A grammar of Yauyos Quechua

Aviva Shimelman
Studies in Diversity Linguistics

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A grammar of Yauyos Quechua

Aviva Shimelman
For my father
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Acknowledgments

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

Table 1 lists the gloss abbreviations employed and the morphemes to which they correspond. Unless otherwise noted, all morphemes are common to all dialects.

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

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<td>[none]</td>
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<td>zero morpheme nominal or verbal</td>
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<td>-y</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>first person nominal inflection, possession</td>
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<td>1₂</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>first person verbal inflection</td>
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<td>1₃</td>
<td>-₁</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>first person nominal inflection, possession</td>
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<td>1₄</td>
<td>-₂</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>first person verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.FUT</td>
<td>-shaq</td>
<td></td>
<td>first person singular future verbal inflection</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.OBJ</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>1P object verbal inflection</td>
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<td>1.OBJ</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>1P object verbal inflection</td>
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<tr>
<td>1&gt;2</td>
<td>-yki₂</td>
<td>AMV, LT</td>
<td>1P subject 2P object verbal inflection</td>
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<tr>
<td>1&gt;2.FUT</td>
<td>-SHQayki</td>
<td></td>
<td>1P subject 2P object future verbal inflection</td>
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<td>first person plural conditional</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>1PLFUT</td>
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<td>first person plural future</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>-yki1</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>second person object</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>-N2</td>
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<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>-nqa</td>
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<td>3&gt;11</td>
<td>-wa1</td>
<td>3p subject 1p object (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>3&gt;12</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td>3p subject 1p obj (ACH, CH, SP)</td>
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<td>3&gt;2</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
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<td>accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)</td>
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<td>agentive</td>
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<td>-man1</td>
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<td>-paq2</td>
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<td>-man2</td>
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<td>CONT</td>
<td>-Raq</td>
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<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>chay</td>
<td>demonstrative, distal</td>
<td>demonstrative (pron. &amp; det.)</td>
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<td>wak</td>
<td>demonstrative, distal removed</td>
<td>demonstrative (pron. &amp; det.)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>kay</td>
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<td>-naya</td>
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<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>DMY₂</td>
<td>dummy verb</td>
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<td>durative-simultaneation verbal inflection</td>
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<td>emphatic</td>
<td>-Yá</td>
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<td>EMPH₂</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>-ARí</td>
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<td>evidential - conjectural enclitic</td>
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<td>EVD</td>
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<td>evidential - reportative enclitic</td>
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<td>non-exhaustive verbal derivation, vv</td>
<td>-kuna₂</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominalizer verbal derivation, vn</td>
<td>-na₁</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>perfect verbal derivation</td>
<td>-sHa₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>partnership verbal derivation, vv</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive verbal derivation</td>
<td>-raya</td>
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Table 1: Continued from previous page.

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<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
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<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>passive, accidental</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl₁ -kuna</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>poss -yuq</td>
<td>possessive</td>
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<td>perf -sHa₂</td>
<td>perfectivizer</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vs</td>
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<tr>
<td>prog -ya₁</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>proh ama</td>
<td>prohibitive particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>pst -Rqa</td>
<td>past tense</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<td>purp -paq₃</td>
<td>purposive</td>
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<td>q -chu₂</td>
<td>question marker enclitic</td>
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<td>reasn -rayku</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recp -nakU</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
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<td>refl -kU</td>
<td>reflexive-middle-med.passive</td>
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<td>repet -pa₃</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
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<td>rpst -sHQA</td>
<td>reportative past tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>rstr -lla</td>
<td>restrictive</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seq -taq</td>
<td>sequential</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
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<td>simul -tuku</td>
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<td>subordinator - adverbial</td>
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<tr>
<td>subds -pti</td>
<td>subordinator different subjects</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
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<tr>
<td>subis -shpa</td>
<td>subordinator identical subjects</td>
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<td>top -qa</td>
<td>topic</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>unint -Ra</td>
<td>uninterrupted action</td>
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<tr>
<td>urgt -RU</td>
<td>urgent, personal interest</td>
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<tr>
<td>vrbz -na₂</td>
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Table 2: Morphemes codes (sorted by morpheme)

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<td>restrictive nominal suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>-chu₂ Q</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ITER</td>
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**Notational conventions**

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
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<tr>
<td>-paq₂</td>
<td>BEN benefactive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₃</td>
<td>PURP purposive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi₁</td>
<td>GEN₂ genitive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi₂</td>
<td>LOC₂ locative</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i₁</td>
<td>ADD additive</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i₂</td>
<td>SUBDS subordinator different subjects</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pU</td>
<td>BEN₂ benefactive, translocative</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puni</td>
<td>CERT certainty, precision</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pura</td>
<td>EXCL exclusive</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-q</td>
<td>AG agentive</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qa</td>
<td>TOP topic</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ra</td>
<td>UNINT uninterrupted action</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
</tr>
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<td>-Raq</td>
<td>CONT continuous</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
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<td>-Raya</td>
<td>PASS passive</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rayku</td>
<td>REASN₁ causal</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ri₁</td>
<td>INCEP₁ inceptive</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
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<td>-RQa</td>
<td>PST past tense</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
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<tr>
<td>-RU</td>
<td>URGT urgent, personal interest</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv (inflective)</td>
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<td>-sapa</td>
<td>MULT.ALL multiple possessive</td>
<td>nominal derivation, nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sHa₁</td>
<td>NPST₁ narrative past</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sHa₂</td>
<td>PERF₂ perfectivizer</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
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<tr>
<td>-shaq</td>
<td>1.FUT first person singular future</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sh₁</td>
<td>EVR evidential - reportative</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shHi</td>
<td>ACMP accompaniment</td>
<td>verbal derivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shpa</td>
<td>SUBIS subordinator - identical subjects</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shQa</td>
<td>RPST reportative past tense</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shQayki</td>
<td>1&gt;2.FUT 1p subject 2p object future</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shtin</td>
<td>SUBADV subordinator - adverbal</td>
<td>nominal derivation, vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sHu</td>
<td>2.OBJ second person object</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shun</td>
<td>1PL.FUT first person plural future</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shunki</td>
<td>3&gt;2 3p subject 2p object</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>ACC₁ accusative (ACH, AMV, LT, SP)</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
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<tr>
<td>-tamu</td>
<td>IRREV irreversible change</td>
<td>verbal derivation, vv</td>
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<tr>
<td>-taq</td>
<td>SEQ sequential</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-trI</td>
<td>EVC evidential - conjectural</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tuku</td>
<td>SIMUL simulative</td>
<td>verbal derivation, nv</td>
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<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>M masculine</td>
<td>nominal, adjetival inflection</td>
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<tr>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>1.OBJ 1p object (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan₁</td>
<td>3&gt;1₁ 3p subject 1p object (AMV, LT)</td>
<td>verbal inflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan₂</td>
<td>INSTR instrumental - comitative</td>
<td>nominal inflection, case</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2:** Continued from previous page.

Continued on next page...
Table 2: Continued from previous page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Category</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-wa-nchik</td>
<td>3&gt;1PL</td>
<td>3P subject 1PL obj (AMV, LT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wa-nki</td>
<td>2&gt;1</td>
<td>2P subject 1P object</td>
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<td>-waq</td>
<td>2.COND</td>
<td>second person conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person (AMV, LT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y2</td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>-y3</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<td>EMPH₁</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
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<tr>
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<td>progressive</td>
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<td>intensifier</td>
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<td>inchoative</td>
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<td>second person</td>
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<tr>
<td>-yki₂</td>
<td>1&gt;2</td>
<td>1P subject 2P object</td>
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<td>-YkU</td>
<td>EXCEP</td>
<td>exceptional</td>
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<td>-yuq</td>
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<td>possessive</td>
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<td>DEM.D</td>
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<td>DEM.P</td>
<td>demonstrative, proximal</td>
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<td>na</td>
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<td>dummy noun</td>
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<td>na-</td>
<td>DMY₂</td>
<td>dummy verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>wak</td>
<td>DEM.D</td>
<td>demonstrative, distal removed</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Further abbreviations:

- C consonant
- lit. literally
- Sp Spanish
- Spkr Speaker
- syq Southern Yauyos Quechua
- V vowel

Notation:

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

Yauyos is a critically endangered Quechuan language spoken in the Peruvian Andes, in the Province of Yauyos, Department of Lima. The language counts eight dialects. These are listed below in Table 1.1. At the time I undertook my research in the area, three of these had already become extinct. The missing dialects are those formerly spoken in the north of the province: Alis-Tomas (AT), Huancaya-Vitis (HV) and Laraos (L). This grammar, therefore, unfortunately, covers only the five southern dialects: Apurí-Madeán-Viñac (AMV), Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar (ACH), Cacra-Hongos (CH), Lincha-Tana (LT) and Liscay-San Pedro (SP).

Table 1.1: The dialects of Yauyos Quechua

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<th>Dialect</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar</td>
<td>ACH</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cacra-Hongos</td>
<td>CH</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lincha-Tana</td>
<td>LT</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Liscay-San Pedro</td>
<td>SP</td>
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<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Alis-Tomas</td>
<td>AT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huancaya-Vitis</td>
<td>HV</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laraos</td>
<td>L</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The lacuna is highly relevant to any conclusions that might be drawn from this study and, in particular, to any conclusions that might be drawn with regard to its significance for the classification of the Quechuan languages, as two of the

---

1 A ten-day town-to-town search undertaken in the north of the province in January 2010 failed to turn up any speakers of Yauyos Quechua. Some speakers of the Quechua of neighboring Huancayo, however, could be found yet.
missing three – Alis-Tomas (AT), Huancaya-Vitis (HV) – were those that, according to previous work (Taylor 1994; 2000), most resembled the QII languages of Central Peru.

The remainder of this introduction begins with a section describing the location of the various towns where syq is spoken and the geography of the region (§1.1). The endangerment of the language is the topic of §1.2. §1.3 catalogs the previous research on the language. Sections §1.4 and §1.5 follow with a brief discussion of the internal divisions among the various dialects of Yauyos and then a slightly longer discussion of the classification of the language. The conventions employed in this volume are detailed in §1.6. §1.7 supplies information about the fieldwork on which this study is based. Finally, (§1.8) lists the tables and sections likely to be of particular interest to students of Andean languages, while §1.9 points to topics where the Yauyos data are potentially relevant to linguists from other subfields.

1.1 Location

The five dialects of syq are spoken in the ten districts: Apurí, Madeán, and Viñac; Azángaro, Chocos, and Huángáscar; Lincha and Tana; Cacra and Hongos; and San Pedro. The first two sets are located in the valley created by the Huángáscar River and its principal tributary, the Viñac River, as can be seen on Map 1.1. The second two are located in the valley created by the Cacra River and its principal tributaries, the Lincha and Paluche Rivers. The two valleys are separated by a chain of rather high and rocky hills. Running from east to west, these are the cerros Pishqullay, Tinco, Punta Tacana, Ranraorqo, Pishunco, Cochapata, Yanaorqo, and Shallalli.

No district except San Pedro is located more than one day’s walk from any other; in the case of San Pedro, it is two.2 The four districts that lie within the province of Yauyos center at 12°62′S and 75°7′W. The principal towns of all the districts except Chocos, Huángáscar, and Tana sit at altitudes around 3300 meters, while those of Chocos, Huángáscar, and Tana sit at just under 3000 meters. The relevant region can be contained within an area of 40 m²; its highest peak reaches 5055 m.3

2 It is not irrelevant to the explanation of the dialect cleavages that this mountain range seems to block the movement of brides from one set of districts to another. Until very recently, newlywed women generally only moved from one town to another within the same valley.

1.2 Endangerment

At the date of this writing, the UNESCO classifies Yauyos as critically endangered. The 18th edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015), however, tags it as “moribund.” Although, as I see it, there is no real likelihood that any dialect of Yauyos will ever be revived, it is early yet to declare it moribund. I estimate that there are about twenty teens who understand the Viñac and San Pedro dialects, as well as many as 80 adults in their forties and fifties who can still speak it relatively fluently. Moreover, although its use is now generally restricted to the discussion of every-day and ritual activities, it is still used frequently among the oldest speakers.

The 1993 Peru census counted 1,600 speakers, 25% of them over 65 (Chirinos-Rivera 2001: 121). That census, however, did not distinguish between speakers of Yauyos and speakers of other Quechuan languages who resided in the province (Chirinos-Rivera, p.c.). This is crucial to the assessment of the data on the Quechua-speaking population of the north of the province. Although there are many Quechua-speaking migrants there – principally from Huancayo, the town with which the north has the most commercial contact – I was unable to locate any speakers of the dialects indigenous to the area. Further, population

Figure 1.1: Map of Andean municipalities of southern Yauyos, Peru
1 Introduction

data in the province tend to be exaggerated for several reasons. First, people who emigrated from the region years or even decades ago remain, nevertheless, officially resident there for reasons of convenience. Second, death certificates are often not issued for the deceased. Less than ten years before that survey – still, to my knowledge, the most recent – electricity had yet to come to the Andean towns of southern Yauyos and the only physical connections between those towns to the rest of the world were three 40-kilometer dirt paths that wound their perilous way 2,000 meters down the canyon. Since that time, the Peruvian government has installed electricity in the region and widened the perilous dirt paths into perilous dirt roads. TelMex and Claro now offer cable television, and buses come and go on alternate days. In short, the isolation that had previously preserved the Quechua spoken in the region has been broken and the language now counts, according to my estimates, fewer than 450 speakers, most over 65, and all but the most elderly fully bilingual in Spanish.

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

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

\[4\] In the space of just one year, spanning 2012 and 2013, fourteen people died in six separate accidents in the region when their vehicles fell from the road down the canyon.

\[5\] It is worth noting that much of the diversity internal to these languages is being lost, as one anonymous reviewer points out.
1.3 Existing documentation

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

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

1.4 The dialects of Yauyos

Yauyos groups together various dialects that, although mutually intelligible, differ in ways that are relevant both to the classification of Yauyos as well as to the current paradigm for the classification of the Quechuan languages generally. That classification is highly contested, and, indeed, has been since the first proposals were suggested in the 1960s (See in particular Landerman 1991).

The Province is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken: the “Quechua I” (Torero) or “Quechua B” (Parker) languages are spoken to its north; the “Quechua II” or “Quechua A” languages, to its south, as the map in Figure 1.3 shows.

For reasons detailed in §1.5, the model that divides the Quechuan family tree into two principal branches doesn’t apply very well to Yauyos, as its different dialects manifest different characteristics of both of branches. Yauyos is, of course, not alone in this, not in the least because the division of the languages into two branches was, arguably, based on rather arbitrary criteria in the first place (See in particular Landerman 1991). The significance of Yauyos lies in the fact that it may represent the “missing link” between the two (See in particular Heggarty 2007). There exist three proposals in the literature – Taylor (2000); Torero (1974); Lewis, Simons & Fennig (2015) – with regard to the grouping of the province’s fifteen districts into dialect bundles. Taylor (2000: 105) counts seven varieties of Yauyos
Quechua, dividing these into two groups along a north-south axis. In the north are the dialects of Alis/Tomas, Huancaya/Vitis, and Laraos; in the south, those of Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac, Azángaro/Huangáscar, Cacra/Hongos, and Lincha/Tana. Taylor classes four of these dialects – the northern dialects of Alis/Tomas and Huancaya/Vitis and the southern dialects of Azángaro/Huangáscar and Cacra/Hongos – as belonging to the \( \text{qi} \) branch; he classes the remaining three – Laraos in the north as well as Apurí/Chocos/Madeán/Viñac and Lincha/Tana in the south – as belonging to \( \text{qii} \). Torero (1974) counted only six dialects, excluding Azángaro/Huangáscar from the catalogue, classing it independently among the \( \text{qi} \) dialects along with with Chincha’s Topará. Ethnologue, like Taylor, includes Azángaro/Huangáscar and adds, even, an eighth dialect, that of San Pedro de Huacarpana, spoken on the Chincha side of the Yauyos-Chincha border. Ethnologue further differs from Taylor in putting Apurí in a group by itself; and it differs from both Taylor and Torero in grouping Chocos with Azángaro/Huangáscar. My research supports Taylor’s grouping of Apurí with Madeán and Viñac; it also supports Ethnologue’s inclusion of San Pedro de Huacarpana among the dialects of Yauyos. San Pedro is located immediately to the north-east of Madeán and Azángaro, at less than a days’ walk’s distance. Although formerly counted a part of the Department of Lima and the Province of Yauyos, a redrawing of

1.5 Classification

Yauyos Quechua was dubbed by Alfredo Torero (1974) a “supralect” and its most careful student, Gerald Taylor, referred to it as a “mixed” language (Taylor 1990:
1 Introduction

2, Taylor 2000: 105). Indeed, the designation of Yauyos as a language may seem, at first, to be no more than a relic of the first classifications of the Quechuan languages not by strictly linguistic criteria but, rather, by geographic criteria. Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where the languages of the two different branches of the Quechuan language family are spoken. Qi is spoken immediately to the north, in the Department of Junín and the north of the Department of Lima; Qii, immediately to the south, in the Departments of Huancavelica and Ayacucho. Yauyos manifests characteristics of both branches. Take first-person marking. Three dialects, Azángaro-Chocs-Huangáscar (ACH), Cacra-Hongos (CH), and San Pedro (SP), use the same marking (vowel length) for the first person in both nominal and verbal paradigms and mark the first-person object with -ma. These are the two characteristics that define a Quechuan language as belonging to the Qi (also called Quechua B or Huaihuash) branch. The other two dialects, Apurí-Madeán-Viñac (AMV) and Lincha-Tana (LT), mark the first person differently in the nominal and verbal paradigms (with -y and -ni, respectively) and mark first-person object with -wa. These two dialects, then, sort with the Qii (A/Huampuy) languages. Indeed, the first three are classed as Qi (specifically, Central-Huancay) and the other two, Qii (specifically Yunagay-Central) (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 247). Nevertheless, the “Qi” dialects, ACH, CH, and SP, manifest few of the other traits that set the Qi languages apart from the Qii languages. They do use ñuqakuna in place of ñuqayku to form the first person plural exclusive as well as -pa(ː)ku to indicate the plural. Crucially, however, so do both the “Qii” SYQ dialects. And none of the five manifest any other of the principal traits that generally set the Qi languages apart from the rest. None use -naw in place of -Sina to form the comparative, -piqta in place of -manta to form the ablative, or -naq in place of -shqa to form the narrative past; and none except for Cacra uses -r (realized [l]) in place of -shpa to form same-subject subordinate clauses. Now, the two “Qii” SYQ dialects manifest several of the traits that set the Qic (Chinchay Meridional) languages apart from the rest. Like the QiiC languages, the AMV and LT dialects use the diminutive -cha, the emphatic -ari, the assertive -puni, and the alternative conditional -chuwan; the AMV dialect additionally uses the alternative con-

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

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

8 The CH dialect is unique in using -traw in alternation with both -pi and -pa for the locative.
1.5 Classification

ditional -waq. Crucially, however, the three “qi” syq dialects, too, use three of these: -cha, -ari and -chuwan. Further, all five share with Ayacucho Q the unique use of the evidential modifier -ki. None of the five manifest any of the other defining traits of the qiic languages: none uses -ku to indicate the first-person plural exclusive or the third-person plural; nor does any use -chka to form the progressive or -nka to form the distributive. Further, none suffered the fusion of */tr/ with */ch/ or */sh/ with */s/. (See Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 226–248) on the defining characteristics of the various Quechuan languages) Rather, the dialects of Southern Yauyos are mutually intelligible, and they together share characteristics that set them apart from all the other Quechuan languages. With the single exception that CH uses the accusative form -Kta in place of -ta, all five dialects employ the same case system, which includes the unique ablative form -paq and unique locative -pi. All dialects use the progressive form -ya;¹⁰ all employ the plural -kuna with non-exhaustive meaning; and all employ the same unique system of evidential modification (see §6.2.11.4). Further, with a single exception,¹¹ the five dialects are uniform phonologically, all employing a highly conservative system¹² that retains all those phonemes hypothesized by Parker and Cerrón-Palomino to have been included in the Proto-Quechua (see §2.3). Table 1.2, below, summarizes this information. Please note that the table presents a somewhat idealized portrait and that the characteristics it posits as belonging exclusively to QII may sometimes be found in qi languages as well. Exceptions of which I am aware are signaled in notes to the table.

