca-POSS-PL

‘Now the people with llamas and the people with alpacas must be buying everything [in order to sell it] with a car.’

- (7) *Sibadata takapakaramushaq waway machka mikunanpaq.* AMV
 sibada-ta taka-paka-ra-mu-shaq wawa-y machka
 barley-ACC beat-MUTBEN-CISL-1.FUT baby-1 cereal.meal
 miku-na-n-paq
 eat-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘I’m going to thresh barley [for someone else] so my children can eat toasted barley.’

4.4.2.3.14 Uninterrupted action -Ra Uninterrupted action. -Ra – realized as -la in the CH dialect and as -ra in all others – indicates that the event referred to persists in time; that is, it derives verbs with the meaning ‘continue to V’ (1–3). In combination with intensive -ya, -Ra derives passive from active verbs (4–7).

- (1) *Rinki qaqaman tiyarachishunki.* sp
 ri-nki qaqa-man tiya-ra-chi-shu-nki
 go-2 cliff-ALL sit-UNINT-CAUS-2.OBJ-2
 ‘You’ll go to the cliff and he’ll make you sit and sit [stay] there.’
- (2) *Durasnu ...llullu mashtarakuyan.* LT
 durasnu llullu mashta-ra-ku-ya-n
 peach unripe spread.out-UNINT-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘Peaches ... They’re spread out unripe.’
- (3) *Qawarayamun pashñaqa urata.* LT
 qawa-ra-ya-mu-n pashñaqa ura-ta
 look-UNINT-INTENS-CISL-3 girl-TOP hour-ACC
 ‘The girl kept checking the time.’
- (4) *Qaqapa ismu kundurlla warkurayan.* AMV
 qaqa-pa ismu kundur-lla warku-ra-ya-n
 cliff-LOC rotted condor-RSTR hang-UNINT-INTENS-3
 ‘A rotten condor is hanging from a cliff, they say.’

- (5) *Pwintikama trayaruptin huk mamakucha traqnarayasa pwintipa.* AMV
 pwinti-kama traya-ru-pti-n huk mamakucha
 bridge-ALL arrive-URGT-SUBDS-3 one grandmother
 traqna-ra-ya-sa pwinti-pa
 bind.limbs-UNINT-INTENS-NPST bridge-LOC
 ‘When he arrived at the bridge, an old woman was tied up to the bridge.’
- (6) “*Qala tullatam aparun.*” “*¿Maypaqtaq chay aparusa?*” “*Ukllupam trurarayasa.*” SP
 qala tulla-ta-m apa-ru-n may-paq-taq chay
 dog bone-ACC-EVD bring-URGT-3 where-ABL-SEQ DEM.D
 apa-ru-sa ukllu-pa-m trura-ra-ya-sa
 bring-URGT-NSPT store.house-LOC-EVD put-UNINT-INTENS-NPST
 “‘The dog took a bone.’ ‘Where was it taken from?’ ‘It was stored in the store-house.’”
- (7) *Kamallapaña sapalla: hitarayapti: runa trayaramun.* ACH
 kama-lla-pa-ña sapa-lla-: hita-ra-ya-pti-:
 bed-RSTR-LOC-DISC alone-RSTR-1 throw.out-UNINT-INTENS-SUBDS-1
 runa traya-ra-mu-n
 person arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘When I was layed out in bed all alone, a person came.’

4.4.2.3.15 **Inceptive -Ri** Inceptive. *-Ri*, realized *-li* in Cacara (1), indicates that the event referred to is in its initial stage, that it has not yet concluded (2–4). *-ri* is common in apologetic statements and supplicatory commands (5), (6). *-li* is attested in Carcra but not in Hongos.

- (1) *Nina:qa manalaq lupaliyanchu. Manalaq shansha: kanchu.* CH
 nina-:-qa mana-laq lupa-li-ya-n-chu mana-laq shansha-:
 fire-1-TOP no-CONT burn-INCEP-PROG-3-NEG no-CONT ember-1
 ka-n-chu
 be-3-NEG
 ‘My fire still isn’t starting to burn. I still don’t have any embers.’

- (2) *Pararirunqañam*. AMV
 para-ri-ru-nqa-ña-m
 rain-INCEP-URGT-3.FUT-DISC-EVD
 ‘It’s starting to rain already.’
- (3) *Warmikunaqa shinkarishpa takishpam waqan*. AMV
 warmi-kuna-qa shinka-ri-shpa taki-shpa-m waqa-n
 woman-PL-TOP get.drunk-INCEP-SUBIS sing-SUBIS-EVD cry-3
 ‘When the women start to get drunk and sing, they cry.’
- (4) *Chaypa kalabasuy chinkariyanñam*. LT
 chay-pa kalabasu-y chinka-ri-ya-n-ña-m
 DEM.D-LOC squash-1 lose-INCEP-PROG-3-DISC-EVD
 ‘My squash there are getting lost.’
- (5) *¡Pasakamuy! ¡Tiyarikuy!* AMV
 pasa-ka-mu-y tiya-ri-ku-y
 pass-REFL-CISL-IMP sit-INCEP-REFL-IMP
 ‘Come in! Please sit down.’
- (6) *Kaytatr paqarikushun*. AMV
 kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun
 DEM.D-ACC-EVC pay-INCEP-REFL-1PL.FUT
 ‘Let’s wash this.’

4.4.2.3.16 Urgency, personal interest -RU Action with urgency or personal interest. -RU is realized as -IU in the CH dialect (4) and as -rU in all others. It has a variety of interpretations, all subsumed, in some grammars of other Quechuan languages, as “action with urgency or personal interest” (1–3). It very often marks perfective aspect (4–6) (see § 4.3.3.3.1 on past-tense marker -RQa).¹⁵ Preceding

¹⁵ An anonymous reviewer suggests that Yauyos -ru is a “budding completive/perfective aspect marker, very similar to -rQu in Cuzco and in Huallaga, but less well developed than perfective -ru in Tarma. And far less developed than past tense/perfective -ru in South Conchucos, where it has moved to the inflectional tense slot and is in paradigmatic relation with -rQa, -shQa, futures, conditional, etc.” The reviewer cites Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994): the inference of recent past is not uncommon for derivational completive aspect markers.

any of the derivational suffixes *-mu*, *-pU*, *-kU*, *-chi* or the inflectional suffix *-ma*, *-RU* is realized as *-Ra* (7), (8).

- (1) “*Mana vir^{di}ta mikushpaqa lukiya^{ru}shaq*”, *nin*. AMV
mana vir^{di}-ta miku-shpa-qa luki-ya-ru-shaq ni-n
no green-ACC eat-SUBIS-TOP crazy-INCH-URGT-1.FUT say-3
‘They say, “If I don’t eat green [pasture grass], I’m going to go crazy.”’
- (2) *Chay mana rantiku^{pti}nqa ... chaki^{ru}nqa*. AMV
chay mana ranti-ku-pti-n-qa chaki-ru-nqa
DEM.D no buy-REFL-SUBDS-3-TOP dry-URGT-3.FUT
‘If she doesn’t sell it [right away], it’s going to dry out [and be worthless].’
- (3) “*¡Sinvirg^{win}sa! ¡Ñuqaqa willakur^ushaqmi gwardyanman tirruku kasaykita!*” AMV
sinvirg^{win}sa ñuqa-qa willa-ku-ru-shaq-mi gwardyan-man
shameless I-TOP tell-REFL-URGT-1.FUT-EVD police-ALL
tirruku ka-sa-yki-ta
terrorist be-PRF-2-ACC
“‘Shameless bastard! I’m going to tell the police that you were a terrorist!’”
- (4) *Qali paqwa^{lu}n allichalu[:]*. CH
qali paqwa-lu-n alli-cha-lu-:.
man finish-URGT-3 good-FACT-URGT-1
‘The men finished and we fixed it up.’
- (5) *Chinkar^un. Ni may risan yatrakunchu*. ACH
chinka-ru-n ni may ri-sa-n yatra-ku-n-chu
lose-URGT-3 nor where go-PRF-3 know-REFL-3-NEG
‘They got lost. We don’t know where they went.’
- (6) *Mana chichinanpaq tardi watar^un mamanta wawanta kapachar^un*. AMV
mana chichi-na-n-paq tardi wata-ru-n mama-n-ta
no nurse-NMLZ-3-PURP late tie-URGT-3 mother-3-ACC
wawa-n-ta kapacha-ru-n
baby-3-ACC muzzle-URGT-3

‘So that he wouldn’t nurse, she tied up his mother and put a muzzle on her baby.’

- (7) *Campionchata winarun aytrikurun qarinta mikurachin.* AMV
 Campion-cha-ta wina-ru-n aytri-ku-ru-n
Campion.rat.poison-DIM-ACC add.in-URGT-3 stir-REFL-URGT-3
 qari-n-ta miku-ra-chi-n
 man-3-ACC eat-URGT-CAUS-3
 ‘She threw in the rat poison, stirred it, and made her husband eat it.’
- (8) *Chaymi, “Kaypaq hurqaramanki kay hawlapaq.”* SP
 chay-mi kay-paq hurqa-ra-ma-nki kay hawla-paq
 DEM.D-EVD DEM.P-ABL remove-URGT-1.OBJ-2 DEM.P cage-ABL
 ‘So, [he said,] “Take me out of this! [Let me out] of this cage here!”’

4.4.2.3.17 Accompaniment -sHi Accompaniment. Realized as -si in the SP dialect (1) and as -shi in all others. -sHi indicates accompaniment for the purpose of aiding or protecting; that is, -sHi derives verbs meaning ‘accompany in V-ing’ (2) or ‘help V’ (3–5).

- (1) *Asnuqa nin, “Ñuqa tarisisayki sugaykitaqa.”* SP
 asnu-qa ni-n, ñuqa tari-si-sayki suga-yki-ta-qa
 donkey-TOP say-3 I find-ACMP-1>2.FUT rope-2-ACC-TOP
 ‘The donkey said, “I’m going to help you find your rope.”’
- (2) *Manam hamurqachu tiyashiq.* AMV
 mana-m hamu-rqa-chu tiya-shi-q
 no-EVD come-PST-3-NEG sit-ACMP-AG
 ‘She didn’t come to help sit.’
- (3) *Harkashisaykim nin huvin.* AMV
 harka-shi-sayki-m ni-n huvin
 herd-ACMP-1>2.FUT-EVD say-3 young.man
 “I’m going to help you pasture,” the young man said.’

- (4) *Hampishirqatrik. ¿Imataq kutichirqa?* AMV
 hampi-shi-rqa-tri-k ima-taq kuti-chi-rqa
 heal-ACMP-PST-EVC-1K what-SEQ return-CAUS-PST
 ‘She must have helped cure. What did she offer?’
- (5) *Kwidashimanchu. Hapalla: kwidaku: hapalla:.* CH
 kwida-shi-ma-n-chu hapa-lla-: kwida-ku-: hapa-lla-:
 care.for-ACMP-1.OBJ-3-NEG alone-RSTR-1 take.care-REFL-1 alone-RSTR-1
 ‘He didn’t help take care [of the animals]. Alone, I took care of them.
 Alone.’

4.4.2.3.18 Irreversible change -*tamu* Irreversible. -*tamu* indicates an irreversible change (1–4). Very frequently used in the CH dialect; not often spontaneously attested in other dialects.

- (1) *Kaman mastakuyashpa kamanpa tiyakuykushpaqa wañutamusha.* CH
 kama-n masta-ku-ya-shpa kama-n-pa
 bed-3 spread.out-REFL-PROG-SUBIS bed -3-LOC
 tiya-ku-yku-shpa-qa wañu-tamu-sha
 sit-REFL-EXCEP-SUBIS-TOP die-IRREV-NPST
 ‘When she was making the bed, when she sat on the bed, she died.’
- (2) *Wañutamusha qariqa; warmiqa kidarusha.* LT
 wañu-tamu-sha qari-qa warmi-qa kida-ru-sha
 die-IRREV-NPST man-TOP woman-TOP remain-URGT-NPST
 ‘The man died; the woman remained.’
- (3) *Puchukatamun.* AMV
 puchuka-tamu-n
 finish-IRREV-3
 ‘It finished off.’
- (4) *Atuqtaqa ñititamun umapaq.* AMV
 atuq-ta-qa ñiti-tamu-n uma-paq
 fox-ACC-TOP crush-IRREV-3 head-ABL
 ‘They crushed the fox from the head.’

4.4.2.3.19 Intensive -ya, -raya, -paya Intensive. -ya is dependent; it never occurs independent of -ra or -pa. (see § 4.4.2.3.9 and 4.4.2.3.12).

-raya is a detransitivizer, deriving passive from transitive verbs; that is, -raya derives verbs meaning ‘be V-ed’ (1–3). -raya may also indicate persistent or repetitive action (4). (see § 4.4.2.3.12 for further examples).

-paya indicates uninterrupted action; that is, -paya derives verbs meaning ‘continue to V’ (5) (see § 4.4.2.3.9 for further examples).

- (1) *Pwintikama trayaruptin huk mamakucha traqnarayasa pwintipa.* AMV
 pwinti-kama traya-ru-pti-n huk mamakucha
 bridge-ALL arrive-URGT-SUBDS-3 one grandmother
 traqna-ra-ya-sa pwinti-pa
 bind.limbs-UNINT-INTENS-NPST bridge-LOC
 ‘When he arrived at the bridge, an old woman was tied up to the bridge.’
- (2) “*Qala tullatam aparun.*” “¿*Maypaqtaq chay aparusa?*” “*Ukllupam trurarayasa.*” SP
 qala tulla-ta-m apa-ru-n may-paq-taq chay
 dog bone-ACC-EVD bring-URGT-3 where-ABL-SEQ DEM.D
 apa-ru-sa ukllu-pa-m trura-ra-ya-sa
 bring-URGT-NSPT store.house-LOC-EVD put-UNINT-INTENS-NPST
 “‘The dog took a bone.’ ‘Where was it taken from?’ ‘It was stored in the store-house.’”
- (3) *Kamallapaña sapalla: hitarayapti: runa trayaramun.* ACH
 kama-lla-pa-ña sapa-lla-: hita-ra-ya-pti-:
 bed-RSTR-LOC-DISC alone-RSTR-1 throw.out-UNINT-INTENS-SUBDS-1
 runa traya-ra-mu-n
 person arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘When I was layed out in bed all alone, a person came.’
- (4) *Qawarayamun pashñaqa urata.* LT
 qawa-ra-ya-mu-n pashñaqa ura-ta
 look-UNINT-INTENS-CISL-3 girl-TOP hour-ACC
 ‘The girl kept checking the time.’

- (5) ¿*Pukllapayanchu?* ¿*Kaniruytachu munayan?* AMV
 puklla-pa-ya-n-chu kani-ru-y-ta-chu muna-ya-n
 play-REPET-INTENS-3-Q bite-URGT-INF-ACC-Q want-PROG-3
 ‘Does it keep on playing? Or does it want to bite?’

4.4.2.3.20 Exceptional -YkU Exceptional. -YkU has a broad range of meanings; in early grammars of other Quechuan languages -YkU is said to indicate ‘action performed in some way different from usual’ (1–6). It merits further analysis. -YkU is common in polite imperatives (8), (9). -YkU also occurs with nouns referring to a time of day (10). Preceding any of the derivational suffixes -mu, -pU, -chi, -RU or the inflectional suffix -ma, -ykU is realized as -yka (1), (5).

- (1) *Pilataykachishpash baliyasa. Baliyayta munasa.* ACH
 pilata-yka-chi-shpa-sh baliya-sa baliya-y-ta
 lie.face.down-EXCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-EVR shoot-NPST shoot-INF-ACC
 muna-sa
 want-NPST
 ‘They made them lie face-down on the ground and shot them. They wanted to shoot.’
- (2) *Chaypash alma trayan hinashpash kurasunninta tapakuykun.* AMV
 chay-pa-sh alma traya-n hinashpa-sh kurasun-ni-n-ta
 DEM.D-LOC-EVR soul arrive-3 then-EVR heart-EUPH-3-ACC
 tapa-ku-yku-n
 knock-REFL-EXCEP-3
 ‘The souls arrive there, they say, then they knock their hearts.’
- (3) *Hinashpa chaypa lliw lliw qutunakuykushpa almata dispachashun.* AMV
 hinashpa chay-pa lliw lliw qutu-naku-yku-shpa alma-ta
 then DEM.D-LOC all all gather-RECP-EXCEP-SUBIS soul-ACC
 dispacha-shun
 dispatch-1PL.FUT
 ‘Then, when we are all grouped together, we’ll bid farewell to the souls.’

- (4) *Kay karruwan trayamuptingqa sillakuykushpam riyanchik.* SP
 kay karru-wan traya-mu-pti-n-qa silla-ku-yku-shpa-m
 DEM.P car-INSTR arrive-CISL-SUBDS-3-TOP seat-REFL-EXCEP-SUBIS-EVD
 ri-ya-nchik
 go-PROG-1PL
 ‘When they arrive with the car, we’re going galloping in a saddle.’
- (5) *Chay tirrimutukunapimik kahun saqaykaramun chaykunawan.* AMV
 chay tirrimutu-kuna-pi-mi-k kahun saqa-yka-ra-mu-n
 DEM.D earthquake-PL-LOC-EVD-IK box go.down-EXCEP-URGT-CISL-3
 chay-kuna-wan
 DEM.D-PL-INSTR
 ‘In that earthquake the coffins fell down with those.’
- (6) *Piluyta yupaykushpaqa wak duyñuytaqa mikukurunkitriki.* AMV
 pilu-y-ta yupa-yku-shpa-qa wak duyñu-y-ta-qa
 hair-1-ACC count-EXCEP-SUBIS-TOP DEM.D owner-1-ACC-TOP
 miku-ku-ru-nki-tri-ki
 eat-REFL-URGT-2-EVC-IKI
 ‘If you count my hairs,’ [said the hairless dog to the zombie] you can
 eat my mistress.’
- (7) *Sumbriruyta kumadricha quykamuway.* AMV
 sumbriru-y-ta kumadri-cha qu-yka-mu-wa-y
 hat-1-ACC comadre-DIM give-EXCEP-CISL-1.OBJ-IMP
 ‘Comadre, do me a favor and hand me my hat.’
- (8) *Kayllapi, Señor. ¡Tiyaykuy!* AMV
 kay-lla-pi, señor tiya-yku-y
 DEM.P-RSTR-LOC sir sit-EXCEP-IMP
 ‘Right here, Sir, please have a seat.’
- (9) *Chaypaq tutaykurun. Tutaykruptin vilata prindirun.* AMV
 chay-paq tuta-yku-ru-n tuta-yku-ru-pti-n
 DEM.D-ABL night-EXCEP-URGT-3 night-EXCEP-URGT-SUBDS-3
 vila-ta prindi-ru-n
 candle-ACC light-URGT-3
 ‘Later, night fell. When it got dark, he lit a candle.’

5 Particles

This chapter covers particles in Southern Yauyos Quechua. In SYQ, as in most other Quechuan languages, the class of particles can be sorted into seven subclasses: interjections (*¡Alaláw!* ‘How cold!’); assenters and greetings (*aw* ‘yes’); prepositions (*asta* ‘until’); adverbs (*ayvis* ‘sometimes’); coordinators (*icha* ‘or’); negators (*mana* ‘no, not’); and prenumerals (*la, las*, occurring with expressions of time). Interjections, assenters and greetings, prepositions, and adverbs are covered in § 5.1–5.4, respectively. Coordinators are discussed in § 7.3 on coordination; negators, in § 7.5 on negation; and prenumerals, in § 3.2.5.3 on time numerals and prenumerals.

5.1 Interjections

All spontaneously attested indigenous exclamations share a common pattern: they begin with *a* and end in *w* or, less commonly, in *k* or *y* (a–h); with the exception of the final *w*, they feature almost exclusively the alveolar and palatal consonants *ch*, *ll*, *l*, *n*, *ñ*, *t*, and *y* (which accounts for the entire catalogue of SYQ alveolars and palatals with the exception of voiceless fricatives *s*, *sh*, and retroflex *tr*); they include no vowels except for *a*; they consist, with few exceptions, of three or four syllables; and they bear stress on the final syllable. Syllable repetition is not uncommon. Non-exclamatory interjections do not follow this pattern (i), (j). Curse words are freely borrowed from Spanish (k–m). (1–7) give a few examples.

(a)	<i>¡Atratráw!</i>	‘Yikes!’ ‘What a fright!’
(b)	<i>¡Achachalláw!</i>	‘How awful!’ ‘How ugly!’
(c)	<i>¡Achalláw!</i>	‘How beautiful!’
(d)	<i>¡Alaláw!</i>	‘How cold!’
(e)	<i>¡Atatacháw!</i>	‘How beautiful!’
(f)	<i>¡Ananáw!</i>	‘Ouch!’
(g)	<i>¡Añalláw!</i>	‘How delicious!’
(h)	<i>¡Atratrák!</i>	‘Yikes!’ ‘What a fright!’

(i)	<i>¡Hinata!</i>	‘So be it!’
(j)	<i>¡Pay!</i>	‘Enough!’ ‘Thanks!’
(k)	<i>¡Karay!</i>	‘Darn!’
(l)	<i>¡Karahu!</i>	‘Damn!’
(m)	<i>¡Miyorda!</i>	‘Shit!’

(1) *Primay Amaciatapis chayhinashiki intrigaykururqa. ¡Achachalláw!* AMV
prima-y Amacia-ta-pis chay-hina-shi-ki
cousin-1 Amacia-ACC-ADD DEM.D-COMP-EVR-IKI
intriga-yku-ru-rqa achachalláw
deliver-EXCEP-URGT-PST how.awful
‘They delivered my cousin Amacia, too [to the Devil], they say.
How awful!’

(2) *Fiyu fiyu qatram warmi kasa chay warmi. ¡Atatayáw!* AMV
fiyu fiyu qatra-m warmi ka-sa chay warmi
ugly ugly dirty-EVD woman be-NPST DEM.D woman
atatayáw
how.disgusting
‘That woman was a horrible, filthy woman. How disgusting!’

(3) *¡Ayayáw! Yo me asusté.* AMV
ayayáw [Spanish]
yikes
‘Yikes! I got scared.’

(4) *Hinaptinshi chay katataqa tiyaykun ukuman “¡Achachá!” qayakun.* AMV
hinaptin-shi chay kata-ta-qa tiya-yku-n uku-man achachá
then-EVR DEM.D shawl-ACC-TOP sit-EXCEP-3 inside-ALL how.hot
qaya-ku-n
shout-REFL-3
‘Then he sat on the shawl and [fell] in [the boiling water].
“It’s burning!” he shouted.’

(5) *¿Sapallaykitr hamuyankiyá? ¡Atratrák!* ACH
sapa-lla-yki-tr hamu-ya-nki-yá atratrák
alone-RSTR-2-EVC come-PROG-2-EMPH how.frightening
‘You’re coming all alone, then? Yikes!’

- (6) *¡Dios Tayta! ¿Imapaq kimawanchikman? ¡Achachalláw!* AMV
 Dios tayta ima-paq kima-wa-nchik-man achachalláw
 God father what-PURP burn-1.OBJ-1PL-COND how.awful
 ‘Good God! Why would they burn [cremate] us? How awful!’
- (7) *¡Achacháw! Apuríman lapcharun kichkata.* AMV
 achacháw Apurí-man lapcha-ru-n kichka-ta
 ouch Apurí-ALL grab-URGT-3 thorn-ACC
 ‘Ouch! She grabbed onto a thorn bush [going to] Apurí.’

5.2 Assenters and greetings

The list of assenters includes three members: *arí*, *aw*, and *alal* (1), (2). The first and second are used in all dialects; the third, only in CH. *arí* often carries the emphatic enclitic *-yá* (3). *aw* is used to check for agreement from interlocutors and in the formulation of tag questions (4), (5). Speakers of SYQ make heavy use of the borrowed Spanish greetings, *buynus diyas* ‘good day’, *buynas tardis* ‘good afternoon’ and *buynas nuchis* ‘good evening’, ‘good night’ (6). *¡Rimallasayki!* ‘I greet you!’ is the most common of the greetings indigenous to SYQ. *¡Saludallasayki!* is also used.

