

Kichwa Grammar, Part 1 (Notes)

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May 10, 2024

Abstract

These notes offer a personal exposition of Ecuadorian Kichwa, one whose primary purpose is to help me to learn the grammar. This project comprises two parts: a verbal description of the complex properties of Kichwa words (this document), especially the grammatical information carried by morphemic suffixes, and a set of programs that extract these properties from words in a curated, translated corpus of Kichwa sentences (a separate companion document).

As I am neither a native speaker nor a field researcher, none of the information presented here is original, and all is sourced from other, more complete, written grammars (and dictionary). As I am neither a trained linguist nor an expert in indigenous American languages, the usage of grammatical terminology may be improper, nonstandard or even outright incorrect. Some terminology and organization is indeed novel as I have striven both for accuracy in the colloquial meaning of terms and for efficiency in tabular arrangements and sequencing of information. Nevertheless, it is my hope that others may find this summary a useful reference for the grammar, and the accompanying programs effective tools for analyzing Kichwa sentences.

1 Source Materials

All information in these notes is compiled from the following source grammars/dictionary:

- *El Quichua de Imbabura* [EQI], Stark, Carpenter, Concha and Córdova, 1973.
- *Gramática del Quichua Ecuatoriano* [GQE], Javier Catta Q., 1st (1986) and 3rd (1994) Editions.
[covering mostly the variety spoken in Cotopaxi and Chimborazo-Cañar provinces, and the Oriente, but some examples are taken from Imbabura province as well]
- *Kichwa English Dictionary (Shimiyuk Kamu)*, Gualapuro *et al.* (USFQ Press), 2018.
[Unified Kichwa vocabulary with Imbabura pronunciation]

1.1 Discussion of Source Materials and Language Challenges

All texts listed above suffer limitations as sources for learning Kichwa, partly due to internal shortcomings, but mainly because... there is no such language!

Instead, there are many varieties of closely related languages that are to varying degrees mutually intelligible – typically, the greater the geographical distance between speakers, the lesser the overlap in phonology,

vocabulary and grammatical details. The goals of a compiler of Kichwa dictionaries and grammars must therefore be reduced: in the absence of a standard language, there can be no standard grammar; in the absence of universally agreed set of rules of pronunciation, there can be no single one-to-one map of sounds to symbols that all Kichwa speakers might understand.

The language compiler might therefore take one of three distinct strategies:

- One can describe completely a single variety of Kichwa;
- One can widen scope to provide a survey of as many varieties of Kichwa as possible;
- One can create a new, standardized variety of Kichwa to replace the many local ones.

Each of the source works listed above employs a different one of these three strategies for describing the language(s) called Kichwa.

The first strategy is taken by the grammar, *El Quichua de Imbabura*, which covers the specific variety of Kichwa spoken in a zone near San Rafael in the highland province of Imbabura. The list of authors includes linguists who compiled and organized the material, as well as native speakers who attested to the accuracy of the information, including presumably pronunciation and vocabulary. The grammatical information is organized progressively, with chapters headed by dialogues that grow in linguistic complexity, and supported by useful pedagogical exercises. The presentation appears to be reasonably complete, and is a good choice for learning a specific variety of the language.

The second strategy is taken by the grammar, *Gramática del Quichua Ecuatoriano*, which attempts to cover many varieties of the Kichwa language spoken by peoples throughout Ecuador. Here, the linguistic presentation is organized by theme, with grammatical features illustrated in example sentences taken from field recordings. Unfortunately, the information is not presented progressively – grammatical constructions featured in later sections are used in sentences given in earlier ones – and the reader must fully comprehend Kichwa in all its varieties in order to read effectively the given material. Although the location of speakers is provided for many of the example sentences, it is not clear how narrow or how wide is the geographic ambit of usage. Nor is it easy to restrict one’s attention to the grammatical features of any single specific variety. In short this grammar really cannot be used to learn Kichwa (whatever that might mean), but better serves as a kind of survey or as a comparative reference. And for what it is worth the first edition, which is the less ambitious and the one less burdened by linguistic terminology, is (perhaps ironically) a more effective source for language information than the third edition.

The dictionary follows the final strategy listed above, a linguistic and political strategy initiated in the 1980s: wholesale replacement of the many varieties of Kichwa spoken throughout Ecuador with a single standard – Unified Kichwa – intended for use countrywide. It is part of an effort that seeks to standardize orthography, vocabulary and grammar, and it does so not by promoting a single spoken variety, but by creating a pre-conquest ideal in which all Spanish influence is eradicated from the native language.

This is a severe program. By one study approximately 60% of common nouns and 30% of common verbs used by Kichwa speakers in a small village (Aqualongo) in Imbabura are of Spanish origin¹, and the problems introduced by language purification at the root word level are obvious. The problems created by enforcing an orthographic standard are a bit less severe – Kichwa is mainly an oral language, not a written one – but standardized phonetics implies standardized pronunciation, and a literal reading of words using the spelling conventions of Unified Kichwa introduces more semantic chaos, here frequently observed at the more fundamental grammatical level. Should an invented vocabulary differ for a sufficiently wide set of common nouns and verbs, and should the pronunciation be sufficiently altered as well, how many native Kichwa speakers might understand, say, a governmental proclamation issued in Unified Kichwa and broadcast on the radio?

¹Chávez Córdova, S. (2021). *A Comparative Lexical Analysis of Unified Kichwa and Aqualongo De Paredes Kichwa* [Master’s Thesis, University of Saskatchewan].

1.2 Brief Description of Grammatical Features of Kichwa

All varieties of languages in the Kichwa family are synthetic and agglutinative, and all are quite remarkable for their economy and regularity. In agglutinative languages words have two distinct parts, a concrete root word that is listed in dictionaries and a small set of well-defined suffixes through which all grammatical and qualifying information is imparted. Roughly speaking, root words are categorized by the kinds of suffixes they support, and with this in mind for Kichwa there are only two: verbs and nouns.

In synthetic languages main verbs are marked for the person and number of the subject. A single, regular conjugation pattern is followed by all verbs in Kichwa, with small variations in personal terminations across tenses. Information expressed in English through auxiliaries, infinitival constructions or adverbial phrases are achieved in Kichwa exclusively through modal suffixes, adjoined to the verbal root in a well-defined sequence for multiple applications.

The treatment of nouns is a bit more varied. For each concrete root noun in Kichwa there are standard suffixes that generate related nouns, either through abstraction, a change in scope such as aggrandizement or diminution, a specification of role within a sentence, or a possessor/possessed relations between nouns. Although Kichwa grammar provides suffixes for a number of cases, in keeping with the theme of economy and regularity, there is just a single declension, with no grammatical gender and no irregularity in the pattern. Since English adjectives are included within the class of Kichwa nouns, adverbial qualifiers are shared across both Kichwa categories.

Each Kichwa sentence contains a single main subject linked through conjugation to a single main verb, the pair of which brackets additional information on objects. As in English, the main clause may be complemented by subordinate actions that serve the sentence in nounal or adverbial roles. However, unlike English, these subordinate actions, although associated with actors and marked for time, mood and duration through special suffixes, are not conjugated. Indeed the actor-action relationship is better characterized as a kind of augmented noun pair, in which the actor (if different from the subject of the the main clause) appears first, any object complements in the middle, and the action as the last word. As with any other composite noun, all grammatical information is affixed to the final word in any multi-word sequence, and the role of the clause in the sentence is indicated by standard terminations for case or special temporal qualifications that are attached to the action root word.

Deverbal nouns – words derived from verbs that operate as nouns within clauses and sentences – therefore form an important set of words in the Kichwa languages. Temporal relations between clauses are mediated through conjunctive suffixes applied to dependent verbal roots, which are converted to nouns that frequently translate as participles. These suffixes are differentiated by the relative time periods of subordinate and main actions: does the subordinate action finish prior to, take place contemporaneously with, or initiate after the action specified in the main clause? Another class of deverbal nouns, usually translated into English as infinitives, link actions to concrete realized or unrealized consequences or to related substances.

By and large the exposition on Kichwa grammar provided below is an inventory of suffixes, the kinds of words on which they appear, and the multifarious ways in which this single, productive grammatical strategy translates into English.

1.3 The Goal of this Report

Clearly, a complete description of the Kichwa language is not possible for this report. However, a reduced goal of carrying out a systematic grammatical analysis, suitably restricted in variety, is well within reach using the source materials listed above.

It may seem paradoxical given the prior discussion, but the best choice for a grammatical analysis is Unified Kichwa. The vocabulary may be riven with neologisms unfamiliar (and even ugly) to native speakers of all varieties, but the grammar and orthography are regular and complete, based on specific varieties rooted in two areas with many native speakers. Specifically, the grammar of Unified Kichwa is

taken from the variety spoken in Imbabura, while the orthography is said to follow the pronunciation of varieties spoken in Chimborazo [no independent verification of this yet].

The dictionary provides a bidirectional map to/from English for root words in Unified Kichwa, comprising a vocabulary of approximately 3000 words. Many of the entries are supported by example sentences – some entries with multiple examples – numbering approximately 1500 in total. As described above all Kichwa words are composed of two parts, the first a root word and the second grammatical modifications attached as suffixes. Here, the words in the example sentences follow exactly the same pattern, with roots as entries in the dictionary and grammatical modifications listed in the Imbabura grammar. Therefore, the key documents that enable a systematic analysis are the Unified Kichwa dictionary and the Imbabura grammar, both professionally compiled: the dictionary supplies a map and corpus, and the grammar a decoding key, which together facilitate a complete program.

Although the pronunciation of words is irrelevant to a grammatical analysis, the orthographic conventions of Unified Kichwa do actually help matters. In defense of the Unified Kichwa program, the orthographic system was designed at the outset to impart linguistic information rather than literal instructions on pronunciation. It was assumed that each community would impose its own rules of pronunciation on words otherwise commonly spelled. Thus Unified Kichwa imposes regularity, parallelism and suffix differentiation in word representation through spelling, which makes matters easier for the grammatical analyst, if not for the community teacher. Unfortunately, there are many cases in which the rigors of Unified Kichwa orthography are not followed in the example sentences, usually by skipping terminal letters of grammatical importance that are silent in the Imbabura pronunciation. This issue is addressed by adding these silent terminal letters to words in the written corpus, and enforcing grammatical consistency.

1.4 Outline of Work

There are a number of steps required to complete the grammatical analysis:

- Describe the rules of Unified Kichwa orthography (as well as the rules of Imbabura pronunciation);
- Provide a complete atlas of suffixes in Imbabura Kichwa, including noun declensions and qualifications, deverbal noun productions, and verb conjugations;
- Create a database of all words in the Unified Kichwa dictionary, as well as a database of all example sentences and their English translations;
- Generate a set of programs to analyze the corpus:
 - For each word in each example sentence, identify both the root word and the applied suffixes;
 - * Rank the frequency with which each word appears in sentences;
 - * Identify any words that do not appear in the dictionary;
 - * Fix orthographic errors and identify missing grammatical operators;
 - Organize the parsed words grammatically at sentence scale;
 - Develop a set of quiz programs for root nouns and verbs, all grammatical suffixes, and all conjugations.

[As of today this work is largely complete, except for the grammatical organization at sentence scale.]

2 Phonology and Orthography

As discussed above there is no single way of pronouncing or spelling words in Kichwa, universally agreed in all its Ecuadorian varieties. There is, however, a national standard – Unified Kichwa – with a small character set – three vowels and 18 consonants – that is expected to map onto the pronunciations used in local varieties. The small number of vowel characters is derived from the small number of vowels in each

The dictionary represents all root words using the orthography of Unified Kichwa, and provides a pronunciation guide to sounds likely to be heard in varieties of Imbabura Kichwa. The full set of Unified Kichwa characters and (approximate) sounds in Imbabura Kichwa is provided in the following table:

TABLE 1.