The case of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar requires particular attention in this context. Torero (1968: 293, 1974: 28–29) classified Azángaro and Huangáscar as forming an independent group with Topará (Chavin), placing it among the qi Huancay languages. Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 236), following Torero, cites five cri-

---

9 Although all use -chka, unproductively except in sp, to indicate simultaneous action that persists in time.

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

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

12 An anonymous reviewer points out that other Quechuan languages, Corongo among them, for example, are more conservative than Yauyos with respect to some features, including the preservation of the protoform *ñ in “ñi- ‘say’ and ña-ñña ‘right now’. Sihuas, too, preserves elements of proto Quechua not found in Yauyos. In contrast, while Yauyos preserves a few proto-Quechua features not found in either Corongo or Sihuas, it also manifests others that reflect innovations likely adopted from neighboring QII languages.
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Table 1.2: Use of qı, qii and local structures in the five syq dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>ACH</th>
<th>SP</th>
<th>AMV</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Singular nominal inflection</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Singular verbal inflection</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
<td>-ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Singular object inflection</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Plural exclusive pronoun</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusion of */ch/ and */tr/</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-o inflection order</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel length distinctive</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-subject subordinator</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative past inflection</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative -hina</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diminutive -cha</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic -ari</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Plural Altern. Conditional</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Singular Altern. Conditional</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive -puni</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential modifier -kt</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative -pa</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative -paq</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-exhaustive -kuna</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterization of */t/</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Key: *: qı trait; †: qı/qii c trait; ‡: trait shared by all syq dialects not characteristic of either qı or qı/qii.
1.5 Classification

teria for grouping Huangáscar with Topará. Both dialects, he writes, use -pa:ku and -:ri to indicate the plural; both use -shpa in place of -r to form same-subject subordinate clauses; and both use -tamu to indicate completed action; the two dialects, further, are alike in using unusual locative and ablative case-marking. Only three of these claims are accurate. First, Huangáscar, as Taylor (1984) already indicated, does not use -:ri. Second, Huangáscar and Topará may indeed both use unusual locative and ablative case marking, but, crucially, they do not use the same unusual case marking: Huangáscar uses -pa to indicate the locative while Topará uses -man; Huangáscar uses -paq to indicate the ablative while Topará uses -pa (C.-P. himself points out these last two facts). Huangáscar does indeed use -shpa to form subordinate clauses and -tamu to indicate irreversible change. Crucially, however, so do all the dialects of southern Yauyos. In sum, there is no basis for grouping Huangáscar with Topará and not with the other dialects of syq. Torero’s data were never corroborated; indeed, the findings of Taylor and Landerman, the scholars who have most thoroughly studied Yauyos before now, contradict those of Torero.

syq is not a jumble of dialects that, were it not for geographical accident, would not be classed together; it is, rather, a unique, largely uniform language. Although I myself do not believe that the current paradigm can be maintained, I have tried to present the data in a way that remains as neutral as possible with regard to the question of how the internal diversity within the Quechuan language family is best characterized, and, in particular, with regard to the question of whether or not the various Quechuan languages are helpfully construed as belonging to one or the other of two branches of a family tree (See in particular Adelaar 2008). I leave it to other scholars to interpret the data as they see fit. That said, as long as it is maintained, the current paradigm should be revised to more accurately reflect the relationships of syq with/to the languages currently named on the Quechuan family tree as it is currently drawn. That tree groups nine of the eleven districts of southern Yauyos into five sets, assigning each of these sets the status of an independent language. Moreover, two of these sets are actually singletons, as Chocos is listed independent of (Azángaro-)Huangáscar, to which it is identical, and Apurí is listed independent of Madeán(-Viñac), to which it is identical. (Cacra-Hongos, the set that would deserve independent placement, if any did, appears nowhere at all). The fact that all these “languages” are completely mutually intelligible does not justify this. It further seems un-

\footnote{An anonymous reviewer points out that Martha Hardman, Steve Echerd, Rick Floyd, Conrad Phelps – in addition to several students from Universidad San Marcos – have given Yauyos extensive attention, although they may not have added to the storehouse of data on the language.}
justified to place the Quechua of single villages on the level of that of whole nations – Bolivia and Ecuador. I suggest, therefore, that Chocos be joined with (Azángaro-)Huangáscar, and Apurí with Madeán(-Viñač). The first of these new triplets, Azángaro-Chocos-Hunagáscar, should be mutated to join the other “languages” of southern Yauyos, under the category Central Yungay. The four sets should, further, be collapsed and the resulting set called Southern Yauyos. The revised (pruned) tree would then be as in Figure 1.4. In the event that it be necessary to honor the internal diversity that would be obscured by this move, note may simply be made to the fact that this “new” language counts multiple dialects. In this case, Cacra-Hongos and San Pedro de Huacarpana would have to be listed among these.14

Adapted from source:
http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/quechua/Eng/Cpv/Locations.htm#TheTraditionalQuechuaFamilyTree

Figure 1.4: Quechuan languages family tree revised

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

To facilitate comparison with other Quechuan languages, the presentation here follows the structure of the six Quechua grammars published by the Peruvian government in 1976. Readers familiar with those grammars will note the obvious debt this one owes to those: it follows not just their format, but also, in large part, their analysis. The six 1976 grammars cover the Quechus of Ancash, Ayacucho, Cajamarca, Cuzco, Huanca and San Martín. (Parker 1976; Soto Ruiz 1976a; Quesada Castillo 1976; Cusihuamán Gutiérrez 1976; Cerrón-Palomino 1976a; Coombs, Coombs & Weber 1976). Other published grammars of Quechuan languages include Herrero & Lozada (1978) on Bolivian Quechua; Catta (1994) on Ecuadorian Quechua; Taylor (1994) on Ferreñafe; Weber (1989) on Huallaga (Huanuco);15 Cole (1982) on Imabura; Adelaar (1977) description of Tarma Quechua and his (1986) morphology of Pacaraos; as well as the surveys and compilations of Cerrón-Palomino (1987); Cerrón-Palomino & Solís-Fonesca (1990), and Cole, Hermon & Martín (1994).

Words and phrases appearing in italics – like this – are in Quechua. English and Spanish interpretations appear in single quotation marks – ‘like this’. Interpretations are sometimes given in Spanish – the language I used with my consultants16 – as well as English. Transformations (illustrations of changes indicated as a result of morphological processes referenced) are indicated with arrows – like → like this. Quechua words are broken into component morphemes, like this: warmi-kuna. It is the morpheme relevant to the topic in focus that is in bold.

Each section and major subsection begins with an account of the topic under consideration. Terminal subsections supply more extended discussion and further examples, generally about 10, often as many as 30 or even 40. All examples except those indicated with a dagger are taken from the corpus of recordings collected during the course of the documentation of the language. Those with a dagger were elicited. Transcriptions can be checked against the original recordings by downloading the compilation of recordings archived with the corpus.

15 Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out. Hintz (2011) supplies a grammar of aspect and related categories in Quechua, especially South Conchucos Quechua (Ancash).
16 Indeed, all English glosses are my translations from the Spanish glosses my consultants originally supplied. In most cases, the Spanish translations reflected the syntax and semantics of the original Quechua. I sacrificed this in preparing the the English glosses that appear here. I made this choice because the more literal glosses are standard in Andean Spanish – in structures like the possessive ‘su n de a’ (‘his N of a’) – they would not be standard in any English dialect of which I am aware.
typing a couple of words from either the example or its gloss into the search bar and following the recording title and time signature back to the original recording. I am also happy to supply this information. Source titles refer to .eaf files archived with DoBeS and AILLA. File names include three elements: the place in which the recording was made, the initials of the principal participant, and a word or two recalling the principal topic(s). For example, the file Vinac_JC_Cure was made in Viñac, has for its principal participant Jesús Centeno and for its principal topic a curing ceremony. Because of restrictions on file names, no accents are used. So, Azángaro is rendered “Azangaro” and so on.

Glosses were prepared in accord with the Leipzig glossing rules. For reasons of space, two deviations from the standard abbreviations were made: “proximal demonstrative” is not rendered “dem.prox” but “dem.p”; and “distal demonstrative” is not rendered “dem.dist” but “dem.d”. Gloss codes are listed with the notational conventions at page xi, in the section with that name.

1.7 Fieldwork

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

The corpus counts 206 distinct audio and audio-video recordings. The recordings, totaling over 71 hours, were made in the seven districts of Southern Yauyos – Apurí, Azángaro, Cacra, Chocos, Hongos, Huangáscar, Lincha, Madeán, and Viñac – as well as in the district of San Pedro de Huacarpana in Chincha. Recordings include stories, songs, riddles, spontaneous dialogue, personal narrative, and descriptions of traditional activities, crafts and healing practices. Over 28 hours of recordings were transcribed, translated and glossed. The recordings as well as the ELAN time-aligned transcriptions and accompanying videos are archived both at The DoBeS project, housed at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen, The Netherlands, and at the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America at the University of Texas, Austin, USA. All materials can be accessed via those institutions’ websites, http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/ and http://www.ailla.utexas.org/. The more popular video recordings – many transcribed – can also be easily accessed via endangeredlanguages.com. All examples that fol-
low except those noted † were taken from this corpus. It is my hope that these examples will give the reader a sense of the life that supported and was supported by the language.

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

Exactly one hundred participants contributed recordings: AA, DO, Pedro Carrún (Apuri); Victoria Díaz, Gabino Huari, Ernestina Huari, Efrén Yauri (Madeán); Isabel Chávez (Tayamarka); Dona Alvarado, Eudosia Alvarado, Pripodina Auris, Jesus Centeno, Meli Chávez, Delfina Chullukuy, Martina Guerra, Victoria Guerra, Carmen Huari, Aleka Madueño, Acención Madueño, Melania Madueño, Hilda Quispe, Angélica Romero, Saturnina Utcañe (Viñač); Margarita Madueño (Casa Blanca); Floriana Centeno, Emilia Guerra (Esmeralda); Juana Huari, Leonarda Huari, Neri Huari, Corsinia Javier, Cecilia Quispe (Florida); AB (Ortigal); Octavio Arco, Bautista Cárdenas (Llanka); Octavio Sulluchuco (Qanta); Cecilia Guerra, Emiliano Rojas (Quyari); Maria Guerra, Teresa Guerra, Alejandra Quispe (Sutuco); Alejandra Centeno, Macedonia Centeno, Soylita Chullunkuy, Hida Evangelista, Soylita Huari (Tambopata); Urbana Yauri (Yuracayhua); Anselma Caja, Filipa Postillón (Azángaro); Genoveva Rodríguez, Lucía Rodríguez (Colca); Fortunato Gutiérrez, Isak Gutiérrez (Marcalla); Alcibiada Rodríguez (Puka Rumi); Victorina Aguado, Senovia Gutiérrez (Villaflor); Honorato B., Bonifacia de la Cruz, Julia Mayta (Chocos); Benedicta Lázaro, CW, Luisa Gutiérrez, PP, Victoria Quispe, Teódolo Rodríguez, Natividad Saldaña (Huángácscar); Grutilda Saldaño; Eudisia Vicente (Tapalla); Iris Barrosa, Maximina Barrosa, Regina Huamán (Cacra); Archi V., Eduardo Centeno, Dina Huamán, Leona Huamán, SA, Sabina Huamán, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, Maximina Tupac, Erilda Vicente (Hongos); Ninfa Flores, Anselma Vicente, Sofía Vicente (Linchá); Amador Flores, Gabriela Flores, Lucio Flores, Dina Lázaro, Elisa Mancha, Isabel Mancha (Tana); Santa Ayllu, Edwin Fuentes, Neli Fuentes, Elvira Huamán, Sofía Huamán, Lucía Martínez, RF, Rosa O., Maximina Paloma, Juan Páucar (Liscay).
1 Introduction

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

1.8 A note to Quechuanists and typologists

Those already familiar with Quechuan languages will likely be interested in the tables and sections listed in Tables 1.3 and 1.4 immediately below. These indicate differences between Southern Yauyos Quechua and other Quechuan languages as well as differences among the various dialects of syq. The footnotes appearing in these sections may be of interest as well. Those familiar with the literature on Quechuan languages will immediately recognize the presentation and analysis here as very much derivative of much previous work on those languages.

Table 1.3: Tables of more interest to Quechuanists

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### 1.8 A note to Quechuanists and typologists

Table 1.4: Sections of more interest to Quechuanists

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1 Introduction

1.9 Broader interest

Yauyos should be of particular interest to semanticists as well as to students of language contact. Semanticists may find the language’s unusual evidential system of interest, while students of language contact may want to look for evidence of contact between the districts where Yauyos is spoken – that of Cacra-Hongos in particular – with the three Aymara-speaking districts in the same region of the province.

1.9.1 Semantics – evidentials

For typologists and semanticists, Yauyos’ evidential system should be of interest. Evidentials, broadly speaking, are generally said to indicate the type of the speaker’s source of information. syq, like most other Quechuan languages, employs a three-term system, indicating direct, reportative, and inferred evidence (i.e. the speaker has personal-experience evidence for $P$, the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for $P$, or the speaker infers $P$ based on either personal- or non-personal-experience evidence). In syq, the three evidentials are realized -mi, -si, and -tri (See Floyd (1999) on Wanka Quechua; Faller (2003) on Cuzco Quechua). The evidential system of syq is of particular interest because it employs a second three-term system of evidential modifiers. The evidential system of syq thus counts nine members: -mi, -mik, and -miki; -si, -shik, and -shiki; and -tri, -trik, and -triki. The -i -ik, and -iki forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations. §6.2.11 describes this system in detail. (For further formal analysis, see Shimelman 2012 and Shimelman 2014).

1.9.2 Language contact – Aymara

For students of language contact, it is the contact of Yauyos with Aymara that should be of particular interest. The northern branch of the Aymara family is situated entirely in the province of Yauyos (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 173): the Aymaran languages Kawki and Jaqaru are spoken in the central Yauyos municipalities of Cachuy, Aysa and Tupe. There are, further, reports dating from the beginning of the 20th century of other Aymaran-speaking communities in the

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17 An anonymous reviewer points out that South Conchucos has a 5-choice evidential system, and Sihuas a 6-choice system (Hintz & Hintz 2017), while Huallaga has a 4-choice system (Weber 1989).

18 Contact of Quechuan languages with Spanish, of course, is of interest here, as it is in all Quechuan languages.
I was unable to find evidence of any unusual lexical borrowing in Yauyos, *i.e.*, of words – like *(pampa- ‘bury’)* – not also attested in other Quechuan languages. That said, the lexicon I assembled includes only 2000 words, in large part because the vocabulary of the language has been much-reduced, as is to be expected, given that such reduction is one of the symptoms of extreme language endangerment. Those more familiar with the Aymaran languages may, however, still be able to find evidence of calquing or structural influence.

---

2 Phonology and morphophonemics

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

2.1 Introduction and summary

The syllable structure, stress pattern, phonemic inventory, and morphophonemics of SYQ are not extraordinary. Indeed, what is most extraordinary about them is precisely how unextraordinary they are: SYQ is, phonologically, extraordinarily conservative,¹ with four of its five dialects essentially instantiating the systems proposed for Proto-Quechua in Landerman (1991), Cerrón-Palomino (1987: ch.4).

All SYQ dialects retain contrasts between (1) [č] and [ĉ]; (2) [k], [q] and [h]; (3) [l] and [λ]; (4) [n] and [ń]; and (5) [s] and [š].