- (1) *Pukapis kasa vakahina. Arí, wak sintakusa kayan.* AMV
 puka-pis ka-sa vaka-hina arí wak sinta-ku-sa ka-ya-n
 red-ADD be-NPST COW-COMP yes DEM.D ribbon-REFL-PRF be-PROG-3
 ‘*Spkr* 1: ‘The colored one was like a cow.’ *Spkr* 2: ‘Yes, it has [its ears pierced with] ribbons.’
- (2) *Aw, lavashuntriki, kaypis qatra qatra kayan.* AMV
 aw lava-shun-tri-ki kay-pis qatra qatra ka-ya-n
 yes wash-1PL.FUT-EVC-IKI DEM.P-ADD dirty dirty be-PROG-3
 ‘Yes, we’ll wash it. It’s really dirty.’

- (3) “*Kutimushaq,*” *nishpash chay pindihuqa manam warminman trayachinchu.* *¡Ariyá warmiyuq!* AMV
 kuti-mu-shaq ni-shpa-sh chay pindihu-qa mana-m
 return-CISL-1.FUT say-SUBIS-EVR DEM.D bastard-TOP no-EVD
 warmi-n-man traya-chi-n-chu ari-yá warmi-yuq
 woman-3-ALL arrive-CAUS-3-NEG yes-EMPH woman-POSS
 ‘Although the bastard [had] said, “I’m going to return,” he never
 made it back to his wife. Yes! He had a wife!’
- (4) *Chay chaqla kinraytatr pasarurqa, ¿aw?* AMV
 chay chaqla kinray-ta-tr pasa-ru-rqa aw
 DEM.D stone.outcropping across-ACC-EVC pass-URGT-PST yes
 ‘He must have come by around that stone outcropping, no?’
- (5) *Yapamik kutinga, ¿aw?* AMV
 yapa-mi-k kuti-nqa aw
 again-EVD-1K return-3.FUT yes
 ‘She’s going to come back, isn’t she?’
- (6) *Mana ganawniki kanchu ni “Buynus diyas” ni “Buynus diyas, primacha”, nada nishunkichu.* AMV
 mana ganaw-ni-ki ka-n-chu ni buynus diyas ni buynus
 no cattle-EUPH-2 be-3-NEG nor good day nor good
 diyas prima-cha nada ni-shunki-chu
 day cousin-DIM nothing say-2.OBJ-2-NEG
 ‘When you don’t have cattle, they don’t even say “Good morning,”
 “Good morning, cousin,” to you – nothing.’

5.3 Prepositions

syq makes use of some prepositions borrowed from Spanish. The preposition most frequently employed is *asta* (‘up to’, ‘until’, ‘even’, from Spanish ‘*hasta*’ ‘up to’, ‘until’) (1). *asta* is usually employed redundantly, in combination with the indigenous case suffix *-kama*, apparently with the same semantics (*asta aka-kama* ‘until until here’).

- (1) *Asta wañukunay puntrawkamatriki chayna purishaq.* 1T
 asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-kama-tri-ki chayna puri-shaq
 until die-REFL-NMLZ-1 day-LIM-EVC-1KI thus walk-1.FUT
 ‘Until the day I die, I’m going to walk around like that.’
- (2) *Tinkuyani ubihaywan ñuqa disdi uchuychallaypaq kani.* AMV
 tinku-ya-ni ubiha-y-wan ñuqa disdi uchuy-cha-lla-y-paq kani
 find-PROG-1 sheep-1-INSTR I since small-DIM-RSTR-1-ABL be-1
 ‘I’ve found myself with my sheep since I was very small.’

5.4 Adverbs

The class of adverbs native to SYQ is rather small (1–3). Verbal modification in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, is accomplished primarily by derivatives and enclitics (*-pa* ‘repeatedly’, *-ña* ‘already’). SYQ makes heavy use of the adopted/adapted Spanish adverbs *apuraw* ‘quick’, *pasaypaq* ‘completely’, *siympri* ‘always’ and *ayvis* ‘sometimes’ (4–7). Additionally, adverbs can sometimes be derived from adjectives with the suffixation of *-lla* (8), (9); and adjectives may sometimes occur adverbally, in which case they are usually inflected with *-ta* (10–12). Some nouns referring to time may occur adverbally without inflection (13), (14), others are inflected with *-ta* (see § 3.2.1.2) (15).

- (1) *Chafliwan pikarun, yapa hapin, yapa pikarun, yapa hapin, yapa pikarun.* AMV
 chafli-wan pika-ru-n yapa hapi-n yapa pika-ru-n yapa
 pick-INSTR pick-URGT-3 again grab-3 again pick-URGT-3 again
 hapi-n yapa pika-ru-n
 grab-3 again pick-URGT-3
 ‘He struck with a pick. Again, [the zombie] grabs him. Again he struck with the pick. Again he grabs. Again he struck.’
- (2) *Yaqa wañurqani chayshi tiyay.* AMV
 yaqa wañu-rqa-ni chay-shi tiya-y
 almost die-PST-1 DEM.D-EVR aunt-1
 ‘I almost died, then, [says] my aunt.’

- (3) *Hinallatañam qaninpa apakaramun wak yantata.* LT
 hina-lla-ta-ña-m qaninpa apa-ka-ra-mu-n wak
 thus-RSTR-ACC-DISC-EVD before bring-PASSACC-URGT-CISL-3 DEM.D
 yanta-ta
 firewood-ACC
 ‘Just like before already, they brought that firewood.’
- (4) *Mana apuraw hurquptinqa chayqa wañuchin.* ACH
 mana apuraw hurqu-pti-n-qa chay-qa wañu-chi-n
 no quick remove-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D-TOP die-CAUS-3
 ‘If [the placenta] is not taken out quickly, it kills.’
- (5) *Uchuypis pasa-pasaypaqmi chakirun, uchuypis chakisham kayan.* LT
 uchu-y-pis pasa-pasaypaq-mi chaki-ru-n uchu-y-pis
 chile-1-ADD comp-completely-EVD dry-URGT-3 chile-1-ADD
 chaki-sha-m ka-ya-n
 dry-PRF-EVD be-PROG-3
 ‘My chiles, too, completely dried out. My chiles, too, are dried out.’
- (6) *Waqayaniyá siympri yuyariyaniyá.* AMV
 waqa-ya-ni-yá siympri yuya-ri-ya-ni-yá
 cry-PROG-1-EMPH always remember-INCEP-PROG-1-EMPH
 ‘I’m crying. I’m always remembering.’
- (7) *Ayvis lliw chinkarun ayvis huklla ishkayllata tariru:.* ACH
 ayvis lliw chinka-ru-n ayvis huk-lla ishkay-lla-ta
 sometimes all lose-URGT-3 sometimes one-RSTR two-RSTR-ACC
 tari-ru-:
 find-URGT-1
 ‘Sometimes all get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.’
- (8) *Ni pitapis kritika:chu dañukuruptinpis sumaqlam nikulla:.* ACH
 ni pi-ta-pis kritika:-chu dañu-ku-ru-pti-n-pis
 nor who-ACC-ADD criticize-1-NEG damage-REFL-URGT-SUBDS-3-ADD
 sumaq-lla-m ni-ku-lla-:
 pretty-REST-EVD say-REFL-RSTR-1
 ‘I don’t criticize anyone. When they do harm, I talk to them nicely.’

- (9) *¡Kayta pasarachiy! Kargarayanñamiki. ¡Sumaqlla winaruy! AMV*
 kay-ta pasa-ra-chi-y karga-ra-ya-n-ña-mi-ki
 DEM.P pass-PASSACC-CAUS-IMP carry-UNINT-INTENS-3-DISC-3-EVD-IKI
 sumaq-lla wina-ru-y
 pretty-RSTR add.in-URGT-IMP
 ‘Have him come here! It’s being carried already. Add it in nicely!’
- (10) *Kanan tutaqa suyñukuruni fiyutam. ¿Ima pasaruwanqa? AMV*
 kanan tuta-qa suyñu-ku-ru-ni fiyu-ta-m ima
 now night-TOP dream-REFL-URGT-1 ugly-ACC-EVD what
 pasa-ru-wa-nqa
 pass-URGT-1.OBJ-3.FUT
 ‘Last night I dreamed horribly. What’s going to happen to me?’
- (11) *¿Manachu chay Aliciawan risachiwaq? Aliciam sumaq sumaqta risan. AMV*
 mana-chu chay Alicia-wan risa-chi-waq Alicia-m sumaq
 no-Q DEM.D Alicia-INST pray-CAUS-2.COND Alicia-EVD pretty
 sumaq-ta risa-n
 pretty-ACC pray-3
 ‘Can’t you have Alicia pray for her? Alicia prays really nicely.’
- (12) *Tushuptiypis alli-allita pigakuq. AMV*
 tushu-pti-y-pis alli-alli-ta piga-ku-q
 dance-SUBDS-1-ADD good-good-ACC stick-REFL-AG
 ‘When I would dance, he would stick himself [to me] really well.’
- (13) *“¡Kanallan intrigaway!” nishpash chay kundur trayarun. AMV*
 kanallan intriga-wa-y ni-shpa-sh chay kundur
 right.now deliver-1.OBJ-IMP say-SUBIS-EVR DEM.D condor
 traya-ru-n
 arrive-URGT-3
 ‘“Hand her over to me right now!” said the condor [when] he arrived.’

5 Particles

- (14) *Rinrilla:pis uparura qayna wataqa.* ACH
rinri-lla-:-pis upa-ru-ra qayna wata-qa
ear-RSTR-1-ADD deaf -URGT-PST previous year-TOP
'My ears went deaf last year.'
- (15) *Chaymi shamula: qaspalpuqta. Chaymi karkarya qipa:ta shamusha.* CH
chay-mi shamu-la-: qaspalpuq-ta chay-mi karkarya
DEM.D-EVD come-PST-1 nightfall-ACC DEM.D-EVD zombie
qipa-:-ta shamu-sha
behind-1-ACC come-NPST
'Then I came at nightfall. Then a zombie came behind me.'

5.5 Particles covered elsewhere

Coordinators are discussed in § 7.3 on coordination; negators, in § 7.5 on negation; and prenumerals, in Sub§ 3.2.5.3 on time numerals and prenumerals.

6 Enclitics

This chapter covers the enclitic suffixes of Southern Yauyos Quechua. In *SYQ*, as in other Quechuan languages, enclitics attach to both nouns and verbs as well as to adverbs and negators. Enclitics always follow all inflectional suffixes, verbal and nominal; and, with the exception of restrictive *-lla*, all follow all case suffixes, as well. *SYQ* counts sixteen enclitics. *-Yá* (emphatic) indicates emphasis. Consistently translated in Spanish by ‘pues’.¹ *-chu* (interrogation, negation, disjunction) indicates absolute and disjunctive questions; negation; and disjunction. *-lla* (restrictive) generally indicates exclusivity or limitation in number. Translated as ‘just’ or ‘only’. *-lla* may express an affective or familiar attitude. *-ña* (discontinuative) indicates transition, change of state or quality. In affirmative statements, translated as ‘already’; in negative statements, as ‘no more’ or ‘no longer’; in questions, as ‘yet’. *-pis* (inclusion) indicates the inclusion of an item or event into a series of similar items or events. Translated as ‘too’ or ‘also’ or, when negated, ‘neither’. *-puni* (certainty, precision). Translated ‘necessarily’, ‘definitely’, ‘precisely’. Attested only in the *QII* dialects, where it is infrequently employed. *-qa* (topic marker) indicates the topic of the clause. Generally left untranslated.² *-raq* (continuative) indicates continuity of action, state or quality. Translated ‘still’ or, negated, ‘yet’. *-taq* (sequential) indicates the sequence of events. In this capacity, translated ‘then’ or ‘so’. *-taq* also marks content questions. *-mI* (evidential – direct experience) indicates that the speaker has personal-experience evidence for the proposition under the scope of the evidential. Usually left untranslated.

-shI (evidential – reportative/quotative) indicates that the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for the proposition under the scope of the evidential. *-shI* appears systematically in stories. Often translated as ‘they say.’ *-trI* (evidential – conjectural) indicates that the speaker is making a conjecture to the

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that ‘pues’ is used in Andean Spanish “to negotiate common ground, shared knowledge. As such, it is possible that *-ya* is also an interactional or stance marker,” a way a participant in a conversation may negotiate what other participants know or should know.

² *-qa* may nevertheless be indicated in Spanish translations by intonation, gesture, and various circumlocutions of speech, as an anonymous reviewer points out.

proposition under the scope of the evidential from a set of propositions for which she has either direct or not-direct evidence. Generally translated in Spanish as ‘seguro’ ‘for sure’, indicating possibility or probability. *-ari* (assertive force) indicates conviction on the part of the speaker. Translated as ‘certainly’ or ‘of course’.³ *-ik* and *-iki* (evidential modifiers) indicate increasing evidence strength (and increased assertive force or conjectural certainty, in the case of the direct and conjectural modifiers, *-mI* and *-trI*, respectively). Generally translated in Spanish as ‘pues’ and ‘seguro’, respectively. Examples in the table below are fully glossed in the corresponding sections.

6.1 Sequence

Combinations of individual enclitics generally occur in the order indicated in the table below. In complementary distribution are: *-raq* with *-ña*; the evidentials with each other as well as with *-qa*; *-ari* with *-ikI*; and *-Yá* with *-ikI*.

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

6.2 Individual enclitics

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the enclitics can be divided into two classes: (a) those which position the utterance with regard to others salient in the discourse (restrictive/limitative *-lla*, discontinuative *-ña*, additive *-pis*, topic marking *-qa*, continuative *-Raqa*, sequential *-taq*, and interrogative/negative/disjunctive *-chu*); and (b) those that position the speaker with regard to the utterance (emphatic *-Yá*, certainty marker *-puni*, and the evidentials *-mi*, *-shi*, and *-tri* along with their modifiers *-ik*, *-iki*, and *-aRi*). § 6.2.1–6.2.10 cover all enclitics except the evidentials and their modifiers, in alphabetical order. The evidentials and their modifiers are the subject of § 6.2.11.

³ An anonymous reviewer writes that in other varieties of Quechuan, “*-ari* is interpersonal. It expresses solidarity, affirming what someone else says, thinks or believes to be true.”

Table 6.1: Enclitic suffixes, with examples

-Yá	emphasis	<i>Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu!</i>	'We do <u>not</u> set on fire!' 'Yes, indeed!'
-chu ₁	interrogation	<i>¿Iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu mama-yki?</i>	' <u>Did</u> your mother put you in school?'
-chu ₂	negation	<i>Chay-tri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu.</i>	'That must be why she <u>wouldn't</u> have waited for me.'
-chu ₃	disjunction	<i>¿Qari-chu ka-nki warmi-chu ka-nki?</i>	'Are you a man <u>or</u> a or a woman?'
-lla	restriction	<i>Uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-sa.</i>	'There was <u>only</u> the head <u>only</u> the hand.'
-ña	discontinuity	<i>Chay-shi ni-n kundinadaw-ña-m wak-qa ka-ya-n.</i>	'That one, they say, is <u>already</u> condemned.'
-pis	inclusion	<i>Tukuy tuta tusha-n qaynintin-ta-pis.</i>	'They dance all night and the next day, <u>too</u> .'
-puni	certainty	<i>Mana-puni-m.</i>	'By no means', 'Not on your life'
-qa	topic	<i>Mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa.</i>	'Those of them who didn't know'
-raq	continuity	<i>Kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-pti-n-raq tari-ru-n.</i>	'He found him <u>still</u> sleeping in his bed.'
-taq	sequence	<i>hinaptin-ña-taq-shi</i>	' <u>then</u> ' 'so'
-mI	evidential-direct	<i>Yanga-ña-m qipi-ku-sa puri-ni.</i>	'In vain, I walk around carrying it.'
-shI	evidential-reportative	<i>Qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n.</i>	'She killed her husband, <u>they say</u> .'
-trI	evidential-conjecture	<i>Awa-ya-n-tr-iki kama-ta.</i>	'He <u>must</u> be weaving a blanket.'
-ari	assertive force	<i>Chay-sh-ari kanan avansa-ru-nqa.</i>	'That one <u>definitely</u> will advance now, <u>they say</u> .'
-ikI	evidential modification	<i>Kay-na-lla-m-iki kay urqu-pa-qa yatra-nchik.</i>	'Just like this we live on this mountain.'

6.2.1 Emphatic -Yá

Emphatic. Realized as -yá in all environments (1–5) except following an evidential, in which case both the *I* of the evidential and the *Y* of the emphatic are elided and *Yá* is realized as *á* (6–8).

- (1) *Ariyá!* AMV
ari-yá
yes-EMPH
'Yes indeed.'
- (2) *¡Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu!* AMV
mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu
no-EMPH burn-CAUS-1PL-NEG
'We do not set on fire.'
- (3) *Pantyunpayá. ¡Ima wasiypitr pampamushaq!* AMV
pantyun-pa-yá ima wasi-y-pi-tr pampa-mu-shaq
cemetery-LOC-EMPH what house-1-LOC-EVC bury-CISL-1.FUT
'In the cemetery! I doubt I'm going to bury someone in my house.'
- (4) *¿Imaynayá piru paykuna yatran warmi u qari?* AMV
imayna-yá piru pay-kuna yatra-n warmi u qari
how-EMPH but they-PL know-3 woman or man
'How ever can they know if it will be a woman or a man?'
- (5) *Sirbisatatr mas mastaq rantikurun. Sirbisatayá.* AMV
sirbisa-ta-tr mas mas-ta-qa ranti-ku-ru-n sirbisa-ta-yá
beer-ACC-EVC more more-ACC-TOP buy-REFL-URGT-3 beer-ACC-EMPH
'Spkr 1: 'They must have sold a lot more beer.' Spkr 2: 'Beer, all right!'
- (6) *Balikushatr kara. Paytamá rikarani.* LT
baliku-sha-tr ka-ra pay-ta-m-á rika-ra-ni
request.a.service-PRF-EVC be-PST he-ACC-EVD-EMPH see-PST-1
'He must have been requested. I saw him.'

- (7) *Trabahayta kanan kumunalta trulalamá.* CH
 trabaha-y-ta kanan kumunal-ta trula-la-m-á
 work-INF-ACC now community-ACC put-PST-EVD-EMPH
 ‘Now he’s put the community to work.’
- (8) *Unayqa Awkichanka inkantakurashá wak altupa yantaman riptiki.* SP
 unay-qa Awkichanka inkanta-ku-ra-sh-á wak
 before-TOP Awkichanka enchant-REFL-PST-EVR-EMPH DEM.D
 altu-pa yanta-man ri-pti-ki
 high-LOC firewood-ALL go-SUBDS-2
 ‘In olden times, Awkichanka, too, bewitched, they say, up hill if you went for firewood.’

6.2.2 Interrogation, negation, disjunction *-chu*

Interrogation, negation, disjunction. *-chu* indicates absolute (1) and disjunctive questions (2), (3), negation (4), and disjunction (5).⁴ Where it functions to indicate interrogation or negation, *-chu* attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of the interrogation or negation (6). Where it functions to indicate disjunction – in either disjunctive questions or disjunctive statements – *-chu* generally attaches to each of the disjuncts (7). Questions that anticipate a negative answer are indicated by *mana-chu* (8). *mana-chu* may also “soften” questions (9). It may also be used, like *aw* ‘yes’, in the formation of tag questions (10). In negative sentences, *-chu* generally co-occurs with *mana* ‘not’ (11); *-chu* is also licensed by additive enclitic *-pis* (12), (13) and *ni* ‘nor’ (14), (15). In prohibitions, *-chu* co-occurs with *ama* ‘don’t’ (16). *-chu* does not appear in subordinate clauses, where negation is indicated with a negative particle alone (17), (18).⁵ In negative sentences, *-chu* never occurs on the same segment as does an evidential enclitic (20). Interrogative *-chu* does not appear in questions using interrogative pronouns (21).⁶

⁴ An anonymous reviewer points out that in Huaylas Q. negative *-tsu* is distinguished from polar question *-ku*. Huaylas is not unique among Quechuan languages in making this distinction.

⁵ An anonymous reviewer points out that elsewhere in Quechua, the correlates of negative *-chu* typically can appear in subordinate clauses. There are no naturally-occurring examples of this in the Yauyos corpus.

⁶ **Pi-taq hamu-n-chu?* **Pi-taq-chu hamu-n?* ‘Who is coming?’

- (1) ¿*Iskwilaman trurashurqankichu mamayki?* AMV
 iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu mama-yki
 school-ALL put-2.OBJ-PST-2-Q mother-3
 ‘Did your mother put you in school?’

- (2) ¿*Qarichu kanki warmichu kanki?* AMV
 ¿qari-chu ka-nki warmi-chu ka-nki
 man-Q be-2 woman-Q be-2
 ‘Are you a man or a woman?’

- (3) ¿*Don Juanchu icha almanchu hamuyan?* AMV
 Don Juan-chu icha alma-n-chu hamu-ya-n
 Don Juan-Q or soul-3-Q come-PROG-3
 ‘Is it Don Juan, or is his spirit coming?’

- (4) *Chaytri mana suyawarqachu.* AMV
 chay-tri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu
 DEM.D-EVC no wait-1.OBJ-PST-NEG
 ‘That’s why she wouldn’t have waited for me.’

- (5) *Kandilaryapachu bintisinkupachu.* AMV
 kandilarya-pa-chu binti-sinku-pa-chu
 Candelaria-LOC-DISJ twenty-five-LOC-DISJ
 ‘Either on Candelaria or on the twenty-fifth.’

- (6) ¿*Chaypachu tumarqanki?* AMV
 chay-pa-chu tuma-rqa-nki
 DEM.D-LOC-Q take-PST-2
 ‘Did you take [pictures] there?’

- (7) *Mariochu karqa Juliánchu karqa.* AMV
 Mario-chu ka-rqa Julián-chu ka-rqa
 Mario-DISJ be-PST Julián-DISJ be-PST
 ‘It was either Mario or Julián.’

- (8) ¿*Manachu* kуска linman? CH
 mana-chu kуска li-n-man
 no-Q together go-3-COND
 ‘Couldn’t they go together?’
- (9) *Paysanu*, ¿*manachu* vakata rantiyta munanki? AMV
 paysanu mana-chu vaka-ta rantiy-ta muna-nki
 countryman no-Q cow-ACC buy-INF-ACC want-2
 ‘My countryman, do you not want to buy a cow?’
- (10) *Lliw lliwtriki wañukushun, puchukashun entonces*, ¿*manachu*? ACH
 lliw lliw-tr-iki wañu-ku-shun puchuka-shun intunsis
 all all-EVC-1KI die-REFL-1PL.FUT finish.off-1PL.FUT therefore
 mana-chu
 no-Q
 ‘We’ll all have to die, to finish off then, isn’t that so?’
- (11) *Aa*, *manayá kanchu*. *Manayá bula kanchu*. LT
 aa mana-yá ka-n-chu mana-yá bula ka-n-chu
 ah no-EMPH be-3-NEG no-EMPH ball be-3-NEG
 ‘Ah, there aren’t any. There aren’t any balls.’
- (12) *Kaspinpis kanchu*. AMV
 kaspi-n-pis ka-n-chu
 stick-3-ADD be-3-NEG
 ‘She doesn’t have a stick.’
- (13) *Manchakushpa tutaş puñu:chu*. ACH
 mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu-:-chu
 scare-REFL-SUBIS night-ADD sleep-1-NEG
 ‘Being scared, I don’t sleep at night.’
- (14) *Apuraw wañururqariki*. *Ni apanñachu*. AMV
 apuraw wañu-ru-rqa-r-iki ni apa-n-ña-chu
 quick die-URGT-PST-R-1KI nor bring-3-DISC-NEG
 ‘He died quickly. They didn’t even bring him [to the hospital].’