- The digraphs listed above – ch, ll, sh, ts and zh – are considered as single characters, each with a separate section in the dictionary;
- Unified Kichwa contains only unvoiced consonants – k, p, t – but may be pronounced as their voiced equivalents – g, b, d – after the nasal consonants, m and n (the correct choice is not always predictable);
- Unified Kichwa does not distinguish between labial and alveolar analogues, so that the letter p can be pronounced as b, f or p, and the letter w may be pronounced as v or w;

- The letter k maps to many sounds, some of which are predictable. Nearly all terminal ‘k’s in the suffixes, for example, are silent, and are frequently dropped in the example sentences. To facilitate grammatical analysis by program, however, they are all put back in!
- The sound [x] is a heavily aspirated h;
- The sound [ʒ] is the sound in the English word, plea[su]re;
- The sound [r] is trilled as in Spanish;
- The sound [ř] is roughly the combination of [r] and [ž], much like the Czech character.

The standard Kichwa orthography requires that two vowels never appear in sequence nor two consonants in a single syllable. The letters w and y are therefore substituted for cases in which the second vowel is u and i, respectively, and for examples in which three consonant sounds occur, one is ignored. (for example, ‘wamra’ in Imbabura Kichwa is pronounced ‘wambra’).

Stress in Kichwa is generally on the penultimate syllable, regardless of the number of suffixes the word may carry.

3 Word Categories

Grammatically, Kichwa root words are categorized by the kinds of suffixes they support and by the kinds of constructions in which they participate, and by this measure there are just two:

- Nouns (covers English nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, deverbal nouns);
- Verbs (especially transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, verbs of motion, and expressions of identity).

This section covers the range of root words contained in each category, with an enumeration of allowable suffixes and the kinds of modifications they effect. Although deverbal nouns are a subcategory of nouns, the discussion of the suffixes that coordinate subordinate and main clauses is delayed until the next section, which covers the grammatical organization at sentence level.

3.1 Verbs

This section covers simple indicative conjugations – other forms such as the optative-subjunctive and compound perfect forms make use of participles, which are introduced below in §3.3.3.

3.1.1 Conjugations

There is a single form for all Kichwa verbs, V·na, for which V refers to the verbal ‘root’ and the suffix, ·na, is the specific termination dedicated to (one class of) infinitives. It is this infinitival form of the verb that appears in dictionaries.

All verbs follow the single pattern for conjugation shown below in TABLE 2, in which markers for tense – the time of action – and for person/number of the subject are affixed to the root. Although minor differences in terminations are observed across tense, no Kichwa verb exhibits any divergence from this pattern, and the conjugation of all verbs in all tenses is regular.

Verb Conjugation/Structure									
Number/Person			Root	suffix Mode(s)	suffix Tense	Terminations			
						Present	Past	Future	Conditional
S	1 st	ñuka	V·	·M·	·T·	·ni	·ni	-	·yman
	2 nd	kan				·nki	·nki	·nki	·nkiman
	3 rd	pay				·n	-	·nka	·nman
P	1 st	ñukanchik	V·	·M·	·T·	·nchik	·nchik	·n	·nchikman
	2 nd	kankuna				·nkichik	·nkichik	·nkichik	·nkichikman
	3 rd	paykuna				·n	-	·nka	·nman

TABLE 2.

The elements of the conjugated verb always follow the same sequence: the word initiates with the verb root (indicated by a center dot to the right of the root symbol, V), followed by well-defined suffixes for mode and tense (indicated by center dots to the left and right of the appropriate symbols, with the specific marker for number and person appearing last (indicated by a center dot to the left of the termination). Constructing the conjugated verb, an example of which is given explicitly below, is simply a matter of sequencing these verbal elements to form a single word.

Note that the third column in TABLE 2 provides the Kichwa subject pronoun for the corresponding number and person of the line: ‘ñuka’ is ‘I’, etc. These are introduced here to facilitate the translation of Kichwa sentences in this section; a more complete treatment of pronouns is provided below in §3.2.3.

3.1.2 Tenses

There are three basic tenses in Kichwa, the past, present and future, as well as a conditional mood, whose suffix markers are provided here:

Tense, ·T·	
Temporality	suffix
Present	-
Past	·rka·
Future	1S/P: ·sha·/·shu· 2 & 3: -
Conditional	-

TABLE 3.

Given that person/number terminations vary by tense, it is a matter of judgment to list tense and terminations separately, or together as single terminations. The choice taken here is to list them separately, and conjugation of verbs in all tenses is achieved by matching the suffix marker for past, present and future tenses in TABLE 3 to the appropriate person/number terminations in TABLE 2. Notice that the suffix markers for present tense for all person/number, and the suffix markers for future tense for second and third persons are blank, with no marker at all.

Although the terminations for the conditional mood are listed with the proper tenses, syntactically it is formed by affixing the termination, ·man, to the fully conjugated present tense. There is a slight nonuniformity in the first person singular, for which the termination changes, ni → y. In §3.2.1.3 below, we shall see that this termination corresponds to a dative case for nouns, a unique instance in which a noun suffix is applied to verbs.

As an example of matching tense to termination, we have the following verb inflections for the first-person

singular:

$$\text{mikuna (to eat)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{mikuni} & (I \text{ eat}) \\ \text{mikurkani} & (I \text{ ate}) \\ \text{mikusha} & (I \text{ will eat}) \\ \text{mikuyman} & (I \text{ would eat}) \end{cases}$$

3.1.3 Modal Suffixes

Kichwa supports a rich set of modal suffixes, represented as $\cdot M \cdot$, that generate new verbs when placed between root and infinitive marker, $r \cdot M \cdot na$. These modal suffixes provide information expressed in English either through particles, auxiliaries or fixed phrases composed of multiple words. Frequently, the basic and modally modified verbs in Kichwa translate into syntactically unrelated verbs in English, an example of which is given by the following,

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mikuna (to eat)} \\ M = \text{chi (to make do something)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{mikuchina (to make eat = to feed)}$$

The full set of modal suffixes is provided here, listed in the sequence in which multiple modes might be applied to a single basic verb root,

Mode, $\cdot M \cdot$		
Mode	suffix	Meaning
Causative	$\cdot \text{chi} \cdot$	make (do)
Directive	$\cdot \text{mu} \cdot$	(do) towards speaker
Intentive	$\cdot \text{kri} \cdot$	going to (do)
Desirative	$\cdot \text{naya} \cdot$	want/need to (do)
Reciprocal	$\cdot \text{naku} \cdot$	(do) to each other
Progressive	$\cdot \text{ku} \cdot$	is/are (do)ing
Durative	$\cdot \text{riya} \cdot$	keep on (do)ing
Reflexive	$\cdot \text{ri} \cdot$	(do) to oneself
First-Person Object	$\cdot \text{wa} \cdot$	(do) to me
Perfect	$\cdot \text{shka} \cdot$	(had done)
Politeness	$\cdot \text{pa} \cdot$	please (do)

TABLE 4.

Although many of the applications of modal suffixes to basic verbs are straightforward – there is a direct map between Kichwa usage and English translations – a few have idiosyncratic usage:

- The intentive suffix, $\cdot \text{kri} \cdot$, is especially important for conjugations in the second person, for which the conjugations do not differentiate present from future.
- The reciprocal suffix, $\cdot \text{naku} \cdot$, has slightly different implications for single and plural subjects:

$$\text{makana (to hit)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{makani} & (I \text{ hit [him/her]}) \\ \text{makanakuni} & (I \text{ hit [him/her and he/she hit me back]}) \\ \text{makunakunchik} & (we \text{ hit each other [we are fighting]}) \end{cases}$$

- The desirative suffix, $\cdot \text{naya} \cdot$, attaches need or desire to actions. There is disagreement between the grammar [EQI] and the dictionary, however, on the proper usage of the suffix: the dictionary provides a sentence in which it is applied to a verb conjugated with a first-person subject:

$$\text{ishpana (to pee)} \rightarrow \text{ishpanayani (I need to pee),}$$

whereas the grammar states that this kind of locution occurs only in impersonal constructions with formal third-person subjects. Furthermore, the grammar states that the most common application is to *noun* roots, which converts the noun to a related verb based on need or desire:

$$\text{yaku (water)} \rightarrow \tilde{\text{nukata yakunayan (I'm thirsty)}}$$

Note that the sentence supports a first-person actor, but the formal grammatical subject is an impersonal third person. Here, the suffix, *·ta*, is the accusative nominative case discussed in greater detail below in §3.2.1.3, which implies that *·naya* converts nouns into impersonal *transitive* verbs. There is also a dedicated verb – *munana* – that expresses desire and need, with a few standard sentence patterns covering different kinds of instances for which the object of desire is an action. Although there are differences between usages in the dictionary and the grammar, the suffix tends to be used in verbal compounds for which the independent verb leads to awkward locutions. [Or there may be subtle distinctions between one usage or the other about which I am unaware!]

- As a modal suffix, the perfect marker, *·shka·*, is combined with the past, present and future tense markers and number/person terminations to generate Kichwa analogues to English perfect tenses. Given an arbitrary verb root, *V·*, conjugations of these forms follow the regular patterns for verbs with modal suffixes, illustrated here in the first person singular:

Perfect Mode/Tenses		
Pattern	Translation	Mode/Tense
V·shkani	I have V-ed	present perfect
V·shkarkani	I had V-ed	past perfect
V·shkasha	I will have V-ed	future perfect

TABLE 5.

The patterns of interrogative and negative verb conjugations are entirely regular. An illustration of the difference between the present perfect and the simple past:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \tilde{\text{nuka V·rkani}} & \text{I V-ed once} \\ \tilde{\text{nuka V·skhani}} & \text{I have V-ed more than once} \end{array}$$

Verb roots that terminate with the perfect suffix also serves as past participles, and in this context are discussed at length in §3.3.3.

- The politeness suffix, *·pa·*, only appears in the imperative, and has the effect of softening the command. Examples are given in the next section on the imperative, §3.1.4.

Finally, as an example of a basic verb root supporting multiple modes, we have the following:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mikuna (to eat)} \\ M_1 = \text{chi (to make do something)} \\ M_2 = \text{riya (to keep on doing something)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{mikuchiriyana (to keep on feeding)}$$

3.1.4 Imperative Forms

The speaker of the Kichwa imperative, as in other languages, addresses commands to other people, either directly or indirectly. The forms of the imperative are provided here in TABLE 6:

Imperative			
Number/Person		Termination	Application
S	2 nd	·y	command
	3 rd	·chun	indirect command
P	1 st	·shun[chik]	‘let’s...’
	2 nd	·ychik	command
	3 rd	·chun	indirect command

TABLE 6.