(1) While in Ecuador, Columbia, Bolivia, Argentina, the east and south of Peru, as well as in Sihuas, Ambo-Pasco, Tarma, Wanka, Lambayeque, Chachapoyas and Cajamarca,² */č/ underwent deretroflection, SYQ retains Proto-Quechua forms like trina ‘female’, trupa ‘tail’, katrka- ‘gnaw’, and qutra ‘lagoon’. In SYQ, traki ‘foot’ contrasts with chaki ‘dry’.

(2) */q/ was neither velarized nor glottalized in SYQ (which is not to say that these processes are the norm). The language retains, for example, the PQ forms qusa ‘husband’, qasa- ‘freeze’, waqa- ‘cry’, aqu ‘sand’, uqu ‘wet’, wiqaw ‘waist’, waqra ‘horn’, and atuq ‘fox’. SYQ thus retains contrasts like those between qiru ‘stick’ and kiru ‘tooth’; qilla ‘lazy’ and killa ‘moon’. */h/ appears in SYQ, as in PQ, principally word-initially, as in hapi- ‘grab’, hampi- ‘cure’, and haya- ‘be bitter’.

(4) In SYQ, [ń] did not undergo depalatalization as it did in the Quechua of Central Peru. [ń] figures in the first-person personal pronoun ñuqa as well as in lexemes such as ñaka-ri- ‘suffer’, ñaña ‘sister’, niti- ‘crush’, ñawsa ‘blind’, and ñañu

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

² Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for calling my attention to the final examples here.
2 Phonology and morphophonemics

‘thin’. Examples of [n]/[ɲ] minimal pairs include *aná ‘mole’ and *añá- ‘scold’; and *ná dmy and *ña disc.

(5) [s] suffered depalatalization throughout the south. Syq, however, retains Proto-Quechua forms such as *shimi ‘mouth’, *shunqu ‘heart’, *shipash ‘maiden’, *washa ‘back’, *ishkay, ‘two’, and *mischki ‘sweet’. [s]/[ś] minimal pairs include *suqu ‘gray hair’ and *shuqu- ‘sip’. One also finds contrasts between the native-borrowed pairs *ashta- ‘move’ and *asta ‘until’; and *asha- ‘yawn’ and *asa- ‘anger’.

None of the dialects includes ejectives or aspirates in its phonemic inventory.

Vowel length is contrastive in the grammars but not the lexicons of the dialects of Azángaro-Chocos-Huangáscar, Cacra-Hongos and San Pedro. In these dialects, as in all the Qi (Qb) languages with the exception of Pacaraos, vowel length marks the first person in both the nominal (possessive) and verbal paradigms (wasi-: ‘my house’ and puri-: ‘I walk’). The Cacra-Hongos dialect is unique among the five in that, in the protomorpheme */r/ is generally but not uniformly realized as [l], and word-initial */s/ and */h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h], and [ś], respectively.³ The first of these mutations it has in common with neighboring Junín.

A note on */l/ Cerrón-Palomino – like (Torero 1964), but unlike Parker (1969) – does not include */l/ in his catalogue of proto-phonemes. He admits, however, that the status of */l/ is controversial. While it does occur in a small number of proto-morphemes, and, indeed, both /l/ and /ll/ occur in all of the Qi contemporary varieties in Ancash and Huanuco, except for Humalies and Margos (thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out), he calls it “Un elemento marginal y parasitario” (“a marginal and parasitic element”). He admits, however, that the hypothesis that Pq included palatal lateral (/ll/) but not a alveolar lateral (/l/) runs into the problem that the universal tendency is that the presence of /ll/ depends on the presence of /l/, but not vice versa Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 123). W. Adelaar (p.c.) writes, “In support of the controversial status of */l/ which runs against the universal tendency that /λ/ presupposes /l/, there is the case of Amuesha (Yanesha’). This language has a generalized palatal vs. non-palatal opposition in its consonant inventory, but precisely */l/ is missing (apparently an areal feature shared with Quechua).” I have postulated an /l/ for Syq, as both [λ]

³ W. Adelaar (p.c.) writes that, at least with regard to the examples given here and below, the “Cacra-Hongos development of */s/ to /h/ is found throughout Junín (with the exception of Jauja). These dialects also use shamu-, instead of hamu-. The first form [...] is typical for Quechua I, and also for Ecuador and San Martin. shamu- may be older than hamu-;” he writes, “but the correspondence is largely unpredictable according to dialects.” An anonymous reviewer adds that Sihuas retains */s/ in sama- ‘rest’, saru- ‘step on’, saya- ‘kick’, and sita- ‘hit’, among others.
2.2 Syllable structure and stress pattern


§2.2 treats syllable structure and stress pattern; §2.3, phonemic inventory and morphophonemics; §2.4, Spanish loan words.

2.2 Syllable structure and stress pattern

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

As in the overwhelming majority of Quechuan languages, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a word (compare yanápa-n ‘he helps’ and yanapá-ya-n ‘he is helping’; awá-raqa ‘he wove’ and awa-rqá-ni ‘I wove’). The first syllable of a word with more than four syllables generally receives weak stress. There are two exceptions to this rule. First, in all dialects, exclamations often receive stress on the ultimate syllable (¡Achachák! ‘What a fright!’ ¡Achachalláw! ‘How awful!’). Second, in those dialects where vowel length indicates the first person, stress falls on the ultimate syllable just in case person marking is not followed by any other suffix (uyari-yá-: ‘I am listening’, ri-rá-: ‘I went’).4

---

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

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

Vowel length is contrastive in the morphologies but not the lexicons of the dialects of ACM, CH and SP. In these dialects – as in all the Q1 (QB) languages with the exception of Pacarao – vowel length marks the first person in both the substantive (possessive) and verbal paradigms (wawa-: ‘my house’ and puri-: ‘I walk’ (rendered ‘wawa-y’ and puri-ni in the AMV and LT dialects)).

In all dialects, the consonant inventory counts seventeen native and six borrowed phonemes. The native phonemes include voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /ch/, /tr/, /k/ and /q/; voiceless fricatives /s/, /sh/ and /h/; nasals /m/, /n/ and /ñ/; laterals /l/ and /ll/; tap /ɾ/; and approximants /w/ and /y/. Borrowed from Spanish are voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /ɡ/; voiceless fricative /f/; voiced fricative /v/; and trill /rr/. In the Cacra-Hongos dialect, the protomorpheme */ɾ/* is generally but not uniformly realized as [l] (*runa > luna ‘person’, *ri-y > li-y ‘go’, *harka- > halka- ‘herd’), and word-initial */s/ and */h/ are generally but not uniformly realized as [h] and [ʃ] (*sapa > hapa ‘alone’, *surqu- > hurqu- ‘take out’).

---

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

6 It is worth noting that in some Q1 varieties – Huaylas, South Conchucos and Huamalies among them – lengthened high vowels lower to mid vowels, e.g., /wayi:/ [waye:], /puri-:/ [pure:]. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

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

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

*hamu-* > *shamu-* ‘come’, *hampatu* > *shampatu* ‘frog’). Further examples include: *saru-* > *haru-* ‘trample’, *sara* > *hara* ‘corn’, *siqa-* > *hiqa-* ‘go up’, *sira-* > *hila-* ‘sew’, *sama* > *hama* ‘rest’. Examples of native and borrowed lexemes that resist these mutations include *riksi-* ‘become acquainted’ and *riga-* ‘irrigate’; *siki* ‘behind’ and *sapu* ‘frog’; and *hapi-* ‘grab’). In Lincha and Tana – Cacra and Hongos’ immediate neighbors to the north-east and south-west, respectively – speakers may realize word-initial */r/ and */s/ as [l] and [h], respectively, in a few cases (*runku-* > *lunku-* ‘bag’, *sapa* > *hapa* ‘alone’). These substitutions are not systematic, however, and remain exceptions.

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

#### Table 2.1: Vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed (High)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open (Low)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 2.2: Consonant inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Post-alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr [ʈ][ʈ]</td>
<td>ch [č][č]</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced plosive</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ [ŋ][ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(rr)[r]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap or Flap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r [ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricative</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh [ʃ][ʃ]</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced fricative</td>
<td>(v)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ll [ʎ][ʎ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 Phonology and morphophonemics

Table 2.3: Morphophonemics

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

2.4 Spanish loan words

As detailed in §1.2, SyQ is extremely endangered: all but the most elderly speakers are bilingual and, indeed, Spanish-dominant. As a result, individual speakers are not limited by the constraints of Quechuan phonology and generally pronounce loan words with something very close to their original syllable structure and phonemes, even where these do not conform to the constraints of Quechuan phonology. With that said, where restructuring does take place, it does so according to the rules detailed in §2.4.1.

2.4.1 Spanish loan word restructuring

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

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{No restructuring} & \text{Restructuring} \\
\hline
\text{kanásta-wan} & \text{Sp canástä ‘basket’} & \text{tirruristá-wan} & \text{Sp terrorista ‘terrorist’} \\
\text{fwíra-ta} & \text{Sp fuéra ‘outside’} & \text{Kañíti-ta} & \text{Sp Cañéte ‘Cañete’} \\
\text{mútu-qa} & \text{Sp móto ‘motorcycle’} & \text{vaká-qa} & \text{Sp váca ‘cow’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

**Special case: ado.** Spanish loan words ending in -ado – with the non-native /d/ and /o/ – present a special case. -ado is generally rendered [aw] in syq (apurado → apuraw ‘quick’; lado → law ‘place’). ⁹

Finally, restructuring to accommodate any of the three – stress pattern, syllable structure or phonemic inventory – does not depend on restructuring to accommodate any of the others. That is, stress pattern can be restructured to eliminate violations of syq constraints, while violations of constraints on syllable structure or phonemic inventory are left unrestructured, and similarly for any of the six possible permutations of the three.

### 2.4.2 Loan word orthography

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

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

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

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⁹ An anonymous reviewer has brought it to my attention that “in many qi languages, such as several varieties in Ancash,-ado → /a/; e.g., apura. In fact, -la: has become a case suffix ‘at, near’ that competes with the semantic territory of the native locative.”
2.4 Spanish loan words

I have deviated from these practices only in the case of proper names, spelling these as they are standardly spelled in Spanish. Thus, Cañete and San Jerónimo, for example, are not rendered, as they would be under the above conventions, Kañiti and San Hirunimu. ‘Dios’ (‘God’) is treated as a proper name.

Table 2.5: Loan word orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ea → iya</td>
<td>solea → suliya-</td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au → aw</td>
<td>autoridad → awturidad</td>
<td>‘official’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia → iya</td>
<td>policia → pulisiya</td>
<td>‘police’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia → ya</td>
<td>familia → familya</td>
<td>‘family’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie → iy</td>
<td>siempre → stympri</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io → yu</td>
<td>invidioso → inbidyusu</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io → iyu</td>
<td>tio → tiyu</td>
<td>‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua → wa</td>
<td>guardia → gwardya</td>
<td>‘guard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ue → wi</td>
<td>cuento → kwintu</td>
<td>‘story’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ue → uy</td>
<td>sueño → suyũu</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 Substantives

This chapter covers the various substantives in Southern Yauyos Quechua. It surveys their different classes and describes the patterns of inflection and derivation in the various dialects of the language.

3.1 Parts of speech

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

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

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

Ambivalents form a single class.

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

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

3.2 Substantive classes

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

3.2.1 Nouns

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

3.2.1.1 Regular nouns

The class of regular nouns includes all nouns not included in the other three classes. Although in this sense it is defined negatively, as a kind of default class, it includes by far more members than any of the others. (1–5) give examples.

(1) *Warminpis qatiparun urqu*ta.* AMV

\[\text{warmi-n-pis} \quad \text{qati-pa-ru-n} \quad \text{urqu-ta}\]

\[\text{woman-3-ACC} \quad \text{follow-REPET-URGRT-3} \quad \text{hill-ACC}\]

‘His *wife* herded him back to the *hills*.’

(2) *Qarintash wañurachin, mashantash wañurachin.* AMV

\[\text{qari-n-ta-sh} \quad \text{wañu-ra-chi-n} \quad \text{masha-n-ta-sh}\]

\[\text{man-3-ACC-EOVR} \quad \text{die-URGRT-CAUS-3} \quad \text{son.in.law-3-ACC-EOVR}\]

\[\text{wañu-ra-chi-n}\]

\[\text{die-URGRT-CAUS-3}\]

‘She killed her *husband*, they say; she killed her *son-in-law*, they say.’

(3) *Lata*wan yanushpataqshi *runatapis mikurura.* ACH

\[\text{lata-wan} \quad \text{yanu-shpa-taq-shi} \quad \text{runa-ta-pis} \quad \text{miku-ru-ra}\]

\[\text{tin.pot-INST} \quad \text{cook-SUBIS-SEQ-EOVR} \quad \text{person-ACC-ADD} \quad \text{eat-URGRT-PST}\]

‘They even cooked *people* in metal *pots*, they say, and ate them.’
3.2 Substantive classes

(4) *Unaykunaqa watuta ruwaq kayanchik llamaspaqpis alpakapaqpis.* AMV
unay-kuna-qa watu-ta ruwa-q ka-ya-nchik llama-paq-pis
before-pl-top rope-ACC make-AG be-PRG-1PL llama-ABL-ADD
alpaka-paq-pis
alpaca-ABL-ADD
‘In the old days, we used to make rope from [the wool of] llamas
and alpacas.’

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

3.2.1.2 Time nouns

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

(1) *Tukuy puntraw yatramunanchikpaq.* AMV
tukuy puntraw yatra-mu-na-nchik-paq
all day know-CISL-NMLZ-1PL-PURP
‘So we can learn all day.’

(2) *Kanan vakata pusillaman chawayanchik kabratahina.* AMV
kanan vaka-ta pusilla-man chawa-ya-nchik kabra-ta-hina
now cow-ACC cup-ALL milk-PROG-1PL goat-ACC-COMP
‘These days we milk a cow into just a cup, like a goat.’

(3) *Pishiparullaniñam. Kutimunki paqarin.* AMV
pishipa-ru-lla-ni-ña-m kuti-mu-nki paqarin
tire-URGT-RSTR-1-DISC-EVD return-CISL-2 tomorrow
‘I’m tired already. You’ll come back tomorrow.’

(4) *Rinrilla:pis uparura qayna wataqa.* ACH
rinri-lla-pis upa-ru-ra qayna wata-qa
ear-RSTR-1-ADD deaf-URGT-PST previous year-TOP
‘My ears went deaf last year.’
3 Substantives

(5) **Qayna huk watahina timblur yapa kaypa kaptinqa.** AMV
qayna huk wata-hina timblur yapa kay-pa
previous one-year-COMP earthquake again DEM.P-LOC
ka-pty-n-qa
be-SUBDS-3-TOP
‘About a year ago, when there was an earthquake here again.’

3.2.1.3 Gender nouns

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

(1) ¿**Kayllata nisitanki, aw, tiyu, llama wirata?** AMV
kay-lla-ta nisita-nki aw tiyu llama wira-ta
DEM.P-RSTR-ACC need-2 yes uncle llama fat-ACC
‘You need only this, **uncle**, llama fat?’

(2) **Chaytri Tiya Alejandra-qa Shutcollapa yatrarqa.** AMV
chay-tri Tiya Alejandra-qa Shutco-l-la-pa yatra-rqa
DEM.D-EVC Aunt Alejandra-TOP Shutco-RSTR-LOC reside-PST
‘That must be why **Aunt** Alexandra lived just in Shutco.’

(3) **Wak karu purikushayta ansyanaña kashayta.** LT
wak karu puri-ku-sha-y-ta ansyana-ña ka-sha-y-ta
DEM.D far walk-REFL-PRF-1-ACC old.lady-DISC be-PRF-1-ACC
‘There where I’ve walked far, an **old lady** already.’

(4) **Unay unay blusataraqchu hinam ushturayachinpis awilitaqa. ¡Ve!** AMV
unay unay blusa-ta-raq-chu hina-m
before before blouse-ACC-CONT-Q thus-EVD
ushtu-ra-yá-chi-n-pis awilita-qa ve
dress-UNINT-INTENS-CAUS-3-ADD grandmother-TOP look
‘The **old lady** is dressed in a blouse like the olden ones. **Look!**’
3.2 Substantive classes

3.2.1.4 Locative nouns

Locative nouns indicate relative position (*chimpa* ‘front’, *hawa* ‘top’). They are inflected with the suffixes of the substantive (possessive) paradigm which indicate the person – and, in the case of the first person, also the number – of the complement noun. (1–5) give examples.

(1) *Hinashpaqa hatariru:. Allqukuna yatampaka ka-ra.*

`hinashpa-qa hatari-ru: allqu-kuna yata-n-pa ka-ra`

then-TOP get.up-URGT-1 dog-PL side-3-LOC be-PST

‘Then I got up. Dogs were **at his side.**’

(2) *Kalamina hawanta pasarachisa ukunman saqakuykusa.*

`kalamina hawa-n-ta pasa-ra-chi-sa ukun-man`

corrugated.iron above-3-ACC pass-URGT-CAUS-NPST inside-3-ALL

`saqa-ku-kyu-sa`

go.down-REFL-EXCEP-NPST

‘He made him go **on top of** the tin roof and **he fell inside.**’

(3) *Plantachaqa alfapa trawpinpa wiña.*

`planta-cha-qa alfa-pa trawpi-n-pa wiña-n`

tree-DIM-TOP alfalfa-LOC middle-3-LOC grow-3

‘The little plant grows in the **middle of** alfalfa [fields].’

(4) *Kalabira, tullu, wama-wamaq chay ukupaq kakuyan.*

`kalabira, tullu, wama-wamaq chay ukupaq ka-ku-ya-n`

skeleton bone a.lot-a.lot DEM.D inside-LOC be-REFL-PROG-3

‘Skeletons, bones – there are a lot there **inside.**’

(5) *Uma nanaypaq ... trurarunchik huk limuntam trawpi paq partirunchik.*

`uma nana-y-paq trura-ru-nchik huk limun-ta-m trawpi-paq`

head hurt-INF-PURP put-URGT-1PL one lime-ACC-EVD middle-LOC

`parti-ru-nchik`

split-URGT-1PL

‘For headaches ... we put a lime – we cut it in the **center.**’

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3 Substantives

3.2.2 Pronouns

In syq, as in other Quechuan languages, pronouns may be sorted into four classes: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, dependent pronouns and interrogative-indefinite pronouns.