- (15) *Manam waytachu ni pishquchu.* AMV
 mana-m wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu
 no-EVD flower-NEG nor bird-NEG
 ‘Neither a flower nor a bird.’
- (16) “*¡Ama wawqi:taqa wañuchiychu!*” niptinshi wañurachin
 paywantapis. ACH
 ama wawqi:-ta-qa wañu-chi-y-chu ni-pti-n-shi
 PROH brother-1-ACC-TOP die-CAUS-IMP-NEG say-SUBDS-3-EVR
 wañu-ra-chi-n pay-wan-ta-pis
 die-URGT-CAUS-3 he-INSTR-ACC-ADD
 ‘When he said, “Don’t kill my brother!” they killed him with him,
 too.’
- (17) *Mana qali kaptinqa ñuqanchikpis taqllakta hapishpa qaluwanchik.* CH
 mana qali ka-pti-n-qa ñuqanchik-pis taqlla-kta hapi-shpa
 no man be-SUBDS-3-TOP we-ADD plow-ACC grab-SUBIS
 qaluwa-nchik
 turn.earth-1PL
 ‘When there are no men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.’
- (18) *Mana qatrachakunanpaq mandilchanta watachakun.* AMV
 mana qatra-cha-ku-na-n-paq mandil-cha-n-ta wata-cha-ku-n
 no dirty-FACT-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP apron-DIM-3-ACC tie-DIM-REFL-3
 ‘She’s tying on an apron so she doesn’t get dirty.’
- (19) *Manam llusiptiyki(qa *chu), waqashaqmi.* AMV
 mana-m llusqi-pti-yki-qa chu waqa-shaq-mi
 no-EVD go.out-SUBDS-2-TOP neg cry-1.FUT-EVD
 ‘If you don’t go, I’ll cry.’
- (20) *Mana llusirqanki(*mi)chu.* AMV
 mana llusqi-rqa-nki-mi-chu
 no go.out-PST-2-EVD-NEG
 ‘You didn’t leave.’

- (21) *¿Pi hamurqachu? AMV
 pi hamu-rqa-chu
 who come-PST-NEG
 ‘Who came?’

6.2.3 Restrictive, limitative -lla

Restrictive, limitative. -lla indicates exclusivity or limitation in number: the individual (1–3) or event/event type (4), (5) remains limited to itself and is accompanied by no other. -lla can generally be translated as ‘just’ (6), (7) or ‘only’ (8); it sometimes has an ‘exactly’ interpretation (9). It is very, very widely employed (10–12).

- (1) *Iskwilapam niytu:kunaqa wawa:kunaqa rinmi ñuqallam ka: analfabitu.* SP
 iskwila-pa-m niytu:-kuna-qa wawa:-kuna-qa ri-n-mi
 school-LOC-EVD nephew-1-PL-TOP baby-1-PL-TOP go-3-EVD
 ñuqa-lla-m ka: analfabitu
 I-RSTR-EVD be-1 illiterate
 ‘My grandchildren are in school. My children went. I’m the only illiterate one.’
- (2) *Runapi umallaña trakillaña kayasa.* AMV
 runa-pi uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-sa
 person-GEN head-RSTR-DISC foot-RSTR-DISC be-PROG-NPST
 ‘Just the head and the hand remained of the person.’
- (3) *Kichwallaktam limakuya: kaytrawlaq manam kastillanukta lima:chu.* CH
 kichwa-lla-cta-m lima-ku-ya: kay-traw-laq mana-m
 Quechua-RSTR-ACC-EVD speak-REFL-PROG-1 DEM.P-LOC-CONT no-EVD
 kastillanu-cta lima:-chu
 Spanish-ACC speak-1-NEG
 ‘I’m talking just Quechua. Here, still, we don’t speak Spanish.’
- (4) *Fwirti kashpallamá linchik pustaman.* CH
 fwirti ka-shpa-lla-m-á li-nchik pusta-man
 strong be-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD-EMPH go-1PL clinic-ALL
 ‘Only if it’s bad will we go to the health clinic.’

- (5) *Lliw lliwtam rantishpallañam kanan kamatapis chay polarkunatapis.* ACH
 lliw lliw-ta-m ranti-shpa-lla-ña-m kanan kama-ta-pis
 all all-ACC-EVD buy-SUBIS-RSTR-DISC-EVD now blanket-ACC-ADD
 chay polar-kuna-ta-pis
 DEM.D fleece-PL-ACC-ADD
 ‘Now just buying everything – blankets, [polyester] fleece.’
- (6) *Chaynallam mikuchin ... pachachin.* AMV
 chayna-lla-m miku-chi-n pacha-chi-n
 thus-RSTR-EVD eat-CAUS-3 dress-CAUS-3
 ‘Just like that, she feeds him, she clothes him.’
- (7) *Sirkallatam riya: manam karutachu.* SP
 sirka-lla-ta-m ri-ya-: mana-m karu-ta-chu
 close-RSTR-ACC-EVD go-PROG-1 no-EVD far-ACC-NEG
 ‘I just go close; I don’t go far.’
- (8) *Chayllatam yatrani. Masta yatranichu.* AMV
 chay-lla-ta-m yatra-ni mas-ta yatra-ni-chu
 DEM.D-LIM-ACC-EVD know-1 more-ACC know-1-NEG
 ‘I only know that. I don’t know more.’
- (9) *Iskinanpi sikya tunallanpi wallpay watrakunraq.* LT
 iskina-n-pi sikya tuna-lla-n-pi wallpa-y
 corner-3-LOC aqueduct corner-RSTR-3-LOC chicken-1
 watra-ku-n-raq
 give.birth-REFL-3-CONT
 ‘My hen lays eggs in the corner, right in the corner of the canal.’
- (10) *Lliwta abaskuna albirhakuna ayvislla rantikuni apani llaqtatam.* AMV
 lliw-ta abas-kuna albirha-kuna ayvis-lla ranti-ku-ni
 all-ACC broad.beans-PL peas-PL sometimes-RSTR buy-REFL-1
 apa-ni llaqta-ta-m
 bring-1 town-ACC-EVD
 ‘Everything – broad beans, peas – once in while I sell stuff – I bring it into town.’

- (11) *Chaynallam. Chayllam kwintuqa. Mas kanchu manam.* SP
 chayna-lla-m chay-lla-m kwintu-qa mas ka-n-chu mana-m
 thus-RSTR-EVD DEM.D-RSTR-EVD story-TOP more be-3-NEG no-EVD
 ‘That’s the way it goes. That’s all there is to the story. There’s no more.’
- (12) *Chaytam aysashpalla pasachiwaq.* AMV
 chay-ta-m aysa-shpa-lla pasa-chi-wa-q
 DEM.D-ACC-EVD pull-SUBIS-RSTR pass-CAUS-1.OBJ-AG
 ‘They had me cross the river pulling [me by the hand].’

6.2.4 Discontinuative -ña

Discontinuative. -ña indicates transition – change of state or quality. In affirmative statements, it can generally be translated as ‘already’ (1–3); in negative statements, as ‘no more’ or ‘no longer’ (4), (5); and in questions, as ‘yet’ (6), (7). It can appear freely but never unaccompanied, redundantly, by ña (8), (9).

- (1) *Kundinadawñam wakqa kayan.* AMV
 kundinadaw-ña-m wak-qa ka-ya-n
 condemned-DISC-EVD DEM.D-TOP be-PROG-3
 ‘That one is already condemned.’
- (2) *Ñuqaqa kukaywanñam qawaruni.* AMV
 ñuqa-qa kuka-y-wan-ña-m qawa-ru-ni
 I-TOP coca-1-INSTR-DISC-EVD see-URGT-1
 ‘I saw it with my coca already.’
- (3) *Paqwayanchikñam talpuyta, ¿aw? Papaktapis talpulalu:ñam, kanan halakta, ¿aw?* CH
 paqwa-ya-nchik-ña-m talpu-y-ta aw papa-kta-pis
 finish-PROG-1PL-DISC-EVD plant-INF-ACC yes potato-ACC-ADD
 talpu-la-lu:-ña-m kanan hala-kta aw
 plant-UNINT-URGT-1-DISC-EVD now corn-ACC yes
 ‘We’re finishing the planting already, no? We’ve already planted the potatoes, now the corn, no?’

- (4) *Unaytrik. Kananqa kanñachu imapis.* SP
 unay-tri-k kanan-qa ka-n-ña-chu ima-pis
 before-EVC-1K now-TOP be-3-DISC-NEG what-ADD
 ‘That would be a long time ago. Now there isn’t anything any more.’
- (5) *Manaña ni santu ni imapis.* AMV
 mana-ña ni santu ni ima-pis
 no-DISC nor saint nor what-ADD
 ‘There are no longer saints or anything.’
- (6) *¿Pasarunñachu? Tapushun.* AMV
 pasa-ru-n-ña-chu tapu-shun
 pass-URGT-3-DISC-Q ask-1PL.FUT
 ‘Did she go by yet? Let’s ask.’
- (7) *¿Rimayanñachu kanan wakpi?* LT
 rima-ya-n-ña-chu kanan wak-pi
 talk-PROG-3-DISC-Q now DEM.D-LOC
 ‘Are they talking yet there now?’
- (8) *“¡Ñam tukuchkaniña!” Puk! Puk! Puk! sikisapa sapu.* AMV
 ña-m tuku-chka-ni-ña puk puk puk siki-sapa sapu
 DISC-EVD finish-DUR-1-DISC puk puk puk behind-MULT.POSS frog
 “‘I’m already finishing up!’ Puk! Puk! Puk! said the frog with the
 behind bigger than usual.’
- (9) *Ñam riqsiyanña hukya yaykun.* LT
 ña-m riqsi-ya-n-ña huk-ya yayku-n
 DISC-EVD know-PROG-3-DISC one-EMPH enter-3
 “They’re getting to know it already and another comes in.”

6.2.5 Inclusion *-pis*

Inclusion. *-pis* indicates the inclusion of an item or event into a series of similar items or events. Translated as ‘and’, ‘too’, ‘also’, and ‘even’ (1–5) or, when negated, ‘neither’ or ‘not even’ (6–8). *-pis* may – or, even, may generally – imply contrast with some preceding element. Where it scopes over subordinate clauses,

it can often be translated ‘although’ or ‘even’ (9), (10). Attaching to interrogative-indefinite stems, it forms indefinites and, with *mana*, negative indefinites (11–13). It is in free variation with *-pas*, and, after a vowel, with *-s* (14–16), the latter particularly common in the ACH dialect.

- (1) *Turnuchawan ñuqakunaqa trabaha: walmipis qalipis.* CH
 turnu-cha-wan ñuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-: walmi-pis qali-pis
 turn-DIM-INSTR I-PL-TOP work-1 woman-ADD man-ADD
 ‘We work in turns, the women and the men.’
- (2) *Tukuy tuta tushun qaynintintapis.* AMV
 tukuy tuta tushu-n qaynintin-ta-pis
 all night dance-3 next.day-ACC-ADD
 ‘They dance all night and the next day, too.’
- (3) *Paypis chay subrinu wañukuptinñamik payqa tumarun.* AMV
 pay-pis chay subrinu wañu-ku-pti-n-ña-mi-k pay-qa
 he-ADD DEM.D nephew die-REFL-SUBDS-3-DISC-EVD-1K he-TOP
 tuma-ru-n
 take-URGT-3
 ‘He, too, when his nephew died, took it [poison].’
- (4) *Salchipullu rantikuqtapis tumarun.* AMV
 salchipullu ranti-ku-q-ta-pis tuma-ru-n
 fried.chicken buy-REFL-AG-ACC-ADD take-URGT-3
 ‘She took [pictures] of the people selling fried chicken also.’
- (5) *Maman wañukuptinpis manam waqanchu.* AMV
 mama-n wañu-ku-pti-n-pis mana-m waqa-n-chu
 mother-3 die-REFL-SUBDS-3-ADD no-EVD cry-3-NEG
 ‘Even when his mother died, he didn’t cry.’
- (6) *“Imapaqtaq ñuqa waqashaq?” nin. “Warmiypaqpis waqarqanichu.”* AMV
 ima-paq-taq ñuqa waqa-shaq nin warmi-y-paq-pis
 what-PURP-SEQ I cry-1.FUT say-3 woman-1-BEN-ADD
 waqa-rqa-ni-chu
 cry-PST-1-NEG
 “‘Why am I going to cry?’ he said. ‘I didn’t cry for my wife, either.’”

- (7) *Paykunaqa manam qawarqapischu.* AMV
 pay-kuna-qa mana-m qawa-rqa-pis-chu
 he-PL-TOP no-EVD see-PST-ADD-NEG
 ‘Neither did they see us.’
- (8) *Pata saqaytapis atipanchu.* AMV
 pata saqa-y-ta-pis atipa-n-chu
 terrace go.up-INF-ACC-ADD be.able-3-NEG
 ‘They can’t even go up one terrace.’
- (9) *Uratam munashpapis.* AMV
 ura-ta-m muna-shpa-pis
 hour-ACC-EVD want-SUBIS-ADD
 ‘Although I want to know the time.’
- (10) *Hinaptin wasipiña rumiwan takaptinpis uyanchu.* SP
 hinaptin wasi-pi-ña rumi-wan taka-pti-n-pis
 then house-LOC-DISC stone-INSTR hit-SUBDS-3-ADD
 uya-n-chu
 be.able-3-NEG
 ‘Later, at home, even when they hit it with a rock, it couldn’t.’
- (11) *Chaynam imallatapis wasiman apamun.* AMV
 chayna-m ima-lla-ta-pis wasi-man apa-mu-n
 thus-EVD what-RSTR-ACC-ADD house-ALL bring-CISL-3
 ‘That way he brings a little something to his house.’
- (12) *Llapa tiyndaman yaykushpaqa lliw lliwshi imantapis apakun.* ACH
 llapa tiynda-man yayku-shpa-qa lliw lliw-shi ima-n-ta-pis
 all store-ALL enter-SUBIS-TOP all all-EVR what-3-ACC-ADD
 apa-ku-n
 bring-REFL-3
 ‘They entered all the stores and took everything and anything they had.’

- (13) *Alli chambyakuqpaq manam imapis faltanmanchu.* AMV
 alli chambya-ku-q-paq mana ima-pis falta-n-man-chu
 good work-REFL-AG-BEN no what-ADD be.missing-3-COND-NEG
 ‘Nothing can be lacking for a good worker.’
- (14) “*ǀDiskansakamuy wasikipa!*” *niwan kikinpas diskansuman ripun.* LT
 diskansa-ka-mu-y wasi-ki-pa ni-wa-n kiki-n-pas
 rest-REFL-CISL-IMP house-2-LOC say-1.OBJ-3 self-3-ADD
 diskansu-man ripu-n
 rest-ALL go-3
 “‘Go rest in your house,’ he said to me and he, himself, too, went to rest.’
- (15) *Hinaptinga yutu pawaptinga chay, “ǀAaaapship ship ship!” Yutupas*
ǀWwaaaayyy!” SP
 hinaptin-qa yutu pawa-pti-n-qa chay aaaapship ship ship
 then-TOP partridge fly-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D aaaapship ship ship
 yutu-pas wwaaaayyy
 partridge-ADD wwaaaayyy
 ‘Then, when the partridge jumped, he [cried],
 “Aaaap-ship-ship-ship!” The partridge, too, [cried] “Wwaaaayyy!”’
- (16) *Ñuqatas harquruwara Kashapataman riranim.* LT
 ñuqa-ta-s harqu-ru-wa-ra Kashapata-man ri-ra-ni-m
 I-ACC-ADD toss.out-URGT-1.OBJ-PST Kashapata-ALL go-PST-1-EVD
 ‘They threw me out, too, and I went to Kashapata.’

6.2.6 Precision, certainty *-puni*

Certainty. *-puni* indicates certainty or precision. It can be translated as ‘necessarily’, ‘definitely’, ‘precisely’. It is attested only in the AMV dialect, where, still, it is not widely employed.

- (1) *Paqarinpunim rishaq.* † AMV
 paqarin-puni-m ri-shaq
 tomorrow-CERT-EVD go-1.FUT
 ‘I’m going to go precisely tomorrow.’

- (2) *Manapunim. †* AMV
 mana-puni-m
 no-CERT-EVD
 ‘By no means.’
- (3) *Chay wiqawninchikmanpuni chiri yakuta truranchik.* AMV
 chay wiqaw-ni-nchik-man-puni chiri yaku-ta trura-nchik
 DEM.D waist-EUPH-1PL-ALL-CERT cold water-ACC put-1PL
 ‘We put cold water right on our lower backs.’

6.2.7 Topic-marking *-qa*

Topic marker. *-qa* indicates the topic of a clause (1–8), including in those cases where it attaches to subordinate clauses (9), (10).

- (1) *Madri sultiram kaya: ñuqallaqa.* CH
 madri sultira-m ka-ya-: ñuqa-lla-qa
 mother alone-EVD be-PROG-1 I-RSTR-TOP
 ‘I’m a single mother.’
- (2) *Ganawniykiga achkam miranqa.* LT
 ganaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqa
 cattle-EUPH-2-TOP a.lot-EVD increase-3.FUT
 ‘Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.’
- (3) *Qamqa waqakunki sumaqlлатam. Ñuqaqa quyu quyuta waqayani.* SP
 qam-qa waqa-ku-nki sumaq-lla-ta-m ñuqa-qa quyu quyuta
 you-TOP cry-REFL-2 pretty-RSTR-ACC-EVD I-TOP ugly ugly-ACC
 waqa-ya-ni
 cry-PROG-1
 ‘“You sing nicely. I’m singing awfully.”’
- (4) *Yatraqninga; mana yatraqninga manayá.* AMV
 yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana-yá
 know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP no know -AG-EUPH-TOP no-EMPH
 ‘Those of them who knew; not those of them who didn’t know.’

- (5) *Kananga mikunchik munasanchik[ta] qullqi kaptinqa.* AMV
 kanan-qa miku-nchik muna-sa-nchik[-ta] qullqi ka-pti-n-qa
 now-TOP eat-1PL want-PRF-1-ACC money be-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘Now we eat whatever we want when there’s money.’
- (6) *Llaqtaykipaga ¿tarpunkichu sibadata?* AMV
 llaqta-yki-pa-qa tarpu-nki-chu sibada-ta
 town-2-LOC-TOP plant-2-Q barley-ACC
 ‘In your town, do you plant barley?’
- (7) *Urayqa puriq kani trakillawan trakinchikpis nananankama.* AMV
 uray-qa puri-q ka-ni traki-lla-wan traki-nchik-pis
 down.hill-TOP walk-AG be-1 foot-RSTR-INSTR foot-1PL-ADD
 nana-na-n-kama
 hurt-NMLZ-3-LIM
 ‘I would walk down hill just on foot until our feet hurt.’
- (8) *Difindiwanchik malichukunapaqqa.* AMV
 difindi-wa-nchik malichu-kuna-paq-qa
 defend-1.OBJ-1PL curse-PL-ABL-TOP
 ‘It protects us against curses.’
- (9) *Lluqsila pasiyuman yaykushpaqa manaña puydilaøchu piru.* CH
 lluksi-la pasiyu-man yayku-shpa-qa mana-ña puydi-la-chu
 go.out-PST walk-ALL enter-SUBIS-TOP no-DISC be.able-PST-NEG
 piru
 but
 ‘They went out for a walk but when they went in, they couldn’t.’
- (10) *Qipiruptinqa ... chay kundurqa qipiptin huk turuta pagaykun.* SP
 qipi-ru-pti-n-qa chay kundur-qa qipi-pti-n huk
 carry-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D condor-TOP carry-SUBDS-3 one
 turu-ta paga-yku-n
 bull-ACC pay-EXCEP-3
 ‘When he carried her, after the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.’

6.2.8 Continuative *-Raq*

Continuative. *-Raq* – realized in CH as *-laq* (1) and in all other dialects as *-raq* – indicates continuity of action, state or quality. It can generally be translated ‘still’ (2–4) or, negated, ‘yet’ (5), (6). Marking rhetorical questions, it can indicate a kind of despair (7), (8). With subordinate clauses, it may indicate a prerequisite or a necessary condition for the event to take place, translating in English as ‘first’ or ‘not until’ (9). *Chay-raq* indicates an imminent future, translating in Andean Spanish ‘recién’ (11). Employed as a coordinator, it implies a contrast between the coordinated elements (see § 7.3).

- (1) *Kichwallaktam limakuya: kaytrawlaq manam kastillanukta lima:chu.* CH
 kichwa-lla-kta-m lima-ku-ya-: kay-traw-laq mana-m
 Quechua-RSTR-ACC-EVD talk-REFL-PROG-1 DEM.P-LOC-CONT no-EVD
 kastillanu-kta lima-:-chu
 Spanish-ACC talk-1-NEG
 ‘I’m just talking Quechua. Here, still, we don’t speak Spanish.’
- (2) *Qamqa flakuraqmi. Hawlapam qamtaqa wirayachisayki.* ACH
 qam-qa flaku-raq-mi hawla-pa-m qam-ta-qa
 you-TOP skinny-CONT-EVD cage-LOC-EVD you-ACC-TOP
 wira-ya-chi-sayki
 fat-INCH-CAUS-1>2.FUT
 ‘You’re still skinny. I’m going to fatten you up in a cage.’
- (3) *Taqsanaraqtri. Millwata taqsashun.* AMV
 taqsa-na-raq-tri millwa-ta taqsa-shun
 wash-NMLZ-CONT-EVC wool-ACC wash-1PL.FUT
 ‘It has to be cleaned still. We have to clean the wool.’
- (4) *Kamanpi puñukuyaptinraq tarirun.* LT
 kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-pti-n-raq tari-ru-n
 bed-3-LOC sleep-REFL-PROG-SUBDS-3-CONT find-URGT-3
 ‘He found him when he was sleeping still in his bed.’

- (5) *Runtuwanmi qaquyanmi chaypa manaraqmi shakashwan.* AMV
 runtu-wan-mi qaqu-ya-n-mi chay-pa mana-raq-mi
 egg-INSTR-EVD massage-PROG-3-EVD DEM.D-LOC no-CONT-EVD
 shakash-wan
 guinea.pig-INSTR
 ‘He’s massaging with an egg – not yet with the guinea pig.’
- (6) *Manam mayqinniypis wañuniraqchu.* AMV
 mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu
 no-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG
 ‘None of us has died yet.’
- (7) *¿Yawarnintachu? ¿Imataraq hurqura chay dimunykuna?* ACH
 yawar-ni-n-ta-chu ima-ta-raq hurqu-ra chay
 blood-EUPH-3-ACC-Q what-ACC-CONT take.out-PST DEM.D
 dimunyu-kuna
 Devil-PL
 ‘His blood? What in the world did the devil suck out of him?’
- (8) *Chay gringukunaqa altukunatash rin. ¿Imaynaraq chay runata wañuchin?* ACH
 chay gringu-kuna-qa altu-kuna-ta-sh ri-n imayna-raq chay
 DEM.D gringo-PL-TOP high-PL-ACC-EVR go-3 how-CONT DEM.D
 runa-ta wañu-chi-n
 PERSON-ACC die-CAUS-3
 ‘The gringos go to the heights, they say. How on earth could they kill those people?’
- (9) *Kisuta ruwashparaq trayamuyan.* AMV
 kisu-ta ruwa-shpa-raq traya-mu-ya-n
 cheese-ACC make-SUBIS-CONT arrive-CISL-PROG-3
 ‘Once she makes the cheese, she’s coming.’
- (10) *Chayraqmi tapayan. Qallaykuyani chayraq.* AMV
 chay-raq-mi tapa-ya-n qalla-yku-ya-ni chay-raq
 DEM.D-CONT-EVD cover-PROG-3 begin-EXCEP-PROG-1 DEM.D-CONT
 ‘He’s just now going to cap it. I’m just now going to start.’

6.2.9 Sequential *-taq*

Sequential. *-taq* indicates the sequence of events (1). Adelaar (p.c.) points out that in Ayacucho Quechua *-ña-taq* is a fixed combination. It appears that may be the case here too (2–4). In these examples *-taq* seems to continue to indicate a sequence of events. In a question introduced by an interrogative (*pi-*, *ima...*) *-taq* attaches to the interrogative in case it is the only word in the phrase or, in case the phrase includes two or more words, to the final word in the phrase (5–7). In this capacity, *-taq* may be the most transparent of the enclitics attaching to *q*-phrases. In a clause with a conditional or in a subordinate clause, *-taq* can indicate a warning (8). *-taq* also functions as a conjunction (9) (see § 7.3).