Naturally, the sense of the command differs by the presence or absence of the person to whom it is directed, and the inclusion or exclusion of the speaker. There is no first-person singular – one does not exhort oneself to others – while the imperative form first-person plural coincides with the future for the case in which the speaker addresses exactly one other person. For the case in which multiple people are so addressed, an additional verbal plural marker, ·chik, affixed to the end. For the second persons the imperative is a direct command, while for the third persons the command is indirect, and, as will be seen below in TABLE 19 below, coincides with the subjunctive participle:

$$\text{rina (to go)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{riy} & (\text{go!}) \\ \text{richun} & (\text{may he/she/they go}) \\ \text{rishun} & (\text{let's go! [1 other person]}) \\ \text{rishunchik} & (\text{let's go! [more than 1 other]}) \\ \text{riychik} & (\text{you all go!}) \end{cases}$$

As described above, the second person commands can be softened with the politeness suffix, ·pa·. For negative commands in all number/person, the word ‘ama’ is used, and is usually translated as ‘don’t’:

$$\text{rina (to go)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{riy} & (\text{go!}) \\ \text{ripay} & (\text{please go}) \\ \text{ama riy} & (\text{don't go!}) \end{cases}$$

Finally, many verbs in the example sentences have second-person terminations in ·nkiy or ·nkiychik, which appear to combine features of both the present and imperative conjugations. These may be valid irregular forms of the imperative for the existence verb, kana (*to be*), for which the second-person forms, ‘kankiy’ and ‘kankiychik’, might prevent confusion of the singular form with the demonstrative (kay, cf. §3.2.2). However, this is not described in either grammar, nor are there any sentences in which someone is exhorted to be! In some cases the English translation is best handled by the present indicative, others by the imperative: all verbs are converted to one form or the other as the translation implies. [There are also a few examples in which the first-person conjugation of kana appears as ‘kaniy’ – this form is also absent from both grammars, and all such examples are converted to the standard present indicative form, ‘kani’.]

3.1.5 Forms of Question and Negation

With a single exception questions are expressed in simple tenses by adding a suffix, ·chu, to the conjugated verb; negations are made by placing the word, mana (*no, not*), in front of the conjugated verb. Examples here show the pattern for the first-person singular present tense, but all (but one) other persons and tenses are treated similarly:

$$\text{mikuna (to eat)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{mikuni} & (\text{I eat}) \\ \text{mikunichu?} & (\text{do I eat?}) \\ \text{mana mikunichu} & (\text{I do not eat}) \end{cases}$$

As a negation suffix, this suffix can also be applied to nouns, as discussed below in §3.2.1.4. The question/negation suffix is always the final one added to a word. There are no examples of, and no discussion of, negative interrogative statements (*eg.*, *do I not eat?*).

The single exception occurs for the conditional mood, for which the question suffix is *·chá*:

mikuymanchá? (*would I eat?*)

This termination is introduced below as a noun suffix of conjecture in §3.2.1.4, below.

For statements of identity expressed using the verb, *kana* (*to be*), the negation suffix is attached to the predicate noun or predicate adjective:

alli (*good*) → mana allichu kan (*it is not good*)

In general question and negation of expressions in compound tenses or in subordinate clauses can be complicated, and are described in the appropriate sections below.

3.2 Nouns

In one sense Kichwa nouns are simple: there are no articles, definite or indefinite, no grammatical or personal gender, and no irregularity in the application of suffixes. All grammatical modifications follow a single, regular pattern, with no changes to either root word or suffix.

There are, however, many suffixes that can be applied to Kichwa nouns in order to qualify their meanings, or define their roles within sentences. The full list of suffixes is provided in this section, as well as nouns that serve special special purposes, such as demonstratives, pronouns, numbers, *etc.*

3.2.1 Noun Suffixes

The full list of suffixes can be categorized as follows:

- Groupings, such as plurals or collections;
- Qualifiers, which specify scope or manner;
- Appraisals, which assert the speaker’s knowledge or doubt on the statement;
- Cases, which declare the nominative role with respect to the governing verb;
- Participles, which are conjunctive deverbal nouns that coordinate subordinate actions;
- A converter from noun to verb.

Each of these are taken in turn in the following subsections.

3.2.1.1 Groupings

The simplest set of noun suffixes are those that aggregate items into collections:

Plural/Grouping Suffixes	
Suffix	Meaning / Use
·kuna	multiple items of a single class
·pura	community wide, sometimes translates as ‘among’
·yuk	container

TABLE 7.

The plural marker, ·kuna, works in Kichwa for ordinary nouns much like the English analogue (·s):

$$\text{allku (dog)} \rightarrow \text{allkukuna (dogs)}.$$

Note, that the application of the plural marker in Kichwa is a bit wider in scope than the English suffix. The third-person singular-plural subject pronouns are distinguished in this way,

$$\text{pay (he, she, it)} \rightarrow \text{paykuna (them)}.$$

(The first and second person pronouns, however, have a special plural marker, ·nchik. See TABLE 14 in §3.2.3 below.)

The community group suffix, ·pura, broadens the application of the noun. An example from Unified Kichwa:

$$\text{kawsay (culture)} \rightarrow \text{kawsaypura (intercultural)}.$$

The container suffix, ·yuk, when applied to a noun root, indicates the collection of things into an integrated whole, for example:

$$\text{shimi (word)} \rightarrow \text{shimiyuk (word container = dictionary)}$$

Finally, it is possible to apply multiple grouping suffixes in sequence,

$$\text{pay (he, she, it)} \rightarrow \text{paykuna (them)} \rightarrow \text{paykunapura (everyone [in the community])}$$

It is frequently the case that the application of suffixes in Kichwa translate into dedicated words in English.

3.2.1.2 Qualifiers

Qualifying suffixes modify the sense of nouns by a change in scope, emphasis or a description or constraint on range. When applied directly to the noun root, the domain of application is restricted to the noun itself, with no effect on the role it may play within a sentence:

Qualifying Suffixes	
Suffix	Meaning
·ku	diminutive
·pacha	everywhere
·pash	additional, frequently translates as ‘also’
·nti	additional, sometimes translates as ‘including’
·shina, ·shna	like, similar to
·tak	emphasizer
·rak	yet, still
·lla	only, stresses a specific property

TABLE 8.

The diminutive suffix, ·ku, is used frequently to express cuteness or endearment:

$$\text{allku (dog)} \rightarrow \text{allkuku (doggie, puppy)}.$$

The aggrandizing suffix, *·pacha*, means ‘Earth’ or ‘world’ as an independent noun and broadens the scope of the noun to which it is applied,

alli	(<i>good</i>)	→	allipacha	(<i>very good</i>)
mana	(<i>no, not</i>)	→	manapacha	(<i>really not at all</i>)
pukushka	(<i>ripe</i>)	→	pukushkapacha	(<i>completely ripe</i>)

The inclusive suffixes, *·pash* and *·nti*, express notions of ‘additional’:

ñuka	(<i>I</i>)	→	ñukapash	(<i>I, too</i>)
shina	(<i>like</i>)	→	shinapash	(<i>in any case</i>)

chuspi (*fly*) → chuspikunanti (*including flies*).

The similitude suffixes, *·shina* or *·shna*, are used to make comparisons and are (among other applications) attached to relative pronouns, along with the emphasizer, *·tak*, to generate standard interrogative forms (*cf.* §3.2.3).

ima	(<i>what</i>)	→	imashina	(<i>how</i>)	→	imashinatak	(<i>how (emphatic)</i>)
chay	(<i>that</i>)	→	chashna	(<i>like that</i>)	→	chashnallatak	(<i>just like that</i>)

The incompleteness suffix, *·rak*, is usually translated as ‘still’ or ‘not yet’,

chawa	(<i>raw</i>)	→	chawarak	(<i>still raw</i>)
mana	(<i>no, not</i>)	→	manarak	(<i>not yet, still not</i>)

The suffix, *·rak*, also translates into English as ‘first’, or ‘instead of another’.

The scope-reducing suffix, *·lla*, brings focus to specific characteristics or translate into English words such as ‘just’ or ‘only’,

amuk	(<i>soft</i>)	→	amuklla	(<i>quite soft</i>)
asha	(<i>few</i>)	→	ashalla	(<i>just a few</i>)
pay	(<i>he, she</i>)	→	paylla	(<i>alone, just him/her</i>)

The combination, *·lla·tak*, is also frequently observed:

ñuka (*I*) → ñukalla (*just me*) → ñukallatak (*myself*)

The scope-reducing suffix is one of the most productive in Kichwa, and can also be added to verbs and deverbal nouns, including infinitives, participles and even conjugated verbs – examples of which are shown below.

3.2.1.3 Case Suffixes

The case suffixes provide information on the roles that nouns play within sentences, especially as

- the actors, actions, means and effects of actions expressed through transitive or intransitive verbs;
- adverbial properties of location in time or space, especially for verbs of motion;

- possessor/possessed relationship between nouns.

The terminology used here for Kichwa case names is borrowed from Latin, predominantly driven by the common roles played by similarly designated nouns. Although there is overlap between the languages, the usage is never completely in alignment, and it is best to think of the case names as descriptive references for specific suffixes.

A list of case suffixes is provided here, along with case name and a rough description of usage,

Case Suffixes		
Suffix	Class	Meaning/Use
-	Nominative (root)	subject, attributive use
·ta	Accusative	direct object
·man	Dative	toward, indirect object
·manta	Ablative	from
·pi	Locative	at
·kaman	Limitive	until, up to
·pak	Genitive	possessor
·wan	Comitative	together with
	Instrumental	by means of

TABLE 9.

- The nominative case is the unadorned form that appears in dictionaries, the one that serves as a root to which all noun suffixes are applied. Grammatically, this case is taken by the subject of the main verb, by both nominal parts of a statement of identity, or by the qualifying noun in an attributive pair. Each of these points is explained further in §6, which provides standard sentence patterns in Kichwa for a wide variety of statements.

As in many languages it is possible to classify Kichwa verbs based on the executors and recipients of action:

- The action is one initiated and experienced by the subject alone → intransitive. For this kind of verb the subject takes the nominative case and the verb is conjugated appropriately:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{allku (dog)} \\ \text{rina (to go)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{allku rin (the dog goes)}$$

- The action is one initiated by the subject and experienced by another person/object → transitive. For this kind of verb, in addition to the usual treatment of subject and verb, the object takes the accusative case:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kaspi (stick)} \\ \text{kuna (to give)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{kaspita kun (he/she gives the stick)}$$

There are, however, many specific applications of the accusative morpheme, in concert with other case morphemes, to organize more complicated interactions between agents and recipients of actions.

– **Sentence with recipient:**

For the case in which the recipient of the direct object – usually referred to as the ‘indirect object’ in English – is the speaker, the modal first person suffix, ·wa·, is used; for all others the dative case is used:

$$\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kaspita kuwan} \quad (\text{he/she gives the stick to me}) \\ \text{allkuman kaspita kun} \quad (\text{he/she gives the stick to the dog}) \end{array} \right.$$

- Sentence with beneficiary:

In other cases the beneficiary is indicated by use of the genitive. Continuing the example cited above, we have in a somewhat artificial example,

rantina (*to buy*) → allkupak kaspita rantirka (*he/she bought a stick for the dog*)

- **Sentence with causative verb:** ·chi· (*cf.* §3.1.3)

Sentences with causative verbs typically describe interactions between an instigator and a subject – the instigator compels the action of the subject – often carried out on a direct object. In Kichwa the instigator is the formal subject of the sentence, while both subject and direct object carry the accusative morpheme:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{aswa } (\textit{chicha}) \\ \text{upyana } (\textit{to drink}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pablu Luistaka aswatami upyachirka. \\ (\textit{Pablo made Luis drink the chicha.}) \end{array} \right.$$

- **Sentence with desiderative verb:** ·naya· (*cf.* §3.1.3)

Sentences whose verbs make use of the desiderative morpheme operate as an impersonal causative – the main verb must be in the third person, and both the person desiring and the object of main verb carry the accusative morpheme:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{aswa} \quad (chicha) \\ \text{upyana} \quad (to\ drink) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Luista aswatami upyanayarka. \\ (Luis\ wanted\ to\ drink\ the\ chicha.) \end{array} \right.$$

- Sentence with passive verb:

The Kichwa sentence pattern that translates into the English passive construction places the accusative morpheme on the animate agent who carries out the action (inanimate agents require the active voice):

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{aswa} \quad (chicha) \\ \text{upyana} \quad (to\ drink) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Luista aswami upyashka karka.} \\ \hspace{10em} (The\ chicha\ was\ drunk\ by\ Luis.) \end{array} \right.$$

The passive construction is discussed in greater detail below in §3.3.4.