The personal pronouns in syq are ńuqa ‘I’; qam ‘you’; pay ‘she/he’; ńuqa-nchik ‘we’; qam-kuna ‘you.pl’; and pay-kuna ‘they’. syq makes no distinction between subject, object, and possessive pronouns. With all three, case marking attaches to the same stem: ńuqa (1) ‘I’; ńuqa-ta (1-acc) ‘me’; ńuqa-pa (1-gen) ‘my’ (nominative being zero-marked). Table 3.1 summarizes this information.

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

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

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

3.2.2.1 Personal pronouns ńuqa, qam, pay

syq has three pronominal stems – ńuqa, qam, and pay, as in (1), (2) and (3). These correspond to the first, second and third persons. Table 3.1 lists the personal pronouns.

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ńuqa</td>
<td>ńuqa-nchik (dual)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ńuqa-nchik-kuna (inclusive)</td>
<td>ńuqa-kuna (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>qam</td>
<td>qam-kuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>pay-kuna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Kala: Cañetepi chaypim uyari-la: ńuqa-pis. Ch
ka-la-: Cañete-pi chay-pi-m uyari-la-: ńuqa-pis
be-PST-1 Cañete-LOC DEM.D-LOC-EVD hear-PST-1 I-ADD
‘I was in Cañete. I, too, heard it there.’
3.2 Substantive classes

(2) *Manam ŋuqa Viñaqta riqsi:chu. ¿Qam riqsinkichu, Min? CH
mana-m ŋuqa-qä Viñaq-tä riqsi:-chu qam
no-EVD I-TOP Viñaq-ACC be.acquainted.with-1-NEG you
riqsi-nki-chu Min
be.acquainted.with-2-Q Min
‘I don’t know Viñaq. Do you know it, Min?’

(3) *Payqa hatarirushañam rikaq. LT
pay-qa hatari-ru-sha-ña-m rika-q
3-TOP get.up-URGT-NPST-DISC-EVD see-AG
‘He had already gotten up to see.’

These may but need not inflect for number as ŋuqa-kuna, qam-kuna, and pay-kuna (4), (5) and (6).

(4) *Unay ŋuqakunaqa manam qawarqanichu, paykunaqa alminus manam qawarqapischu. AMV
unay ŋuqa-kuna-qä mana-m qawa-rqa-ni-chu, pay-kuna-qä
before I-PL-TOP no-evd see-pst-1-NEG 3PL-TOP
alminus mana-m qawa-rqa-pis-chu
at.least no-EVD see-pst-ADD-NEG
‘Before, we didn’t see, but they, at least, didn’t see either.’

(5) *“Qamkuna ashiptikim chinkakun”, ni: AMV
qam-kuna ashi-p’ti-ki-m chinka-ku-n ni-:
you-PL look.for-SUBDS-2-EVD lose-REFL-3 say-1
“When you looked for him, he got lost,” I said.’

(6) *¿Manachu paykuna wakpa wasinpi mikun uqata? AMV
mana-chu pay-kuna wak-pa wasi-n-pi miku-n uqa-ta
no-Q he-PL DEM.D-LOC house-3-LOC eat-3 oca-ACC
‘There in her house, don’t they eat oca?’

Syq makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural among ŋuqa-nchik (dual), ŋuqa-nchik-kuna (inclusive), and ŋuqa-kuna (exclusive) (7), (8), (4).
3 Substantives

(7) Ishkay kashpallam, “ñuqanchik” nin. AMV
  ishkay ka-shpa-lla-m  ñuqa-nchik ni-n
two be-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD I-1PL say-3
  ‘If there are only two people, they say ñuqanchik.’

(8) Kaypi ñuqanchikkunaqa kustumrawmi kanchik. AMV
  kay-pi  ñuqa-nchik-kuna-qa kustumraw-mi ka-nchik
  DEM.P-LOC we-1PL-PL-TOP accustomed-EVD be-1PL
  ‘Around here, we’re used to it.’

ñuqa-kuna is employed in all five dialects (9–11).

(9) Manam ñuqakunaqa talpula:chu paypa wawinmi talpula. CH
  mana-m ñuqa-kuna-qa talpu-la:-chu pay-pa wawi-n-mi
  no-EVD 1-PL-TOP plant-PST-1-NEG he-3 baby-3-EVD
  talpu-la
  plant-PST
  ‘We haven’t planted. Her children have planted.’

(10) Chaynakunam ñuqakuna kwintu: kara. SP
   chayna-kuna-m ñuqa-kuna kwintu-: ka-ra
   thus-PL-EVD I-PL story-1 be-PST
   ‘That’s how our stories were.’

(11) Linchapi ñuqakunapa kanchu. LT
   Lincha-pi ñuqa-kuna-pa ka-n-chu
   Lincha-LOC 1-PL-GEN be-3-NEG
   ‘We don’t have any in Lincha.’

In practice, except in CH, ñuqa-nchik is employed with dual, inclusive and exclusive interpretations to the virtual complete exclusion of the other two forms. Verbs and substantives appearing with the inclusive ñuqa-nchik-kuna inflect in the same manner as verbs do and substantives appearing with the dual/default ñuqa-nchik (12); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive ñuqa-kuna inflect in the manner as those appearing with the singular ñuqa (13), (14).
3.2 Substantive classes

(12) **Kriyinchik ſuqanchikkuna. AMV**
    kriyi-nchik ſuqa-nchik-kuna
    believe-1PL I-1PL-PL
    ‘We believe.’

(13) **Familyallan ſuqakuna suya:**

**Familya-lla-n ſuqa-kuna suya-:**
family-rstr-3 I-PL wait-1
‘Only we, their relatives, wait.’

(14) **Puntrawyayan ſuqakunaqa lluqsiniñam. AMV**

**puntraw-ya-ya-n-ṇa-m ſuqa-kuna-qə lluqsi-ni-ṇa-m**
day-INCH-PROG-3-DISC-EVD I-PL-TOP go.out-1-DISC-EVD
‘It’s getting to be daytime – we leave already.’

In the verbal and nominal paradigm tables, for reasons of space, I generally do not list ſuqa-nchik-kuna and ſuqa-kuna with the other first person pronouns in the headings; it can be assumed that the first patterns with ſuqa-nchik, the second with ſuqa. In practice, where context does not adequately specify the referent, speakers of syq make distinctions between the dual, inclusive and exclusive first-person plural exactly like speakers of English and Spanish do, indicating the dual, for example, with ishkay-ni-nchik ‘the two of us’; the inclusive with llapa-nchik ‘all of us’; and the exclusive with modifying phrases, as in ſuqa-nchik Viñac-pa ‘we in Viñac’. SYQ makes no distinction between subject, object (15) and possessive (16) pronouns. With all three, case marking attaches to the same stem; nominative case is zero-marked.

(15) **Ňuqata mikumuwananpaq kutimushpa traqnaruwan. AMV**

**ňuqa-ta miku-mu-wa-na-paq kuti-mu-shpa**
I-ACC eat-CISL-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP return-CISL-SUBIS
traqna-ru-wa-n bind.limbs-URGT-1.OBJ-3
‘In order to me able to eat me when he got back, he tied me up.’

(16) **Manam kanchu. ſuqapaq puchukarun. AMV**

**mana-m ka-n-chu ſuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n**
no-EVD be-3-NEG I-GEN finish-URGT-3
‘There aren’t any. Mine finished off.’
3 Substantives

(17) Huk qawaptinga, ņuqanchik qawanchikchu. Almanchik puriyanshi. AMV
huk qawa-pto-nqa ņuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu alma-nchik
one see-SUBDS-3-TOP I-1PL see-1PL-NEG soul-1PL
puri-ya-n-shi
walk-PROG-3-EVR
“Although others see them, we don’t see them. Our souls wander
around,” they say.’

3.2.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns kay, chay, wak

SYQ has three demonstrative pronouns: kay ‘this’, chay ‘that’, and wak ‘that
(other)’ (1–3).

(1) “Kayqa manam balinchu mikunanchikpaq”, [nishpa] allquman
garaykurqani. AMV
kay-qa mana-m bali-n-chu miku-na-nchik-paq allqu-man
DEM.P-TOP no-EVD be.worth-3-NEG eat-NMLZ-1PL-PURP dog-ALL
qara-yku-rqa-ni
serve-EXCEP-PST-1
“This is not good for us to eat,” I said and I served it to the dog.’

(2) Ollanta Humala, “Kanan chaykunakta wañuchishaq”, niyan. CH
Ollanta Humala kanan chay-kuna-kta wañu-chi-shaq ni-ya-n
Ollanta Humala now DEM.D-PL-ACC die-CAUS-1.FUT say-PROG-3
‘[President] Ollanta Humala is saying, “Now I’ll kill those.”’

(3) Wak mulaqa manam mansuchu. Runatam wak wañuchin. AMV
wak mula-qa mana-m mansu-chu runa-ta-m wak
DEM.D mule-TOP no-EVD tame-NEG person-ACC-EVD DEM.D
wañu-chi-n
die-CAUS-3
‘That mule is not tame. That kills people.’

chay may have both proximate and distal referents. wak is consistently trans-
lated in Spanish as ‘ese’ (‘that’), not, perhaps contrary to expectation, as ‘aquel’. The demonstrative pronouns may substitute for any phrase or clause (4). They
can but need not inflect for number (2).
3.2 Substantive classes

(4) Hinashpa achkaña wawan kayan. Chaypaq ñakanñataqtri mikuypaq. ACH
hinashpa achka-ña wawa-n ka-ya-n chay-paq
then a.lot-DISC baby-3 be-PROG-3 DEM.D-ABL
ñaka-n-ña-taq-tri mikuy-paq
suffer-3-DISC-SEQ-EVC eat-INF-ABL
‘Then she has a lot of babies. She’ll suffer, too, a lot from that, from hunger.’

They can appear simultaneously with possessive inflection (5).

(5) Kayninchik. AMV
kay-ni-nchik
DEM.P-EUPH-1PL
‘These of ours.’

In complex phrases with demonstrative pronouns, case marking attaches to the final word in the phrase (6).

(6) Kay llañutapis puchkani kikiymi. AMV
kay llañu-ta-pis puchka-ni kiki-y-mi
DEM.P thin-ACC-ADD spin-1 self-1-EVD
‘I spin this thin one, too, myself.’

chay may be employed without deictic meaning, in particular when it figures in sentence-initial position (7).

(7) Chaymi hampichira: hukwan, hukwan. ACH
chay-mi hampi-chi-ra-: huk-wan, huk-wan
DEM.D-EVD heal-CAUS-PST-1 one-INTR one-INTR
‘So I had him cured with one and with another.’

In this case, it is generally suffixed with one of the evidentials -mi or -shi and indicates that the sentence it heads is closely related to the sentence that precedes it. syq demonstrative pronouns are identical in form to the demonstrative determiners (8–10).

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

(8) **Kay** millwapaqmi imapis lluqsimun. ACH
    kay millwa-paq-mi ima-pis lluysi-mu-n
    DEM.P wool-ABL-EVD what-ADD come.out-CISL-3
    ‘Anything comes out of this wool.’

(9) **¿Manachu chay** qatra wamrayki rikarinraq? AMV
    mana-chu chay qatra wambra-yki rikari-n-raq
    no-Q DEM.D dirty child-2 appear-3-CONT
    ‘Didn’t that dirty kid of yours appear yet?’

(10) **Wak** trakrayqa hunta hunta kakuyan. AMV
    wak trakra-y-qa hunta hunta ka-ku-ya-n
    DEM.D field-1-TOP full full be-REFL-PROG-3
    ‘That field of mine is really full.’

3.2.2.2.1 Determiners  SYQ does not have an independent class of determiners. *huk* ‘one’, ‘once’, ‘other’ can be used to introduce new referents; in this capacity, it can be translated ‘a’ (1).

(1) **Huk** pashña-sh karqa ubihira. Chaymanshi trayarushqa **huk** qari yuraq
    kurbatayuq. AMV
    huk pashña-sh ka-rqa ubihira chay-man-shi
    one girl-EVR be-PST shepherdess DEM.D-ALL-EVR
    traya-ru-shqa huk qari
    arrive-URGT-SUBIS one man
    ‘A girl was a shepherdess. Then, they say, a man with a white tie arrived.’

*kay* ‘this’, *chay* ‘that’, and *wak* ‘that (other)’ can be used to refer to established referents; in this capacity, they can be translated ‘the’ (2).

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

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

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

SyQ has four dependent pronouns: kiki- ‘oneself’ (1), Sapa- ‘alone’ (2), llapa- ‘all’ (3), and kuska- ‘together’ (4).

(1) Kikiypaq ruwani hukkunapaq ruwani. AMV
kiki-y-paq ruwa-ni huk-kuna-paq ruwa-ni
self-1-BEN make-1 one-PL-BEN make-1
'I make them for myself and I make them for others.'

(2) Yatrargani sapallay. AMV
yatra-rqa-ni sapa-lla-y
reside-PST-1 alone-RSTR-1
'I lived all alone.'

(3) Llapanta apakunki. CH
llapa-n-ta apa-ku-nki
all-3-ACC bring-REFL-2
'You’re going to take along them all.'

(4) Mikuypaqpis wañuyanki kuskayki wawantin. AMV
miku-y-paq-pis wañu-ya-nki kuska-yki wawa-ntin
eat-INF-ABL-ADD die-PROG-2 together-2 baby-INCL
'You’re going to be dying of hunger – you together with your children.'

These pronouns are dependent in the sense that they cannot occur uninflected: the suffixes of the nominal (possessive) paradigm attach to dependent pronouns indicating the person and – in the case of the first person – sometimes the number of the referent of the pronoun (llapa-nchik ‘all of us’). Dependent pronouns function in the manner as personal pronouns do: they may refer to any of the participants in an event, subject (5) or object (6); they inflect obligatorily for case (7) and optionally for number; and they may be followed by enclitics (8).
3 Substantives

(5) Sikya fayna kaptinmi liya: llapa: AMV
sikya fayna ka-pty-n-mi li-ya:- llapa:-
canal work.day be-SUBIS-3-EVD go-PROG-1 all-1
‘When there’s a community work day on the canal, we all go.’

(6) Chay kuskanta wañurachisa chaypa. ACH
chay kuska-n-ta wañu-ra-chi-sa chay-pa
DEM.D together-3-ACC die-URGT-CAUS-NPST DEM.D-LOC
‘They killed those together there.’

(7) Huk runata kaballun kikinpi kaballun trakinta pakirusa. AMV
huk runa-ta kaballu-n kiki-n-pi kaballu-n traki-n-ta
one person-ACC horse-3 self-3-GEN horse-3 foot-3ACC
pakiru-sa break-URGT-NPST
‘A man’s horse – his own horse – broke his foot.’

(8) Kikinkamatr wañuchinakura. ACH
kiki-n-kama-tr wañu-chi-naku-ra
self-3-LIM-EVC die-LIM-RECP-PST
‘They must have killed each other themselves.’

All except kiki may occur as free forms as well; it is, however, only as adjectives that they may occur uninflected; as pronouns (9) or adverbs (10) all still demand inflection.

(9) Hinashpa pantyunman apawanchik llapa familyanchik kumpañawanchik. AMV
hinashpa pantyun-man apa-wanchik llapa familya-nchik
then cemetery-ALL bring-3>1PL all family-1PL
kumpäna-wanchik
accompany-3>1PL
‘Then they take us to the cemetery. Our whole family accompanies us.’

(10) ¿Imayna chay lluqsilushpaqa mana kuska lilachu? CH
imayna chay l luqi-slushpa-qa mana kuska li-la-chu
why DEM.D go.out-URGT-SUBIS-TOP no together go-PST-NEG
‘Why didn’t they go together when they went out?’
3.2 Substantive classes

*Sapa* is realized *hapa* in the CH and LT dialects (11), (12); *sapa* in all others (13).

(11) ¿Imayna trankilu pulin *happallan*? CH  
*imayna* trankilu puli-*n*  *hapa-*lla-*n*  
how tranquił walk-3 alone-RSTR-3  
‘How does she walk about calmly all alone?’

(12) *Pitaq atindinqa* *happallay* kayaptiyqa. LT  
*pi-*taq atindi-*nqa*  *hapa-*lla-*y*  *ka-*ya-p*ti-*y-*qa  
who-SEQ attend.to-3.FUT alone-RSTR-1 be-PROG-SUBDS-1-TOP  
‘Who’s going to take care of him if I’m all alone?’

(13) *Pampawanchik tardiq* *diharamuwanchik* *sappallanchikta*. AMV  
pampa-wanchik  *tardi-*qa  *diha-ra-*mu-wanchik  
bury-3>1PL  afternoon-TOP  leave-URGT-CISL-3>1PL  
*sapa-*lla-nchik-ta  
alone-RSTR-1PL-ACC  
‘They bury us in the afternoon and then they leave us alone.’

One additional pronoun may appear inflected with possessive suffixes: *wakin* ‘some, the rest of’ (14), (15) (not attested in CH).

(14) *Wakintaq intindiya*. Piru *wakintaq* manam. SP  
wakin-*taq* intindi-*ya*::  piru  wakin-*taq* mana-*m*  
some-SEQ  understand-PROG-1  but  some-SEQ  no-EVD  
‘I’m catching [lit. understanding] *some* of them. But the *rest*, no.’

(15) *Mamanqa kawsakunmi* *wakininpaqqa*. ACH  
mama-n-*qa*  kawsa-ku-n-mi  wakin-ni-n-paq-*qa*  
mother-3-TOP  live-REFL-3EVD  some-EUPH-3-ABL-TOP  
‘His mother lived thanks to [lit. from] another [man].’