- (1) *Tardiqa yapa listu suyan; yapataqshi trayarun.* AMV
 tardi-qa yapa listu suya-n yapa-taq-shi traya-ru-n
 afternoon-TOP again ready wait-3 again-SEQ-EVR arrive-URGT-3
 ‘In the afternoon, again, ready, he waits. Then, again, [the zombie] arrived.’
- (2) *Lliwta pikarushpa, kaymanñataq quturini trurani wakmanñataq.* AMV
 lliw-ta pika-ru-shpa kay-man-ña-taq qutu-ri-ni
 all-ACC pick-URGT-SUBDS DEM.D-ALL-DISC-SEQ gather-INCEP-1
 trura-ni wak-man-ña-taq
 put-1 DEM.P-ALL-DISC-SEQ
 ‘When I have all these sorted, then I gather everything here and then store it there.’
- (3) *Qaliqa takllawanmi halun. Qipantañataq kulpakta maqanchik pikuwan.* CH
 qali-qa taklla-wan-mi halu-n qipa-n-ta-ña-taq
 man-TOP plow-INSTR-EVD turn.earth-3 behind-3-ACC-DISC-SEQ
 kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan
 clod-ACC hit-1PL pick-INSTR
 ‘Men turn over the earth with a foot plow. Behind them, then, we break up the clods with a pick.’

- (4) *Ñuqapa makiywan aytrichiyanmi. Kanan trakillañataq. Huknin makiwanñataq kananmi.* AMV
 ñuqa-pa maki-y-wan aytri-chi-ya-n-mi kanan
 I-GEN hand-1-INSTR stir-CAUS-PROG-3-EVD now
 traki-lla-ña-taq huk-ni-n maki-wan-ña-taq kanan-mi
 foot-RSTR-DISC-SEQ one-EUPH-3 hand-INSTR-DISC-SEQ now-EVD
 ‘He’s stirring it with my hand. Now, the foot. Now with the other hand.’
- (5) *¿Ishpaykuruwan! ¿Imapaqtaq ishpan?* AMV
 ishpa-yku-ru-wa-n ima-paq-taq ishpa-n
 urinate-EXCEP-URGT-1.OBJ-3 what-PURP-SEQ urinate-3
 ‘It urinated on me! Why does it urinate?’
- (6) *¿Ima rikuqtaq karka sapatillayki?* AMV
 ima rikuq-taq ka-rqa sapatilla-yki
 what color-SEQ be-PST shoe-2
 ‘What color were your shoes?’
- (7) *¿Imanashaqtaq? Diosllatañatriki.* LT
 ima-na-shaq-taq Dios-lla-ta-ña-tr-iki
 what-VRBZ-1.FUT-SEQ God-RSTR-ACC-DISC-EVC-IKI
 ‘What am I going to do? It’s for God already.’
- (8) *Kurasunniyman shakashta trurayan. Ñuqa niyani “¿Kaniruwaptinnataq!”* AMV
 kurasun-ni-y-man shakash-ta trura-ya-n ñuqa ni-ya-ni
 heart-EUPH-1-ALL guinea.pig-ACC put-PROG-3 I say-PROG-1
 kani-ru-wa-pti-n-ña-taq
 bite-URGT-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3-DISC-SEQ
 ‘He’s putting the guinea pig over my heart. I’m saying, “Be careful it doesn’t bite me!”’
- (9) *Warmiñataq puchkawan qariñataq tihiduwan.* AMV
 warmi-ña-taq puchka-wan qari-ña-taq tihidu-wan
 women-DISC-SEQ spinning-INSTR man-DISC-SEQ weaving-INSTR
 ‘Women with spinning and men with weaving.’

6.2.10 Emotive *-ya*

Emotive. *-ya* indicates regret or resignation. It can be translated ‘alas’ or ‘regretfully’ or with a sigh. Not very widely employed.

- (1) *Hinashpaqaya*, “*Wañurachishaqña wakchachaytaqa dimasllam sufriyan.*” AMV
 hinashpa-qa-ya wañu-ra-chi-shaq-ña wakcha-cha-y-ta-qa
 then-TOP-EMO die-URGT-CAUS-1.FUT-DISC lamb-DIM-1-ACC-TOP
 dimas-lla-m sufri-ya-n
 too.much-RSTR-EVD suffer-PROG-3
 ‘Then, alas, “I’m going to kill my little lamb already – he’s suffering too much,” [I said].’
- (2) *Unay runakunaqa yatrayan masta, mastaya, lliwta ... aaaa.* AMV
 unay runa-kuna-qa yatra-ya-n mas-ta mas-ta-ya
 before person-PL-TOP know-PROG-3 more-ACC more-ACC-EMO
 lliw-ta aaaa
 all-ACC ahhh
 ‘In the old days, people knew more, more, everything, ahhh.’

6.2.11 Evidence

Evidentials indicate the type of the speaker’s source of information. SYQ, like most⁷ other Quechuan languages, counts three evidential suffixes: direct *-mi* (1–3), reportative *-shi* (4–6), and conjectural *-tri* (7–9) (*i.e.* the speaker has her own evidence for P (generally visual); the speaker learned P from someone else; or the speaker infers P based on some other evidence). Following a short vowel, these are realized as *-m*, *sh*, and *-tr*, respectively (3), (6), (9). The evidential system of SYQ is unusual among Quechuan languages, however, in that it overlays the three-way distinction standard to Quechua with a second three-way distinction. The set of evidentials in SYQ thus counts nine members: *-mI*, *-m-ik*, and *-m-iki*; *-shI*, *-sh-ik*, and *-sh-iki*; and *-trI*, *-tr-ik*, and *-tr-iki*. The *-I*, *-ik*, and *-iki* forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations, generally indicating increasing degrees of evidence strength or, in the case of modalized verbs,

⁷ Note, though, that Huallaga Q counts four evidentials, (*-mi*, *-shi*, *-chi*, and *-chaq*) (Weber 1989:76). South Conchucos Q counts six, (*-mi*, *-shi*, *-chi*, *-cha*, and *-cher*); Sihuas, too, counts six (Hintz and Hintz 2014).

increasing modal force. § 6.2.11 describes this system in some detail. For further formal analysis, see Shimelman (2012).

In addition to indicating the speaker's information type, evidentials also function to indicate focus or comment and to complete copular predicates (for further discussion and examples, see § 7.11 and 7.8 on emphasis and equatives).

Evidentials are subject to the following distributional restrictions. They never attach to the topic or subject; these are, rather, marked with *-qa*. In content questions, the evidential attaches to the question word or to the last word of the questioned phrase (10) (see § 7.6 on interrogation). Evidentials do not appear in commands or injunctions (11); finally, only one evidential may occur per clause (12).

- (1) *Taytacha José irransakurqa chaypam.* AMV
 tayta-cha José irransa-ku-rqa chay-pa-m
 father-DIM José herranza-REFL-PST DEM.D-LOC-EVD
 'My grandfather José held herranzas there.'

- (2) *Trurawarqaya huk ratu. Manayá puchukachiwarqachu.*
Trurawarqam. AMV
 trura-wa-rqa-yá huk ratu mana-yá
 put-1.OBJ-PST-EMPH one moment no-EMPH
 puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-chu trura-wa-rqa-m
 finish-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-NEG put-1.OBJ-PST-EVD
 'They put me in [school] a short while. They didn't have me finish,
 but they did put me in.'

- (3) *Qayna puntraw qanin puntrawllam trayamura.* ACH
 qayna puntraw qanin puntraw-lla-m
 previous day day.before.yesterday day-RSTR-EVD
 traya-mu-ra-:
 arrive-CISL-PST-1
 'I arrived yesterday, just the day before yesterday.'

- (4) *Radyukunapa rimayta rimayan. Lluqsiyamunshi turrurista. Turrurista rikariyamunshi.* SP
 radyu-kuna-pa rima-y-ta rima-ya-n llusqi-ya-mu-n-shi
 radio-PL-LOC talk-INF-ACC talk-PROG-3 go.out-PROG-CISL-3-EVR
 turrurista turrurista rikari-ya-mu-n-shi
 terrorist terrorist appear-PROG-CISL-3-EVR

‘On the radio they talk for the sake of talking. Terrorists
are coming out, they say. Terrorists are appearing, they say.’

- (5) *Chay uchukllapa pashñataq uywakuptinñataqshi maqtaqa aparqa mikunanta.* AMV
chay uchuk-lla-pa pashña-taq uywa-ku-pti-n-ña-taq-shi
DEM.D small-RSTR-LOC girl-ACC raise-REFL-SUBDS-3-DISC-SEQ-EVR
maqta-qa apa-rqa miku-na-n-ta
young.man-TOP bring-PST eat-NMLZ-3-ACC
‘When he raised the girl in that cave, the man brought her his food,
they say.’
- (6) *Qarintash wañurachin mashantash wañurachin.* AMV
qari-n-ta-sh wañu-ra-chi-n masha-n-ta-sh
man-3-ACC-EVR die-URGT-CAUS-3 son.in.law-3-ACC-EVR
wañu-ra-chi-n
die-URGT-CAUS-3
‘She killed her husband, they say; she killed her son-in-law, they say.’
- (7) *Qinñwalman trayarachiptiki wañukunmantri.* AMV
qinñwal-man traya-ra-chi-pti-ki wañu-ku-n-man-tri
quingual.grove-ALL arrive-URGT-CAUS-SUBDS-2 die-REFL-3-COND-EVC
‘If you make her go all the way to the quingual grove, she might die.’
- (8) *Suwawantri. Durasnuy kara mansanay kara qanin puntraw.* LT
suwa-wa-n-tri durasnu-y ka-ra mansana-y ka-ra qanin
rob-1.OBJ-3-EVR peach-1 be-PST apple-1 be-PST previous
puntraw
day
‘They may have robbed me. The day before yesterday I had peaches
and apples.’
- (9) *Wasiy rahasa kayan. Saqaykurunqatr.* AMV
wasi-y raha-sa ka-ya-n saqa-yku-ru-nqa-tr
house-1 crack-PRF be-PROG-3 go.down-EXCEP-URGT-3.FUT-EVC
‘My house is cracked. It’s going to fall down.’

- (10) ¿*Maymi* chay warmi? AMV
 may-mi chay warmi
 where-EVD DEM.D woman
 ‘Where is that woman?’
- (11) ¡*Ruwaruchun* *mi/shi/tri! AMV
 ruwa-ru-chun-*mi/shi/tri
 make-URGT-INJUNC-EVD-EVR-EVC
 ‘Let him do it!’
- (12) ¡*Vakay wira wiram*, *matraypi puñushpa*, *allin pastuta mikushpam*. AMV
 vaka-y wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa allin pastu-ta
 cow-1 fat fat-EVD cave-LOC sleep-SUBIS good pasture.grass-ACC
 miku-shpa-m
 eat-REFL-EVD
 ‘My cow is really fat, sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture grass.’

All three evidentials are interpreted as assertions. The first, *-mI*, is generally left untranslated in Spanish; the second, *-shI*, is often rendered *dice* ‘they say’; the third is reflected in a change in verb tense or mode (see § 6.2.11.3). The difference between the three is a matter, first, of whether or not evidence is from personal experience, and, second, whether that evidence supports the proposition, *p*, immediately under the scope of the evidential or another set of propositions, *P*’, that are evidence for *p*, as represented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Evidential schema: “evidence from” by “evidence for”

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

So, employing *-mI(p)*, the speaker asserts predicate *p* and represents that she has personal-experience evidence for *p*; employing *-shI(p)*, the speaker asserts *p* and refers the hearer to another source for evidence for *p*; and employing *-trl(p)*,

the speaker asserts *p* and represents that *p* is a conjecture from *P'*, propositions for which she has either *-mI*-type or *-shI*-type evidence or both. That is, although *syQ* counts three evidential suffixes, it counts only two evidence types, direct and reportative; these two are jointly exhaustive. § 6.2.11.1–6.2.11.3 cover *-mI*, *-shI*, and *trI*, in turn. § 6.2.11.4 covers the evidential modifiers, *-ari* and *-ik/iki*.

6.2.11.1 Direct *-mI*

Evidential – direct. *-mI* indicates that the speaker speaks from direct experience. Unlike *-shI* and *-trI*, it is generally left untranslated. Note that in the examples below, with the exception of (3), the speaker’s knowledge is *not* the product of visual experience.

- (1) *Piñiy^{mi} pakarayan wasiypa wak ichuy^{pa} ukunpa.* AMV
 piñi-y-mi paka-ra-ya-n wasi-y-pa wak ichuy-pa
 necklace-1-EVD hide-UNINT-INTENS-3 house-1-LOC DEM.D straw-GEN
 uku-n-pa
 inside-3-LOC
 ‘My necklace is hidden in my house under the straw.’

- (2) *Chaywan^{mi} pwirtata ruwayani. Manam achkataq ruwanichu.* AMV
 chay-wan-mi pwirta-ta ruwa-ya-ni mana-m achka-taq
 DEM.D-INSTR-EVD door-ACC make-PROG-1 no-EVD a.lot-ACC
 ruwa-ni-chu
 make.1-NEG
 ‘I make doors with this. I don’t make a lot.’

- (3) *Vakaqa kaypa waqrayuq^{miki} kayan.* AMV
 vaka-qa kay-pa waqra-yuq-m-iki ka-ya-n
 COW-TOP DEM.P-LOC horn-POSS-EVD-IKI be-PROG-3
 ‘The cows here have horns.’

- (4) *Karrupis ashnakuyan^{mi}.* ACH
 karru-pis ashna-ku-ya-n-mi
 car-ADD smell-REFL-PROG-3-EVD
 ‘The buses, too, stink.’

- (5) *Qunirirachishunki. Kaliyntamanchikmi.* ACH
 quni-ri-ra-chi-shu-nki kaliynta-ma-nchik-mi
 warm-INCEP-CAUS-2.OBJ-2 warm-1.OBJ-1PL-EVD
 ‘It warms you up. It warms us up.’

6.2.11.2 Reportative -*shi*

Evidential – reportative. -*shi* indicates that the speaker’s evidence does not come from personal experience (1–4). It is used systematically in stories (5), (6).

- (1) *Awkichanka urqupaqa inkantush – karrush chinkarurqa qutrapa.* AMV
 Awkichanka urqu-pa-qa inkantu-sh karru-sh chinka-ru-rqa
 Awkichanka hill-LOC-TOP spirit-EVR car-EVR lose-URGT-PST
 qutra-pa
 lake-LOC
 ‘In the hill Okichanka, there is a spirit, they say – a car was lost in a reservoir.’
- (2) *Mashwaqa prustatapaqshi allin.* CH
 mashwa-qa prustata-paq-shi allin
 mashua-TOP prostate-BEN-EVR good
 ‘Mashua is good for the prostate, they say.’
- (3) *Chaypash runtuta mikuchishunki.* AMV
 chay-pa-sh runtuta-ta miku-chi-shu-nki
 DEM.D-LOC-EVR egg-ACC eat-CAUS-2.OBJ-2
 ‘They’ll feed you eggs there, they say.’
- (4) *Lata-wan yanushpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra.* ACH
 lata-wan yanushpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra
 can-INSTR cook-SUBIS-SEQ-EVR person-ACC-ADD eat-URGT-PST
 They [the Shining Path] even cooked people in metal pots and ate them, they say.’
- (5) *Unayshi kara huk asnu.* SP
 unay-shi ka-ra huk asnu
 before-EVR be-PST one donkey
 ‘Once upon a time, they say there was a mule.’

- (6) *Chaypaqshi kutirun maman kaqta papanin kaqta.* LT
 chay-paq-shi kuti-ru-n mama-n ka-q-ta papa-ni-n
 DEM.D-ABL-EVR return-URGT-3 mother-3 be-AG-ACC father-EUPH-3
 ka-q-ta
 be-AG-ACC
 ‘He returned from there, they say, to his mother’s place, to his
 father’s place.’

6.2.11.3 Conjectural *-trI*

Evidential – conjectural. *-trI* indicates that the speaker does not have evidence for the proposition directly under the scope of the evidential, but is, rather, conjecturing to that proposition from others for which she does have evidence (1–8).

- (1) *Awayantriki kamata.* AMV
 awa-ya-n-tr-iki kama-ta
 weave-PROG-EVR-IKI blanket-ACC
 ‘He must be weaving a blanket.’
- (2) *Wañuyqapis kayachuwantriki.* AMV
 wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuwan-tr-iki
 die-INF-ABL-ADD be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC-IKI
 ‘We could be also about to die.’
- (3) *Kukachankunata aparuptiyqa tiyaparuwanqatrik.* AMV
 kuka-cha-n-kuna-ta apa-ru-pti-y-qa
 coca-DIM-3-PL-ACC bring-URGT-SUBDS-1-TOP
 tiya-pa-ru-wa-nqa-tr-ik
 sit-BEN-URGT-1.OBJ-EVC-IK
 ‘If I bring them their coca, they’ll accompany me sitting.’
- (4) *Chaymantrik ayarikura.* ACH
 chay-man-tr-ik aya-ri-ku-ra
 DEM.D-ALL-EVC-IK cadaver-INCEP-REFL-PST
 ‘She must have become a cadaver.’

- (5) *Upyachinmantri*. CH
 upya-chi-ma-n-tri
 drink-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-EVC
 ‘She might make me drink.’
- (6) *Yakuñatr rikuyan pampantaqa*. ACH
 yaku-ña-tr ri-ku-ya-n pampa-n-ta-qa
 water-DISC-EVC go-REFL-PROG-3 ground-3-ACC-TOP
 ‘Water should already be running along the ground.’
- (7) *Allintaqa. Kapastriki palabrata kichwapa apakunqa kananpis*. SP
 allin-ta-qa kapas-tr-iki palabra-ta kichwa-pa
 good-ACC-TOP possible-EVC-IKI word-ACC Quechua-GEN
 apa-ku-nqa kanan-pis
 BRING-REFL-3.FUT now-ADD
 ‘Good. Maybe they’ll bring Quechua now, too.’
- (8) *Ayvis kumpañaw hamuyan – wañuypaqpis kayachuwantriki*. AMV
 ayvis kumpañaw hamu-ya-n wañu-y-paq-pis
 sometimes accompanied come-PROG-3 die-1-PURP-ADD
 ka-ya-chuwan-tr-iki
 be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC-IKI
 ‘Sometimes someone comes accompanied – we might be also about to die.’

6.2.11.4 Evidential modification

syQ counts four evidential modifiers, *-ari* and the set \emptyset , *-ik* and *-iki*. § 6.2.11.4.1 and 6.2.11.4.2 cover *-ari* and \emptyset /*-ik/iki*, respectively. The latter largely repeats Shmelman (2012).

6.2.11.4.1 Assertive force *-aRi* Assertive force.⁸ *-aRi* – realized *-ali* in CH (1) and *-ari* in all other dialects – indicates conviction on the part of the speaker.

⁸ The Quechuas of (at least) Ancash-Huailas Parker (1976: 151), Cajamarca-Canaris Quesada Castillo (1976: 158) and Junin-Huanca Cerrón-Palomino (1976a: 238–9) have suffixes *-rI*, *-rI* and *-ari*, respectively, which, like the syQ *-k* succeed evidentials and are most often translated ‘*pues*’ ‘then’. It seems unlikely that the AHQ, CCQ and JHQ forms correspond to the *-k* or *-ki* of syQ. First, unlike *-ik* or *-iki*, *-rI* and *-ari* may appear independent of any evidential and they

It can often be translated as ‘surely’ or ‘certainly’ or ‘of course’. *-aRi* generally occurs only in combination with *-mI* (2), (3), *-shI* (4), (5) and *-Yâ* (6–10). It is far less often employed than *-ik* and *-iki*. It is, however, prevalent in the LT dialect, which supplied the single instance of *tr-ari* in the corpus (11).

- (1) *Wayrakuyanmari*. AMV
wayra-ku-ya-n-m-ari
wind-REFL-PROG-3-EVD-ARI
‘It’s windy.’
- (2) *Manamari llapa ruwayaqhina kayani*. AMV
mana-m-ari llapa ruwa-ya-q-hina ka-ya-ni
no-EVD-ARI all make-PROG-AG-COMP be-PROG-1
‘No, of course, it seems like I’m making it all up.’
- (3) *Ñuqa[ta]s firmachiwanmari. Piru manashari chay wawi warmiytapis firmachinraqchu*. LT
ñuqa[-ta]-s firma-chi-wa-n-m-ari piru mana-sh-ari chay
I-ACC-ADD sign-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-EVD-ARI but no-EVR-ARI DEM.D
wawi warmi-y-ta-pis firma-chi-n-raq-chu
baby woman-1-ACC-ADD sign-CAUS-3-CONT-NEG
‘They made me sign, too. But they didn’t make my daughter sign yet, they say.’
- (4) *Viñacpaqshali*. CH
Viñac-paq-sh-ali
Viñac-ABL-EVR-ARI
‘From Viñac, she says, then.’
- (5) *Ripunshari umaqa kunkanman*. AMV
ripu-n-sh-ari uma-qa kunka-n-man
go-3-EVR-ARI head-TOP neck-3-ALL
‘The head went [flying back] towards his neck, they say.’

may function as general emphatics. Second, *syQ*, too, has a suffix *-ari* which, like *-rI* and *-ari*, functions as a general emphatic, also translating as ‘*pues*’. Third, the *syQ -ari* is in complementary distribution with *-k* and *-ki*. Finally, unlike the *AHQ*, *CCQ* and *JHQ* forms, the *syQ -ari* cannot appear independently of the evidentials *-mI* or *-shI* or else of *-y*, and, further, always forms an independent word with these.

- (6) *¡Kurriy! Qillakuyankitrari.* LT
 kurri-y qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari
 run-IMP lazy-REFL-PROG-2-EVC-ARI
 ‘Run! ... You must be being lazy.’
- (7) *Kidakushun kaypayari.* ACH
 kida-ku-shun kay-pa-y-ari
 stay-REFL-1PL.FUT DEM.P-LOC-EMPH-ARI
 ‘We’re going to stay here.’
- (8) *Yatraqninga mana yatraqninga manayari.* AMV
 yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana-y-ari
 know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP no know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP no-EMPH-ARI
 ‘The ones who knew how. The ones who didn’t know how,
no, of course.’
- (9) *Chay wayra itana piru rimidyum Hilda. ¡Piru wachikunyar!* AMV
 chay wayra itana piru rimidyu-m Hilda piru
 DEM.D wind thorn but remedy-EVD Hilda but
 wachi-ku-n-y-ari
 sting-REFL-3-EMPH-ARI
 ‘The wind thorns are medicinal, Hilda. But do they ever sting!’

6.2.11.4.2 Evidence strength *-ik* and *-iki* syQ is unusual⁹ in that each of its three evidentials counts three variants, formed by the suffixation of *-ø*, *-ik* or *-iki*. The resulting nine forms are direct *-mI-ø*, *-m-ik* and *-m-iki* (1–3); reportative *-shI-ø*, *-sh-ik* and *-sh-iki* (4–6); and conjectural *-trI-ø*, *-tr-ik* and *-tr-iki* (7–9).¹⁰ Evidentials obligatorily take evidential modifier (hereafter “EM”) arguments; EMs are enclitics and attach exclusively to evidentials. So, for example, **mishi-m* [cat-EVD] and **mishi-ki* (cat-IKI) are both ungrammatical. The corresponding grammatical forms would be *mishi-m-ø* [cat-EVD-ø] and **mishi-mi-ki* (cat-EVD-IKI), respectively. With all three sets of evidentials, the *-ik* form is associated with some variety of increase over the *-ø* form; the *-iki* form, with greater increase still. With all three evidentials, *-ik* and *-iki* – except in those cases in which they

⁹ Ayacucho Q also makes use of *-ki*.

¹⁰ In Lincha, *-iki* may modify both *-mI* and *-shI* but not *-trI*; in Tana, *-iki* may modify all three evidentials.

take scope over universal-deontic-modal or future-tense verbs – indicate an increase in strength of evidence. With the direct *-mI*, *-ik* and *-iki* generally also affect the interpretation of strength of assertion; with the conjectural *-trI*, the interpretation of certainty of conjecture. In the case of universal-deontic modal and future-tense verbs, with both *-mI* and *trI*, *-ik* and *-iki* indicate increasingly strong obligation and increasingly imminent/certain futures, respectively.