Unfortunately, the governance of case by individual verbs can be idiosyncratic, and must be learned one by one.

There are additional uses of the accusative morpheme, some of which are described in greater detail in other sections:

- Adverbial applications convert adjectives to adverbs: *yapa* (*many*) → *yapa·ta* (*too much*);
 - Spatial applications with verbs of motion are described a few bullet points below in this section;
 - Recipient actions of auxiliary verbs – to begin doing something, *etc.* – apply the accusative morpheme to infinitival objects. These are covered in §3.3.2.1;
 - Temporal applications are described in §5.
- The action is carried out upon the subject itself → reflexive. For these kinds of verbs the modal suffixes for self- or mutual-reflexivity, *·ri·* and *·nakur·*, respectively, are used:

$$\text{makana (to hit)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{maka·ri·nchik} & (\text{we hit ourselves}) \\ \text{maka·naku·nchik} & (\text{we hit each other}) \end{cases}$$

- Many of the cases have specific spatial interpretations that translate into various English prepositions when used with verbs of motion:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{purina (to walk)} \\ \text{pampa (field)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pampaman purini (I walk toward the field)} \\ \text{pampakaman purini (I walk up to the field)} \\ \text{pampata purini (I walk by the field)} \\ \text{pampapi purini (I walk in the field)} \\ \text{pampamanta purini (I walk away from the field)} \end{array} \right.$$

Matters of stationary location and relative position, as opposed to matters of movement, are treated below in §3.2.5.

- There are two separate uses for the suffix, *-wan-*, both translated as ‘with’. The comitative covers applications in which another person accompanies the subject (‘together with’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ayllu (family)} \\ \text{kawsana (to live)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [\text{comitative}] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ayllukunawan kawsani} \\ \text{(I live with my family)} \end{array} \right.$$

while the instrumental covers the case in which a tool is used to accomplish a task (‘used with’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{allawka maki (right hand)} \\ \text{killkana (to write)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [\text{instrumental}] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{allawka makiwan killkan} \\ \text{(he/she writes with the right hand)} \end{array} \right.$$

- The ablative case is used to express notions of source:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ayllu (family)} \\ \text{shamuna (to come)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Atawallpa ayllumanta shamunchik} \\ \text{(we descend (come) from the Atawallpa family)} \end{array} \right.$$

Additionally, the ablative case is used to express notions of cause, especially in subordinate clauses. This usage is introduced below in §4, which discusses participles and conjunctions.

- Given two nouns, there are two kinds of possessor-possessioned relations that can be expressed in Kichwa, both for which the possessor and possessed are placed adjacently, and for which the possessor word precedes the possessed. The genitive case is applied to the possessor in the first kind, in which the possessor and possessed are specific, distinct items (or people), or the possession is a temporary condition:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ñuka (I)} \\ \text{misi (cat)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{ñukapak misi (my cat)}$$

For the second kind of relationship the two nouns are simply placed side by side, with no additional connector. This is used for noun pairs that together make a new entity, or otherwise form a more permanent relationship than the first kind:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{yachana (knowledge)} \\ \text{wasi (house)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{yachana wasi (school = ‘knowledge house’)}$$

For noun pairs whose relationship is particularly close, the two nouns may be joined to form a single word. For example, the entry in the Kichwa dictionary for ‘university’ is listed as ‘hatun yachanawasi’ (*big knowledgehouse*).

The genitive case is also used to express notions of purpose, especially in subordinate clauses. This usage is introduced below in §4, which discusses participles and conjunctions.

Finally, note that the word, *mana* (*no*, *not*), does not take case endings, only qualifying suffixes. [maybe a short glossary on *mana* + suffixes]

3.2.1.4 Suffixes of Appraisal (Assertion, Aversion and Doubt)

Kichwa, as a language, puts great emphasis on personal attestation, and encodes the appraisal of facts or conditions in statements through suffixes placed on their constituents. These suffixes include a marker for topicality that identifies the main focus – frequently, but not always, the subject – and others that express knowledge or belief, certainty, doubt or wonderment, typically applied to elements of the predicate. Sentences may contain at most one marker for topicality, while the clauses that comprise the sentence each contain one of the other suffixes of appraisal.

Suffixes of Appraisal		
Sense	Suffix	Application
focus	·ka	topicality
indicative	·chu	interrogative/negative
	·mi	assertion
	·mari	absolute assertion
subjunctive	·chari/chá	conjectural
	·shi	suppositional

TABLE 10.

These suffixes shown in TABLE 10 are very common in Kichwa – nearly every statement in Kichwa makes use of them – and most of the example expressions presented in earlier sections would be more properly phrased with them. Some of the suffixes are grouped by sense into ‘indicative’ and ‘subjunctive’ (my terms), the members of which participate in sentences in slightly different ways. It is, for example, possible to qualify a conjectural suffix with an assertion suffix, while the converse is not observed in any of the cited sources.

A (somewhat artificial) list of the range of expression is provided here, along with usage in combination of some qualifying noun suffixes introduced in §3.2.1.2:

millay (<i>angry</i>) →	{	Manuelka millaymi	(<i>Manuel is angry</i>)
		Manuelka millaychu?	(<i>is Manuel angry?</i>)
		mana Manuelka millaychu	(<i>Manuel is not angry</i>)
		Manuelka millaymari	(<i>I know that Manuel is really angry</i>)
		Manuelka millaychari	(<i>perhaps Manuel is angry</i>)
		Manuelka millayshi	(<i>they say that Manuel is angry</i>)
		Manuelka millaypashchari	(<i>hopefully, Manuel is angry</i>)
		Manuelka millaytakchari	(<i>hypothetically speaking, Manuel is angry</i>)
		Manuelka millaytakmari	(<i>absolutely without a doubt Manuel is angry</i>)

All sentences in the list above are varieties of predicate adjectives, for which a linking verb is required in English. This kind of sentence in Kichwa is formed by adding ·ka to the subject, ·mi or other appropriate suffix of appraisal to the (English) adjective, and an optional linking verb (which is usually absent). An atlas of Kichwa sentence patterns is given below in §6, which shows the placement and interpretation of these suffixes on various parts of more complex sentences.

The suffix for question and negation, *·chu*, is the one introduced earlier for conjugated verbs (*cf.* §3.1.1), with the two distinguished by the presence or absence of the word, *mana* (*no, not*), in the clause. The other suffixes in this class extend speaker qualification to other kinds of mental appraisal, and these suffixes can be applied to conjugated verbs or to nouns affixed with case terminations, as well as to adjectives.

As an example of a conjugated verbs qualified by a suffix of appraisal, as well as an example of the subtlety of its use, we have the following:

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{ima} & (\text{what, cf. §3.2.3}) \\ \text{millanayachina} & (\text{to be disgusted}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{imata millanayachikunkichari} \text{ (Why are you disgusted?)}$$

There are some obvious differences between the English and Kichwa constructions for this statement. The English form is passive, while the Kichwa is active, and the role of subject and object is reversed. The English word, ‘why’, covers more ground than the Kichwa words that translate into it – here, there is less a demand for a complete factual accounting, and some softening of the statement by the conjecture suffix, *·chari*. Another translation of the sentence might be: ‘You seem to be disgusted by something, are you?’

[The readout of the verb is given by *millanaychi-ku-nki-chari*, which chains the verb root, the progressive modal suffix, the second-person singular present, and the conjectural suffixes.]

Another example is given by

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{ñuka} & (I) \\ \text{ima} & (\text{what}) \\ \text{mikuna} & (\text{to eat}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{ñukaka imatapash mikunillami} \text{ (I can eat anything)}$$

Here, the structure of the transitive statement is very similar to the predicate adjectives shown above: the subject is marked with the focus suffix, *·ka*, while the predicate is provided the assertion suffix, *·mi*. This is also an example of the conjugated verb affixed with a suffix of qualification (*·lla*), which generalizes the temporal application of the statement. Also, note that the word ‘imatapash’ is the direct object of the verb, further affixed the ‘addition’ suffix, *·pash*. As described in §3.2.3 below, the presence of the ‘addition’ suffix renders relative pronouns indefinite [so that *imatapash* \rightarrow *whatever*].

[The readout of the verb is given by *miku-ni-lla-mi*, which chains the verb root, the first-person singular present, the scope-reducer, and the assertion suffixes. The readout of the direct object is *ima-ta-pash*, which chains the noun root, the accusative and the ‘addition’ suffixes.]

Finally, the most common way to express the idea of badness is through the negation of goodness:

$$\text{alli (good)} \rightarrow \text{mana allichu (not good, bad)}$$

3.2.1.5 Verbalizer

Nouns can be transformed into related verbs through application of the verbalizing suffix, *·ya·*:

$$\text{hatun (large)} \rightarrow \text{hatunyana (to increase)}.$$

Words formed in this manner are full-fledged verbs, with the usual infinitives, participles and conjugations.

Recall that the desiderative modal suffix, *·naya·*, (*cf.* §3.1.3), also converts nouns to verbs, but is used only in impersonal constructions.

3.2.1.6 Sequences of Suffixes across Noun Groups

As seen in many examples above, nouns are commonly qualified by multiple suffixes. In this case the sequence of suffixes is fixed – some must be placed before or after others. Additionally, there are combinations of suffixes that cannot occur – this is especially true for suffixes that play comparable roles within sentences, or for which the senses imparted to the noun are contradictory.

All noun suffixes in Kichwa are presented in §§3.2.1.1 - 3.2.1.5, and each is placed within columns in TABLE 11. The columns are organized by sequential order for multiple combinations – those in columns to the left must precede those in columns to the right, while suffixes within columns cannot be jointly used in combination.

·ya	·ku ·pacha	·yuk	·kuna	·pura	·nti	·man ·manta ·ta ·pak ·kaman	·lla	·pi ·wan	·rak ·tak ·pash	·chari/·chá ·shi	·mi ·ka ·chu ·mari
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TABLE 11.

Also, it is worth noting that there are times in which the presence of one suffix clobbers another, so that the addition of some requires the removal of others.

3.2.2 Demonstratives and Articles

There is no definite article in Kichwa. However, there are demonstratives, which in many cases accomplish the same purpose:

Demonstratives					
kay	this			kaykuna	these
chay	that			chaykuna	those

TABLE 12.

Additionally, there is no real independent definite article. Here, the word for the number one – shuk – frequently achieves the same end:

Articles	
shuk	singular indefinite article, a
shukkuna	plural indefinite article, some

TABLE 13.

The demonstrative and the indefinite article can be combined: chay shuk (*another one*).

3.2.3 Pronouns

The subject pronouns were introduced in TABLE 2, in the context of conjugations, and are repeated here:

Subject Pronouns			
Person		Singular	Plural
1 st		ñuka	ñukanchik
2 nd	informal	kan	kankuna
	formal	kikin	kikinkuna
3 rd		pay	paykuna

TABLE 14.