3.2.3 Interrogative-indefinites  
*pi*, *ima*, *imay*, *imayna*, *mayqin*, *imapaq*, *ayka*

*SYQ* has seven interrogative-indefinite stems: *pi* ‘who’, *ima* ‘what’, *imay* ‘when’, *may* ‘where’, *imayna* ‘how’, *mayqin* ‘which’, *imapaq* ‘why’, and *ayka* ‘how much”
3 Substantives

or how many’, as shown in Table 3.2. These form interrogative (1–12), indefinite (13–21), and negative indefinite pronouns (22–29). Interrogative pronouns are formed by suffixing the stem – generally but not obligatorily – with any of the enclitics -taq, -raq, -mI, -shI or -trI (pi-taq ‘who’, ima-raq ‘what’); indefinite pronouns are formed by attaching -pis to the stem (pi-pis ‘someone’, ima-pis ‘something’); negative indefinite pronouns, by preceding the indefinite pronoun with mana ‘no’ (mana pi-pis ‘no one’, mana ima-pis ‘nothing’).

Table 3.2: Interrogative-indefinites

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

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

(2) “¿Imatam maskakuyanki?” “Antaylumata maskakuya.”: sp  
ima-ta-m maska-ku-ya-nki antayluma-ta  
what-ACC-EVD look.for-REFL-PROG-2 antayluma.berries-ACC  
maska-ku-ya-:  
look.for-PROG-1  
“What are you looking for?” “I’m looking for antayluma berries.”

(3) ¿Imayshi riyan Huancayota? AMV  
imay-shi ri-ya-n Huancayo-ta  
when-EVR go-PROG-3 Huancayo-ACC  
‘When is he going to Huancayo, did he say?’
3.2 Substantive classes

(4) ¿Maypayá Hildapa wakchan kayan? AMV
    may-pa-yá           Hilda-pa     wakcha-n     ka-ya-n
    where-LOC-EMPH  Hilda-GEN   sheep-3     be-PROG-3
  ‘Where is Hilda’s sheep?’

(5) Chay mutuqa, ¿maypitaq kayan? ACH
    chay        mutu-qa,     may-pi-taq  ka-ya-n?
    DEMD  motorcycle-LOC   where-LOC-LOC   be-PROG-3
  ‘Where is that motorbike?’

(6) ¿Imapaq ... papata apamuwarqanki? AMV
    ima-paq        papa-ta   apa-mu-wa-rqa-nki
    what-PURP  potato-ACC   bring-CISL-1.OBJ-PST-2
  ‘Why ... have you brought me potatoes?’

(7) ¿Imapaqtaq chayna walmilla kidalun? CH
    ima-paq-taq   chayna  walmi-lla  kida-lu-n
    what-PURP-SEQ  thus  woman-RSTR  stay-URGT-3
  ‘Why did just the woman stay like that?’

(8) Llakikuyan atuqqa. “Diharuwan kumpadriy. ¿Kanan imaynataq kutishaq?” AMV
    llaki-ku-ya-n  atuq-qa    diha-ru-wa-n  kumpadri-y kanan
    be.sad-Refl-PROG-3 fox-TOP leave-URGT-1.OBJ-3 compadre-1 now
    imayna-taq  kuti-shaq
    how-SEQ       return-1.FUT
  ‘The fox was sad. “My compadre left me. Now how am I going to get back?”’

(9) ¿Mayqinnin tunirun? ¿Kusinan? AMV
    mayqin-ni-n     tuni-ru-n  kusina-n
    which-EUPH-3 crumble-URGT-3 kitchen-3
  ‘Which of them crumbled? Her kitchen?’
3 Substantives

(10) Lutuyuqmi kayan wak runakuna. ¿Mamanchutr ñañanchutr? ¿Maqinraq wañukun? LT
lutu-yuq-mi ka-ya-n wak runa-kuna mama-n-chu-tr mourning-POS-EVD be-PROG-EVD DEM.D person-PL mother-3-Q-EVC ñaña-n-chu-tr maqin-raq wañu-ku-n sister-3-Q-EVC which-CONT die-REFL-3
‘Those people are wearing mourning. Would it be their mother or their sister? Which died?’

(11) ¿Aykañatr awmintarun kabranqa? AMV
ayka-ña-tr awminta-ru-n kabra-n-qa how.many-DISC-EVC increase-URGT-3 goat-3-TOP
‘How much have her goats increased?’

(12) Chaypaqa ¿Aykaktataq pagaya?: ch
chay-pa-qa ayka-kta-taq paga-ya-: DEM.D-LOC-TOP how.much-ACC-SEQ pay-PROG-1
‘How much am I paying there?’

(13) Pipis fakultaykuwananpaq. LT
pi-pis fakulta-yku-wa-na-n-paq pi-ADD facilitate-EXCEP-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP
‘So someone will help me out.’

(14) Wak chimpata pasashpaqa imallatapis. SP
wak chimpa-ta pasa-shpa-qa ima-lla-ta-pis DEM.D opposite.side-ACC pass-SUBIS-TOP what-RSTR-ACC-ADD
‘When you go by there on the opposite side – [it could do] anything.’

(15) Chay muquykuna imaypis nanaptin. AMV
chay muq-y-kuna imay-pis nana-pti-n DEM.D knee-1-PL when-ADD hurt-SUBDS-3
‘Any time my knees hurt.’

(16) Kay qullqita qushqayki. ¡Ripukuy maytapis! AMV
kay qullqi-ta qu-shqayki ripu-ku-y may-ta-pis DEM.P money-ACC give-3>1PL.FUT go-REFL-IMP where-ACC-ADD
‘I’m going to give you this money. Get going wherever!’
3.2 Substantive classes

(17) Kitrarun imaynapis yaykurun Lluqi-Makiqa. AMV
    kita-ru-n imayna-pis yayku-ru-n Lluqi-Maki-qa open-URGT-3 how-ADD enter-URGT-3 Lluqi-Maki-TOP
    ‘Strong Arm opened it any way [he could] and entered.’

(18) Manam kaytaqa dihayta muna:chu. Imaynapaqpis hinatam ruwakulla:. ACH
    mana-m kay-ta-qa diha-y-ta muna-:-chu imayna-paq-pis no-EVD DEM.P-ACC-TOP leave-INF-ACC want-1-NEG how-ABL-ADD
    hina-ta-m ruwa-ku-lla-:
    thus-ACC-EVD make-REFL-RSTR-1
    ‘I don’t want to leave this. Like this, I just make whichever way.’

(19) Imaynapis yatashaqmi. Limapaqa buskaq kanmiki. LT
    imayna-pis yatra-sha-q-mi Lima-pa-qa buska-q ka-n-mi-ki how-ADD know-1.FUT-EVD Lima-LOC-TOP look.for-AG be-3-EVD-KI
    ‘Any way about it, I’m going to find out. In Lima, there are people who read cards.’

(20) Chay wambra imapaqpis rabyarirun. AMV
    chay wambra ima-paq-pis rabya-ri-ru-n
    DEM.D child what-PURP-ADD be.mad-INCEP-URGT-3
    ‘That child gets mad for any reason.’

(21) Ayvis dimandakurun tiyrayuqkuna trakrakunapaq imapaqpis. SP
    ayvis dimanda-ku-ru-n tiyra-yuq-kuna trakra-kuna-paq sometimes denounce-REFL-URGT-3 land-POSSESS-PL field-PL-ABL
    ima-paq-pis what-ABL-ADD
    ‘Sometimes they denounced landholders for their fields, for any thing at all.’

(22) Mana pipis yachanchu. AMV
    mana pi-pis yatra-n-chu
    no who-ADD know–3-NEG
    ‘No one lives here.’
3 Substantives

(23) *Puntrawqa manam imapis kanchu.* SP
    *puntraw-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-n-chu*
    day-TOP no-EVD what-ADD be-3-NEG
    ‘In the day, there’s nothing.’

(24) *Piru mana imaypis kaynaqa.* AMV
    *piru mana imay-pis kayna-qa*
    but no when-ADD thus-TOP
    ‘But never like that.’

(25) *Kasarakura: kayllapam hinallam kay lawpa kawsaku: tukuy watan watan manam maytapis lluqsi:chu.* ACH
    *kasara-ku-ra-: kay-lla-pa-m hina-lla-m kay marry-REFL-PST-1 DEM.P-RSTR-LOC-EVD thus-RSTR-EVD DEM.P
    law-pa kawsa-ku-: tukuy wata-n wata-n mana-m side-LOC live-REFL-1 all year-3 year-3 no-EVD
    *may-ta-pis lluqsi-:-chu*
    where-ACC-ADD go.out-1-NEG
    ‘I got married right here. Just like that, here I live, year in, year out, I don’t go anywhere.’

(26) *Mana talilachu maytrawpis.* CH
    *mana tali-la-chu may-traw-pis*
    no find-PST-NEG where-LOC-ADD
    ‘They haven’t found him anywhere.’

(27) *Nakarinchikmi sapallanchikqa manam imaynapis.* SP
    *ňaka-ri-nchik-mi sapa-lla-nchik-qa mana-m imayna-pis*
    suffer-UNINT-1PL-EVD alone-RSTR-1PL-top no-EVD how-ADD
    ‘We suffer alone without any way [to make money].’

(28) *Mayqinnikipis mana yuyachiwarqankichu.* AMV
    *mayqin-ni-ki-pis mana yuya-chi-wa-rqa-nki-chu*
    which-EUPH-2-ADD no remember-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-2-NEG
    ‘Neither of you reminded me.’
3.2 Substantive classes

(29) *Rayaqa manam aykas kanchu.* ACH
    raya-qa mana-m ayka-s ka-n-chu
    row-TOP no-EVD how-many-ADD be-3-NEG
    ‘There isn’t even a small number of rows.’

Indefinite pronouns may figure in exclamations (30).

(30) ¡*Ima maldisyaw chay Dimunyu! ¡Pudirniyuq!* AMV
    ima maldisyaw chay dimunyu pudir-ni-yuq
    what damned DEM.D devil power-EUPH-POS
    ‘How damned is the Devil! He’s powerful!’

Interrogative pronouns are suffixed with the case markers corresponding to the questioned element (31).

(31) ¿*Runkuwanchu qaqurushaq? ¿Imawantaq qaquruyma?* AMV
    runku-wan-chu qagu-ru-shaq ima-wan-taq qau-ru-y-man
    sack-INSTR-Q rub-URGT-1.FUT what-INSTR-SEQ rub-URGT-1-COND
    ‘Should I rub it with a sack? With what can I rub it?’

Enclitics generally attach to the final word in the interrogative phrase: where the interrogative pronoun completes the phrase, the enclitic attaches directly to the interrogative (plus case suffixes, if any) (32); where the phrase includes an NP, the enclitic attaches to the NP (*pi-paq-taq* ‘for whom’ *ima qullqi-tr* ‘what money’) (33), (34).

(32) “*¿Imapaqmi qam puka traki kanki?*” nishpa. sp
    ima-paq-mi qam puka traki ka-nki ni-shpa
    what-PURP-EVD you red foot be-2 say-SUBIS
    “Why are your feet red?” he said, they say.

(33) ¿*Ukaliptuta pitaq simbranqa? ¿Pipaŋataq?* AMV
    ukaliptu-ta pi-taq simbra-nqa pi-paq-ña-taq
    eucalyptus-ACC who-SEQ plant-3.FUT who-BEN-DISC-SEQ
    ‘Who’s going to plant eucalyptus trees? For whom?’

(34) ¿*Ayka wataŋataq kanan nubinta i trispaq?* AMV
    ayka wata-ña-taq kanan nubinta i tris-paq
    how-many year-DISC-SEQ now ninety and three-ABL
    ‘How many years is it already since ninety-three?’
The interrogative enclitic is not employed in the interior of a subordinate clause but may attach to the final word in the clause (¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta qawarqa-nki? ‘Who did you see trample the cat?’ ¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-ta-ta qawarqa-nki? ‘Who did you see trample the cat?’). Interrogative phrases generally raise to sentence-initial position (35); they may, however, sometimes remain in-situ, even in non-echo questions (36).

(35) ¿Piwan tumashpatr pay hamun? AMV
   pi-wan   tuma-shpa-tr   pay   hamu-n
   who-INSTR take-SUBIS-EVC he come-3
   ‘Who did he come drinking with?’

(36) ¿Qaliqa likun maytataq? CH
   qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq
   man-TOP come-REFL-3 where-ACC-SEQ
   ‘The man went where?’

Interrogative indefinites are sometimes employed as relative pronouns (37, 38).

(37) Pashñaqa piwan trayaramun † AMV
   pashña-qa   pi-wan   traya-ra-mu-n
   girl-TOP who-INSTR arrive-URGT-CISL-3
   ‘The girl with whom she came’

(38) Familyanqa qawarun imayna wañukusam pustapa. AMV
   familya-n-qa qawa-ru-n imayna wañu-ku-sa-m pusta-pa
   family-3-TOP see-URGT-3 how die-REFL-NPST-EVD clinic-LOC
   ‘Her family saw how she had died in the clinic.’

Speakers use both ima ura and imay ura ‘what hour’ and ‘when hour’ to ask the time (39).

(39) ¿Imay urataq huntanqa kay yakuqa? LT
   imay ura-taq   hunta-nqa   kay   yaku-qa
   when hour-SEQ fill-3.FUT DEM.P water-TOP
   ‘What time will this water fill up?’

Interrogative pronouns may be stressed with diyablu ‘devil’ and like terms (40).
3.2 Substantive classes

(40) ¿*Ima diyablu*yá űqanchik kanchik? AMV
ima diyablu-yá űq-a-nchik ka-nchik
what devil-EMPH I-1PL be-1PL
‘What the hell are we?’

Possessive suffixes attach to indefinites to yield phrases like ‘your things’ and ‘my people’ (41–43); attaching to *mayqin* ‘which’, they yield ‘which of PRON’ (44).

(41) *Mana imaykipis* kaptin ACH
mana ima-yki-pis ka-pto-n
no what-2-ADD be-SUBDS-3
‘If you don’t have anything’

(42) Yasqayaruptiki *mana pinikipis* kanqachu. ACH
yasqa-ya-ru-pto-ki mana pi-ni-ki-pis ka-nqa-chu
old-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-2 no who-EUPH-2-ADD be-3.FUT-NEG
‘When you’re old, you won’t have anyone.’

(43) *Mana vakanchik imanchik* kaptin hawkatr tiyakuchuwan. AMV
mana vaka-nchik ima-nchik ka-pto-n hawka-tr
no cow-1PL what-1PL be-SUBDS-3 tranquil-EVC
tiya-ku-chuwan
sit-REFL-1PLCOND
‘Without our cows and our stuff, we could sit [live/be] in peace.’

(44) “*Mayqinninchik* pirdirishun? Kusi-sam kayhina silbaku:” nin. SP
mayqin-ni-nchik pirdi-ri-shun kusi-sa-m kay-hina
which-EUPH-1PL lose-INC-P-1PL.FUT sew-PRF-EVD DEM.P-COMP
silba-ku-: ni-n
whistle-REFL-1 say-3

“Which of us will lose? Sewed up like this, I whistle,” he said.’

*Imapaq* ‘why’ is also sometimes realized as *imapa* in ACH (45).

(45) ¿*Imapam chayta ruwara paytaq? ¿Imaparaq? ACH
ima-pa-m chay-ta ruwa-ra pay-taq ima-pa-raq
what-PURP-EVD DEM.DACC make-PST he-SEQ what-PURP-CONT
‘Why did they do that to him? Why ever?’
3 Substantives

Negative indefinites may be formed with ni ‘nor’ as well as mana (46); they may sometimes be formed with no negator at all (47), (48).

(46) Manañam kanan chay llamatapis qawanchikchu ni imaypis kanan unayñam. ACH
mana-ña-m kanan chay llama-ta-pis qawa-nchik-chu ni
no-DISC-EVD now DEM.D llama-ACC-ADD see-IPL-NEG nor
imay-pis kanan unay-ña-m
when-ADD now before-DISC-EVD
‘Now we don’t see llamas any more ever. For a long time now.’

(47) Katraykurun. ¡Imapis kanchu! “¡Ñuqata ingañamara!” nishpa. sp
katra-yku-ru-n imapis ka-n-chu! ñuqa-ta ingaña-ma-ra
release-EXCEP-URGT-3 what-ADD be-3-NEG I-ACC trick-1.OBJ-PST
ni-shpa
say-SUBIS
‘[The fox just] let it go and – nothing! “He tricked me!” said [the fox].’

(48) Wakhina inutilisadu kakuyan imapaqpis balinchu. LT
wak-hina inutilisadu ka-ku-ya-n imapaq-pis
dem.D-COMP unused be-REFL-PROG-3 what-PURP-ADD
bali-n-chu
be.worth-3-NEG
‘It’s unused like that. It’s not good for anything.’

Suffixed with the combining verb na-, ima ‘what’ forms a verb meaning ‘do what’ or ‘what happen’ (49–51).

(49) Wañuq runalla hukvidata llakikuyan. “Kananqa prisutriki ñuqaqa rikushaq. ¿Imanashaq?” sp
wañu-q runa-lia huk-vida-ta llaki-ku-ya-n kanan-qa
die-AG person-RSTR one-life-ACC sortow-REFL-PROG-3 now-TOP
prisu-tri-ki ñuqa-qa riku-shaq ima-na-shaq
imprisoned-EVC-KI I-TOP go-1.FUT what-VRBZ-1.FUT
‘She was very sorry for the deceased person. “Now I’m going to go to jail. What will I do?”’
3.2 Substantive classes

(50) “¿Karahu-ta-taq imanaruntaq?” qawaykushpaqa huk utrpata qapikushpa kay kunkanman pasaykurun. AMV karahu-ta-taq ima-na-ru-n-taq qawa-yku-shpa-qa huk jerk-ACC-SEQ what-VRBZ-URGT-3-SEQ look-EXCEP-SUBIS-TOPTOP one utrp-a-ta qapi-ku-shpa kay kunka-n-man pasa-yku-ru-n ash-ACC grab-REFL-SUBIS kay throat-3-ALL pass-EXCEP-URGT-3 ‘She watched him then she said, “What happened to that bastard?” and grabbed some ashes and stuffed them down his throat.’