- (1) *Manam trayamunchu manamik rikarinchu.* ACH
mana-m traya-mu-n-chu mana-m-ik rikari-n-chu
no-EVD arrive-CISL-3-NEG no-EVD-IK appear-3-NEG
‘He hasn’t arrived. He hasn’t showed up.’

- (2) *Limatam rishaq. Limaqa buskaq kanmiki. Sutintapis rimayanmiki. ¿Ichu manachu?* LT
Lima-ta-m ri-shaq Lima-pa-qa buska-q ka-n-m-iki
Lima-ACC-EVD go-1.FUT Lima-LOC-TOP look.for-AG be-3-EVD-IKI
suti-n-ta-pis rima-ya-n-m-iki ichu mana-chu
name-3-ACC-ADD talk-PROG-3-EVD-IKI or no-Q
‘I’m going to go to Lima. In Lima, there are people who read cards, then. They’re saying his name, then, yes or no?’

- (3) *Wañuchinakun imamiki chaytaqa muna:chu.* SP
wañu-chi-naku-n ima-m-iki chay-ta-qa muna:-chu
die-CAUS-RECIP-3 what-EVD-IKI DEM.D-ACC-TOP want-1-NEG
‘They kill each other and what-not, then. I don’t want that.’

- (4) *Chayshik chay susyukuna ruwapakurqa chay nichuchanta wañushpa chayman pampakunanpaq.* AMV
chay-sh-ik chay susyu-kuna ruwa-paku-rqa chay
DEM.D-EVR-IK DEM.D associates-PL make-JTACC-PST DEM.D
nichu-cha-n-ta wañu-shpa chay-man pampa-ku-na-n-paq
crypt-DIM-3-ACC die-SUBIS DEM.D-ALL bury-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP
‘That’s why, they say, before, the members made each other the small crypts, to bury them when they died.’

- (5) *Llutanshiki. Llutan runashik kan.* LT
llutan-sh-iki llutan runa-sh-ik ka-n
ugly-EVR-IKI ugly person-EVR-IK be-3
‘They’re messed up, they say. There are messed up people, they say.’

- (6) “*Mátalo!*” *nishashiki*. CH
 máta-lo ni-sha-sh-iki
 [Spanish] say-NPST-EVR-IKI
 “‘Kill him!’ she’s said, they say.’
- (7) *¿Imapaqraq chayta ruwara paytaqa? Yanqañatrik chayta wañuchira*. ACH
 ima-paq-raq chay-ta ruwa-ra pay-ta-qa yanqa-ña-tr-ik
 what-PURP-CONT DEM.D-ACC make-PST he-ACC-TOP lie-DISC-EVC-IK
 chay-ta wañu-chi-ra
 DEM.D-ACC die-CAUS-PST
 ‘What did they do that to him for? They must have killed him
just for the sake of it.’
- (8) *Ablanshiki*. “*Tragu, vino*”, *nishpatriki ablayamun*. SP
 abla-n-sh-iki tragu vino ni-shpa-tr-iki abla-ya-mu-n
 talk-3-EVR-IKI drink wine say-SUBIS-EVC-IKI talk-PROG-CISL-3
 ‘They talk, they say, for sure. “Pay me liquor, wine,”
they must be saying, talking.’
- (9) *Alkansachin warkawantri. Kabrapis kasusam, piru. Riqsiyantriki runantaqa*. AMV
 alkansa-chi-n warka-wan-tri kabra-pis kasu-sa-m piru
 reach-CAUS-3 sling-INSTR-EVC goat-ADD attention-PRF-EVD but
 riqsi-ya-n-tr-iki runa-n-ta-qa
 know-PROG-3-EVC-IKI person-3-ACC-TOP
 ‘She must make [the stones] reach with the sling, for sure. The goats
 obey her. They must know their master, for sure.’

6.2.11.5 Evidentials in questions

In questions, the evidentials generally indicate that the speaker expects a response with the same evidential (*i.e.*, an answer based on direct evidence, reportative evidence or conjecture, in the cases of *-mI*, *-shI*, and *-trI*, respectively) (1–3). The use of *-trI* in a question may, additionally, indicate that the speaker doesn’t actually expect any response at all (4). And the use of *-shI* may indicate not that the speaker is expecting an answer based on reported evidence, but that the speaker is reporting the question (5).

- (1) ¿*Amador Garaychu?* ¿*Imam* *sutin kara?* ACH
 Amador Garay-chu ima-m suti-n ka-ra
 Amador Garay-Q what-EVD name-3 be-PST
 ‘Amador Garay? What was his name?’
- (2) ¿*Maypish* *wasinta lulayan?* CH
 may-pi-sh wasi-n-ta lula-ya-n
 where-LOC-EVR house-3-ACC make-PROG-3
 ‘Where did she say she’s making her house?’
- (3) ¿*Kutiramunmanchutr?* ¿*Imatrik pasan?* ACH
 kuti-ra-mu-n-man-chu-tr ima-tr-ik pasan
 return-URGT-CISL-Q-EVC what-EVC-1K pass-3
 ‘Could he come back? What would have happened?’
- (4) ¿*Kawsanchutr manachutr?* *No se sabe.* ACH
 kawsa-n-chu-tr mana-chu-tr? No se sabe.
 live-3-Q-EVC no-Q-EVC [Spanish]
 ‘Would he be alive or dead? We don’t know.’

7 Syntax

This chapter covers the syntax of Southern Yauyos Quechua. The chapter counts fourteen sections covering constituent order, sentences, coordination, comparison, negation, interrogation, reflexives and reciprocals, equatives, possession, topic, emphasis, complementization, relativization and subordination, in that order.

7.1 Constituent order

The unmarked constituent order in SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, is SOV (*Mila-qa vikuña-n-kuna-ta riku-ra* ‘Melanie saw her vicuñas’). That said, as constituents are obligatorily marked for case, they may appear in any order without necessarily varying the sense of the utterance (*Mila-qa riku-ra vikuña-n-kuna-ta* ‘Melanie saw her vicuñas’). Change in constituent order does not necessarily change the interpretation of topic or focus, as these are generally signaled by the suffixation, in the case of the former, of the topic marker *-qa* and, the case of the latter, of the evidentials *-mI*, *-shI*, and *-trI* (*Carmen-qa llama-n-kuna-ta-sh wañu-chi-nqa* ‘Carmen will butcher her llamas, they say’ *Carmen-qa llama-n-kuna-ta wañu-chi-nqa-sh* ‘Carmen will butcher her llamas, they say’). In the first case, the focus is on the direct object: she will butcher her llamas and not, say, her goats; in the second case, focus is on the verb: she will butcher her llamas and not, say, pet them. That said, verb and object cannot commute in subordinate clauses: there, only the order OV is grammatical (*fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta* ‘the fruit I bring’ **apa-sa-y-ta fruta-cha-y-kuna-ta*).

Modifiers generally precede the elements they modify: adjectives precede the nouns they modify (*yuraq wayta* ‘white flower’), possessors precede the thing possessed (*pay-pa pupu-n* ‘her navel’), and relative clauses precede their heads (*trabaha-sa-yki wasi-pa* ‘in the house where you worked’). In case an NP includes multiple modifiers, these appear in the order:

DEM-QUANT-NUM-NEG-PREADJ-ADJ-ATR-NUCLEUS

7.2 Sentences

With the exceptions of (a) abbreviated questions and responses to questions (*May-pi?* ‘Where?’ *Chay-pi-(m)* ‘There’), and (b) exclamations (*¡Atatayáw!* ‘How disgusting!’) no *syQ* sentence is grammatical without a verb (**Sasa.* ‘Hard’). As it is unnecessary in *syQ* to specify either the subject or the object, a verb alone inflected for person is sufficient for grammaticality (*Apa-n* ‘[She] brings [it]’). First- and second-person objects are indicated in verbal inflection: *-wa/-ma* indicates a first-person object, and *-yki*, *-sHQayki* and *-shunki*, indicate second-person objects (*suya-wa-nki* ‘you wait for me’ *suya-shunki* ‘She’ll wait for you’) (see § 4.3.2.2 on actor-object reference).

7.3 Coordination

The enclitics *-pis*, *-taq*, and *-raq* can all be used to coordinate NPs (1–2), AdvPs and VPs (3); the case suffix *-wan* can be used with the first two of these three (4). *-pis*, *-taq*, and *-raq* generally imply relations of inclusion, contrast, or contradiction, respectively. Thus, *-pis* (inclusion) can generally be translated ‘and’ or ‘also’ (1), (2). *-taq* and *-raq* (contrast and contradiction) can both be translated ‘but’, ‘while’, ‘whereas’ and so on (5). *-wan* is unmarked and can generally translated ‘and’ (4). Additional strategies employed for coordination in *syQ* include (a) the employment of the indigenous coordinating particle *icha* ‘or’ (6) or any of the borrowed Spanish coordinators *i* ‘and’ (7), *u* ‘or’ (8), *piru* ‘but’ (9), or *ni* ‘nor’ (10) (from Spanish *y*, *o*, *pero*, and *ni*) and (b) juxtaposition. Juxtaposition consists in the placement of the coordinated elements in sequence (11), (12). When *-kuna* signals inclusion, it can be used to coordinate NP’s (13) (see § 3.4.2.1). The Spanish coordinators are widely employed. Coordinators indigenous to *syQ* generally attach to both coordinated elements (14). The coordinators are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

- (1) *Walmipis qalipis.* CH
 walmi-pis qali-pis
 woman-ADD man-ADD
 ‘Women and men.’¹

¹ An anonymous reviewer suggests that a better gloss here would be ‘not only women, but men, too.’ This gloss would be consistent with an analysis of *-pis* as generally indicating contrast. In this case, I am directly translating the Spanish gloss suggested to me by my consultant.

- (2) *Uyqapaqpis kanmi alpakaqpis kanmi llamaqpis kanmi.* ACH
 uyqa-paq-pis ka-n-mi alpaka-paq-pis ka-n-mi llama-paq-pis
 sheep-ABL-ADD be-3-EVD alpaca-ABL-ADD be-3-EVD llama-ABL-ADD
 ka-n-mi
 be-3-EVD
 ‘There are out of sheep [wool] and there are out of alpaca [wool] and
 there are out of llama [wool].’
- (3) *Ishpanipischu puquchinipischu.* AMV
 ishpa-ni-pis-chu puqu-chi-ni-pis-chu
 urinate-1-ADD-NEG ferment-CAUS-1-ADD-NEG
 ‘I neither urinate nor ferment [urine].’
- (4) *Milawan Aliciawan Hilda trayaramun.* † AMV
 Mila-wan Alicia-wan Hilda traya-ra-mu-n
 Mila-INSTR Alicia-INSTR Hilda-INSTR arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘Hilda arrived with Mila and Alicia.’
- (5) *Wawanchikta idukanchik qillakunaqa manataqmi.* ACH
 wawa-nchik-ta iduka-nchik qilla-kuna-qa mana-taq-mi
 baby-1PL-ACC educate-1PL lazy-PL-TOP no-SEQ-EVD
 ‘We’re educating our children; whereas the lazy ones aren’t.’
- (6) *Mikuramanmantri kara icha aparamanmantri.* ACH
 miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-ra icha
 eat-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC be-PST or
 apa-ra-ma-n-man-tri
 bring-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC
 ‘It would have eaten me or it would have taken me away.’
- (7) *Tushunchik i imahintam kriyinchik ñuqakunaqa piru chay
 ivanhilyukuna sabadistakunaqa mana kriyinchu.* CH
 tushu-nchik i imahin-ta-m kriyi-nchik ñuqa-kuna-qa piru
 dance-1PL and image-ACC-EVD believe-1PL 1-PL-TOP but
 chay ivanhilyu-kuna sabadista-kuna-qa mana
 DEM.D Evangelical-PL Seventh.Day.Adventist-PL-TOP no
 kriyi-n-chu
 believe-3-NEG

‘We dance and believe in the saints but those Evangelists and Seventh Day Adventists don’t believe.’

- (8) *Kaytaq ishkey puntraw u huk puntrawllam ruwa:* ACH
 kay-taq ishkey puntraw u huk puntraw-lla-m ruwa-:
 DEM.P-SEQ two day or one day-RSTR-EVD make-1
 ‘I make this one in two days or just one day.’
- (9) “*Ñañaypis, turiypis karqam piru wañukunña,*” *nishpa, ¡rimay!* AMV
 ñaña-y-pis, turi-y-pis ka-rqa-m piru wañu-ku-n-ña
 sister-1-ADD brother-1-ADD be-PST-EVD but die-REFL-3-DISC
 ni-shpa rima-y
 say-SUBIS talk-IMP
 ‘Say, “I had a sister and a brother, but they died.” Talk!’
- (10) *Ni alpaka ni llama. Kanan manam trayamunchu.* ACH
 ni alpaka ni llama kanan mana-m traya-mu-n-chu
 nor alpaca nor llama now no-EVD arrive-CISL-3-NEG
 ‘Neither alpacas nor llamas. They don’t come here now.’
- (11) *Sibadakunata kargashpa, triguta rantishpa, sarata rantishpam purira.* ACH
 sibada-kuna-ta karga-shpa trigu-ta ranti-shpa sara-ta
 barley-PL-ACC carry-SUBIS wheat-ACC buy-SUBIS corn-ACC
 ranti-shpa-m puri-ra
 buy-SUBIS-EVD walk-PST
 ‘They walked about, carrying barley and selling wheat and selling corn.’
- (12) *Walmiqa talpunchik, allichanchikmi.* CH
 walmi-qa talpu-nchik alli-cha-nchik-mi
 woman-TOP plant-1PL good-FACT-1PL-EVD
 ‘We women plant and fix up [the soil].’
- (13) *Chayman risa Marleni, Ayde, Vilma, Normakuna.* AMV
 chay-man ri-sa Marleni Ayde Vilma Norma-kuna
 DEM.D-ALL go-NPST Marleni Ayde Vilma Norma-PL
 ‘Marleni went there with Ayde, Vilma and Norma.’

- (14) *Ullqushpis kayan, ¿aw? Chuqlluqupapis yuraqpis pukapis.* AMV
 ullqush-pis ka-ya-n aw chuqlluqupa-pis
 ullqush.flowers-ADD be-PROG-3 yes chuqlluqupa.flowers-ADD
 yuraq-pis puka-pis
 white-ADD red-ADD
 ‘There are *ullqush* flowers, too, no? *Chuqlluqupa* flowers, too – white
 and red.’

7.4 Comparison

Comparisons of inequality are formed in SYQ with the borrowed particle *mas* (‘more’) in construction with the indigenous ablative case suffix, *-paq*; *paq* attaches to the base of comparison (1), (2). *mas* and *minus* ‘less’, also borrowed from Spanish, may function as pronouns (3) and adjectives (3), and, when inflected with accusative *-ta*, as adverbs (5), as well. Also borrowed from Spanish are the irregular *mihur* ‘better’ (6) and *piyur* ‘worse’ (7), (8). Comparisons of equality are formed with the borrowed particle *igwal* ‘equal’, ‘same’ in construction with the indigenous instrumental/comitative case suffix, *-wan*, which attaches to the base of comparison (9).

- (1) *Huancayopaqa wak mashwaqa papapaqpis masmi kwistan.* AMV
 Huancayo-pa-qa wak mashwa-qa papa-paq-pis mas-mi
 Huancayo-LOC-TOP DEM.D mashua-TOP potato-ABL-ADD more-EVD
 kwista-n
 cost-3
 ‘In Huancayo, mashua costs more than potatoes.’
- (2) *Qayna puntrawpaq masmi.* AMV
 qayna puntraw-paq mas-mi
 previous day-ABL more-EVD
 ‘It’s more than yesterday.’
- (3) *Granadakunaktapis, armamintukunaktapis lantiyan masta.* CH
 granada-kuna-cta-pis armamintu-kuna-cta-pis lanti-ya-n
 grenade-PL-ACC-ADD armaments-PL-ACC-ADD buy-PROG-3
 mas-ta
 more-ACC

‘Grenades and weapons and all, too – they’re buying more.’

- (4) *Qayna wata pukum karqa. Chaymi minus pastupis karqa.* AMV
 qayna wata puku-m ka-rqa chay-mi minus
 previous year little-EVD be-PST DEM.D-EVD less
 pastu-pis ka-rqa
 pasture.grass-ADD be-PST
 ‘Last year there was little [rain]. So there was less pasture grass.’
- (5) *Mastaqa mashtakuyanmi.* LT
 mas-ta-qa mashta-ku-ya-n-mi
 more-ACC-TOP spread-REFL-PROG-3-EVD
 ‘It’s spreading out more.’
- (6) *Pularpaqpis mas mihurtam chayqa ayllukun.* ACH
 pular-paq-pis mas mihur-ta-m chay-qa ayllu-ku-n
 fleece-ABL-ADD more better-ACC-EVD DEM.D-TOP wrap-REFL-3
 ‘It’s much better than fleece – this wraps [you] up.’
- (7) *Unayqa manayá iskwilaqa kasa. Unayqa analfabitullaya kayaq.*
Warmiqa piyur. AMV
 unay-qa mana-yá iskwila-qa ka-sa unay-qa
 before-TOP no-EMPH school-TOP be-NPST before-TOP
 analfabitu-lla-ya ka-ya-q warmi-qa piyur
 illiterate-RSTR-EMO be-PROG-AG woman-TOP worse
 ‘Ah, before, they didn’t have schools. Before, they were just illiterate.
 Worse [for the] women.’
- (8) *Sapa putraw piyur piyurñam kayani. Mastaña qayna puntraw mana*
puriyta wakchawta qatiyta atipanichu. AMV
 sapa putraw piyur piyur-ña-m ka-ya-ni mas-ta-ña
 every day worse worse-DISC-EVD be-PROG-1 more-ACC-DISC
 qayna puntraw mana puri-y-ta wakchaw-ta qati-y-ta
 previous day no walk-INF-ACC sheep-ACC follow-INF-ACC
 atipa-ni-chu
 be.able-1-NEG
 ‘Every day it’s worse, I’m worse. More yesterday. I couldn’t walk or
 take out my sheep.’

- (9) *Runawan igwaltriki vakaqa: nuybi mis.* AMV
 runa-wan igwal-tr-iki vaka-qa: nuybi mis
 person-INSTR equal-EVC-IKI cow-TOP nine month
 ‘Cows are the same as people: [they gestate for] nine months.’

7.5 Negation

This section partially repeats § 6.2.2 on *-chu*; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. In SYQ, negation is indicated by the enclitic *-chu* in combination with any of the particles *mana*, *ama*, or *ni* or with the enclitic suffix *-pis*. *-chu* attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of negation. In negative sentences, *-chu* generally co-occurs with *mana* ‘not’ (1), (2); *-chu* is also licensed by additive *-pis* (3), (4) as well as by *ni* ‘nor’ (5), (6). *-chu* co-occurs with *ama* in prohibitions (7), imperatives (8), (9), and injunctions (10). *-chu* does not appear in subordinate clauses, where negation is indicated with a negative particle alone (11–12).

- (1) *Chaytri mana suyawarqachu.* AMV
 chay-tri mana suya-wa-rqa-chu
 DEM.D-EVC no wait-1.OBJ-PST-NEG
 ‘That’s why she wouldn’t have waited for me.’
- (2) *Aa, manaya kanchu. Manaya bulayuq kanchu.* LT
 aa mana-ya ka-n-chu mana-ya bula-yuq ka-n-chu
 ah no-EMO be-3-NEG no-EMO ball-POSS be-3-NEG
 ‘Ah, there aren’t any. No one has any balls.’
- (3) *Kaspinpis kanchu.* AMV
 kaspi-n-pis ka-n-chu
 stick-3-ADD be-3-NEG
 ‘She doesn’t have a stick.’
- (4) *Manchakushpa tutaş puñu:chu.* ACH
 mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu:-chu
 scare-REFL-SUBIS night-ADD sleep-1-NEG
 ‘Being scared, I didn’t sleep at night.’

- (5) *Apuraw wañururqariki. Ni apanñachu.* AMV
 apuraw wañu-ru-rqa-r-iki ni apa-n-ña-chu
 quick die-URGT-PST-R-IKI nor bring-3-DISC-NEG
 ‘He died quickly. They didn’t even bring him [to the hospital].’
- (6) *Manam waytachu ni pishquchu.* AMV
 manam wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu
 no-EVD flower-NEG nor bird-NEG
 ‘Neither a flower nor a bird.’
- (7) *¡Ama manchariychu! ¡Ama qawaychu!* AMV
 ama mancha-ri-y-chu ama qawa-y-chu
 PROH scare-INCEP-IMP-NEG AMA look-IMP-CHU
 ‘Don’t be scared! Don’t look!’
- (8) *¡Ama kutimunkichu! Qamqa isturbum kayanki.* AMV
 ama kuti-mu-nki-chu qam-qa isturba-m ka-ya-nki
 PROH return-CISL-2-NEG you-TOP nuisance-EVD be-PROG-2
 ‘Don’t you come back! You’re a hinderance.’
- (9) *¡Amam nunka katraykanakushunchu!* LT
 ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun-chu
 PROH-EVD never release-EXCEP-RECIP-1PL.FUT-NEG
 ‘Let’s never leave each other!’
- (10) *¡Ama wañuchunchu!*† AMV
 ama wañu-chun-chu
 PROH die-INJUNC-NEG
 ‘Don’t let her die!’
- (11) *Mana qali kaptinqa ñuqanchikpis taqllakta hapi-shpa qaluwanchik.* CH
 mana qali ka-pti-n-qa ñuqanchik-pis taqlla-kta hapi-shpa
 no man be-SUBDS-3-TOP we-ADD plow-ACC grab-SUBIS
 qaluwa-nchik
 turn.earth-1PL
 ‘When there are no men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.’

- (12) *Mana qatrachakunanpaq mandilchanta watachakun.* AMV
 mana qatra-cha-ku-na-n-paq mandil-cha-n-ta wata-cha-ku-n
 no dirty-FACT-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP apron-DIM-3-ACC tie-DIM-REFL-3
 ‘She’s tying on her apron so she doesn’t get dirty.’

7.6 Interrogation

This section partially repeats § 3.2.3 and § 6.2.2 on interrogative indefinites and *-chu*; consult those sections for further discussion and glossed examples.

Absolute (1) and disjunctive (2), (3) questions are formed with the enclitic *-chu*. Where it functions to indicate interrogation, *-chu* attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of the interrogation (4). In disjunctive questions, it generally attaches to each of the disjuncts (5). Questions that anticipate a negative answer are indicated by *manachu* (6). *Manachu* may also “soften” questions (7). *Manachu*, like *aw* ‘yes’, may also be used in the formation of tag questions (8). Interrogative *-chu* does not appear in questions using interrogative pronouns (9), (10).

- (1) *¿Chuqamunkimanchu?* AMV
 chuqa-mu-nki-man-chu
 throw-CISL-2-COND-Q
 ‘Can you throw?’
- (2) *¿Maytaq chayqa? ¿Apuríchu Viñacchu?* CH
 may-taq chay-qa Apurí-chu Viñac-chu
 where-SEQ DEM.D-TOP Apurí-Q Viñac-Q
 ‘Where is that? Apurí or Viñac?’
- (3) *¿Maniyayan icha katrariyanchu?* AMV
 maniya-ya-n icha katra-ri-ya-n-chu
 tie.limbs-PROG-3 or release-INCEP-PROG-3-NEG
 ‘Is she tying its feet or is she setting it loose?’
- (4) *¿Chaypachu tumarqanki?* AMV
 chay-pa-chu tuma-rqa-nki
 DEM.D-LOC-Q take-PST-2

- ‘Did you take [pictures] there?’
- (5) ¿*Kanastapichu baldipichu?* AMV
 kanasta-pi-chu baldi-pi-chu
 basket-LOC-Q bucket-LOC-Q
 ‘In the basket or in the bucket?’
- (6) ¿*Manachu friqulniki?* ¿*Puchukarunchu?* AMV
 mana-chu friqul-ni-ki puchuka-ru-n-chu
 no-Q bean-EUPH-2 finish-URGT-3-Q
 ‘Don’t you have any beans? They’re finished?’
- (7) ¿*Manachu chay wankuchata qawanki?* AMV
 mana-chu chay wanku-cha-ta qawa-nki
 no-Q DEM.D mold-DIM-ACC see-2
 ‘You haven’t seen the little [cheese] mold?’
- (8) *Wak chimpapaqa yuraqyayan*, ¿*manachu?* ACH
 wak chimpa-pa-qa yuraq-ya-ya-n mana-chu
 DEM.D front-LOC-TOP white-INCH-PROG-3 no-Q
 ‘There in front they’re turning white, aren’t they?’
- (9) *¿*Pi haqtrirqachu?* AMV
 pi haqtri-rqa-chu
 who sneeze-PST-Q
 ‘Who sneezed?’
- (10) *¿*Pitaq qurquryarachu?* *¿*Pitaqchu qurquryara?* AMV
 pi-taq qurqurya-ra-chu pi-taq-chu qurqurya-ra
 who-SEQ snore-PST-Q who-SEQ-Q snore-PST
 ‘Who snored?’