For purposes of expediency the table of conjugations lists only a single form for the second person. Here, there are two, which are distinguished in the dictionary as informal (kan) and formal (kikin). For grammatical purposes the two are identical. Unfortunately, the formal second person – kikin – is not discussed in the Imbabura grammar, and is described in GQE as meaning a kind of indeterminate second person ‘in all the provinces’. However, all examples in the corpus refer to specific individuals addressed in the second person, presumably formally. The meaning of ‘formal’ is not provided and no source describes the use of honorifics in the Kichwa languages.

More Pronouns			
Meaning	Relative	Interrogative	Indefinite
what	ima	imatak	imapash
for what	imapak		imapakpash
why	imashpa	imashpatak	imashpapash
how	imashina	imashinatak	imashinapash
how much	mashna	mashnatak	mashnapash
who	pi	pitak	pipash
which	maykan	maykantak	maykanpash
(to) where	mayman	maymantak	maymanpash
(from) where	maymanta	maymantatak	maymantapash
(at) where	maypi	maypitak	maypipash
when		ima hura(s)	

TABLE 15.

The relative pronoun is the base of both interrogative and indefinite pronouns, appended with the suffices, ·tak and ·pash, respectively [although terminations for indefinite pronouns in ·chari are also observed]. In English interrogatives are identical in form, whereas indefinite pronouns are distinguished by the addition of ·ever: for example, what, what?, whatever.

When used as parts of speech other than the subject, the order of case terminations and qualifying suffixes follow the standard order described in §3.2.1.6 above. Here is an example of an interrogative used as a subject and as a direct object, for which the accusative marker (·ta) precedes the emphatic suffix (·tak), within a word:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{kay} & (\text{this}) \rightarrow [\text{nominative}] \text{imatak kayka?} \quad (\text{what is this?}) \\ \text{mikuna} & (\text{to eat}) \rightarrow [\text{accusative}] \text{imatatak mikurkani?} \quad (\text{what did I eat?}) \end{array} \right.$$

As the accusative marker also precedes the ‘addition’ suffix (·pash), the expression of indefinite pronouns as direct objects is written similarly.

The interrogative, when?, is clearly a Castillianism and not present in Unified Kichwa. This form appears to exist only as an interrogative – the clausal usage of the English word, ‘when’, is complicated, involving the conjunctions based on participles, discussed below in §4.

Negative pronouns are rendered as a negated form of indefinite pronouns. The expression in the Imbabura variety is considered a Castillianism by the creators of Unified Kichwa, which substitutes a more ‘native’

linguistic form:

$$no\ one \rightarrow \begin{cases} [\text{Imbabura}] & \text{ni pipash} \\ [\text{Unified Kichwa}] & \text{manapipash} \end{cases}$$

All other negative pronouns follow these patterns.

There is a great deal of subtlety in the application of the suffixes of qualification or appraisal to the relative pronouns. For example,

$$\text{imatak... (what... [interrogative])} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{imashi...} & (I\ wonder\ if...) \\ \text{imatakshi...} & (I\ wonder\ if... [and\ question\ is\ unanswerable]) \\ \text{imami...} & (I\ wonder\ if... [and\ speaker\ is\ truly\ perplexed]) \end{cases}$$

Unfortunately, an in-depth exploration of these kinds of expressions for subtle indications of states of the speaker's mind are beyond the scope of the introductory grammars listed above.

3.2.4 Comparatives and Superlatives

Comparative and superlative expressions – statements of quantity or value of one thing in relation to others – are achieved through fixed patterns that make use of noun-qualifying suffixes described above. For example, given arbitrary nouns, X and Y, and an (English) adjective, A, direct comparative and superlative phrases are created with the help of nouns, yalli (*more*) and tukuy (*all, entire*), as follows:

Comparatives and Superlatives	
Pattern	Translation
X·pash Y·pash...	X as much as Y...
X·ka Y·shna A·mi	X is as A as Y
X·ka mana Y·shna A·mi	X is not as A as Y
X·ka Y·tak yalli A·mi	X is more A than Y
X·ka mana Y·tak yalli A·mi	X is less A than Y
X·ka tukuytak yalli A·mi	X is most A of all
X·ka mana tukuytak yalli A·mi	X is least A of all

TABLE 16.

Note that the word, ‘ashtawan’ (*more*), also works in place of ‘yalli’ – there are example sentences using this in the dictionary as well as in GQE.

There is, however, an interesting example in the dictionary in which the compared items appear as the direct objects of the verb:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{imapash (whatever)} \\ \text{aycha (meat)} \\ \text{munana (to like)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{imatapash yalli aychata munani (I like meat more than anything)}$$

Notice here that the accusative case suffix, ·ta, is applied to both items of the comparison, and clobbers both suffixes in the comparative phrase listed in the table. [There are examples of nouns that are affixed in the accusative and terminated with both topical and emphatic suffixes, ·taka and ·tatak, so it is my guess that it would also be possible to add them back in.]

3.2.5 Spatial Positions

Unfortunately, the way in which Kichwa handles relative positions in space – in front of, behind, *etc.* – is not described in the Imbabura grammar. It is, however, addressed in GQE, and described here.

In English positions in space in relation to an item are mediated by prepositions (*e.g.*, behind the table, above the clouds). In Kichwa relative spatial positions are expressed as joined possessor-possessioned pairs of an item first, followed by an independent noun with the location suffix, ·pi. Here, the item operates as the possessor and the relative position as the possessed.

The list of relative position affixes (with literal meanings of the independent noun) are contained in the following table:

Relative Locations		
Affix	Independent Noun	Relative Position
allimaki	right hand	right side of
chawpi	middle, center	the middle of
chaki	foot	bottommost part
chimpa	facing part	across, the other side of
hanak	far place eyes cannot reach	above
hawa	ceiling, roof	on top of
kancha	outdoors	outside of
karu	distant	far from
kuchu	nearby	near
kinray	slope	on the slope of
llukimaki	left hand	left side of
muyuntin	surroundings	around
ñawpak	first, leader	in front of
pata	edge, cliff, border	at the edge of
punku	door	at the exit of
uku	interior, room	inside
uma	head	topmost part
uray	down there	below
washa	person's back	behind

TABLE 17.

The spatial location is a concept separate from both the item and the relative position, the join is achieved without the possessive suffix, ·pak, and may be written as a single word. However, it is possible to attach the genitive suffix to the item – in this case the second word retains its independent meaning:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Pablu} \\ \text{washa (back)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pablu washapi (behind Pablo)} \\ \text{Pablupak washapi (on Pablo's back)} \end{array} \right.$$

There are, unfortunately, few examples in the sentences that use the words in TABLE 13 to refer to relative positions. All of them, however, are included as entries in the dictionary.

3.2.6 Numbers (Integers)

All integers in Kichwa that lie between zero and a billion are composed in a regular fashion from just 14 separate number symbols:

Number Symbols							
0	illak			5	pichka		10 chunka
1	shuk			6	sukta		100 patsak
2	ishkay			7	kanchis		1,000 waranka
3	kimsa			8	pusak		1,000,000 hunu
4	chusku			9	iskun		

TABLE 18.

Integers within this range are recursively blocked into units of ones, tens, hundreds, thousands with the sequence of unit symbols within blocks arranged from smallest to largest, and across blocks from largest to smallest. An example definitely helps here:

$$\begin{cases} 50 = (5 \ 10) & \rightarrow \text{pichka chunka} \\ 53 = (5 \ 10) \ 3 & \rightarrow \text{pichka chunka kimsa} \\ 653 = (6 \ 100) \ (5 \ 10) \ 3 & \rightarrow \text{sukta patsak pichka chunka kimsa} \end{cases}$$

In truth this pattern matches the English style of converting integers to words, with the difference being the terms for numbers in the teens and for multiples of ten. An example of a larger number:

$$\begin{cases} 653, 653 = [(6 \ 100) \ (5 \ 10) \ 3] \ 1000 \ [(6 \ 100) \ (5 \ 10) \ 3] \\ \rightarrow \text{sukta patsak pichka chunka kimsa waranka sukta patsak pichka chunka kimsa} \end{cases}$$

There is a suffix that converts numbers from cardinals to ordinals – $\cdot\text{niki} \rightarrow \text{kimsaniki}$ (*third*) – but this is a neologism. An example in GQE of an expression found in the Oriente makes use of spatial locutions.

3.3 Deverbal Nouns

Deverbal nouns are ones derived from verbs, generated in Kichwa by adding suffixes to the verbal root. This class of nouns may be organized in three categories:

- Nominalizers;
- Infinitives;
- Participles.

Both infinitives and participles instantiate actions, defining explicit roles for the otherwise completely abstract verb root. Infinitives put focus on the action itself, either as a potential or realized activity, or as the product of activity, while participles place the action in time.

Deverbal Nouns			
Class	Member	Root	Termination
Infinitives	(more) concrete (I)	V·	·na
	(more) abstract (II)		·y
Participles	Habitual		·k
	Past		·shka
	Present		·shpa
	Future		·nka
	Optative		·chun

TABLE 19.

3.3.1 Nominalizers

There is a single nominalizer in Imbabura Kichwa, $\cdot\text{tur/a}$, which is a Spanish borrowing. Added to the verbal root, this suffix yields a person who carries out the activity covered by the verb:

$$\text{hampina (to cure)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{hampitur} & ([\text{male}] \text{ doctor}) \\ \text{hampitura} & ([\text{female}] \text{ doctor}) \end{cases}$$

Note the single instance in Kichwa in which gender is indicated grammatically, by the presence or absence of the final ‘a’. This particular suffix is not a part of Unified Kichwa, and, truth be told, is not really necessary: there is a participial construction described below that achieves exactly the same result. The orthographic presentation in the Imbabura grammar is given by $\cdot\text{dor/a}$ – however, in this writeup the letters of the suffix conform to Unified Kichwa standards.

3.3.2 Infinitives

There are two kinds of infinitives listed in TABLE 19, differentiated by relative potential for or realization of the action defined by the verb. When the two infinitives are listed explicitly as nouns in the dictionary – and there are many instances in which they do – the infinitive terminating in $\cdot\text{na}$ tends to be concrete and realized, while the infinitive terminating in $\cdot\text{y}$ tends to be abstract and undefined. One example is provided by the verb stem for ‘eating’,

$$\text{miku} \cdot \text{ (‘eat’ verb root) } \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{mikuna} & (\text{food that is cooked}) \\ \text{mikuy} & (\text{food that is raw}) \end{cases}$$

and another by the verb stem for ‘doing’,

$$\text{rura} \cdot \text{ (‘do’ verb root) } \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{rurana} & (\text{job}) \\ \text{ruray} & (\text{activity}) \end{cases}$$

However, there are many applications and many fixed constructions in which one form or the other is used, and the logic behind the selection is sometimes difficult to discern or articulate!

3.3.2.1 Infinitival Subjects [Gerunds]

Infinitives listed in the dictionary explicitly as nouns are usually identified as the substances or consequences that follow from verb actions – clearly, these are treated grammatically like all other nouns. It appears, however, that Kichwa also uses infinitives to signify the action itself, one released from the temporal or number/person constraints imposed by conjugation. In English this kind of verbal noun takes the form of an infinitive or gerund, usually appearing as either the subject or predicate noun of a statement of existence or identity. Although unaddressed in either grammar, there is an example of an infinitive (I) used in this way in the sample sentences:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mana (not)} \\ \text{alli (good)} \\ \text{aykina (to cheat)} \\ \text{rurana (to do)} \\ \text{kana (to be)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{aykinaka mana alli ruraychu kan} \\ \text{(cheating is not a good thing to do)} \end{cases}$$

In this sentence the existence verb, ‘kana’, links two infinitives – one as the subject, the other as the predicate noun – in a negative sense. There is a standard pattern for this kind of sentence in Kichwa (sentence categories are described below in §6): the topic suffix, $\cdot\text{ka}$, is attached to the subject, while a

suffix of appraisal, here the negation suffix, *-chu*, is affixed to the predicate noun. The subject, ‘aykina’, takes the form of an infinitive (I) and the predicate noun, ‘ruray’, appears as an infinitive (II).