In the CH dialect, imayna alternates with imamish (52).

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

3.2.4 Adjectives

I follow the general practice in the treatment of adjectives in Quechuan languages and sort SYQ adjectives into two classes: regular adjectives (puka ‘red’) and adverbial adjectives (sumaq-ta ‘nicely’). An additional class – not native to SYQ nor Quechua generally – may be distinguished: gender adjectives (kuntinta ‘happy’). All three classes figure towards the end of the stack of potential noun modifiers, all of which precede the noun. Nouns may be modified by demonstratives (chay trakra ‘that field’), quantifiers (ashilla trakra ‘few fields’), numerals (trunka trakra ‘ten fields’), negators (mana trakra-yuq ‘person without fields’), pre-adjectives (dimas karu trakra ‘field too far away’), adjectives (chaki trakra
3 Substantives

‘dry field’) and other nouns (sara trakra ‘corn field’). Where modifiers appear in series, they appear in the order dem-quant-num-NEG-preadj-adj-ATR-nucleus (chay trunka mana dimas chaki sara trakra ‘these ten not-too-dry corn fields’).

§§3.2.4.1–3.2.4.4 cover regular adjectives, adverbial adjectives, gender adjectives, and preadjectives. Numeral adjectives are covered in §3.2.5

3.2.4.1 Regular adjectives

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

(1) Wak pishqu mikukuyan mikunayta – ¡qatra pishqu! AMV
wak pishqu miku-ku-ya-n miku-na-y-ta qatra pishqu
DEM.D bird eat-REFL-PROG-3 eat-NMLZ-1-ACC dirty bird
‘That bird is eating my food – dirty bird!’

(2) Wak umbruyanñatr mamanta. Hat hatun kayan. AMV
wak umbru-ya-n-ña-tr mana-n-ta hat-hatun
DEM.D carry.on.shoulder-PROG-3-DISC-EVC mother-3-ACC big-big
ka-ya-n
be-PROG-3
‘That one would be carrying his mother on his shoulders already – he’s really big!’

3.2.4.2 Adverbial adjectives

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

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

(1) *Aburikurun sakristanqa* *wama-wamaqta* kampanata suynachiptin *AMV*
    aburi-ku-ru-n sakristan-qa wama-wamaq-ta kampana-ta
    annoy-REFL-URGT-3 deacon-TOP a.lot-a.lot-ACC bell-ACC
    suyna-chi-pti-n sound-CAUS-SUBDS-3

    ‘The deacon got annoyed that [Lluqi Maki] rang the bell so much.’

(2) *Rupanchikta trurakunchik qilluta*. *AMV*
    rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik qillu-ta.
    clothes-1PL-ACC put-REFL-1PL yellow-ACC

    ‘We dress [in] yellow.’

3.2.4.3 Gender adjectives

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

(1) *masha*:pis qalipis walmipis wawi:kunapaq *CH*
    masha-`:pis qali-pis walmi-pis wawi-`:kuna-paq
    son.in.law-1-ADD man-ADD woman-ADD baby-1-PL-GEN

    ‘my son-in-law, too, my children’s sons and daughters’

Indeed, some names of family relations specify the gender of both members of the relationship (*wawqi* ‘brother of a male’, *ñaña* ‘sister of a female’) (2–4).

(2) *Wañurachin wawqinñaqata*, “¡Ama wawqi:ta!” niptin. *ACH*
    wañu-ra-chi-n wawqi-n-ña-ta-qa ama wawqi-`:ta
    die-URGT-CAUS-3 brother-3-DISC-ACC-TOP PROH brother-1-ACC
    ni-pti-n say-SUBDS-3

    ‘They killed his brother when he said, “Don’t [kill] my brother!”’

(3) *ñaña*ypis turiypis karqam piru wañukunña. *AMV*
    ñaña-y-pis turi-y-pis ka-rqa-m piru wañu-ku-n-ña
    sister-1ADD brother-1-ADD be-PST-EVD but die-REFL-3-DISC

    ‘I had a sister and a brother, but they died already.’
3 Substantives

(4) *chay ubihapawantachay karnirupachurinta AMV*
   *chay ubiha-pawawan-tachay karnir-pachuri-n-ta DEM.D sheep-GEN baby-3-ACC DEM.D ram-GEN child-3-ACC*
   ‘the baby of that sheep, the baby of that ram’

Where it is necessary to specify the gender of the referent of a noun that does not indicate gender, *syq* modifies that noun with *qari* ‘man’ or *warmi* ‘woman’ in the case of people (*warmi wawa* ‘daughter’ *lit.* ‘girl child’) and *urqu* ‘male’ or *trina* ‘female’ in the case of animals (5), (6).

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

(6) *Wak vakanqa watrarusa. ¿Wak urquchu wawan, trinachu? AMV*
   *wak vaka-n-qa watra-ru-sawak urqu-chuwawa-n DEM.D cow-3-TOP give.birth-URGT-NPST DEM.D male-Q baby-3*
   *trina-chufemale-Q*
   ‘His cow gave birth. Is it a male or a female?’

3.2.4.4 Preadjectives

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

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

3.2.5 Numerals

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

3.2.5.1 General numerals

The set of cardinal numerals native to **syq** includes twelve members: **huk** ‘one’; **ishkay** ‘two’; **kimsa** ‘three’; **tawa** ‘four’; **pichqa** ‘five’; **suqta** ‘six’; **qanchis** ‘seven’; **pusaq** ‘eight’; **isqun** ‘nine’; **trunka** ‘ten’; **patrak** ‘hundred’; and **waranja** ‘thousand’ (1–3).

(1) **Ishkay** Wanka samakushqa **huk** matraypi. AMV
     ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa **huk** matray-pi
     two Huancayoan rest-REFL-NPST one cave-LOC
     'Two Huancayoans rested in a cave.'

(2) **Kimsa** killam kaypaq paranqa. AMV
     kimsa killa-m kay-paq para-nqa
     three month-EVD DEM.P-LOC rain-3.FUT
     'It’s going to rain for **three** months here.'
3 Substantives

(3) Ingañaykun. Chay **waranq**a *kwistasantam* ... **ACH inga-ya-n chay waranq**a *kwista-sa-n-ta-m cheat-EXCEP-3 **DEM.D thousand cost-PRF-3-ACC-EVD**

‘They cheat them. That which cost one **thousand** ...’

‘Twenty’, ‘thirty’ and so on are formed by placing a unit numeral – **ishkay** ‘two’, **kimsa** ‘three’, and so on – in attributive construction with **trunka** ‘ten’ (4).

(4) **Riganchik chay sarataqa ishkay trunka kimsa trunka**

puntrawniyuqtamá. **AMV riga-nchik chay sara-ta-qa ishkay trunka kimsa trunka**

irrigate-1PL **DEM.D corn-ACC-TOP two ten three ten**

puntraw-ni-yuq-ta-m-á
day-EUPH-POSS-ACC-EVD-EMPH

‘We water the corn that’s **twenty** or **thirty** days old.’

‘Forty-one’ and ‘forty-two’ and so on are formed by adding another unit numeral – **huk** ‘one’, **ishkay** ‘two’, and so on – using -**yuq** or, following a consonant, its allomorph, -**ni-yuq** (**ishkay trunka pusaq-ni-yuq** ‘twenty-eight’) (5).

(5) **Trunka ishkayniyuqpaqpis ruwanchik. AMV trunka ishkay-ni-yuq-paq-pis ruwa-nchik**

ten two-EUPH-POSS-ABL-ADD make-1PL

‘We make them out of **twelve** [strands], too.’

General numerals are ambivalent, and may function as modifiers and as pronouns (6).

(6) **Ishkayllata apikunaypaq. Shantipa mana kashachu. LT ishkay-lla-ta api-ku-na-y-paq Shanti-pa mana**

two-RSTR-ACC pudding-REFL-NMLZ-1-PURP Shanti-GEN no

ka-sha-chu

be-NPST-NEG

‘Just **two** so I can make pudding. Shanti didn’t have any.’

3.2.5.2 Ordinal numerals

**Syq** has no native system of ordinal numerals. It borrows the Spanish **primero seguro** and so on (1), (2).
3.2 Substantive classes

(1) “Chay mamakuqta siqachinki primiru yatrachishunaykipaq”, nin. ACH chay mamakuq-ta siqa-chi-nti primiru DEM.D old.lady-ACC go.up-CAUS-2 first yatra-chi-shu-na-yki-paq ni-n know-CAUS-3>2-NMLZ-3>2-PURP say-3 “Make the old woman go up first in order to teach you,” they said.’

(2) Kwartulla kintulla manam puchukachiwarqapischu. AMV kwartu-lia kintu-lla mana-m puchuka-chi-wa-ra-pa-pis-chu fourth-RSTR fifth-RSTR no-EVD finish-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-ADD-NEG ‘They had me finish fourth [grade], no more, fifth [grade], no more.’

The expression punta-taq is sometimes employed for ‘first’ (3).³

(3) Qarinman sirvirun puntataq hinashpa kikinpis mikuruntriki. AMV qari-n-man sirvi-ru-n punta-taq hinashpa kiki-n-pis man-3-ALL serve-URGT-3 point-SEQ then self-3-ADD miku-ru-n-tri-ki eat-URGT-3-EVC-KI ‘She served her husband [the poisoned tuna] first then she herself must have eaten it.’

3.2.5.3 Time numerals and pre-numerals

SYQ makes use of the full set of Spanish cardinal numerals: unu ‘one’, dus ‘two’, tris ‘three’, kwatru ‘four’, sinku ‘five’, sis ‘six’, siyti ‘seven’, uchu ‘eight’, nuybi ‘nine’, dis ‘ten’, and so on. It is this set that is used in telling time. As in Spanish, time numerals are preceded by the pre-numerals la or las (1).

(1) Puñukun tuta a las tris di la mañanataqa. AMV puñu-ku-n tuta a las tris di la mañana-ta-qa sleep-REFL-3 night at the three of the morning-ACC-TOP ‘He went to sleep at night – at three in the morning.’

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

Time expressions are usually suffixed with -\(\text{ta}\) (\(a\ \text{las dusi-ta}\) ‘at twelve o’clock’):

(2) *Las tris i midyata qaykuruni.* AMV
    las\ tris\ i\ \midya-ta\ qayku-ru-ni
    the\ three\ and\ middle-\text{ACC}\ corral-\text{URGT}-1
    ‘I threw him in the corral at three thirty.’

3.2.5.4 Numerals with possessive suffixes

Any numeral, NUM, may be suffixed with any plural possessive suffix – -\text{nchik}, -\text{Yki}, or -\text{n}. These constructions translate ‘we/you/they NUM’ or ‘the NUM of us/y-you/them’ (*kimsanchik* ‘we three’, ‘the three of us’) (1).

(1) *Ishkaynin, kimsan kashpaqa miku-n-yá.* AMV
    ishkay-ni-n\ kimsa-n\ ka-shpa-q\ miku-n-yá
    two-EUPH-3\ three\-3\ be-\text{SUBIS-\text{TOP}}\ eat-3-\text{EMPH}
    ‘If there are two of them or three of them, they eat.’

In the case of *ishkay* this translates ‘both of’ (2).

(2) *Ishkayninchik ripukushun.* AMV
    ishkay-ni-nchik\ ripu-ku-shun
    two-EUPH-1\PL\ leave-\text{REFL-1\PL..FUT}
    ‘Let’s go both of us.’

*huknin* translates both ‘one of’ and ‘the other of’ (3).

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

3.2.5.5 **huk**

*huk* ‘one’ has several functions in addition to its function as a numeral (1) and numeral adjective (2).

(1) *Pichqa mulla. Huk, ishkay, kimsa, tawa, pichqa. CH*

```
ch
pichqa mulla huk ishkay kimsa tawa pichqa
```

five quota one two three four five

‘Five quotas [of water]. One, two, three, four, five.’

(2) *Achka … lluqsin huk pakayllapaq. AMV*

```
achka lluqsi-n huk pakaylla-paq
```

a.lot come.out-3 one pacay-RSTR-ABL

‘A lot [of seeds] come out of just one pacay.’

It may serve both as an indefinite determiner, as in (3) and (4), and as a pronoun, as in (5) and (6).

(3) *Huk inhiniyrush rikura. Chay ubsirvaq hinashpash … ACH*

```
huk inhiniyru-sh riku-ra chay ubsir-va-q hinashpa-sh
```

one engineer-EVR go-PST DEM.D observe-AG then-EVR

‘An engineer went. That observer, then, they say …’

(4) *Hinaptinña huk atrqay pasan, ismu atrqay. “Huk turutam paga-sayki”. SP*

```
hinaptin-ña huk atrqay pasa-n, ismu atrqay huk turu-ta-m
```

then-DISC one eagle pass-3 grey eagle one bull-ACC-EVD

`paga-sayki` pay-1>2.FUT

‘Then an eagle passed by, a gray eagle. “I’ll pay you a bull,” [said the girl].’

(5) *Puchka: paqarininta hukta ruwa: minchanta hukta. ACH*

```
puchka-: paqarin-ni-n-ta huk-ta ruwa-:
sp
```
spin-1 tomorrow-EUPH-3-ACC one-ACC make-1

`mincha-n-ta` huk-ta

day.after.tomorrow-3-ACC one-ACC

‘I’ll spin tomorrow and make one; the day after tomorrow, another.’
3 Substantives

(6) Ayvis lliw chinkarun ayvis huk lla ishkayllata tari-ru:. ACH
     ayvis lliw chinka-ru-n ayvis huk lla ishkay-lla-ta
sometimes all lose-URGT-3 sometimes one-RSTR two-RSTR-ACC
tari-ru-:
find-URGT-1
     ‘Sometimes all get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.’

With ‘another’ interpretation, huk may be inflected with plural -kuna (7).

(7) Kikiypaq ruwani hukkuna paq ruwani. AMV
     kiki-y-paq ruwa-ni huk-kuna-paq ruwa-ni
self-1-BEN make-1 one-PL-BEN make-1
     ‘I make them for myself and I make them for others.’

Suffixed with allative/dative -man, it may be interpreted ‘different’ or ‘differ-
ently’ (8).

(8) Waytachaypis hukman lluqsiruwan ishkay trakiyuqhina lluqsirun. AMV
     wayta-cha-y-pis huk-man lluqsi-ru-wa-n ishkay
flower-DIM-1-ADD one-ALL come.out-URGT-1.OBJ-3 two
     traki-yuq-hina lluqsi-ru-n
foot-POSS-COMP come.out-URGT-3
     ‘My flower came out differently on me. It came out like with two
feet.’

3.2.6 Multiple-class substantives

Some substantives are ambivalent. Regular nouns may appear as regular mod-
ifiers (1) and adverbial adjectives (2); interrogative pronouns as indefinite and
relative pronouns (3); dependent pronouns as unit numerals (4); unit numerals
as pronouns (5), (6); and dependent pronouns as adverbs (7) and quantitative (8)
adjectives. Table 3.3 gives some examples.

3.2.7 Dummy na

na is a dummy noun, standing in for any substantive that doesn’t make it off the
tip of the speaker’s tongue (1), (2).
3.2 Substantive classes

Table 3.3: Multiple-class substantives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Substantive</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mishki</td>
<td>‘a sweet’, ‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tardi</td>
<td>‘afternoon’, ‘late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>‘thing’, ‘what’, ‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sapa</td>
<td>‘each’ ‘one alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>huk</td>
<td>‘one’, ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ishky</td>
<td>‘two[stones]’ ‘two[came]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kuska</td>
<td>‘we/you/they together’ ‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>llapa</td>
<td>‘all of us/you/them’ ‘all’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) *Wak na lawkunapa Wañupisa. Yanak lawkunapatr. ACH*

wak na law-kuna-pa Wañupisa Yanak law-kuna-pa-tr

DEM.D DMY side-PL-LOC Wañupisa Yanak side-PL-LOC-EVC

‘Around that what-is-it – Wañupisa. Around Yanak, for sure.’

(2) *Wangakunchik nakta papaktapis uqaktapis. Walmi. CH*

wanqa-ku-nchik na-kta papa-kta-pis uqa-kta-pis walmi

turn-refl-1PL DMY-ACC potato-ACC-ADD oca-ACC-ADD woman

‘We turn the what-do-you-call-them – the potatoes, the oca. [We] women.’

*na* inflects as does any other substantive – for case (3), number, and possession (4).

(3) *Wak natatr qawanqa hinashpatr rimanja. AMV*

wak na-ta-tr qawa-nqa hinashpa-tr rima-nqa

DEM.D DMY-ACC-EVC see-3.FUT then-EVC talk-3.FUT

‘She’s going to look at that thingamajig, then she’ll talk.’

(4) *Waqayan. Uray lawpa apamunki chay nanta. AMV*

waqa-ya-n uray law-pa apa-mu-nki chay na-n-ta
cry-prog-3 down.hill side-LOC bring-CISL-2 DEM.D DMY-3-ACC

‘He’s crying. Bring his thingy down there!’

*na* is ambivalent, serving also as a dummy verb (5).
3 Substantives

(5) Chaykuna rimangaña narushpaqa. AMV  
chay-kuna rima-nqa-ña na-ru-shpa-qa  
dem.d-pl talk-3.fut-disc dmy-urgt-subis-top  
‘They’ll talk after doing that.’

3.3 Substantive inflection

Substantives in syq, as in other Quechuan languages, inflect for person, number and case. This introduction summarizes the more extended discussion to follow.

The substantive (“possessive”) person suffixes of syq are -y (AMV, LT) or -: (ACH, CH, SP) (1p), -Yki (2p), -n (3p), and -nchik (1pl) (mishi-y, mishi:- ‘my cat’; asnu-yki ‘your donkey’). Table 3.4 below displays this paradigm.