Constituent questions are formed with the interrogative-indefinite stems *pi* ‘who’, *ima* ‘what’, *imay* ‘when’, *may* ‘where’, *imayna* ‘how’, *mayqin* ‘which’, *imapaq* ‘why’, and *ayka* ‘how much/many’ (see Table 3.2). Interrogative pronouns are formed by suffixing the stem – generally but not obligatorily – with one of the enclitics *-taq*, *-raq*, *-mI*, *-shI* or *-trI* (1–3). Interrogative pronouns

are suffixed with the case markers corresponding to the questioned element (4), (5). The enclitic generally attaches to the final word in the interrogative phrase: where the interrogative pronoun completes the phrase, directly to the interrogative; where the phrase includes an NP, the enclitic attaches to the NP (*pi-paq-taq* ‘for whom’ *ima qullqi-tr* ‘what money’) (6). Enclitics are not employed in the interior of a subordinate clause but may attach to the final word in the clause (*¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta-taq qawa-rqa-nki?* ‘Who did you see trample the cat?’).

- (11) *¿Imay uraraq chay kunihuqa kutimunqa yanapamananpaq?* SP
 imay ura-raq chay kunihu-qa kuti-mu-nqa
 when hour-CONT DEM.D rabbit-TOP return-CISL-3.FUT
 yanapa-ma-na-n-paq
 help-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP
 ‘What time is that rabbit going to come back so he can help me?’
- (12) *¿Imatr kakun?* LT
 ima-tr ka-ku-n
 what-EVC be-REFL-3
 ‘What could it be?’
- (13) *Tapun, “¿Imapaq waqakunki, paluma?”* ACH
 tapu-n ima-paq waqa-ku-nki paluma
 ask-3 what-PURP cry-REFL-2 dove
 ‘He asked, “Why are you crying, dove?”’
- (14) *¿Inti pasaruptin imay urata munayan?* AMV
 inti pasa-ru-pti-n imay ura-ta muna-ya-n
 sun pass-URGT-SUBDS-3 when hour-ACC want-PROG-3
 ‘What time will it be when the sun sets?’
- (15) *¿Traklamanchu liyan? ¿Piwanyá?* CH
 trakla-man-chu li-ya-n pi-wan-yá
 field-ALL-Q go-PROG-3 who-INSTR-EMPH
 ‘Is he going to the field? With whom?’

- (16) *Chaypaqa wiñaraptinga, ¿ayka puntrawnintataq riganchik?* AMV
 chay-pa-qa wiña-ra-pte-n-qa ayka
 DEM.D-LOC-TOP grow-UNINT-SUBDS-3-TOP how.many
 puntraw-ni-n-ta-taq riga-nchik
 day-EUPH-3-ACC-SEQ irrigate-1PL
 ‘When it grows, at how many days do you water it?’

7.7 Reflexives and reciprocals

This section partially repeats § 4.4.2.3.5 and § 4.4.2.3.8 on *-ku*, and *-na*; consult those sections for further discussion and examples. *syQ* employs the verb-verb derivational suffixes *-kU* and *-nakU* to indicate reflexive and reciprocal action, respectively.

-kU may indicate that the subject acts on him/herself or that the subject of the verb is the object of the event referred to; that is, *-kU* derives verbs with the meanings ‘V one’s self’ (1), (2), and ‘be Ved’ (3), (4). Note that *-kU* is not restricted to forming reflexives and may also indicate pseudo-reflexives, middles, medio-passives and passives.

-na indicates that two or more actors act reflexively on each other; that is, *-na* derives verbs with the meaning ‘V each other’ (5), (6). *-na* is dependent, never appearing independent of *-kU*. *-chinakU* derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause each other to V’ (7), (8). Preceding any of the derivational suffixes *-mu*, *-ykU*, or *-chi* or the inflectional suffix *-ma*, *-(chi-na)-kU* is realized as *-(chi-na)-ka*.

- (1) *Kikinpis Campionakurun.* AMV
 kiki-n-pis Campiona-ku-ru-n
 self-3-ADD poison.with.Campión-REFL-URGT-3
 ‘They themselves Campioned themselves [took Campion rat poison].’
- (2) *Kundinakurushpa chay pashña kaqta trayaramun.* AMV
 kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta
 condemn-REFL-URGT-SUBIS DEM.D girl be-AG-ACC
 traya-ra-mu-n
 arrive-URGT-CISL-3
 ‘Condemning himself [turning into a zombie], he arrived at the girl’s place.’

- (3) *Manchakunchik runa wañuypaq kaptin.* AMV
 mancha-ku-nchik runa wañu-y-paq ka-pti-n
 scare-REFL-1PL person die-INF-PURP be-SUBDS-3
 ‘We get scared when people are about to die.’
- (4) *Pampakurun chayshi.* AMV
 pampa-ku-ru-n chay-shi
 bury-REFL-URGT-3 DEM.D-EVR
 ‘He was buried, they say.’
- (5) *Unayqa chay nishpa willanakun.* AMV
 unay-qa chay ni-shpa willa-naku-n
 before-TOP DEM.D say-SUBIS tell-RECIP-3
 ‘Formerly, saying that, we told each other.’
- (6) *Valinaku: ‘Paqarin yanapamay u paqarin ñuqakta chaypaq talpashun qampaktañataq’, ninaku:mi.* CH
 vali-naku:- paqarin yanapa-ma-y u paqarin ñuqa-cta
 solicit-RECIP-1 tomorrow help-1.OBJ-IMP or tomorrow I-ACC
 chay-paq talpa-shun qam-pa-cta-ña-taq ni-naku:-mi
 DEM.D-ABL plow-1PL.FUT you-GEN-ACC-DISC-SEQ say-RECIP-1-EVD
 ‘We solicit each other, “Help me tomorrow,” or, “Tomorrow me and then we’ll plant yours,” we say to each other.’
- (7) *Yuyarichinakuyan.* AMV
 yuya-ri-chi-naku-ya-n
 remember-INCEP-CAUS-RECIP-PROG-3
 ‘They’re making each other remember.’
- (8) *Kukankunata tragunkunata muyuykachinakushpa.* AMV
 kuka-n-kuna-ta tragu-n-kuna-ta muyu-yka-chi-naku-shpa
 coca-3-PL-ACC drink-3-PL-ACC circle-EXCEP-CAUS-RECIP-SUBIS
 ‘Making their coca and liquor circulate among themselves.’

7.8 Equatives

This section partially repeats § 4.2.3 on equative verbs; consult that section for further discussion and examples. *syQ* counts a single copulative verb, *ka-*. Like the English verb *be*, *ka-* has both copulative (1), (2) and existential (3), (4) interpretations. *ka-* is irregular: its third person singular present tense form, *ka-n* never appears in equational statements, but only in existential statements. ‘This is a llama’ would be translated *Kay-qa llama-m*, while ‘There are llamas’ would be translated *Llama-qa ka-n-mi*. Evidentials (*-mI*, *-shI* and *-trI*) often attach to the predicate in equational statements without *ka-n* (5), (6). The principal strategy in *syQ* for constructing equational statements is to employ the continuous form *ka-ya-n* (7).

- (1) *Ñuqa-nchik fwirti kanchik patachita, matrkata, trakranchik llusiqta mikushpam.* AMV
 ñuqa-nchik fwirti ka-nchik patachi-ta
 I-1PL strong be-1PL wheat.soup-ACC
 matrka-ta trakra-nchik llusqi-q-ta miku-shpa-m
 ground.cereal.meal-ACC field-1PL come.out-AG-ACC eat-SUBIS-EVD
 ‘We are strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and toasted grain.’
- (2) *Qammi salvasyunniy kanki.* AMV
 qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y ka-nki
 you-EVD salvation-EUPH-1 be-2
 ‘You are my salvation.’
- (3) *Kañña piña turu.* AMV
 ka-n-ña piña turu
 be-3-DISC angry bull
 ‘There are mean bulls.’
- (4) *Rantiqpis kantaqmi.* AMV
 ranti-q-pis ka-n-taq-mi
 buy-AG-ADD be-3-SEQ-EVD
 ‘There are also buyers.’

- (5) *Vakay wira wiram matraypi puñushpa, allin pastuta mikushpam.* AMV
 vaka-y wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa allin pastu-ta
 cow-1 fat fat-EVD cave-LOC sleep-SUBIS good pasture.grass-ACC
 miku-shpam
 eat-SUBIS
 ‘Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow is really fat.’
- (6) *Llutanshiki.* LT
 llutan-sh-iki
 deformed-EVR-IKI
 ‘They are deformed, they say.’
- (7) *¿Alpakachu wak kayan?* AMV
 alpaka-chu wak ka-ya-n
 alpaca-Q DEM.D be-PROG-3
 ‘Is that alpaca [wool]?’

7.9 Possession

This section partially repeats § 3.3.1 on possession; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ employs the suffixes of the nominal paradigm to indicate possession. These are the same in all dialects for all persons except the first-person singular. Two of the five dialects – AMV and LT – follow the QII pattern, marking the first-person singular with -y; three dialects – ACH, CH, and SP – follow the QI pattern marking it with -: (vowel length). The SYQ nominal suffixes, then, are: -y or -: (1P), -Yki (2P), -n (3P), -nchik (1PL) (1–5). Table 3.3 displays this paradigm. In the case of words ending in a consonant, -ni – semantically vacuous – precedes the person suffix (6). SYQ “have” constructions are formed SUBSTANTIVE-POSS *ka-* (7). In case a noun or pronoun referring to the possessor appears in the same clause, the noun or pronoun is case-marked genitive with either -pa, -pi, or -paq (8), (9).²

² An anonymous reviewer points out that possessive constructions are formed differently in QI: “The possessed item takes a possessive suffix and the copula takes -pU followed by an object suffix that agrees with the person of the possessor. In other words, the verbal object suffix and the possessive suffix refer to the same person.” The reviewer offers the following examples:

Ishkay wa:ka-: ka-pa-ma-n. ‘I have two cows.’ *Ishkay wa:ka-yki ka-pu-shu-nki.* ‘You have two cows.’ *Ishkay wa:ka-n ka-pu-n (or ka-n).* ‘She has two cows.’

7 Syntax

- (1) *Wiqawniyimi nanan.* AMV
 wiqaw-ni-y-mi nana-n
 waist-EUPH-1-EVD hurt-3
 ‘My lower back hurts.’
- (2) *Qusa:ta listaman trurarusa.* ACH
 qusa:-ta lista-man trura-ru-sa
 husband-1-ACC list-ALL put-URGT-NPST
 ‘They put my husband on the list.’
- (3) *Kimsan wambraykikuna takikuyan.* AMV
 kimsa-n wambra-yki-kuna taki-ku-ya-n
 three-3 child-2-PL sing-REFL-PROG-3
 ‘The three of your children are singing.’
- (4) *¿Maypish wasinta lulayan?* CH
 may-pi-sh wasi-n-ta lula-ya-n
 where-LOC-EVR house-3-ACC make-PROG-3
 ‘Where [did she say she] is making her house?’
- (5) *Chayna achka wambranchikta familyanchikkunata aparun.* ACH
 chayna achka wambra-nchik-ta familya-nchik-kuna-ta
 thus a.lot child-1PL-ACC family-1PL-PL-ACC
 apa-ru-n
 bring-URGT-3
 ‘So they took away lots of our children, our relatives.’
- (6) *Ganawninta qatikura qalay qalay.* ACH
 ganaw-ni-n-ta qati-ku-ra qalay qalay
 cattle-EUPH-3-ACC follow-REFL-PST all all
 ‘They herded their cattle, absolutely all.’
- (7) *Mana wambrayki kanchu mana qariyki kanchu.* ACH
 mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana qari-yki ka-n-chu
 no child-2 be-3-NEG no man-2 be-3-NEG
 ‘You don’t have children, you don’t have a husband.’

- (8) *Duyñupa wallqanta ruwan.* AMV
 duyñu-pa wallqa-n-ta ruwa-n
 owner-GEN garland-3-ACC make-3
 ‘They make the owner his wallqa (garland).’
- (9) *Asnuqa hatarishpash ripukun chay runapa wasinman.* SP
 asnu-qa hatari-shpa-sh ripu-ku-n chay runa-pa
 donkey-TOP get.up-SUBIS-EVR go-REFL-3 DEM.D person-GEN
 wasi-n-man
 house-3-ALL
 ‘Getting up, the donkey went to the man’s house.’

7.10 Topic

This section partially repeats § 6.2.7 on *-qa*. Consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ uses the enclitic *-qa* to mark topic.

- (1) *Ganawniykiqa achkam miranqa.* LT
 qanaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqa
 cattle-EUPH-2-TOP a.lot-EVD increase-3.FUT
 ‘Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.’
- (2) *Chaynam unayqa manam imapis kaptinqa.* AMV
 chayna-m unay-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-pti-n-qa
 thus-EVD before-TOP no-EVD what-ADD be-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘That’s how it was before when there wasn’t anything.’
- (3) *Kananqa mikun munasanchik qullqi kaptinqa.* AMV
 kanan-qa miku-n muna-sa-nchik qullqi ka-pti-n-qa
 now-TOP eat-3 want-PRF-1PL money be-SUBDS-3-TOP
 ‘Now we eat whatever we want when there’s money.’
- (4) *Llaqtaykipaqa ¿tarpunkichu sibadata?* AMV
 llaqta-yki-pa-qa tarpu-nki-chu sibada-ta
 town-2-LOC-TOP plant-2-Q barley-ACC
 ‘In your town, do you plant barley?’

7.11 Focus

In *syQ*, it is the evidentials, *-mI*, *-shI*, and *-trI*, that, by virtue of their placement, indicate focus or comment. For example, in (1), the evidential attaches to the direct object, *shakash* ‘guinea pig’, and it is that element that is stressed: it is a guinea pig that you are going to butcher tomorrow. In (2) the evidential attaches to the temporal noun *paqarin* ‘tomorrow’, with the resulting interpretation: it is tomorrow that you are going to butcher a guinea pig. Evidentials never attach to the topic or subject; these are, rather, marked with *-qa*, as is *qam* in (1) and (2).

- (1) *Paqarin qamqa shakashtatr wañuchinki.* † AMV
 paqarin qam-qa shakash-ta-tr wañu-chi-nki
 tomorrow you-TOP guinea.pig-ACC-EVC die-CAUS-2
 ‘Tomorrow you’ll kill a guinea pig.’
- (2) *Paqarintri qamqa shakashta wañuchinki.* † AMV
 paqarin-tri qam-qa shakash-ta wañu-chi-nki
 tomorrow-EVC you-TOP guinea.pig-ACC die-CAUS-2
 ‘Tomorrow_F you’ll kill a guinea pig.’

7.12 Complementization (infinitive, agentive, indicative and subjunctive clauses)

This section partially repeats § 3.4.1 on substantives derived from verbs; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. *syQ* forms infinitive complements with *-y* (1–3); purposive complements with *-q* (4), (5); indicative complements with *-sHa* (6–9), and subjunctive complements with *-na* (10). Infinitive complements often figure as the object of the verbs – *muna*- ‘want’ (1), *atipa*- ‘be able’ (2), and *gusta*- ‘like’ (3); indicative complements are common with the verbs *yatra*- ‘know’ (7), (8), *qunqa*- ‘forget’, *qawa* ‘see’ (9), and *uyari*- ‘hear’. Note that infinitive complements are case-marked with accusative *-ta* and that *-q* purposive complements only occur with verbs of movement (*-na*-(POSS)-*paq*, being used for other verb types (11) (see § 3.4.1.1)).

- (1) *¿Munankichu sintachiytaqa?* AMV
 muna-nki-chu sintachi-y-ta-qa
 want-2-Q put.ribbons-INF-ACC-TOP
 ‘Do you want to? To piece their ears with ribbons?’

7.12 Complementization (infinitive, agentive, indicative and subjunctive clauses)

- (2) *Lukuyarun runalla. Manam puñuyta atiparachu.* ACH
 luku-ya-ru-n runa-lla mana-m puñu-y-ta
 crazy-INCH-URGT-3 person-RSTR no-EVD sleep-INF-ACC
 atipa-ra-chu
 be.able-PST-NEG
 ‘My husband was going crazy. He couldn’t sleep.’
- (3) *Algunus turuqa runa waqrayta gustan.* AMV
 algunus turu-qa runa waqra-y-ta gusta-n
 some bull-TOP person horn-INF-ACC like-3
 ‘Some bulls like to gore people.’
- (4) *Misa lulaq shamun.* CH
 misa lula-q shamu-n
 mass make-AG come-3
 ‘They come to hold mass.’
- (5) *Pasaruptyn qawaq hamuni.* AMV
 pasa-ru-pti-n qawa-q hamu-ni
 pass-URGT-SUBDS-3 see-AG come-1
 ‘When that happened, I came to see.’
- (6) *Atipasantatriki ruwan.* ACH
 atipa-sa-n-ta-tr-iki ruwa-n
 be.able-PRF-3-ACC-EVC-IKI make-3
 ‘They do what they can.’
- (7) *Ni maypa kasantapis yatra:chu. Waqaku:.* ACH
 ni may-pa ka-sa-n-ta-pis yatra:-chu waqa-ku:-
 nor where-LOC be-PRF-3-ACC-ADD know-1-NEG cry-REFL-1
 ‘I don’t even know where he is. I cry.’
- (8) *Kwirpu: yatran imapaq kayna pulisha:tapis.* CH
 kwirpu:- yatra-n ima-paq kayna puli-sha:-ta-pis
 body-1 know-3 what-PURP thus walk-PRF-1-ACC-ADD
 ‘My body knows why I walk around like this.’

- (9) *Ñuqaqa wambran qipikusanta qawarqanichu.* AMV
 ñuqa-qa wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-ni-chu
 I-TOP child-3 carry-REFL-PRF-3-ACC see-PST-1-NEG
 ‘I didn’t see that she carried her baby.’
- (10) *Puchukananta munani.* AMV
 puchuka-na-n-ta muna-ni
 finish-NMLZ-3-ACC want-1
 ‘I want them to finish.’
- (11) *¡Uqi pulluyki qawachinaypaq kaynam ruwasay!* AMV
 uqi pullu-yki qawa-chi-na-y-paq kayna-m ruwa-sa-y
 grey shawl-2 see-CAUS-NMLZ-1-PURP thus-EVD make-PRF-1
 ‘[Bring] your grey manta so I can show it to her. What I make is like this.’

7.13 Relativization

This section partially repeats § 3.4.1 on substantives derived from verbs; consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. *syq* forms relative clauses with the four deverbalizing suffixes: concretizing *-na* (1), agentive *-q* (2), perfective *-sHa* (3), and infinitive *-y* (4). As these structures are formally nouns, they are inflected with substantive suffixes, not verbal suffixes (*ranti-sa-yki* **ranti-sa-nki* ‘that you sold’) (5); these may be reinforced with possessive pronouns (6). *-sHa* may additionally form nouns referring the place where E (7) or the time when E (8). *-sHa* is realized as *-sa* in ACH (5), AMV (9) and SP (11); as *-sha* in LT (10) and CH. Any substantive constituent – subject (2), object (9), or complement (1) – can be relativized. Nominalizing suffixes attach directly to the verb stem, with the exception that the person suffixes *-wa/-ma* (first person object) and *-sHu* (second person object) may intercede (12), (13).

- (1) *Asta wañukunay puntrawkamatriki chayna purishaq.* LT
 asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-kama-tr-iki chay-na puri-shaq
 until die-REFL-NMLZ-1 day-LIM-EVC-1KI thus walk-1.FUT
 ‘Until the day I die, I’m going to walk around like that.’

- (2) *Rigakuq luna trabahaya.* CH
 riga-ku-q luna trabaha-ya-:
 irrigate-REFL-AG person work-PROG-1
 ‘The people who water, we’re working.’
- (3) *Ñuqaqa manam rimayta yatrara:chu prufusurni: nimasanta.* SP
 ñuqa-qa mana-m rima-y-ta yatra-ra:-chu prufusur-ni-:
 I-TOP no-EVD talk-INF-ACC know-PST-1-NEG teacher-EUPH-1
 ni-ma-sa-n-ta
 say-1.OBJ-PRF-3-ACC
 ‘I didn’t know how to say what my teacher said to me.’
- (4) *Chay vilakuy puntraw simintiryupa.* AMV
 chay vila-ku-y puntraw simintiryu-pa
 DEM.D candle-REFL-INF day cemetery-LOC
 ‘The day we lit candles in the cemetery.’
- (5) *Rigalakullaq ka: mana rantikusa:taqa.* ACH
 rigala-ku-lla-q ka-: mana ranti-ku-sa-:-ta-qa
 give.as.a.gift-REFL-RSTR-AG be-1 no buy-REFL-PRF-1-ACC-TOP
 ‘I used to give away what I didn’t sell.’
- (6) *Qampa rantikurasaykiyá chay shakash.* AMV
 qam-pa ranti-ku-ra-sa-yki-yá chay shakash
 you-GEN buy-REFL-UNINT-PRF-2-EMPH DEM.D guinea.pig
 ‘That guinea pig that you sold.’
- (7) *Chay fwirapi chay vilakuna rantikusan.* AMV
 chay fwira-pi chay vila-kuna ranti-ku-sa-n
 DEM.D outside-LOC DEM.D candle-PL buy-REFL-PRF-3
 ‘That’s outside where they sell candles.’
- (8) *Urqupa kayasanchikpis.* AMV
 urqu-pa ka-ya-sa-nchik-pis
 hill-LOC be-PROG-PRF-1PL-ADD
 ‘When we were in the mountains.’

- (9) *Pampaykuni frutachaykuna apasayta.* AMV
 pampa-yku-ni fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta
 bury-EXCEP-1 fruit-DIM-1-PL bring-PRF-1-ACC
 ‘I bury the fruit that I bring.’
- (10) *Kalamina rantishanchikkuna.* LT
 kalamina ranti-sha-nchik-kuna
 corrugated.iron buy-PRF-1PL-PL
 ‘The tin roofing that we bought.’
- (11) *Ni mayman yaykusay yatrakunchu.* SP
 ni may-man yayku-sa-y yatra-ku-n-chu
 nor where-ALL enter-PRF-1 know-REFL-3-NEG
 ‘They didn’t know even where I had gone in.’
- (12) *Ampullakta inyiktamananchikpaq.* CH
 ampulla-kta inyikta-ma-na-nchik-paq
 ampoule-ACC inject-1.OBJ-NMLZ-1PL-PURP
 ‘Ampoules to inject us / for injecting us.’
- (13) *Filupa paninqa nin, “Maqawaytam ñuqata pinsayan.”* AMV
 Filu-pa pani-n-qa ni-n maqa-wa-y-ta-m ñuqa-ta
 Filu-GEN sister-3-TOP say-3 hit-1.OBJ-INF-ACC-EVD I-ACC
 pinsa-ya-n
 think-PROG-3
 ‘Filomena’s sister said, “He’s thinking about hitting [wants to hit] me.”’