It is possible that the distinction between (concrete) substance and (pure) action is artificial, one created by English speakers availing themselves of native grammatical tools. There are, for example, many sentences in which infinitives play noun roles, especially type (II). Rarely, however, does the translation take gerund form – for example, in the sentence above ‘ruray’ is translated as ‘thing to do’ (equivalent to ‘activity’), as opposed to ‘the doing of something’.

3.3.2.2 Infinitival Objects

Kichwa has a small number of verbs that take infinitives as objects in fixed constructions that coordinate two actions carried out by a single subject. These verbs express notions of obligation or capacity, or qualify the initiation or completion of an action in time, notions expressed in English by auxiliaries.

The Imbabura grammar is quite clear about the specific form of the infinitive and the presence or absence of the accusative marker that is taken by each main verb:

Auxiliary Constructions			
Verb	Infinitive	Case	Meaning
kana	·na		to have (to do something)
manchana	·na·	·ta	to be afraid (to do something)
kallarina	·y·	·ta	to begin (to do something)
tukuchina	·y·	·ta	to finish (doing something)
tukurina	·y·	·ta	to be done (doing something)
ushana	·y·	·ta	to be able (to do something)

TABLE 20.

An illustration of usage of these verbs with infinitival objects :

$$\text{purina (to walk)} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{purina kani} & (I \text{ have to walk}) \\ \text{purinata manchani} & (I \text{ am afraid to walk}) \\ \text{puriyta kallarini} & (I \text{ am beginning to walk}) \\ \text{puriyta tukuchini} & (I \text{ am finishing walking}) \\ \text{puriyta tukurini} & (I \text{ am done walking}) \\ \text{puriyta ushani} & (I \text{ am able to walk}) \end{cases}$$

These examples are have first-person subjects, but all number/persons can follow these patterns. For third-person subjects statements of obligation usually have a suffix of assertion added to the object verb:

$$\text{purinami kan} \quad (he \text{ must walk})$$

However, this suffix can be observed on the infinitive for any number/person, depending on the sense the speaker wishes to impart.

Matters of question and negation are a bit complicated. According to the grammar, for questions or negations of statements of obligation the tense markers are added to main verb, kana, while the question/negation suffix is added to the object verb:

$$\begin{cases} \text{purinachu karkani?} & (did I \text{ have to walk?}) \\ \text{mana purinachu karkani!} & (I \text{ did not have to walk!}) \end{cases}$$

However, for questions or negations of other verb chains, both tense markers and the question/negation suffix are added to the main verb, kana:

$$\begin{cases} \text{puriyta ushanichu?} & (\text{am I able to walk?}) \\ \text{mana puriyta ushanichu!} & (\text{I cannot walk!}) \end{cases}$$

For both statements of obligation and verb chains all modal suffixes, should they be needed, are added to the object verb.

Although the usage described in the Imbabura grammar and presented in TABLE 17 appears clear cut, there is a parenthetical statement that allows for the use of the more concrete infinitive I (*·na*) as the direct object verbs derived from *tukuna* (*to finish*). Indeed, there is a pair of sentences that show the different usages of both infinitives – and both are translated identically! The dictionary sentences show discrepancies from the Imbabura grammar as well: all examples with *kallarina* (*to begin*) and most examples with *ushana* (*to be able to*) show the object verb in potential form II without the case suffix,

$$\text{rurana (to do)} \rightarrow \text{mana imata ruray ushan[chu] (he/she can't do anything),}$$

with a single exception for which the accusative marker is applied to the object verb. [This example, which comes from the dictionary, lacks the negation suffix, which suggests that actual spoken Kichwa may be a bit freer than stated by the grammar.]

There is more variety in examples derived from *tukuna* (*to finish*), which take the forms *V·na tukuna*, *V·y tukuna* and *V·yta tukuna*. There appears to be a realized/potential difference between usage of infinitives I and II, but no discernable semantic reason for the absence/presence of the accusative marker.

3.3.2.3 Idiomatic usage of infinitive objects for specific verbs:

There appears to be an idiomatic usage of the verb, *rikurikuna* (*riku·ri·ku·na* = *to seem like*), with an infinitive object (I) terminating in *·shna·lla*:

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{kunan} & (\text{today}) \\ \text{tuta} & (\text{night}) \\ \text{tamyana} & (\text{to rain}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kunan tutami tamyanashnalla rikurikun} \\ \text{It seems like it is going to rain tonight} \end{array} \right.$$

3.3.3 Participles

There are five participles listed in TABLE 19 above, all of which carry implications of time and all of which are formed by attaching suffixes to the verb root. Three are temporally localized, marking actions that have taken place in the past, are taking place in the present, or will take place at a specific time in the future. The two others cover actions that have taken place repeatedly in the past, or for which there is some uncertainty or choice about their occurrence in the future:

The specific choice of the habitual or past participle is driven by considerations of duration and state: is the action one that has been carried out repeatedly in the past, and may be considered to be an intrinsic property of the noun so modified, or is the action one that occurred once by which a temporary state of the modified noun is altered, perhaps permanently? Similarly, the choice between future and optative is driven by the certainty of the outcome, or whether the affected noun has choice in carrying it out.

There are two main applications and usages of participles in Kichwa: the first is nominal, with the modified verb acting as or describing a noun, and the second is conjunctive, linking the actions of the subordinate and main clauses by specifying the relationship in time, purpose or cause. The first application is described next in §3.3.3.1, discussion of the second is deferred to §4.

3.3.3.1 Nominal Participial Constructions

In some sense participles lie between infinitives and conjugated verbs, between words that represent the products of action or pure action, and those that are tethered directly to actors who carry out, or may carry out, the signified activity. Participles have indications of time, but none of number/person, and as independent nouns usually carry implications of state, or change of state.

Of the five participles listed in TABLE 19, two are used in a direct nominative sense.

- The habitual participle is used for nouns defined by a durative state, usually derived from an intransitive verb. Frequently, these words incorporate the progressive modal suffix, *·ku·*, when used nominally:

$$\text{wampuna (to swim)} \rightarrow \text{wampu·ku·k·kuna} = \text{wampukukkuna (swimmers)}$$

Here, the sequence of suffixes is offset by center dots for clarity, and the plural marker, *·kuna*, is added to stress its status as a noun.

- The past participle is used for nouns that have toggled state, a transition that may be temporary or permanent:

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{wañuna (to die)} \\ \text{shuti (name)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{wañushkakunapak shuti (dead people's names)}$$

Here, the past participle, ‘wañushka’, is further decorated with the plural and genitive markers, and appears as the first word in a possessor-possessed relationship. Note also that the plural marker, which is placed on the possessor, is not necessary on the possessed.

Both kinds of participle may also operate as single-word adjectives or as adjectival clauses, and usually precede the modified noun. Although the bulk of the discussion of adjectival clauses is given in §4, two simple examples are provided here.

For cases in which the verbal root of the participle is transitive, the clause formed from the participle and its object is placed before the modified noun like any other adjective:

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{aycha (meat)} \\ \text{antawa (vehicle)} \\ \text{apana (to carry)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{aychata apakuk antawa (the meat delivery vehicle)}$$

Here, the word-by-word calque might be ‘meat carrying vehicle’, and since the adjectival qualifier describes the category of vehicle, as opposed to the instantaneous use, the habitual participle is used with the progressive suffix. Had the instantaneous use of the vehicle been the point, the verb, ‘apana’, would have been conjugated in an active sense, and would not have been represented by a present participle.

An analogous example using the past participle of an intransitive verb with a spatial complement is given by

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{wawa (child)} \\ \text{hutku (hole)} \\ \text{washakuna (to fall)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{hutkupi washakushka wawakuna (the children who fell into the hole)}$$

Here, the state of the child’s presence in or out of the hole has toggled, which requires the past participle.

There is also a construction that uses both past and subjunctive participles to express a kind of ‘subjunctive regret’. For arbitrary subject, *S*, and verb, *V*, we have:

$$S \ V\text{-shkachun} \quad (\text{if only } S \text{ had } V\text{-ed!})$$

3.3.3.2 Direct and Indirect Quotations

Direct quotations are word-for-word reproductions of phrases or sentences (*he said, 'I... '*); indirect quotations are paraphrases of statements, usually introduced by relative pronouns (*he said that he...*). Both direct and indirect quotations in Kichwa are expressed as statements that precede the appropriate participle (usually present) of the verb, *nina (to say)*. Neither the participle nor the quoted statements are marked for case, although the participle may possess a suffix of assertion.

An example of a direct quotation:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{karana (gift)} \\ \text{pashi (thank you)} \\ \text{hapina (to take)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{karanata pashi nishpa hapinkiy} \\ \text{([you] take the gift and say 'thank you')} \end{array} \right.$$

Note that the direct quotation is treated as an adverbial complement to the main verb.

An example of an indirect quotation:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wakra (cow)} \\ \text{shuwana (to steal)} \\ \text{huchachina (to accuse)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wakrata shuwashka nishpami Intita huchachinakun} \\ \text{(They are accusing Inti of stealing the cows)} \end{array} \right.$$

Here, the participle that governs the indirect quotation terminates with the assertion suffix, *·mi*.

3.3.4 Compound Tenses and Passive Voice

Compound tenses in Kichwa have two parts: a secondary verb that takes the form of a participle or conjugated verb followed by the main verb, *kana (to be)*. There are three kinds of examples, differentiated by the form of the secondary verb:

- an imperfect tense, which uses the habitual participle;
- a past conditional, which uses the conjugated conditional mood;
- a passive voice, which uses the perfect participle.

The actions of imperfect and past conditionals occur, naturally, in the past, but the passive voice can be expressed in all tenses, all of which are indicated by the tense of the main verb.

The imperfect tense covers actions that occur over an extended period in the past, and may not yet be complete. For an arbitrary verb root, *V·*, we have

$$\text{imperfect} \rightarrow \text{V·k karkani (I used to V)}$$

For interrogative and negative forms of the imperfect the question/negation suffix is added to the participle:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{imperfect interrogative} & \rightarrow \text{V·k·chu karkani (did I used to V?)} \\ \text{imperfect negative} & \rightarrow \text{mana V·k·chu karkani (I did not used to V)} \end{array} \right.$$

Although these examples are given in the first person singular, the other number/persons are indicated by the appropriate conjugation of the main verb, *kana*, in the past tense. Also, all modal suffixes are added to the secondary verb.

The past conditional is also composed of two forms, but here the secondary verb is conjugated into the conditional mood and (with one exception) the main verb is conjugated into the third-person singular past tense. For an arbitrary verb root, *V·*, we have the following:

Class	Pattern	Translation
Past Conditional	V·yman karkani	I would have V·ed
	V·nkiman karka	you would have V·ed
	V·nman karka	he/she would have V·ed
	V·nchikman karka	we would have V·ed
	V·nkichikman karka	you all would have V·ed
	V·nman karka	they would have V·ed

TABLE 21.

The single exception to the general pattern is given by the first-person singular, for which both the secondary and main verbs take first-person singular terminations.