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

syq has ten case suffixes: comparative -hina (María-hina ‘like María’); limitative -kama (marsu-kama ‘until March’); allative, dative -man (Cañete-man ‘to Cañete’); genitive and locative -pa (María-pa ‘María’s’ Lima-pa ‘in Lima’); ablative, benefactive, and purposive -paq (Viñac-paq ‘from Viñac’, María-paq ‘for María’, qawa-na-n-paq ‘in order for her to see’); locative -pi (Lima-pi ‘in Lima’); exclusive -puRa (amiga-pura ‘among friends’); causative -rayku (María-rayku ‘on account of María’); accusative -ta (María-ta ‘María’ (direct object)), and comitative and instrumental -wan (María-wan ‘with María’, acha-wan ‘with an axe’). Table 3.5 below displays this paradigm.

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

(1) ¡Blusallay kunata kayllaman warkurapuway! AMV  
blusa-lla-y-kuna-ta kay-lla-man warku-ra-pu-wa-y  
blusa-rstr-1-pl-acc dem.p-rstr-all hang-urgt-ben-1.obj-imp  
‘Hang just my blouses up just over there for me!’

(2) Kusasninchikkunallatatr ñitinman. AMV  
kusas-ni-nchik-kuna-lla-ta-tr ñiti-n-man  
things-euph-1pl-pl-rstr-acc-evc crush-3-cond  
‘Just our things would crush.’
Sections §3.3.1–3.3.3 cover inflection for possession, number and case, respectively. Most case suffixes are mutually exclusive; §3.3.3.2 gives some possible combinations.

### 3.3.1 Possessive (person)

The possessive suffixes of SYQ are the same in all dialects for all persons except the first-person singular. Two of the five dialects – AMV and LT – follow the QII pattern, marking the first-person singular with -y; three dialects – ACH, CH, and SP – follow the QI pattern, marking it with -: (vowel length). The SYQ nominal suffixes, then, are: -y or -: (1p), -Yki (2p), -n (3p), -nchik (1PL). Table 3.4 lists the possessive suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-y (AMV, LT) -nchik (dual, inclusive)</td>
<td>-y (exclusive AMV, LT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-: (ACH, CH, SP) -: (exclusive ACH, CH, SP)</td>
<td>-: (exclusive ACH, CH, SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Yki</td>
<td>-Yki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stems of the following substantive classes may be suffixed with person suffixes: nouns (*wambra-yki* ‘your child’) (1), general numerals (*kimsa-nchik* ‘the three of us’) (2), dependent pronouns (*kiki-n* ‘she herself’) (3), demonstrative pronouns (*chay-ni-y* ‘this of mine’) (4) and interrogative-indefinites (5).

(1) *Hinashpaqa pubriqa kutimu*sa *llapa animalni-n wan wasinman*. AMV *hinashpa-*qa *pubri-*qa *kuti-*mu-*sa* *llapa animal-ni-n-*wan then-TOP poor-TOP return-CISL-NPST all animal-EUPH-3-INSTR *wasi-n-man* house-3-ACC

‘Then the poor man returned to his house with all his animals.’
3 Substantives

(2) “Kananqa aysashun kay sugawan”, nishpa ishkaynin aysapa:kun sanqaman. sp
kanan-qa aysa-shun kay suga-wan ni-shpa ishkay-ni-n
now-TOP pull-1PL DEM.P rope-INSTR say-SUBIS two-EUPH-3
aysa-pa:-ku-n sanqa-man
pull-JTACC-3 ravine-ALL
‘“Now we’ll pull with this rope,” he said and the two of them pulled it toward the ravine.’

(3) Pay sapallan hamuyan kay llaqtataqa. AMV
pay sapa-lла-n hamu-ya-n kay llaqta-ta-qa
she alone-RSTR-3 come-PROG-3 DEM.P town-ACC-TOP
‘She’s coming to this town all alone.’

(4) Chaynikita pristawanki. AMV
chay-ni-ki-ta prista-wa-nki
DEM.D-EUPH-2-ACC lend-1.OBJ-2
‘Lend me that [thing] of yours.’

(5) Manam mayqinniypis wañuniraqchu. AMV
mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu
no-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG
‘None of us has died yet.’

In the case of words ending in a consonant, -ni – semantically vacuous – precedes the person suffix (6).

(6) ¿Maynintapis ripunqañatr? Gallu Rumi altuntapis ripunqañatr. AMV
may-ni-n-ta-pis ripu-nqa-ña-tr Gallu Rumi
where-EUPH-3-ACC-ADD go-3.FUT-DISC-EVC Cock Rock
altu-n-ta-pis ripu-nqa-ña-tr
high-3-ACC-ADD go-3.FUT-DISC-EVC
‘Where abouts will he go? He’ll go up above Gallu Rumi, for sure.’

The third person possessive suffix, -n, attaching to may ‘where’ and other expressions of place, forms an idiomatic expression interpretable as ‘via’ or ‘around’ (7).
3.3 Substantive inflection

(7) Hamuyaq kayninta. AMV
   hamu-ya-q kay-ni-n-ta
   come-PROG-AG DEM.P-EUPH-3-ACC
   ‘He used to be coming around here.’

In the first person singular, the noun papa ‘father’ inflects papa-ni-y to refer to one’s biological or social father , (8).

(8) Vikuñachayta diharuni papaniywan. AMV
   vikuña-cha-y-ta diha-ru-ni papa-ni-y-wan
   vicuña-DIM-1-ACC leave-URGT-1 father-EUPH-1-INTR
   ‘I left my little vicuña with my father.’

SYQ possessive constructions are formed SUBSTANTIVE-POSs ka- (allqu-n ka-rqa ‘she had a dog’ (lit. ‘her dog was’)) (9)(10).

(9) Mana wambrayki kanchu mana qariyki kanchu. ACH
   mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana qari-yki ka-n-chu
   no child-2 be-3-NEG no man-2 be-3-NEG
   ‘You don’t have children and you don’t have a husband.’

Finally, possessive suffixes attach to the subordinating suffix -pti as well as to the nominalizing suffixes -na and -sa to form subordinate (10), purposive (11), complement (12), and relative (13), (14) clauses.

(10) Yasqayaruptiki mana pinikipis kanqachu. ACH
   yasqa-ya-ru-pti-ki mana pi-ni-ki-pis ka-nqa-chu
   old-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-2 no who-EUPH-2-ADD be-3.FUT-NEG
   ‘When you’re old, you won’t have anyone.’

(11) Hampikunaykipaq yatranki. AMV
   hampi-ku-na-yki-paq yatra-nki
   cure-REFL-NMLZ-2-PURP know-2
   ‘You’ll learn so that you can cure.’

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

-kuna pluralizes regular nouns, as in (1), where it affixes to kabra ‘goat’ to form kabra-kuna ‘goats’.

(1) Kabrakunata hapishpa mikukuyan. AMV
kabra-kuna-ta hapi-shpa miku-ku-ya-n
‘Taking ahold of the goats, [the puma] is eating them.’

-kuna also pluralizes the personal pronouns ñuqa, qam, and pay (2), demonstrative pronouns (3), and interrogative-indefinites (4).

(2) Awanmi paykunapisriki. AMV
awa-n-mi pay-kuna-pis-r-iki
weave-3-EVD he-PL-ADD-R-IKI
‘They, too, weave.’

(3) Chaykunapa algunusqa pamparayan. AMV
chay-kuna-pa algunus-qa pampa-ra-ya-n
DEM.D-PL-LOC some.people-LOC bury-UNINT-INTENS-3
‘Some people are buried in those.’

(12) Atipasantatriki ruwan. ACH
atipa-sa-n-ta-tri-ki ruwa-n
be.able-PRF-3-ACC-EVC-KI make-3
‘They do what they can.’

(13) Chay wawqin ama nisantas wañuchisataq. ACH
chay wawqi-n ama ni-sa-n-ta-s wañu-chi-sa-taq
DEM.D brother-3 PROH say-PRF-3-ACC-ADD die-CAUS-NPST-SEQ
‘They also killed his brother who said “No!”’

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

(4) ¿Imakunam ubihaykipa sutin? AMV
ima-kuna-m ubiha-yki-pa sutin-3
what-PL-EVD sheep-2-GEN name-3
‘What are your sheep’s names?’

-kuna follows the stem and possessive suffix, if any, and precedes the case suffix, if any (5).

(5) Chamisninkunata upyar kukkanakunata akun. AMV
chamis-ni-n-kuna-ta upya-ri-n kuka-n-kuna-ta aku-n
chamis-EUPH-3-PL-ACC drink-INCEP-3 coca-3-PL-ACC chew-3
‘They drink their chamis and they chew their coca.’

Number-marking in SYQ is optional. Noun phrases introduced by numerals or quantifying adjectives generally are not inflected with -kuna (6).

(6) Ishkay yatrarqa, ishkay warmi. AMV
ishkay yatra-rqa ishkay warmi
two live-PST two woman
‘Two lived [there], two women.’

-kuna may receive non-plural interpretations and, like -ntin, may indicate accompaniment or non-exhaustivity (7).\(^5\)

(7) Chay kwirpu yikuna mal kanman umayikuna nananman. AMV
chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man
DEM.D body-2-PL bad be-3-COND head-2-PL hurt-3-COND
‘Your whole body could be not well; your head and everything could hurt.’

Finally, words borrowed from Spanish already inflected for plural – i.e., with Spanish plural s – are generally still suffixed with -kuna (cosas → kusas-ni-nchik-kuna) (8).

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

(8) \textit{Qayashpa waqashpa purin animalisninichkunaqa}. AMV
\textit{qaya-shpa waqa-shpa-m puri-n animalis-ni-nchik-kuna-qapuri-n walk-3 animals-EUPH-1PL-PL-TOP}
\textit{‘Our animals walk around screaming, crying.’}

3.3.3 Case

A set of ten suffixes constitutes the case system of 
\textit{syq}. Table 3.5 gives glossed examples. These are: -\textit{hina} (comparative), -\textit{kama} (limitative), -\textit{man} (allative, dative), -\textit{pa/-pi} (genitive, locative), -\textit{paq} (ablative, benefactive, purposive), -\textit{puRa} (exclusive), -\textit{rayku} (reason), -\textit{ta} (accusative), and -\textit{wan} (comitative, instrumental). Genitive, instrumental and allative/dative may specify noun-verb in addition to noun-noun relations. -\textit{pa} is the default form for the locative, but -\textit{pi} is often and -\textit{paq} is sometimes used. The CH dialect uses a fourth form, -\textit{traw}, common to the QI languages. The CH dialect is also unique among the five in its realization of accusative -\textit{ta} as -\textit{kta} after a short vowel. -\textit{puRa} – attested only in Viñac – and -\textit{rayku} are employed only rarely. The genitive and accusative may form adverbs (\textit{tuta-pa ‘at night’}, \textit{allin-ta ‘well’}). Instrumental -\textit{wan} may coordinate NPs (\textit{llama-wan alpaka-wan ‘the llama and the alpaca’}). All case processes consist in adding a suffix to the last word in the nominal group. Most case suffixes are mutually exclusive. §3.3.3.1–3.3.3.12 cover each of the case suffixes in turn.

3.3.3.1 Simulative -\textit{hina}

The simulative -\textit{hina} generally indicates resemblance or comparison (\textit{yawar-hina ‘like blood’}) (1– 7).

(1) \textit{Ñawilla: pukayarura tutal puka. Yawarhina ñawi: kara}. ACH
\textit{ña-ll-a-red-1 eye RSTR-1 total red blood-COMP eye-1 ka-ra be-PST}
\textit{‘My eyes turned red, totally red. My eyes were like blood.’}

(2) \textit{Karsilpahinam. Witrqamara wambra-kuna istudyaq pasan}. ACH
\textit{karsi-l-pa-hina-m witrq-a-ma-ra wambra-:-kuna study-ag close.in-1.OBJ-PST child-1.PL study-AG pass-3}
\textit{‘It was like in prison. When my children went to school, they closed me in.’}

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Table 3.5: Case suffixes with examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Suffix</th>
<th>Inflection Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-hina</td>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>Runa-hina, uyqa-hina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kama</td>
<td>limitative</td>
<td>Fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-man</td>
<td>allative, dative</td>
<td>Lima runa-kuna traya-mu-pri-n siyra-n-man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa₁</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>Algunus-pa puchka-ti tipi-ku-ya-n-mi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa₂</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>Urqulla-pa-m chay-qa wiña-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>Yana-ya-sa qutra-pa pata-n-pi qutra-pa tuna-n-pi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₁</td>
<td>ablative</td>
<td>Huangáscar-paq-mi hamu-ra wama-wamaq polisiya-pis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₂</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>Chay qari-kuna mana isha-y-ta atipa-q-paq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-paq₃</td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>Qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ... kita-ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puRa</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>Qam pay-wan wawqi ñaña-pura ka-nki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rayku</td>
<td>reason</td>
<td>Chawa-shi-q lichi-llaq-rayku ri-y-man-ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>¿Maqta-kuna-ta pusha-nki icha pashña-ta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan₁</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>¿Imapaq-mi wak kundina-wa puri-ya-nki?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wan₂</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
<td>Ichu-wan-mi chay-ta ruwa-nchik.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in Cacra-Hongos dialect only:

- Kta replaces -ta to mark accusative
- traw alternates with -pa and -pi to mark the locative

(3) *Trakin, ishkaynin trakin kayan maniyashahina.* LT
    *traki-n, ishkay-ni-n traki-n ka-ya-n maniya-sha-hina*
    foot-3 two-euph-3 foot-3 be-prog-3 bind.feet-prf-comp
    ‘His feet, it’s like both are shackled.’
3 Substantives

(4)  *Wakhinallam purikuni. ¿Imanashaqmi? LT*
    wak-hina-lla-m puri-ku-ni ima-na-sha-q-mi
    DEM.D-COMP-RSTR-EVD walk-REFL-1 what-VRBZ.1.FUT-EVD
    ‘Just like that I go about. What am I going to do?’

(5)  *Huk rumi kayan warmihina. Chaypish inkantara unay unay.* sp
    huk rumi ka-ya-n warmi-hina chay-pi-sh inkanta-ra
    one stone be-PROG-3 woman-COMP DEM.D-LOC-EVR enchant-PST
    unay unay
    before before
    ‘There’s a stone like [in the form of] a woman. A long, long time ago,
    it bewitched [people] there, they say.’

(6)  *Tutakuna puriyan qarqarya* hina. AMV
    tua-kuna puri-ya-n qariya-hina
    night-PL walk-PROG-3 zombie-COMP
    ‘At night, he walks around like a zombie.’

(7)  *Kayhina* kunachatam (=kayhina* chakunatam) ruwani. AMV
    kay-hina-kuna-cha-ta-m (=kay-hina-cha-kuna-ta-m) ruwa-ni
    DEM.P-COMP-PL-DIM-ACC-EVD DEM.P-COMP-DIM-PL-ACC-EVD make-1
    ‘I make all of them just like this.’

It can generally be translated ‘like’. In Cacra and sometimes in Hongos, *-mish* is employed in place of *-hina* (8), (9).

    chilu-n paqwa-la-ru-n miku-y-ta atipa-n-chu
    tooth-3 finish.off-URGT-3 eat-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG
    awila-mish
    grandmother-COMP
    ‘Her teeth finished off. He can’t eat. Like an old lady.’

(9)  *¿Imamish wawipaq takin? CH*
    ima-mish wawi-paq taki-n
    what-COMP baby-GEN song-3
    ‘What is a baby’s song like?’
3.3 Substantive inflection

3.3.3.2 Limitative -kama

The limitative -kama – sometimes realized as kaman – generally indicates a limit in space (1), (2) or time (3–5).

(1) Qatimushaq vakata kay\textit{kama}. AMV qati-mu-shaq vaka-ta \textit{kay-kama} follow-CISL-1.FUT cow-ACC DEM.P-LIM

‘I’m going to drive the cows \textit{over} here.’


‘You sent your children \textit{over to} your older brother, \textit{over to} your brother.’

(3) Fibriru marsuk\textit{kamaqa} paranqa. AMV fibriru marsu-kama-raq-tri para-nqa February March-LIM-CONT-EVC rain-3.FUT

‘It will rain still until February or March.’

(4) ¿\textit{Imaykama} kanki? AMV imay-kama ka-nki when-LIM be-2

‘Until when are you going to be (here)?’


‘My padlock, too, is hung up there. Until now I haven’t had it put on.’

In case time is delimited by an event, the usual structure is STEM-NMLZ-POSS-kama (\textit{puri-na-yki-kama} (‘so you can walk’) (6), (7).
3 Substantives

(6) *Traki paltanchikpis pushllunan kama purinchik. Trakipis ampulla hatarinan kaman rirqani.* AMV
traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama puri-nchik traki-pis
foot sole-1PL-ADD blister-NMLZ-3-ALL walk-1PL foot-ADD
ampulla hatari-na-n-kaman ri-rqa-ni
blister get.up-NMLZ-3-ALL go-PST-1

‘We walked while blisters formed on the souls of our feet. I went while blisters came up on my feet.’

(7) *Apuraw mikunan kama turuqa kayna tuksirikusa.* SP
apuraw miku-na-n-kama turu-qa kayna tuksi-ri-ku-sa
quickly eat-NMLZ-3-ALL bull-TOP thus prick-INCEP-REFL-NPST

‘Until the bull ate quickly, she pricked him like this.’

-kama can appear simultaneously with asta (Sp. hasta ‘up to’, ‘until’) (8).

(8) *San Jerónimopaq asta kaykama.* AMV
San Jerónimo-paq asta kay-kama
San Jerónimo-ABL until DEM.P-ALL

‘From San Jerónino to here.’

-kama can form distributive expressions: in this case, -kama attaches to the quality or characteristic that is distributed (9), (10). In case it indicates a limit, -kama can usually be translated as ‘up to’ or ‘until’; in case it indicates distribution, it can usually be translated as ‘each’.

(9) *Uñachayuq kama kayan.* AMV
uña-cha-yuq-kama ka-ya-n
calf-DIM-POSS-ALL be-PROG-3

‘They all [each] have their little young.’