7.14 Subordination

This section partially repeats § 4.3.7 on subordination. Consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. *syq* counts three subordinating suffixes – *-pti*, *-shpa*, and *-shtin* – and one subordinating structure – *-na*-POSS-*kama*. Additionally, in combination with the purposive case suffix, *-paq*, *-na* forms subordinate clauses that indicate the purpose of the action expressed in the main

clause (*qawa-na-y-paq* ‘so I can see’) (see § 3.4.1.1).³

-pti is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different (*huk qawa-pti-n-qa, ñuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu* ‘Although others see, we don’t see’) (1); *shpa* and *-shtin* are employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical (*tushu-shpa wasi-ta kuti-mu-n* ‘Dancing they return home’) (2), (3). *-pti* generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause began prior to that of the main clause but may also be employed in the case those events are simultaneous (*urkista-qa traya-mu-pti-n tushu-rqa-nchik* ‘When the band arrived, we danced’). *-shpa* generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause (*sapu-qa kurrkurrya-shpa kurri-ya-n* ‘The frog is running going *kurr-kurr!*’) (4) but may also be employed in case the subordinated event precedes the main-clause event (5). *-shtin* is employed only when the main and subordinate clause events are simultaneous (*Awa-shtin miku-chi-ni wambra-y-ta* ‘(By) weaving, I feed my children’) (6). *-pti* subordinates are suffixed with allocation suffixes (*tarpu-pti-nchik* ‘when we plant’) (7); *-shpa* and *-shtin* subordinates do not inflect for person or number (**tarpu-shpa-nchik; *tarpu-shtin-yki*). Subordinate verbs inherit tense, aspect and conditionality specification from the main clause verb (*Ri-shpa qawa-y-man karqa* ‘If I would have gone, I would have seen’). Depending on the context, *-pti* and *-shpa* can be translated by ‘when’ (1), ‘if’ (8), ‘because’ (9), (10) ‘although’ (11) or with a gerund (2). *-shtin* is translated by a gerund only (3), (6).

-na-POSS-kama is limitative. It forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to either is simultaneous with (13) or limits (14) the event referred to in the main clause (*puñu-na-y-kama* ‘while I was sleeping’; *wañu-na-n-kama* ‘until she died’).

- (1) *Qawaykuptinqa sakristan wañurusa. AMV*
qawa-yku-pti-n-qa sakristan wañu-ru-sa
 see-EXCEP-SUBDS-3-TOP sacristan die-URGT-NPST
 ‘When he looked, the care-taker had died.’
- (2) *Chitchityakushpa rikullan kabrakunaqa. LT*
chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa
 say.chit.chit-REFL-SUBIS go-RSTR-3 goat-PL-TOP
 “‘Chit-chitting,’ the goats just left.’

³ An anonymous reviewer points out that all of the case-marked deverbal NPs – not just *-kama* and *-paq* – can form subordinate/adverbial clauses.

- (3) *Yantakunata qutushtin lliptakunata kañakushtin, hanay ...* AMV
 yanta-kuna-ta qutu-shtin llipta-kuna-ta kaña-ku-shtin
 firewood-PL-ACC gather-SUBAVD ash-PL-ACC burn-REFL-SUBADV
 hanay
 up.hill
 ‘Gathering wood, burning ash, [we lived] up hill.’
- (4) *Traguwan, kukawan tushuchishpallam kusichakuni.* AMV
 tragu-wan kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni
 drink-INSTR coca-INSTR dance-CAUS-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD harvest-REFL-1
 ‘With liquor and coca, making them dance, I harvest.’
- (5) *Familyanchikta wañurichishpaqa lliw partiyan.* SP
 familia-nchik-ta wañu-ri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n
 family-1PL-ACC die-INCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-TOP all distribute-PROG-3
 ‘After they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.’
- (6) *Yatrakunchik imaynapis maski waqakushtinpis ... asikushtinpis ...*
imaynapis. ACH
 yatra-ku-nchik imayna-pis maski waqa-ku-shtin-pis
 live-REFL-1PL how-ADD maski cry-REFL-SUBADV-ADD
 asi-ku-shtin-pis imayna-pis
 laugh-REFL-SUBIS-ADD how-ADD
 ‘We live however we can, although we’re crying ... laughing ...
 however we can.’
- (7) *Manam pagawaptikiqa manam wambraykiqa alliyanqachu.* LT
 mana-m paga-wa-pti-ki-qa mana-m wambra-yki-qa
 no-EVD pay-1.OBJ-SUBDS-2-TOP no-EVD child-2-TOP
 alli-ya-nqa-chu
 good-INCH-3.FUT-NEG
 ‘If you don’t pay me, your son isn’t going to get better.’
- (8) *Kutishpaqa kutimushaq kimsa tawa watata.* AMV
 kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta
 return-SUBIS-TOP return-CISL-1.FUT three four year-ACC
 ‘If I come back, I’ll come back in three or four years.’

- (9) *Priykupaw puriyan siyrtumpatr warmin mal kaptin.* AMV
 priykupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n mal ka-pti-n
 worried walk-PROG-3 certainly-EVC woman-3 bad be-SUBDS-3
 ‘Certainly, he’d be wandering around worried because his wife is sick.’
- (10) *Payqa rikunñash warmin saqiruptin.* AMV
 pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-pti-n
 he-TOP go-REFL-3-DISC-EVR woman-3 leave-URGT-SUBDS-3
 ‘He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.’
- (11) *Qullqita ganashpas bankuman ima trurakunki* ACH
 qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki
 money-ACC earn-SUBIS-ADD bank-ALL what put-REFL-2
 ‘Although you earn money and save it in the bank’
- (12) *Mana vilakuranichu puñunaykaman.* AMV
 mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kaman
 no watch.over-REFL-PST-1-NEG sleep-NMLZ-1-LIM
 ‘I didn’t keep watch while I was sleeping.’
- (13) *Traki paltanchikpis pushllunankama purinchik.* AMV
 traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama puri-nchik
 foot soul-1PL-ADD blister-NMLZ-3-LIM walk-1PL
 ‘We walked until blisters formed on the souls of our feet.’

A Analysis of the Southern Yauyos Quechua lexicon

What follows is an analysis of lexical differences among the five dialects. This analysis is excerpted from the introduction to the lexicon that accompanies this volume.

The lexicon counts 2537 Quechua words. Most were gleaned from glossed recordings collected in the eleven districts over the course of four years, 2010–2014; additional terms were identified by eliciting cognate or correlate terms for various items in Cerrón-Palomino (1994) unified dictionary of Southern Quechua as well as his Cerrón-Palomino (1976b) dictionary of Junín-Huanca Quechua. The recordings and annotated transcriptions have been archived by The Language Archive of the Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen/Documentation of Endangered Languages (DoBeS) archive at the Max Planck Institute (http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/indi_browser/?openpath=MPI1052935%23) and the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at the University of Texas at Austin (<http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/welcome.html>). All documents – including the unformatted .xml lexical database – can be consulted via those institutions' web sites. All terms were reviewed with at least two speakers of each dialect: Benedicta Lázaro and Martina Reynoso (AH); Mila Chávez, Delfina Chullunkuy, Esther Madueño, Hilda Quispe, and Celia Rojas (MV); Iris Barrosa, Gloria Cuevas, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, and Erlinda Vicente, (CH); Ninfa Flores and Sofía Vicente (LT); and Santa Ayllu, Elvira Huamán, Sofía Huamán, and Maximina P.

As stated in the Introduction, Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken: the “Quechua I” (Torero) or “Quechua B” (Parker) languages are spoken in the regions immediately to the north; the “Quechua II” or “Quechua A” languages, in the regions immediately to the south. Both grammatically and lexically, the dialects of southern Yauyos share traits with both the QI and QII languages. Critically, however, the dialects which sort with the the QI languages grammatically do not necessarily also sort with them lexically; nor do the dialects which sort with the QII languages grammatically necessarily sort with them lexically. That is, grammatically and lexically, the

dialects cleave along distinct lines.

Grammatically, two of the five dialects – those of Madeán-Viñac and Lincha-Tana – sort together, as these, like the QII languages, indicate the first-person subject with *-ni*, the first-person possessor with *-y*, and first-person object with *-wa*. The remaining three – Azángaro-Huangáscar, Caca-Hongos, and San Pedro – sort together, as these, like the QI languages, indicate the first person subject and possessor with vowel length and the first-person object with *-ma*.¹

Lexically, however, the dialects cleave along different lines, lines defined not by morphology but by geography. Lexically, the two more northern dialects – the “QI” CH and the “QII” LT – sort together while the three more southern dialects – the “QI” AH and SP together with the “QII” MV – sort together. Below, I detail an analysis of the lexicon that I performed using a subset of 2551 terms. The dialects generally agree in the terms they use to name the same referent: I could identify only 37 instances in which the dialects employed words of different roots. In 32 of these instances the dialects cleaved along north-south lines and in 22 of the relevant 28 cases for which correlate terms could be identified from Junín-Huancá Quechua and Ayacucho Quechua (the former a “QI” language spoken immediately to the north of Yauyos, the second, a “QII” language spoken very nearby, to the south), the northern dialects employed the term used in Junín-Huancá, while the southern dialects employed the term used in Ayacucho.²

This does not mean that the dialects employed identical terms in all the remaining 2387 cases (subtracting 75 for 36 pairs and one triplet). Far from it. All

¹ Yauyos counts three additional dialects, spoken in the districts of Alis and Tomas; Huancaya and Vitis; and Laraos, all located in the north of the province. The lexicon, like the grammar, makes abstraction of these dialects.

² No pair was counted more than once. The lexicon includes both roots and derived terms. Thus both the pairs *sumaq* (MV, AH, SP) and *tuki* (CH, LT) ‘pretty’ and *sumaq-lla* (MV, AH, SP) and *tuki-lla* (CH, LT) ‘nicely’ appear in the corpus. Only the root pair, *sumaq* ~ *tuki*, was entered in the catalogue of those cases where dialects differed in root terms employed. “Multiples” such as these numbered 116. These were excluded from the count and account given here. Examples are given immediately below.

<i>qawa-</i> (MV, AH, SP) ~ <i>rika-</i> (CH, LT) ‘see’
→ <i>qawa-chi-</i> ~ <i>rika-chi-</i> ‘show’, make and offering’
<i>chakwash</i> (MV, AH, SP) ~ <i>paya</i> (CH, LT) ‘old woman’
→ <i>chakwash-ya-</i> ~ <i>paya-ya-</i> ‘become an old woman’
<i>qishta</i> (MV, AH, SP, LT) ~ <i>tunta</i> (CH, LT) ‘nest’
→ <i>qishta-cha-</i> ~ <i>tunta-cha-</i> ‘build a nest’

dialects employed identical terms in only 1603 instances. Included among these are all but 20 of the 522 words in the corpus borrowed from Spanish (examples in (1)).³ Once terms of Spanish origin are eliminated, we are left with a corpus of 1940 items. All dialects agreed perfectly in their realizations of these items in 1081 cases (56%) (examples in (2)). The remaining 755 items are accounted for as follows. In 154 cases a Quechua-origin term was realized identically in all dialects in which it was attested but remained unattested in one or more dialects, as in (3). Given the current state of the language – classified as “moribund” in the 2013 edition of *Ethnologue* Lewis, Simons & Fennig (2015) – nothing can be concluded from these gaps, neither that the dialects originally employed the same term, nor that it was necessarily different. In 630 cases, the dialects employed terms of the same root but with different realizations, as in (4). Included among these are 236 cases where these differences can be attributed to differences in the phonology between Cacara-Hongos and the other four dialects: the realization of *[r] as [l], for example (151 cases, examples in (5)) or */s/ as [h] (45 cases, examples in (6)). Also counted among these 745 cases are terms affected by metathesis and other phonological processes (vowel lowering (/i/), velarization (/q/), depalatalization (/sh/), and gliding (/y/), among others) (207 cases, examples in (7) and (8)). Finally, the sample counts terms affected by variation in verbal or nominal morphology (62 cases, examples in (9)). Principal among these are instances of words derived with past participles – formed with *-sha* in the north and *-sa* in the south – and others that also differ by virtue of the fronting of /sh/ (40 cases, examples in (10) and (11)).

(1) Spanish-origin terms identical in all dialects

<i>tuma-</i> (ALL)	(cf. Sp. <i>tomar</i>)	‘take’
<i>kida-</i> (ALL)	(cf. Sp. <i>quedar</i>)	‘stay’
<i>papil</i> (ALL)	(cf. Sp. <i>papel</i>)	‘paper’

(2) Quechua-origin terms identical in all dialects

³ Virtually any term of Spanish origin in current use in the area may be borrowed into *sq̃*. I have included Spanish- origin words in the lexicon just in case they were either (1) of extremely high use (*tuma-* ‘take’, ‘drink’ (fr. Sp. *tomar* ‘take’, ‘drink’)); (2) had no corresponding indigenous term (in contemporary usage) (*matansya* ‘massacre’ (fr. Sp. *matanza* ‘massacre’)); or (3) had altered substantially either in their pronunciation or denotation (*firfanu* ‘orphan’ (fr. Sp. *huérfano* ‘orphan’); *baliya-* ‘shoot’ (fr. Sp. *bala* ‘bullet’)).

<i>sapi</i>	(ALL)	‘root’
<i>sasa</i>	(ALL)	‘hard’
<i>yanapa-</i>	(ALL)	‘help’
<i>ishpay</i>	(ALL)	‘urine’
<i>ayqi-</i>	(ALL)	‘escape’
<i>chaqchu-</i>	(ALL)	‘sprinkle, scatter’

- (3) Terms with no Quechua-language correlate in one or more of the dialects

Quechua-origin term	Spanish-origin term	Gloss
<i>chaskay</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>lusiru</i> (cf. Sp. <i>lucero</i>) (CH, LT)	‘morning star’
<i>tapsipa-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>balansya</i> (cf. Sp. <i>balancear</i>) (CH, LT)	‘rock’
<i>uya</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>kara</i> (cf. Sp. <i>cara</i>) (CH, LT)	‘face’

- (4) Terms of the same root but with different realizations in different dialects

<i>warmi</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>wal̥mi</i> (LT, CH)	‘woman’
<i>sapa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>hapa</i> (LT, CH)	‘alone’
<i>aqsa</i> (MV, AH)	~ <i>asqa</i> (SP)	‘bitter [potato]’
<i>garacha</i> (MV, AH, SP, CH)	~ <i>karacha</i> (LT)	‘scabies’, ‘mange’
<i>alli-paq</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>alli-lla</i> (LT, CH)	‘slowly’
<i>kitra-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>kitra-sha</i> (LT, CH)	‘open’

- (5) Terms where *[r] is realized as [l] in CH

<i>raki-</i> → [laki]	‘separate’
<i>quru</i> → [qolu]	‘mutilated’
<i>trura-</i> → [çula]	‘put’

- (6) Terms where */s/ is realized as [h] in CH

/sara/ → [hala]	‘corn’
/sama/ → [hama]	‘rest’
/sati/ → [hati]	‘insert’

- (7) Terms affected by metathesis

<i>chaksa-</i> (MV, AH, CH) ~ <i>chaska-</i> (LT, SP)	‘air out’
<i>shanta-</i> (AH, CH, SP) ~ <i>tansha-</i> (MV, LT)	‘choke’
<i>shipti-</i> (MV, AH, LT) ~ <i>tipshi-</i> (CH, SP)	‘pinch’

- (8) Terms affected by other phonological processes

<i>allpi</i> (MV, AH, LT, CH) ~ <i>allpa</i> (SP)	‘dust’, ‘dirt’	(vowel lowering)
<i>chillqi</i> (MV, AH, LT, SP) ~ <i>chillki</i> (CH)	‘bud’	(develarization)
<i>malshu</i> (LT, CH) ~ <i>mayshu</i> (MV, AH, SP)	‘breakfast’	(gliding)

(9) Terms affected by variation in verbal or nominal morphology

<i>utrku-</i> (MV, AH, LT, SP)	~ <i>utr'ku-cha-</i> (CH)	'dig a hole'
<i>tardi-ku</i> (MV AH, CH, LT)	~ <i>tardi-ya-</i> (SP)	'get late'
<i>aytri-na</i> (MV, CH)	~ <i>aytri-ku</i> (AH, LT)	'stick for stirring'

(10) Terms derived with past participles

<i>paki-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>paki-sha</i> (CH, LT)	'broken'
<i>punki-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>punki-sha</i> (CH, LT)	'swollen'
<i>yaku-na-sa</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>yaku-na-sha</i> (CH, LT)	'thirsty'

(11) Terms that differ by the exchange s/sh

<i>suytu</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>shuytu</i> (CH, LT)	'oval', 'oblong'
<i>siqsi-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	~ <i>shiqshi-</i> (CH, LT)	'itch'
<i>wiswi</i> (MV, AH, SP CH)	~ <i>wishwi</i> (LT)	'greasy'

A clear pattern emerges both with regard to the cases where the dialects employed terms of different roots and those in which they varied in their realizations of the same root term. In 32 of the 37 instances in which root terms differed, the dialects cleaved along north-south lines, with the northern dialects – CH and LT⁴ – sorting together and the southern dialects – MV, AH, and SP – sorting together, as in (12).

In four of the five remaining instances San Pedro supplied the outstanding term. In 32 of the 37 cases, cognate terms could be identified for Junín and Ayacucho (Yauyos' "QI" (northern) and "Q2" (southern) neighbors, respectively). In 23 of the relevant 28 of these 32 cases, the northern dialects – "QI" CH and "QII" LT – employed the term used in Junín, while the southern dialects – the "QI" AH and SP and the "QII" MV – employed the term used in Ayacucho, as in (13).⁵

The full list appears in Table A.1 at the end of the introduction.

(12) Root terms varying along north-south lines

⁴ With the exception of two and a half cases: one where LT sorts with the southern dialects ('make an offering'), one where LT recorded no Quechua-origin term ('bitter'), and one where Caca and Hongos split, Caca alone recording a second term ('rain').

⁵ In at least two of these 32 cases, the Junín term had a cognate correlate in Jaqaru, an Aymaran language spoken in Tupe, Caca's closest neighbor to the north. The terms are *kallwi* 'cultivate' and *liklachiku* 'underarm'.

A Analysis of the Southern Yauyos Quechua lexicon

South MV, AH, SP	North LT, CH	Gloss
<i>chumpi</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>watrakuq</i> (CH, LT)	‘sash’
<i>anu-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>wasqi-</i> (CH, LT)	‘wean’
<i>sumaq</i> (MV, AH, SP)	<i>tuki</i> (CH, LT)	‘pretty’

- (13) North/south differences in root terms aligning with Junín and Ayacucho.

South MV, AH, SP	North LT, CH	Ayacucho	Junín	Gloss
<i>puyu</i>	<i>pukatay</i>	<i>puyu</i>	<i>pukatay</i>	‘cloud’, ‘fog’
<i>qishTa</i>	<i>tunta</i>	<i>qisha</i>	<i>tunta</i>	‘nest’
<i>rakta</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>rakta</i>	<i>tita</i>	‘thick’

- (14) Synonyms employed in southern but not northern dialects

Employed in all	Employed just in the south	Gloss
<i>wallwa-</i> (ALL)	<i>uqlla(n)cha-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	‘carry under the arm’
<i>patrya-</i> (ALL)	<i>tuqya-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	‘explode’
<i>alalaya-</i> (ALL)	<i>chiriya-</i> (MV, AH, SP)	‘be cold’

I have taken it as my task here only to present the data; I leave it to other scholars to come to their own conclusions. The raw data are available in the form of an .xml document that can be accessed by all via the DoBeS and AILLA websites.

Table A.1: Differences among dialects in root terms used to refer to the same referent

gloss	root _A	dialect	root _B	dialect	Ayacucho root	Junín root
‘old man’	<i>machu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>awktish</i>	LT, CH	<i>machu</i>	<i>awktish</i>
‘old woman’	<i>chakwash</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>paya</i>	LT, CH	<i>chakwash</i>	<i>paya</i>
‘nettle’	<i>llupa/itana</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>chalka</i>	LT, CH	<i>itana</i>	<i>itana</i>
‘germinate’	<i>shinshi-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>chilQi</i>	LT, CH	NC	?
‘close eyes, blink’	<i>qimchiku-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>chipupa-</i>	LT, CH	<i>chipu-</i> (close hand) <i>qimchikatraa-</i>	<i>qimlla-</i> / <i>qimchi-</i>
‘sash’	<i>chumpi</i>	MV, SP	<i>watraku</i>	LT, CH	<i>chumpi</i>	<i>watrakuq</i>
‘sneeze’	<i>hachiwsa-</i>	MV, AH, CH, LT	<i>haqchu-</i>	SP	<i>hachi-</i>	<i>haqchiwsa-</i> , <i>achiwyaa-</i>
‘cultivate, hoe’	<i>hallma-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>kallwa-</i>	LT, CH	<i>hallma-</i>	<i>kallwa-</i>
‘scratch’	<i>rachka-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>hata-</i>	LT, CH	<i>hata-</i>	<i>rachka-</i>
‘add fuel’	<i>lawka-</i>	MV, AH, CH, LT	<i>huya-</i>	SP	?	?
‘sickly’	<i>iqu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>latru</i>	LT, CH	<i>iqu</i>	?
‘thorn, bramble’	<i>kichka</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>kasha</i>	LT, CH	<i>kichka</i>	<i>kasha</i>
‘stick’	<i>kaspi</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>shukshu</i>	LT, CH	<i>kaspi</i>	<i>shukshu</i>
‘splinter’	<i>killwi</i>	MV, AH	<i>qawa/waqcha</i>	LT, CH/SP	<i>killwi</i>	<i>waqcha</i> (‘log’, ‘timber’)

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Table A.1: Continued from previous page.

gloss	root _A	dialect	root _B	dialect	Ayacucho root	Junín root
'make an offering return'	<i>qawachi-</i>	MV, AH, LT	<i>likachi-</i>	CH	<i>qawa-</i> ('see')	<i>lika-</i> ('see')
'underarm', 'armpit'	<i>wallwachuku</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>liklachku</i>	LT, CH	<i>wallwa</i>	<i>liklachiku</i>
'all'	<i>lliw</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>limpu</i>	LT, CH	<i>lliw</i>	<i>lliw</i>
'avalanche', 'mudslide'	<i>lluqlla</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tuñiy</i>	ALL	<i>tuñi-</i> (‘tumble down’)	<i>lluqlla</i> (‘waterfall’)
'coagulate'	<i>tika-</i>	MV, AH, CH, LT	<i>marki-</i>	SP	<i>tikaya-</i>	<i>tika-</i> (‘make adobe bricks’)
'knee'	<i>muqu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qunqur</i>	ALL	<i>muqu, qunqura-</i> (‘kneel’)	<i>muqu</i> (joint)
'comb' (v.)	<i>ñaqcha-</i>	ALL	<i>qachaku-</i>	LT, CH	<i>ñaqcha-</i>	<i>ñaqcha-</i>
'cloud', 'fog'	<i>puyu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>pukutay</i>	LT, CH	<i>puyu</i>	<i>pukutay</i>
thorn bush variety	<i>ulanki</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qaparara</i>	LT, CH	?	?
'sick'	<i>unqu</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qisha</i>	CH	<i>unqu</i>	<i>qishya</i>
'nest'	<i>qishTa</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tunta</i>	LT, CH	<i>qisTa</i>	<i>qisha</i>
'thick'	<i>rakta</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tita</i>	LT, CH	<i>rakta</i>	<i>tita</i>
'snow', 'sleet'	<i>riti</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>rasu</i>	LT, CH	<i>riti</i>	<i>lasu</i>

Continued on next page..

Table A.1: Continued from previous page.

gloss	root _A	dialect	root _B	dialect	Ayacucho root	Junín root
‘eaten by birds’	<i>shuqli</i>	MV, AH, CH, LT	<i>wishlu</i>	SP	?	?
‘beautiful’	<i>sumaq</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>tuki</i>	LT, CH	<i>sumaq</i>	<i>tuki</i>
‘sheep’	<i>uyqa</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>usha</i>	LT, CH	NC	(<i>uwish</i>)
‘roll’	<i>sinku-</i>	ALL	<i>trinta-</i>	LT, CH	NC	NC
‘explode’	<i>tuqya-</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>patra-</i>	ALL	<i>tuqya-</i>	<i>patra-</i>
‘bitter’ [potato]	<i>aqsa</i>	MV, AH, SP	<i>qatqi</i>	CH	<i>qatqi</i>	?
‘rain’	<i>para-</i>	MV, AH, SP, CH	<i>tamya-</i>	Cacta	<i>para-</i>	<i>tamya-</i>
NC= not cognate; ?= not found						

B Further analysis of evidential modifiers

This appendix presents a further analysis of the interpretation of propositions under the scope of the various permutations of the direct and the conjectural evidentials – *-mI* and *-trI* – in combination with the three evidential modifiers – *-ø*, *-ik*, and *-iki*.