Interrogative and negative statements for the past conditional are treated similarly to those for the present conditional: the interrogative suffix is ·chá and the negative suffix is the usual ·chu. According to the Imbabura grammar, the suffixes are added to the main verb:

$$\begin{cases} \text{past conditional interrogative} & \rightarrow \text{V·nman karkachá} & (\text{would he/she have V·ed?}) \\ \text{past conditional negative} & \rightarrow \text{mana V·nman karkachu} & (\text{he/she would have V·ed}) \end{cases}$$

However, there are example sentences in the dictionary that contradict this for the past conditional negative, and the negation suffix is attached to the secondary verb in the conditional [example below?]

The various expressions of the passive voice are derived from the past participle. The roles of agent and actor in Kichwa passive constructions are opposite to the choice made in English: The English subject is the Kichwa direct object, and the English agent is the Kichwa subject. Given an arbitrary verb, V, object noun, N and subject, S, the patterns for these compound tense are the following:

Class	Pattern	Translation
Passive	N·ta S V·shkami	N is V·ed by S
	N·ta S V·shka karka	N was V·ed by S
	N·ta S V·shka kanka	N will be V·ed by S
	N·ta S V·shka kanman	N would be V·ed by S
	N·ta S V·shka kanman kanka	N would have been V·ed by S

TABLE 22.

The main verb of the passive forms is always third-person singular, even for cases in which the ‘subject’, S, is first or second person. The recipient of the action, N, must be inanimate – for animate recipients an active form must be used.

Interrogative and negative statements in the passive voice are treated similarly to the imperfect: the question/negative suffix is added to the perfect participle:

$$\begin{cases} \text{past conditional interrogative} & \rightarrow \text{N·ta S V·shka·chu karka} & (\text{was N V·ed by S?}) \\ \text{past conditional negative} & \rightarrow \text{mana N·ta S V·shka·chu karka} & (\text{N was not V·ed by S}) \end{cases}$$

Finally, all modal suffixes are attached verb that hosts the past participle.

4 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that join like things together, either nouns that carry out the same role within a sentence – two subjects, for example, or multiple direct objects – or two clauses that are linked by time sequence, motivation, purpose or condition. As with all other aspects of Kichwa grammar, there are no special purpose words that perform these roles; all is achieved through suffixes added to the target words. In some constructions, especially ‘or’ constructions, no suffix is used and it is common to simply list the alternatives side by side.

4.1 Word Conjunctions

There are no noun or verb conjunctions in Kichwa – no individual words like ‘and’ or ‘or’ – rather, linkages of these kinds are achieved by use of suffixes with which the reader is by now familiar. For pairs of nouns, for example, these connectives are expressed by the following:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{allku (dog)} \\ \text{misi (cat)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{or: } \cdot\text{chu} & \text{allkuchu misichu (the dog or the cat)} \\ \text{and: } \cdot\text{wan} & \text{allkuwan misiwan (the dog and the cat)} \\ \text{both: } \cdot\text{nti} & \text{allkunti misinti (both the dog and cat)} \end{array} \right.$$

For longer sequences of nouns ‘and’ and ‘or’ might be expressed either by adding the appropriate suffixes to all, or by listing the nouns in sequence and attaching the suffix to the last one.

For sequence of nouns (joined by ‘and’) that play other roles within sentences the typical syntactic strategy is to terminate each with the appropriate case, skipping the connector, $\cdot\text{wan}$. However, for direct objects the connecting termination $\cdot\text{wan}$ clobbers both the accusative, while the inclusive suffixes clobbers only the first one, so that the first item carries $\cdot\text{ta}$, the second one $\cdot\text{nti}$.

There is, however, a single word for ‘both’ – ‘ishkanti’ – that operates like any other noun with respect to sentence roles and case endings.

4.2 Clausal Conjunctions

Complex sentences in Kichwa are composed of two clauses: one a main clause that, like simple sentences, holds a conjugated verb, and the other a subordinate clause governed by a participle, infinitive or subjunctive verbal noun. These three cases are taken in turn in the following sections.

4.2.1 Participial Conjunctions

The clauses of complex sentences are most commonly joined by participial conjunctions. The two clauses may share a single subject, or each may possess its own. The relationship between subject and verb in the main clause is one set through conjugation – the verb is modified uniquely (or almost so) for each kind of number/person. The relationship between subject and participle in the subordinate clause, however, is better understood as a kind of dedicated noun pair: participles act grammatically as nouns, and subordinate clauses plays nounal or adverbial roles in sentences ruled by the main verb. Indeed, the participle, like all second nouns in noun pairs, can be marked for case, or suffixes of appraisal, or both, in order to define its relation to the main verb, while its subject is always unmarked.

The relationships between main and subordinate clauses may be temporal, causal, or conditional, or the subordinate clause may play a specific role within the sentence as defined by a case ending. It is not unusual, however, for multiple conjunctive strategies to be used in complex Kichwa sentences. The range of such relationships is provided in TABLE 23, which lists the specific participles and terminations that define conjunctions, as well as a rough English translation:

Clausal Conjunctions				
Participle	Conjunction	Translation	Subjects Coincide	Subjects Differ
future	·nkapak	in order to	yes	yes
	·nkakaman	until		
past	·shkata	that	yes	yes
	·shkawan	with which		
	·shkamanta	because		
	·shka kipa	after		
present	·shpa	while	yes	no
	·shpami	when		
	·shpaka	if		
habitual	·kpi	while	no	yes
	·kpimi	when		
	·kpika	if		

TABLE 23.

Additionally, the table contains information on the coincidence of subject for the two clauses: for the concepts of ‘while’, ‘when’ and ‘if’, the conjunctions – through the base participle – differ for the case in which the two coincide or do not, with no other apparent difference in meaning. The other conjunctions can support either coincident or different subjects. It is useful to bear in mind, however, that Kichwa organizes information very differently from English – the ‘translations’ of conjunctive participles provided in the table are rough. Where English frequently stresses contemporaneity, Kichwa often highlights purpose or cause.

Illustrations of each of these conjunctions, as well as grammatical commentary, are provided in the itemized list below. What quickly becomes clear are the different ways in which information is organized grammatically between Kichwa and English in complex sentences.

4.2.1.1 Clauses with case suffixes

- the subordinate clause as direct object (‘that’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{chukllu} \quad (\text{sweet corn}) \\ \text{purutu} \quad (\text{bean}) \\ \text{chapuna} \quad (\text{to mix}) \\ \text{yanuna} \quad (\text{to cook}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{chuklluwan purutuwan chapushkata yanukuni} \\ \quad \quad \quad (I \text{ am cooking sweet corn and beans mixed together}) \end{array} \right.$$

Note the difference in grammatical organization of information between the Kichwa and English sentences. In English ‘sweet corn and beans’ is the direct object of the verb ‘cook’ and ‘[that are] mixed together’ is an adjectival phrase. In Kichwa the ‘sweet corn and beans’ are the direct objects of the verb ‘to mix’ and the whole clause is the direct object of ‘to cook’. In the Kichwa sentence the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses coincide – both the first-person singular – and a more literal translation might be ‘I mixed together sweet corn and beans; I am cooking the result.’

Also note that the suffixes, ·wan, clobber the accusative suffixes in the subordinate clause.

- the subordinate clause as instrument (‘with which’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{api} \quad (\text{soup}) \\ \text{apamuna} \quad (\text{to bring}) \\ \text{rurana} \quad (\text{to make}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{apita rurasha pay apamushkawan} \\ \quad \quad \quad (I \text{ will make the soup with what he/she brought}) \end{array} \right.$$

Note that the clause to which the instrumental case is applied, ‘pay apamushka’, is understood as a concrete noun, whereas the analogous English clause is an adjectival qualifier that requires an explicit noun (in the translation ‘what’ could be replaced by ‘the ingredients’, for example). Also, the subjects of main and subordinate clauses differ.

In all cases for which past participles are affixed case endings the state of the subordinate action is complete. For expressions in which the state is to be determined the subjunctive participle or an infinitive (II) is used instead (*cf.* §4.2.2).

- the subordinate clause as cause (‘because’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{chaki} & (\text{foot}) \\ \text{pakina} & (\text{to break}) \\ \text{hamka} & (\text{lame}) \\ \text{sakirina} & (\text{to be left in a state}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mariaka chaki pakirishkamantami hamka sakirirka} \\ \text{(because Maria broke her foot, she is now lame)} \end{array} \right.$$

Note that the subjects of the subordinate and main clauses are different in Kichwa – Maria is the subject of the main clause, chaki (*foot*) is the the subject of the reflexive verb pakirina – whereas the two coincide in the English. Also, as is typical in Kichwa, the topic suffix (·ka) is added to the subject of the main clause and the suffix of assertion (·mi) is added to the object, which in this sentence is supplied by the conjunctive participle.

- the subordinate clause as purpose (‘in order to’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{wasi} & (\text{house}) \\ \text{yaku} & (\text{water}) \\ \text{apamuna} & (\text{to bring}) \\ \text{larkana} & (\text{to dig a ditch}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wasiman yakuta apamunkapakmi larkanakunchik} \\ \text{(we are digging ditches to bring water to our home)} \end{array} \right.$$

Note the direct and indirect objects – water and house, respectively – are complements of the verb in the subordinate clause in both languages. The suffix of assertion, ·mi, is added directly to the participle, which acts as a noun, to assert that the event happened. The main verb contains the reciprocal suffix, ·naku, which implies the statement is directed within the group.

- the subordinate clause as limit (‘until’):

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{shukarina} & (\text{to get full [from eating]}) \\ \text{mikuna} & (\text{to eat}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{shukarinkakaman mikurkani} \\ \text{(I ate until I got full)} \end{array} \right.$$

This two-word Kichwa complex sentence is quite straightforward, and the first-person subject for the subordinate clause is implied from the first-person past termination on the main verb. [If the subordinate clause had another subject, it would have been explicitly provided.]

The relative timing of events that occur within the main and subordinate clauses, the duration and sequence – concepts mediated in English by words such as ‘while’ or ‘when’, ‘before’ and ‘after’ – are largely expressed suffixes (and one postposition, kipa (*after*)) applied to the subordinate participle. The time of event implied by the participle, however, is measured with respect to the time of the main clause: the usage of the present participle. for example, indicates that the time of event in the subordinate clause is contemporaneous with the time of the main action. The terms past, present and future as applied to participles are borrowed from English – it may be more accurate to think of them as prior, contemporaneous and subsequent participles, respectively.

4.2.1.2 Temporal organization of clauses

- the subordinate clause as subsequent action ('after'):

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{churakuna} & ([\text{piece of}] \text{ clothing}) \\ \text{chuya} & (\text{clean}) \\ \text{takshana} & (\text{to launder}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{churakunakunaka chuyami takshashka kipa} \\ \text{(the clothes are clean after being laundered)} \end{array} \right.$$

The main clause is an existence statement with subject and predicate adjective linked by an implied (*i.e.*, absent) verb, kana (*to be*). The typical pattern for this kind of expression, given an arbitrary noun, N, and adjective, A, makes use of the focus and assertive morphemes: N·ka A·mi. Also, the position of the subordinate clause simply follows the main one.

- the subordinate clause as durative contemporaneous action ('while'):

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{purina} & (\text{to walk}) \\ \text{unkuna} & (\text{to get sick}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{purishpa unkurka} \\ \text{(while (he was) walking, he became sick)} \\ \text{ñuka purikpi unkurka} \\ \text{(while I was walking, he became sick)} \end{array} \right.$$

These two examples show the single difference between a subordinate clause governed by ·shpa and one governed by ·kpi: the coincidence or difference between clausal subjects. The subject of the main clause is inferred from the termination of the conjugated verb, which is the third-person singular for the past tense. Since the verb form in the subordinate clause is not marked for subject, it is necessary to supply one in the second example.

- the subordinate clause as instantaneous contemporaneous action ('when'):

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{pay} & (\text{he/she}) \\ \text{rumi} & (\text{rock}) \\ \text{urmana} & (\text{to fall}) \\ \text{chukririna} & (\text{to get hurt}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Payka rumipi urmashpami chukririrka} \\ \text{(he/she got hurt when he/she fell on the rocks)} \end{array} \right.$$

Note that the main verb is in the past tense, and so the time of the subordinate clause is also in the past, a contemporaneous occurrence as implied by the present participle. Also, the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses coincide.

Although the grammar is rather categoric in its declaration of the translation, ·shpami or ·kpimi → 'when', it is possible to replace the suffix of assertion, ·mi, with other suffixes of appraisal or qualification to express other shades of meaning. The suffix, ·pash, which confers indefiniteness to relative pronouns, *cf.* §3.2.3, affects conjunctions similarly:

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{chay} & (\text{that}) \\ \text{wamra} & (\text{teenage boy}) \\ \text{mashna} & (\text{even}) \\ \text{kunana} & (\text{to advise}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{chay wamrataka mashna kunanakukpipash mana uyanchu} \\ \text{(even when we advise the boy, he doesn't listen)} \end{array} \right.$$

There are a number of subtleties in this statement: the subject of the subordinate clause ('we') can be inferred from the reciprocal suffix, ·naku·, which implies that the speaker is talking inclusively with the listener (no other reciprocal relationship makes sense). The focus is placed on the direct object of the verb of the subordinate clause (thus, wamra·ta·ka), which coincides with the subject of the main clause. The suffix, ·pash, adds an indefinite sense to the temporal statement, implying that there is no specific occurrence that is being addressed, but that it happens repeatedly. Finally,

negation of the main clause is carried out in the usual way.

This construction is sometimes translated as ‘before’, especially when ‘manarak’ precedes the participle:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{churakuna (clothes)} \\ \text{tamyana (to rain)} \\ \text{yaykuchina (to bring in)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Churakunakunata yaykuchinami kanki} \\ \text{manarak tamyakpillatak} \\ \text{(you must bring in the clothes just before it rains)} \end{array} \right.$$

Here, the main clause is a statement of obligation in the second person, so that the form of the secondary verb is an infinitive I with a suffix of affirmation (yaykuchi-na-mi). The distinction between ‘while’ and ‘before’ is made by the presence of ‘manarak’ in the subordinate clause, and the further qualification of ‘just’ is implied by the presence of the scope-reducing and emphatic suffixes, ·lla-tak, on the participle.

The final example of conjunctions shows how the dependency of the main clause on subordinate conditions is handled in Kichwa:

- the subordinate clause as condition:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wayku (valley)} \\ \text{tankana (to push)} \\ \text{lluchkana (to slip)} \\ \text{urmana (to fall)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{lluchkashpaka waykumanmi urmasha} \\ \text{(if I slip, I will fall down to the valley)} \\ \text{tankakpika waykumanmi urmasha} \\ \text{(if (you) push (me), I will fall down to the valley)} \end{array} \right.$$

These two statements show the inference of subjects of the main and subordinate clauses. The main clause must be first-person singular, since the main verb is conjugated in the future first-person singular. In the first sentence the subject of the subordinate clause is also first-person singular, since the temporal state of the conjunctive participle is present. In the second sentence the temporal state of the conjunctive participle is habitual, and the lack of explicit reference to a third-person subject leaves only the person to whom the sentence is addressed.

- the hypothetical passive construction: In this construction the hypothetical condition is combined with the passive form (*cf.* §3.3.4), so that, given arbitrary noun, N, subject, S, and verbs, V₁ and V₂, the pattern appears as

$$N\text{-ta } V_1\text{-shka kakpika, } S \text{ } V_2\text{-rka}\cdot T \rightarrow \text{If N had been } V_1\text{-ed, S would have } V_2\text{-ed}$$

In complex sentences either clause might express a negative sentiment, but only the main clause can ask a question. When the negative expression is in the subordinate clause, *mana* (*not*) precedes the participle, but the negation suffix, ·chu, is absent.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mikuna (to eat)} \\ \text{ushana (to be able to)} \\ \text{puchuna (to be leftover)} \\ \text{wasi (house)} \\ \text{wanllana (to take leftovers home)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mikuyta mana ushashpaka} \\ \text{puchushkataka wasiman wanllanami kanki} \\ \text{(if you can't eat [any more],} \\ \text{you should take the leftovers home)} \end{array} \right.$$

For main clauses, the treatment of both negative and interrogative statements is normal – here is an

example of a negative main clause:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{yuyakyashka (wisdom)} \\ \text{kana (to be)} \\ \text{pankalla (fast)} \\ \text{millayana (to get angry)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sisaka yuyakyashka kashpaka mana pankalla millayanmanchu karka} \\ \text{(If Sisa had been wise, she would not have gotten angry so fast)} \end{array} \right.$$

4.2.2 Infinitival Conjunctions

Although unaddressed by the grammars, there are a number of dictionary sentences in which the conjunction of cause is derived from the infinitive (II), rather than the past participle (*cf.* §4.2.1). In all examples both main and subordinate clauses share the same subject, and the ablative case ending, *·manta*, is affixed to the conjunctive infinitive. The choice between an infinitival or participial base for the conjunction – *V·ymanta v. V·shkamanta* – is driven by the temporal property of the cause: is it a completed state, or is it a habitual or contemporaneous condition?

This example sentence is very similar to the one analyzed to illustrate the use of the participial conjunction of cause:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{purina (to walk)} \\ \text{ushana (to be able to)} \\ \text{aysarina (to drag oneself)} \\ \text{punku (door)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Juanaka mana puriy ushaymantami aysarikurka punkuman} \\ \text{(because Juana cannot walk, she dragged herself to the door)} \end{array} \right.$$

In the sentence in the prior section (translated as ‘because Maria broke her foot, she is now lame’) the state of Maria’s foot has toggled to ‘broken’, which justifies the use of the past participle. In this sentence the condition of being ‘unable to walk’ is one ongoing and contemporaneous with ‘dragging’, and so the infinitive is used. Note also that the accusative suffix, *·ta*, is missing for the infinitival object of the verb of potentiality (despite the assurance of the grammar!).

There are many such examples of infinitival conjunctions, especially with cause turning on the mental state of the subject.

4.2.3 Subjunctive Conjunctions

There are also many examples of conjunctions based on the subjunctive participle. These sentences can be organized in three categories:

- object of *nina* (*to say*)
- object of *munana* (*to want*)
- optative conjunction

These three cases are taken in turn.

The subjunctive participle is frequently used as the object of the verb, *nina*, usually itself a participle:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mantana (to command)} \\ \text{yachan(a) (to do habitually)} \\ \text{nina (to say)} \\ \text{takshana (to wash clothes)} \\ \text{ushi (daughter)} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kampak ushitaka mantanami kanki} \\ \text{takshanata yachakuchun nishpa} \\ \text{(you must tell your daughter to wash her clothes regularly)} \end{array} \right.$$

This construction is a kind of indirect speech (*cf.* §3.3.3.2). The verb, *yachan(a)*, is used only impersonally, and can only be conjugated in the third person. The subjunctive participle is used because it is a

suggestion, not an order, and the daughter can choose to wash her clothes or not. Another translation of the subordinate clause might be ‘that she should wash her clothes regularly’.

In a similar vein the subjunctive participle is also the object of the verb, munana, which can be in any form. Here, munana is the conjunctive participle of a conditional clause:

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{parana} & (\text{to keep}) \\ \text{munana} & (\text{to want}) \\ \text{kururuna} & (\text{to coil}) \\ \text{waska} & (\text{rope}) \\ \text{unay} & (\text{long time}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Waskata unayta parachun munashpaka kururunami kanki} \\ \text{if you want to preserve the rope, you must coil it} \end{array} \right.$$

The translation, which is provided by the dictionary, uses the English word, ‘must’. However, the speaker recognizes that the person addressed may or may not follow the directive, and another translation might be ‘should’.

Finally, the subjunctive participle is also used as a kind of explanatory auxiliary for sentences whose principal verb is transitive and complemented by a direct object. In English this may be expressed as an adjectival phrase that describes the object in a passive sense, or as a trailing infinitive. In Kichwa this is an adverbial participle that precedes a principle verb – perhaps a case of introduction by an implied ‘nishpa’.

$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} \text{chakina} & (\text{to dry}) \\ \text{mantana} & (\text{to spread}) \\ \text{sara} & (\text{corn}) \\ \text{allpa} & (\text{ground}) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{saratami chakichun allpapi mantakuni} \\ \text{(I am spreading out the corn to dry)} \end{array} \right.$$

Note that the word for ‘ground’ follows the participle, and is unambiguously the complement to the principle verb, *mantana*. The word for corn, however, precedes the participle – which verb governs it? It does not help matters that the dictionary contains no verb, *chakina*, but does list *chakirina* (*to dry oneself*), which clearly makes use of the reflexive modal suffix. The transitive verb, *chakina*, is inferred from this entry, and it is possible to interpret *sara* as its direct object. Or perhaps the direct object is shared by both verbs? An alternative translation for this sentence might be, ‘I am spreading the corn on the ground so that it may dry’.

There are four examples of this construction in the dictionary sentences, and all follow this pattern.

5 Temporal Expressions

Temporal expressions place the action of a sentence in time, in either absolute or relative terms. If the specified time is absolute, or makes use of fixed terms for the relative position in time – words such as ‘today’ or ‘tomorrow’ – no suffix is placed on the noun root. If, however, the relative time is specified through displacement, then the noun roots are modified by case endings as listed:

Temporal Expressions		
Kichwa Expression	Verb Tense	Translation
(ma)na [time period]·mi tukun	past	[time period] ago
[time period]·pi	future	[time period] from now
[time period]·ta	all	for [time period] (duration)

TABLE 24.

There are some idiomatic expressions for the preceding and following time periods. The Kichwa for ‘last month’ is ‘kayna killa’, which translates literally as ‘yesterday month’; the Kichwa for ‘next month’ is

‘kaya killa’, which is ‘tomorrow month’. The phrases, kayna punchu (*yesterday day*) and kaya punchu (*tomorrow day*), are also frequently seen in the sentences.

6 Kichwa Sentence Forms

6.1 Identification of Subject

Identification of sentence subject:

- prior to identification of the subject, it is necessary to locate the main verb and all subordinate clause heads
 - impersonal (no subject)
 - * some verbs are naturally impersonal (tamyana = ‘to rain’)
 - * some constructions in third person may be impersonal (statement of obligation here may be translated as ‘one must’)
- three kinds of subordinate clauses
 - some must share subjects with main verbs
 - some must not share subjects with main verbs
 - some may or may not
- main verb is conjugated in first or second person → look for appropriate pronouns
- main verb is conjugated in third person →
 - look for noun derived from indefinite subjects ‘pi’ or ‘ima’
 - look for absolute form decorated with focus morpheme
 - look for absolute form decorated with averral morpheme
 - look for first noun in absolute form before

6.2 Statements of Existence (Kana, Tiyana)

6.3 Statements of Possession

6.4 Comparative Statements

6.5 Temporal Statements

6.6 Conditional Statements

6.7 Summary: Constructions with Munana and Nina