B.1 The EM's and the interpretation of propositions under direct *-mI*

In the case of the direct *-mI*, all three forms, *-mI-ø*, *-m-ik*, and *m-iki*, indicate that the speaker has evidence from personal experience for the proposition immediately under the scope of the evidential. The *-ik* and *-iki* forms then indicate increases in the strength of that evidence, generally that it is increasingly immediate or definitive. For example, consultants explain, with *wañu-rqa-ø* [die-PST-3] ‘died’, a speaker might use *-mI-ø* if she had seen the corpse, while she would use *-m-iki* if she had actually been present when the person died. Or with *para-ya-n* [rain-PROG-3] ‘it’s raining’, a speaker might use *-mI-ø* if she were observing the rain from inside through a window, while she would use *-m-iki* if she were actually standing under the rain. (1) and (2) give naturally-occurring *-m-iki* examples. In (1) the speaker reports her girlhood experience working as a shepherdess in the *puna* (high, cold, wet pasture grounds). What would run out on her was her matches. In (2) the speaker reports her experience with the Shining Path, an armed Maoist group that terrorized the region in the 1980’s with its robberies, kidnappings and public executions. The fight she refers to is the battle between the Shining Path and the government *Sinchis* (commandos). In both examples, the speakers are reporting events they experienced with painful immediacy and with regard to which there are no more authoritative sources than themselves.

- (1) *Ariyá urqupaqa puchukapakunchikmiki*. AMV
 ari-yá urqu-pa-qa puchuka-paku-nchik-m-iki
 yes-EMPH hill-LOC-TOP finish-MUTBEN-1PL-EVD-IKI
 ‘Yes, in the hills we ran out.’
- (2) *Huk visislla piliyara chaypaq chinkakurañamiki*. AMV
 huk visis-lla piliya-ra chay-paq chinka-ku-ra-ña-m-iki
 one times-RSTR fight-PST DEM.D-ABL lose-REFL-PST-DISC-EVD-IKI
 ‘They fought just once and then they disappeared.’

In addition to indicating increases in evidence strength, *-ik* and *-iki*, in combination with *-mI*, generally correspond to increases in strength of assertion. A *-m-ik* assertion is interpreted as stronger than a *-mI-ø* assertion; a *-m-iki* assertion as stronger still. In Spanish, *-mI-ø* generally has no reflex in translation. More than anything else, it serves to mark comment or focus (see § 7.11) or else to stand in for the copular verb *ka*, defective in the third-person present tense (see § 4.2.3). In contrast, *-m-iki* does have a reflex in Spanish: it translates with an emphatic, either ‘*pues*’ ‘then’ or ‘*sí*’ ‘yes’. So, *quni-m-ø* [warm-EVD-ø] receives the Spanish translation ‘*es caliente*’ ‘it’s warm’; in contrast, *quni-m-iki* [warm-EVD-IKI] receives the translations, ‘*es caliente, pues*’ ‘it’s warm, then’ or ‘*sí, es caliente*’ ‘yes, it’s warm’. Example (3) is taken from a story. An old lady has sent two boys for wood – “so I can cook you a nice supper,” she said. Two doves appear at the wood pile to warn the boys. *Miku-shunki-m-iki* ‘she’s going to eat you’, they warn. Using the *-iki* form, the birds make the strongest assertion they can. They need to convince the boys that they are indeed in trouble – their very lives are in danger.

- (3) *Kananqa wirayaykachishunki mikushunkimiki*. AMV
 kanan-qa wira-ya-yka-chi-shunki miku-shunki-mi-ki.
 now-TOP fat-INCH-EXCEP-CAUS-3>2.FUT eat-3>2.FUT-EVD-IKI
 ‘Now she’s going to fatten you up and eat you!’

In those cases in which *-mI* takes scope over universal-deontic-modal or future-tense verbs, *-k* and *-ki* do not generally indicate an increase in evidence strength; rather, they indicate increasingly strong obligations and increasingly immediate futures, respectively. So, for example, under the scope of *-mI-ø*, *yanapa-na-y* [help-NMLZ-1] receives a weak universal deontic interpretation, ‘I ought to help’. In contrast, under the scope of *-m-ik* or *-m-iki*, the same phrase receives increasingly strong universal interpretations, on the order of ‘I have to help’ and ‘I must

help', respectively. Under the scope of *-mI-ø*, the phrase is understood as something like a strong suggestion, while under *-m-iki*, it is understood as a more urgent obligation. That is, here, *-ik* and *-iki* seem to do something like increase the degree of modal force, turning a weak universal modal into a strong one. This is the case, too, where *-mI* takes scope over future-tense verbs. For example, explain consultants, in the case of the future-tense *ri-shaq* [go-1.FUT] 'I will go', a speaker might use *-mI-ø* if she were going to go at some unspecified, possibly very distant future time. In contrast, she might use *-m-ik* if her going were imminent, and *-m-iki* if she were already on her way. The speaker of (4), for example, urgently needed to water her garden and had been on her way to do just that when she got caught up in the conversation. When she uttered (4) she was, in fact, already in motion.

- (4) *Rishaq yakutamiki qawashaq*. AMV
 ri-shaq yaku-ta-mi-ki qawa-mu-shaq
 go-1.FUT water-ACC-EVD-IKI look-CISL-1.FUT
 'I'm going to go. I'm going to take care of the water now.'

B.2 The EM's and the interpretation of propositions under conjunctural *-trI*

In the case of the conjunctural *-trI*, all three forms, *-trI-ø*, *-tri-k*, and *-tri-ki*, indicate that the speaker has either direct or reportative evidence for a set of propositions, *P*, and that the speaker is conjecturing from *P* to *p*, the proposition immediately under the scope of the evidential. The *-ik* and *-iki* forms then indicate increases in the strength of the speaker's evidence and generally correspond to increases in certainty of conjecture.

In case a verb under its scope is not already modalized or not already specified for modal force or conversational base by virtue of its morphology, *-trI* assigns the values [universal] and [epistemic], for force and base, respectively. So, for example, the progressive present-tense *kama-ta awa-ya-n* [blanket-ACC weave-PROG-3] 'is weaving a blanket' and the simple past-tense *wañu-rqa-ø* [die-PST-3] 'died', both unmodalized and therefore necessarily not specified for either modal force or conversational base, receive universal epistemic interpretations under the scope of *-trI*: 'he would/must be weaving a blanket' and 'he would/must have died', respectively. Speakers bilingual in Yauyos and Spanish consistently translate and simple-present- and simple-past-tense verbs under the scope of

-*trI* with the future and future perfect, respectively. The *awa-ya-n* ‘is weaving’ and *wañu-rqa-ø* ‘died’ of the examples immediately above are translated ‘*estará tejiendo*’ and ‘*habrá muerto*’, respectively. In English, ‘would’ and ‘must’ will have to do the job.

Present-tense conditional verbs in SYQ may receive at least existential ability, circumstantial, deontic, epistemic and teleological interpretations. Past-tense conditional verbs may, in addition to these, also receive universal deontic and epistemic interpretations. That is, present-tense conditionals are specified for modal force [existential], but not modal base, while past-tense conditionals are specified for neither force nor base. -*trI* restricts the interpretation of conditionals, generally excluding all but epistemic readings. In the case of past-tense conditionals, it generally excludes all but universal readings, as well. For example, although the present-tense conditional of (5), *saya-ru-chuwan* ‘we could stand around’, is normally five-ways ambiguous, under the scope of -*trI*, only the existential epistemic reading is available: ‘it could happen that we stand around’. Similarly, although the past-tense conditional of (6), *miku-ra-ma-n-man ka-rqa-ø* ‘could/would/should/might have eaten me’, is normally seven-ways ambiguous, under the scope of -*trI*, only the universal epistemic reading is available: ‘the Devil would necessarily have eaten me’. The context for (1) – a discussion of women and alcohol – supports the epistemic reading. The speaker, a woman who in her eighty-odd years had never taken alcohol, was speculating on what would happen if women were to drink. Her conclusion: it’s possible we would stand around naked, going crazy.

- (1) *Qalapisi sayaruchuwan-tri lukuyarishpaqa.* AMV
 qala-pis saya-ru-chuwan-tri luku-ya-ri-shpa-qa
 naked-ADD stand-URGT-1PL.COND-EVC crazy-INCH-INCEP-SUBIS-TOP
 ‘We could also stand around naked, going crazy.’

- (2) *Mana chay kaptinqa mikuramanmantri karqa chay dimunyu-kuna.* AMV
 mana chay ka-pti-n-qa miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri ka-rqa
 no DEM.D be-SUBDS-3-TOP eat-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC be-PST
 chay dimunyu-kuna
 DEM.D devil-PL
 ‘If not for that, the Devil might have eaten me.’

If it is the case, as Copley (2009) argue, and Matthewson, Rullmann & Davis (2005) that the future tense is a modal specified for both force, [universal], and

base, [metaphysical] or [circumstantial], *-trI* should have no effect on the interpretation of mode in the case of future-tense verbs. This is indeed the case. For example, both the *tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga* of (7) and *ashna-ku-lla-shaq* of (8) receive exactly the interpretations they would have were they not under the scope of *-trI*: 'they will accompany me sitting' and 'I'm going to stink', respectively. This does not mean that *-trI-ø/ik/iki* has no effect on the interpretation of future-tense verbs, however. Although it leaves TAM interpretation unaffected, *-trI* continues to indicate that the proposition under its scope is a conjecture. And *-ik* and *-iki*, as they do in conjunction with *-mI*, indicate increasingly immediate or certain futures. So, although the TAM interpretations of (3)'s *tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga* 'will accompany me sitting' and (4)'s *ashna-ku-lla-shaq* 'I'm going to stink' are unchanged under the scope of *-trI*, the *-ik* of the first and the *-iki* of the second signal immediate and certain futures, respectively. In (7), that future was about an hour away: it was 6 o'clock and the coca-consuming companions were expected at 7:00 for a healing ceremony. The context for (8), too, was a healing ceremony. The speaker was referring to the upcoming part of the ceremony in which she would have to wash with putrid urine – certain to make anyone stink!

- (3) *Kukachankunata aparuptiyqa tiyaparuwanqatrik*. AMV
 kuka-cha-n-kuna-ta apa-ru-pti-y-qa
 coca-DIM-3-PL-ACC bring-URGT-SUBDS-1-TOP
 tiya-pa-ru-wa-nqa-tri-k
 sit-BEN-URGT-1.OBJ-3.FUT-EVC-IK
 'When I bring them their coca, they will accompany me sitting.'
- (4) *¡Ashnakullashaqtriki!* AMV
 ashna-ku-lla-shaq-tri-ki
 smell-REFL-RSTR-1.FUT-EVC-IKI
 'I'm going to stink!'

In those cases in which *-ik* and *-iki* modify *-trI*, they generally correspond to increases in certainty of conjecture: a *-tr-ik* conjecture is interpreted as more certain than a *-trI-ø* conjecture; and a *-tr-iki* conjecture is interpreted as more certain still. Recall that under the scope of *-trI*, present-tense conditional verbs generally receive existential epistemic interpretations while past-tense-conditional as well as simple-present- and simple-past-tense verbs generally receive universal epistemic interpretations. In the case of the first, *-k* and *-ki* yield increasingly strong possibility readings; in the case of the second, third and fourth, increasingly strong necessity readings. So, under the scope of *trI-ø*, the present-tense

conditional *wañu-ru-n-man* [die-URGT-3-COND] ‘could die’ receives something like a weak possibility reading; under *-tr-iki*, in contrast, the same phrase receives something like a strong possibility reading. Consultants explain that the *-ø* form might be used in a situation where the person was sick but it remained to be seen whether he would die; the *-iki* form, in contrast, might be used in a situation where the person was gravely ill and far more likely to die. Similarly, under the scope of *-trI-ø*, the simple past tense *wañu-rqa-ø* [die-PST-3] ‘died’ would receive something like a weak necessity reading: it is highly probable but not completely certain that the person died. In contrast, under the scope of *-tr-iki*, the same phrase would receive something like a strong necessity reading: it is very highly probable, indeed, virtually certain, that the person died. Consultants explain that a speaker might use *-ø* form if she knew, say, that the person, who had been very sick, still had not returned two months after having been transported down the mountain to a hospital in Lima. In contrast, that same speaker might use the *-iki* form if she had, additionally, say, heard funeral bells ringing and seen two of person’s daughters crying in the church. (9) and (10) give naturally-occurring examples. In (9), the speaker_i makes a present-tense conditional *-trI-ø* conjecture: She_j could possibly be with a soul (*i.e.*, accompanied by the spirit of a recently deceased relative). The speaker made this conjecture after hearing the report of a single piece of evidence – that a calf had spooked when she_j came near. Surely, whether or not a person is walking around with the spirit of a recently dead relative hovering somewhere close by is a hard thing to judge, even with an accumulation of evidence. In this case, only the weak *-ø* form is licensed. In (10), in contrast, the speaker makes a simple-present-tense *-tr-iki* conjecture: A certain calf (a friend’s) must be being weaned. The speaker, having spent all but a half dozen of her 70-odd years raising goats, sheep, cows and alpacas, would not just be making an educated guess as to whether a calf was being weaned. She knows the signs. In this situation, the strong *-iki* form is licensed.

- (5) *Almayuqpis kayanmantri*. AMV
 alma-yuq-pis ka-ya-n-man-tri
 soul-POSS-ADD be-PROG-3-COND-EVC
 ‘She might be accompanied by a soul.’

- (6) *Anuyanñatriki*. AMV
 anu-ya-n-ña-tr-iki
 wean-PROG-3-DISC-EVD-IKI
 ‘She must be weaning him already, for sure

In sum, Yauyos' three evidentials, *-mI*, *shI*, and *-trI*, each has three variants, formed by the affixation of three evidential modifiers, $-\emptyset$, *-ik*, and *-iki*. The EM's are ordered on a cline of strength, with the *-ik* and *-iki* forms generally indicating progressively stronger evidence. With the direct *-mI*, this then generally corresponds to progressively stronger assertions; with the conjectural *-trI*, to progressively more certain conjectures. In the case of verbs receiving universal-deontic-modal or future-tense interpretations, *-k* and *-ki* indicate stronger obligations and more imminent futures, respectively. *-trI* has the prior effect of changing the modal interpretation of the verbs under its scope. In case a verb under its scope is not already specified for modal force or conversational base by virtue of its morphology, *-trI* assigns the default values [universal] and [epistemic] for force and base, respectively.

B.3 A sociolinguistic note

In a dialogue, $-\emptyset(\varphi)$ will often be answered with *-ik*(φ) or *-iki*(φ), where φ is a proposition-evidential pair. Thus, *Karu-m- \emptyset* 'it's far' may be answered with *Aw, karu-mi-ki* 'Yes, you got it/that's right/you bet you/ummhunn/, it's far'. In (11), the first speaker makes a *-trI- \emptyset* conjecture, 'They must have left drunk'. The second answers with *-tr-ik*, echoing the judgement of the first, 'Indeed, they must have gotten drunk'.

- (1) Spkr 1: '*Chay kidamuq runakuna shinkañatr llusqsimurqa.*' Spkr 2:

'*Shinkaruntri-k.*' AMV

chay kida-mu-q runa-kuna shinka-ña-tr llusqi-mu-rqa

DEM.D stay-CISL-AG person-PL drunk-DISC-EVC exit-CISL-PST

shinka-ru-n-tri-k

get.drunk-URGT-3-EVC-IK

Spkr 1: 'Those people who stayed must have come out drunk already.'

Spkr 2: 'Indeed, they must have gotten drunk.'

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Name index

- Adelaar, Willem F. H., 11, 13, 14, 19,
22, 151, 160, 188, 266
- Adelaar, Willem F. H., 13, 14, 19, 151,
160, 188
- Brougère, Anne-Marie, 15
- Bybee, Joan, 230
- Castro, Neli Belleza, 22
- Catta, Javier, 19
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo M., 8, 9,
13, 19, 21, 22, 151, 209, 275,
307
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo M., 13, 19,
21, 22, 151, 209, 275, 307
- Chirinos-Rivera, Andrés, 14
- Cole, Peter, 19
- Coombs, David, 19
- Coombs, Heidi, 19
- Copley, Bridget, 320
- Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, Antonio, 19
- Cusihuamán Gutiérrez, Antonio, 19,
24
- Davis, Henry, 320
- Echerd, Stephen M., 15
- Echerd, Stephen M., 15
- Ethnologue, 1, 309
- Faller, Martina, 13, 160
- Fennig, Charles D., 309
- Floyd, Rick, 13
- Hardman, Martha J., 13
- Hardman, Martha J., 13
- Heggarty, Paul, 4
- Hermon, Gabriella, 19
- Herrero, Joaquín, 19
- Hintz, Daniel, 12, 19, 151, 184
- Hintz, Daniel J, 12
- Hintz, Diane M, 12
- Landerman, Peter, 4
- Landerman, Peter N., 7, 21
- Landerman, Peter N., 21
- Lewis, M. Paul, 1, 4, 309
- Lewis, M. Paul, 309
- Lozada, Federico Sánchez de, 19
- Martín, Mario D., 19
- Martín, Mario D., 19
- Matthewson, Lisa, 320
- Muysken, Pieter, 160
- Muysken, Pieter C., 13, 14
- Muysken, Pieter C., 13, 14
- Pagliuca, William, 230
- Parker, Gary J., 4, 19, 22, 55, 94, 275
- Parker, Gary J., 19, 22, 55, 94, 275
- Perkins, Revere, 230
- Peterson, Tyler, 160
- Quesada Castillo, Félix, 19, 275
- Quesada Castillo, Félix, 19, 275
- Rullmann, Hotze, 320

Name index

Sánchez de Lozada, Federico, 19

Shimelman, Aviva, 13, 269, 275

Simons, Gary F., 309

Solís-Fonesca, Gustavo, 19

Soto Ruiz, Clodoaldo, 19

Soto Ruiz, Clodoaldo, 19

Swisshelm, Germán, 24

Taylor, Gerald, 2, 4, 7, 9, 15, 19

Torero, Alfredo, 4, 6, 7, 9, 15, 22

UNESCO, 1, 13

Varilla Gallardo, Brígido, 15

Varilla Gallardo, Brígido, 15

Weber, David, 12, 19, 23, 184

Weber, David John, 12

Weber, Robert, 19

Subject index

- ñuqakuna, 36
- ñuqanchikkuna, 36
- ablative, 80
- accompaniment, 232
- accusative, 88
- actor and object reference, 135
- adjectives, 55
 - adverbial, 55, 56
 - gender, 55, 56
 - preadjectives, 58
 - regular, 55
- adverbial, 196
- adverbs, 243
- AILLA, 20, 307
- Alis, 5
- allative, 75
- alternative conditional, 173
- Alto Huallaga, 4, 12
- Alto Marañón, 4, 12
- Alto Pativilca, 4, 12
- Amazonas, 4, 12
- Ap-am-ah, 4, 12
- Apurí, 4, 6
- Argentina, 4, 12
- assenters, 241
- Ayacucho, 4, 12
- Aymara, 13
- Aysa, 13
- Azángaro, 6
- benefactive, 81
- Bolivia, 4, 12
- Cañaris, 4, 12
- Cachuy, 13
- Cacra, 6
- Cajamarca, 4, 12
- case
 - combinations, 94
- causative, 86, 212
- certainty, 261
- Chavín, 9
- Chinchay, 4, 12
- Chocos, 6
- Chocos, 4
- cislocative, 219
- classification, 7
- Colombia, 4, 12
- comitative, 92
- comparative, 72
- Conchucos, 4, 12
- conditional, 165
- constituent order, 281
- continuative, 264
- conventions, vii
- Cuzco, 4, 12
- dative, 75
- different subjects, 190
- diminutive, 212
- discontinuative, 257
- disjunction, 251
- DoBeS, 15, 20, 307

Subject index

- dummy noun, 64
- durative, 187
- Ecuador, 4, 12
- emotive, 268
- emphatic, 250
- enclitic, 247
 - sequence, 248
- endangerment, 13
- evidentials, 268
 - assertive force, 275
 - conjectural, 274
 - direct, 272
 - evidence strength, 277
 - modification, 275
 - questions, 279
 - reportative, 273
- exceptional, 235
- exclusive, 86
- factive, 199
- fourth person, 36
- frequentive, 214
- future, 148
- genitive
 - pa*, 78
 - pi*, 85
- greetings, 241
- Hongos, 6
- Huaihuash, 4, 12
- Huailas, 4, 12
- Huailay, 4, 12
- Huampuy, 4, 8, 12
- Huanca, 4, 12
- Huancay, 4
- Huancaya, 6
- Huangáscar, 4, 6
- imperative, 179
- Incahuasi, 4, 12
- inceptive, 229
- inchoative, 203
- inclusion, 258
- injunctive, 182
- instrumental, 92
- intensive, 234
- interjections, 239
- interrogation, 289
 - chu*, 251
- irreversible change, 233
- iterative past, 163
- Jaquaru, 13
- Jauja, 4, 12
- joint action, 137, 207, 225
- Laraos, 4, 6, 12
- limitative, 73, 198, 218
- Lincha, 4, 6
- loan words, 25
- locative
 - pa*, 78
 - pi*, 85
- Loreto, 4, 12
- Madeán, 4, 6
- modal system, 167
- modals, 165
- morpheme codes, vii
 - sorted by code, vii
 - sorted by morpheme, x
- morphophonemics, 23, 26, 210
- mutual benefit, 226
- negation, 287
 - chu*, 251
- nouns, 32

- gender, 34
- locative, 34
- regular, 32
- time, 33
- numerals, 58
 - huk*, 62
 - cardinal, 58
 - ordinal, 60
 - time, 61
 - with possessive suffixes, 61
- ñuqakuna, 8
- ñuqayku, 8
- orthography, 28
- Pacaraos, 4, 12
- participants, 16
- particles, 239
- parts of speech, 31
- passive, 215
- passive/accidental, 213
- past, 150
- past conditional, 176
- perfect, 159
- perfective
 - ku*, 188
- phonemic inventory, 23
 - consonant, 24, 25
 - vowel, 23, 25
- precision, 261
- prepositions, 242
- progressive, 184
- pronouns, 35
 - demonstrative, 36, 40
 - dependent, 36, 42
 - determiners, 42
 - indefinite, 45
 - interrogative, 45
 - negative indefinite, 45
 - personal, 36
- Proto-Quechua, 4, 12
- psychological necessity, 222
- Puno, 4, 12
- purposive, 81
- reciprocal, 221
- recordings, 15
- reflexive, 201, 215
- repetitive, 223
- restrictive, 255
- same-subjects, 194
- San Martín, 4, 12
- sensual necessity, 222
- sensual or psychological necessity, 205
- sentence, 282
 - comparison, 285
 - complementation, 298
 - coordination, 282
 - emphasis, 298
 - equatives, 294
 - interrogation, 289
 - negation, 287
 - possession, 295
 - reciprocals, 292
 - relativization, 300
 - subordination, 302
 - topicalization, 297
- sequential, 266
- Shining Path, 14, 317
- simple past, 151
 - quotative tense, 156
- simple present, 145
- simulative, 72, 202
- Southern Yauyos, 12
- subordination, 189
- substantive
 - accompaniment, 111

Subject index

- agentive, 100
- case, 70
- classes, 32
- concretizing, 97
- derivation, 96
- derivation from substantives, 110
- derivation from verbs, 97
- infinitive, 106
- inflection, 65
- multi-possessive, 111
- non-exhaustivity, 110
- number inflection, 69
- partnership, 114
- perfective, 103
- possessive, 66, 112
- restrictive suffix, 115
- syntax, 281
- Tana, 6
- to do, 204
- Tomas, 5
- Topará, 4, 6, 9
- topic marker, 262
- translocative, 224
- Tupe, 1, 13
- uninterrupted action, 228
- urgency/personal interest, 230
- Víñac, 6
- verb derivation, 199
- verbs, 117
 - copulative, 120
 - inflection, 126
 - intransitive, 119
 - onomatopoetic, 122
 - transitive, 117
- Vitis, 6
- Yaru, 4, 12
- Yungay, 4, 12

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