(10) *Trayaramun arman qipikusakama.* Manchaku: ACH
traya-ra-mu-n arma-n qipiku-sa-kama mancha-ku-
arrive-URGT-CISL-3 weapon-3 carry-REFL-PRF-ALL scare-REFL-1

‘They arrived each carrying weapons. I got scared.’
3.3 Substantive inflection

3.3.3 Allative, dative -man

The allative and dative (directional) -man generally indicates movement toward a point (1), (2) or the end-point of movement or action more generally (3), (4).

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

(2) Hinashpa chaypaq wichayman pasachisa chay Amador
    kaqmanñataq. ACH
    hinashpa chay-paq wichay-man pas-cha-si-sa chay Amador
    then DEM.D-ABL up.hill-ALL pass-CAUS-NPST DEM.D Amador
    ka-q-man-ña-taq
    be-AG-ALL-DISC-SEQ
    ‘Then, from there they made them go up high to Don Amador’s place.’

(3) Wak wasikunamanshi yaykurun kundinawqa. SP
    wak wasi-kuna-man-shi yayku-ru-n kundinaw-qa
    DEM.D house-PL-ALL-EVR enter-URGT-3 zombie-TOP
    ‘The zombie entered those houses, they say.’

(4) “¿Kabrata qaqa-man imapaq qarquranki?” nishpa. SP
    kabra-ta qaa-man ima-paq qarqu-ra-nki ni-shpa
    goat-ACC cliff-ALL what-PURP toss-PST-2 say-SUBIS
    ‘Why did you let the goats loose onto the cliff?’ he said.’

It may function as a dative, indicating a non-geographical goal (5), (6).

(5) Pashñaqa quykurusqa mushuqta watakurusqa chumpita
    wiqawninman. AMV
    pashña-qa qu-yku-ru-sa mushuq-ta wata-ku-ru-sa
    girl-TOP give-EXCEP-URGT-NPST new-ACC tie-REFL-URGT-NPST
    chumpi-ta wiqaw-ni-n-man
    sash-ACC waist-EUPH-3-ALL
    ‘The girl gave [the young man] a sash, a new one, and she tied it around his waist.’
3 Substantives

(6) *Chay lliw lliw listamanshi trurara. Chay listamanshi trurasan rikura.* ACH
*chay lliw lliw lista-man-shi trura-ra chay lista-man trura-san riku-ra*
dem.D all all list-ALL-EVR put-PST dem.D list-ALL put-PST-3
*go-PST*
‘[The Shining Path] put everyone on the list. Those who were put on
the list left.’

With verbs of giving, it marks the recipient (7), (8); with verbs of communication,
the person receiving the communication (9), (10).

(7) *¿Imatataq qunki kay pubriman? AMV*
*ima-ta-taq ku-nki kay pubri-man*
what-ACC-SEQ give-2 dem.P poor.person-ALL
‘What are you going to give to this poor man?’

(8) *¿Urqu-man qapi-shu-ptyki imatataq qaranki? AMV*
*urqu-man qapi-shu-ptyki ima-ta-taq qara-nki?*
hill-ALL grab-3>1-subds-3>1 what-ACC-SEQ serve-2
‘What are you going to serve to the hill when it grabs you?’

(9) *Chayshi maman* *willakun. AMV*
*chay-shi mama-n-man willa-ku-n*
dem.D-EVR mother-3-ALL tell-REFL-3
‘With that, she told her mother.’

(10) *Chayllapaq willakurusa tirruristamanshi hinaptin chayta wañurachin.* ACH
*chay-lla-paq willa-ku-ru-sa tirrurista-man hinaptin*
dem.D-RSTR-ABL tell-REFL-URGT-NPST terrorist-ALL then
*chay-ta wañu-ra-chi-n*
dem.D-ACC die-URGT-CAUS-3
‘So they told it to the terrorists and then they killed him.’

It may indicate a very approximate time specification (11).

(11) *Trayanqa sabaduman. AMV*
*traya-nqa sabadu-man*
arrive-3.FUT Saturday-ALL
‘She’ll arrive on Saturday or around there.’
3.3 Substantive inflection

With verbs indicating change of state, quantity or number, it may indicate the result or extent of change (12), (13).

(12) *Pasaypaq runapaq kunvirtirun kabra man.* LT
    pasaypaq runa-paq kunvirti-ru-n kabra-man
    completely person-ABL convert-URGT-3 goat-ALL
    ‘Completely, from people they turned into goats.’

(13) *Wiñarun hatun man.* AMV
    wiña-ru-n hatun-man
    grow-URGT-3 big-ALL
    ‘She grew tall.’

It may also indicate the goal in the sense of purpose of movement (14), (15). It can usually be translated as ‘to’, ‘toward’.

(14) *Karu karum. ¿Imaynataq, ima man taq hamuranki? AMV*
    karu karu-m imayna-taq ima-man-taq hamu-ra-nki
    far far-EVD how-SEQ what-ALL-SEQ come-PST-2
    ‘Very far. How, for what did you come?’

(15) *Chaypaq rishaq wak animalniy man wak infirmuykuna man.* LT
    chay-paq ri-shaq wak animal-ni-y-man wak
    DEM.D-ABL go-1.FUT DEM.D animal-EUPH-Y-ALL DEM.D
    infirmu-y-kuna-man
    sick.person-1-PL-LL
    ‘I’m going to go to my animals and to my sick [husband] and all.’

3.3.3.4 Genitive, locative -pa₁, -pa₂

As a genitive, -pa indicates possession (1), (2); it is often paired with possessive inflection (3), (4).

(1) *Runapa umallaña trakillaña kayashqa. AMV*
    runa-pa uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-shqa
    person-GEN head-RSTR-DISC leg-RSTR-DISC be-PROG-NPST
    ‘There was only the head and the hand of the person.’
3 Substantives

(2) ¿Imaynataq qam[pa trakikiqa kayan qillu qillucha? SP
imayna-taq qam-pa traki-ki-qa ka-ya-n qillu qillu-cha
how-SEQ you-GEN foot-2-TOP be-PROG-3 yellow yellow-DIM
‘How are your feet nice and yellow?’

(3) Manañam miranñachu ganawninqa paypaqa. AMV
mana-na-m mira-n-n-a-chu ganaw ni-n-qa pay-pa-qa
no-DISC-EVD reproduce-3-DISC-NEG cattle-EUPH-3-TOP he-GEN-TOP
‘His animals no longer reproduce.’

(4) Puchkanchik. Vakata harkanchik vaka[pap]a qipa[pa millwinchik. AMV
puchka-nchik vaka-ta harka-nchik vaka-pa qipa-n-pa
spin-1PL cow-ACC herd-1PL cow-gen behind-3-LOC
millwi-nchik
wool-1PL
‘We spin. We herd the cows and behind the cows, we [twist] our yarn.’

As a locative, -pa indicates temporal (5) and spatial location (6–9).

(5) Manam biranupahinachu. AMV
mana-m biranu-pa-hina-chu
no-EVD summer-LOC-COMP-NEG
‘Not like in summer.’

(6) Trabahu: maypapis maypapis. ACH
trabahu-: may-pa-pis may-pa-pis
work-1 where-LOC-ADD where-LOC-ADD
‘I work whereever, whereever.’

(7) Fila[p]a trurakurun mana hukllachu. AMV
fila-pa trura-ku-ru-n mana huk-l-la-chu
line-LOC put-REFL-URGT-3 no one-RSTR-NEG
‘They put themselves in a line – not just one.’
3.3 Substantive inflection

(8) Iskwilapam niytu:kunaqa wawa:kunaqa rinmi. ñuqallam ka: analfabitu. SP
iskwila-pa-m niytu-:-kuna-qa wawa-:-kuna-qa ri-n-mi
school-LOC-EVD nephew-1-PL-TOP baby-1-PL-TOP go-3-EVD
ñuqa-lla-m ka-: analfabitu
I-RSTR-EVD be-1 illiterate
‘My grandchildren and my children are in school. Only I am illiterate.’

(9) Takllawan haluyanchik chaypaqa. Uqa trakla. Yakuwan ichasha pa
chaypaqa. CH
taklla-wan halu-ya-nchik chay-pa-qa uqa trakla yaku-wan
plow-INSTR plow-PROG-1PL DEM.D-LOC-TOP oca field water-INSTR
icha-shpa chay-pa-qa
toss-SUBIS DEM.D-LOC-TOP
‘We’re plowing with a [foot] plow in there. The oca fields. Adding water in there.’

In all dialects, -paq is often used in place of -pa and -pi as both a locative (10) and
genitive (11); in the CH dialect, -traw is used in addition to -pa and -pi as a locative (12), (13). As a genitive, -pa can usually be translated ‘of’ or with a possessive
pronoun; as a locative, it can usually translated ‘in’ or ‘on’.

(10) Dimunyum chayqa. Chay ... altu rumipaqa kunipaqa yatra-n. ACH
Dimunyu-m chay-qa chay altu rumi-paq uku-n-paq
Devil-EVD DEM.D-TOP DEM.D high stone-LOC inside-3-LOC
yatra-n
live-3
‘It was a devil. It ... lives in the stone up inside it.’

(11) ¿Ima paypaq huchan? Qaykuruptinqa hawkam sayakun uñankunata
fwiraman diharuptinchik. AMV
ima pay-paq hucha-n qayku-ru-pti-n-qa hawk-a-m
what she-GEN fault-3 corral-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP tranquil-EVD
saya-ku-n uña-n-kuna-ta fwira-man diha-ru-pti-nchik
stand-REFL-3 calf-3-PL-ACC outside-ALL leave-URGT-SUBDS-1PL
‘What fault is it of hers? When you toss her into the corral, she
stands there calmly when we leave her babies outside.’
3 Substantives

(12) *Pusta*trawshi chay mutu. CH
    *pusta-traw-shi* chay *mutu*
    clinic-LOC-EVR DEM.D motorcycle
    ‘That motorcycle is in the health clinic.’

(13) Ñuqakunaqa fayn*traw*mi kaya:. CH
    *ñuqa-kuna-qa* fayna-traw-mi ka-ya-:
    I-PL-TOP community.work.day-LOC-EVD be-PROG-1
    ‘We’re in the middle of community work days.’

(14) Chaytam nin kichwa pa: “Wichayman qatishaq”. AMV
    chay-ta-m ni-n kichwa-*pa* wichay-man qati-shaq
    DEM.D-ACC-EVD say-3 Quechua-LOC up.hill-ALL follow-1.FUT
    ‘They say that in Quechua: “I’ll herd it up hill.”’

3.3.3.5 Ablative, benefactive, purposive -*paq*

As an ablative, -*paq* indicates provenance in space (1–3) or time (4), (5); origin or cause (6), (7); or the material of which an item is made (8), (9).

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

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

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

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

(5) \textit{Kanan-paq riqsinakushun. CH}
\textit{kanan-paq riqs-naku-shun}
now-ABL know-REcip-1PL.FUT
‘From now on, we’re going to get to know each other.’

(6) \textit{Chay huk walmitaqa talilushpaqa apalunñam uspitalman. Pasaypaq mikuy-paq alalay-paq, ¿aw? CH}
\textit{chay huk walmi-ta-qa tali-lu-shpa-qa}
DEM.D one woman-ACC-TOP find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP
\textit{apa-lu-nña-m uspital-man pasay-paq mikuy-paq}
bring-URGT-3-DISC-EVD hospital-ALL completely eat-INF-ABL
\textit{alala-y-paq aw}
cold-INF-ABL yes
‘When they found the other woman they brought her to the hospital – completely [sick] from hunger and cold, no?’

(7) \textit{Wambray lichi-paq, kisu-paq waqaptin ñuqa rikurani urquta. LT}
\textit{wambra-y lichi-paq, kisu-paq waqa-piti-n ñuqa riku-ra-ni}
child-ACC milk-ABL cheese-ABL cry-SUBDS-3 I go-PST-1
\textit{urqu-ta}
hill-ACC
‘When my children cried for [because they had no] milk or cheese, I went to the hill.’

(8) \textit{Llikllakuna, punchukuna, puñunakuna, ruwa: lliw lliw imatapis ruwa: kay-paq-mi, kay millwa-paq-mi. ACH}
\textit{lliklla-kuna, punchu-kuna, puñu-na-kuna ruwa:- lliw lliw}
shawl-PL poncho-PL sleep-NMLZ-PL make-1 all all
\textit{ima-ta-pis ruwa:- kay-paq-mi kay millwa-paq-mi}
what-ACC-ADD make-1 DEM.P-ABL-EVD DEM.P WOOL-ABL-EVD
‘Shawls, ponchos, blankets – everything, everything I make from this, from this yarn.’
3 Substantives

(9) Ayvis ruwani wiqapaq uvihaapaq. AMV
    ayvis ruwa-ni wiqa-paq uviha-paq
sometimes make-1 twisted.wool-ABL sheep-ABL
    ‘Sometimes I make them out of twisted wool, out of sheep’s wool.’

As a benefactive, -paq indicates the individual who benefits from – or suffers as a result of – an event (10).

(10) Chay allin chay qarikuna mana ishpayta atipapaq. AMV
    chay allin chay qari-kuna mana isha-y-ta
DEM.D good DEM.D man-PL no urinate-INF-ACC
    atipa-q-paq
be.able-AG-BEN
    ‘This is good for men who can’t urinate.’

As a purposive, -paq indicates the purpose of an event (11), (12).

(11) Quni quni planta-m chay-qa. Chiri-paq mi allin. AMV
    quni quni planta-m chay-qa chiri-paq-mi allin
warm warm plant-EVD DEM.D-TOP cold-PURP-EVD good
    ‘This plant is really warm. It’s good for (fighting) the cold.’

(12) Qawanay-paq imawan wañurun nishpa kitrani. AMV
    qawa-na-y-paq ima-wan wañu-ru-n ni-shpa kitra-ni
see-NMLZ-1-PURP what-INSTR die-URGT-3 say-SUBIS open-1
    ‘To see what he died from, I said, and I opened him up.’

-paq may also alternate with -pa and -pi to indicate the genitive (13) or locative (14), (15).

(13) Manam kanchu ſuqapaq puchukarun. AMV
    mana-m ka-n-chu ſuqa-paq puchuka-ru-n
no-EVD be-3-NEG I-GEN finish-URGT-3
    ‘There aren’t any – mine are all finished up.’

(14) Asnu alla-allita atuq watakun kunkapaq trakipaq sugawan watarun. SP
    asnu alla-ali-ta atuq wata-ku-n kunka-paq traki-paq
donkey a.lot-a.lot-ACC fox tie-REFL-3 throat-ABL foot-ABL
    suga-wan wata-ru-n
rope-INSTRI tie-URGT-3
3.3 Substantive inflection

‘The fox tied the donkey up really well. He tied him up with a rope on his neck and on his foot.’

(15) *Kay llaqtapaq kundinawmi lliw lliw runata puchukayn.* AMV
kay llaqa-ta-paq kundinaw-mi lliw lliw runa-ta puchu-ka-ya-n DEM.D town-LOC zombie-EVD all all person-ACC finish-PROG-3

‘In this town, a zombie is finishing off all the people.’

-paq also figures in a number of fixed expressions (16), (17).

(16) *Pasaypaq uyqaytapis puchukarun. ¿Imatataq mikushaq?* AMV
pasaypaq uyqa-y-ta-pis puchuka-ru-n ima-ta-ta-q completely sheep-1-ACC-ADD finish-URGT-3 what-ACC-SEQ
miku-shaq
eat-1.FUT

‘My sheep are completely finished. What will I eat?’

(17) *Kuyaylla-paq waqakuyan yutuqa, kuyakuyllapaq chay waychawwan yutuqa.* SP
kuya-y-lla-paq waqa-ku-ya-n yutu-qa kuya-ku-y-lla-paq love-INF-RSTR-ABL cry-REFL-PROG-3 partridge-TOP love-REFL-INF-ABL
chay waychaw-wan yutu-qa DEM.D waychaw.bird-INST partridge-TOP

‘The partridge is singing beautifully. The waychaw and the partridge [sing] beautifully.’

Suffixed to the distal demonstrative chay, -paq indicates a close temporal or causal connection between two events, translating ‘then’ or ‘so’ (18).

(18) *Balinaku: “Paqarin yanapamay!” u “Paqarin ŋuqakta chay-paq talpushun qampaktañataq”, ninaku:mi.* CH
ni-naku-:-mi say-RECIPI-1-EVD

‘We ask for each other’s services. “Help me tomorrow!” or, “Tomorrow mine then we’ll plant yours,” we say to each other.’
In comparative expressions, -paq attaches to the base of comparison (19), (20); it may be combined with the Spanish-origin comparatives mihur (mejor ‘better’) and piyur (peor ‘worse’) (21). It can generally be translated ‘for’; in its capacity as a purposive, it can generally be translated ‘in order to’.

(19) Qayna puntraw paq masmi. AMV
    qayna  puntraw-paq mas-mi
    ‘It’s more than yesterday.’

(20) Celia paq pis masta chawan. SP
    Celia-paq-pis mas-ta chawa-n
    ‘She milks more than Celia.’

(21) Pular paq pis mihur tam chayqa allukun. ACH
    pular-paq-pis mas mihur-ta-m chay-qa allu-ku-n
    ‘Better than fleece – this bundles you up.’

3.3.3.6 Locative -pi

As a locative, -pi indicates temporal (1), (2) and spatial location (3–5).

(1) Kanan puntraw pi rishaq. AMV
    kanan  puntraw-pi ri-shaq
    ‘I’ll go today.’

(2) ¿Uktubri paqway piña chu hamunki? CH
    uktubri  paqwa-y-pi-ña-chu  hamu-nki
    ‘Are you coming at the end of October?’

(3) Chay pi chakirusa walantin vistiduntini. ACH
    chay-pi chaki-ru-sa wala-ntin vistidu-ntin-shi
    ‘There she dried out with her skirt and her dress.’
3.3 Substantive inflection

(4) Chay lagunapi yatraqñataq nira, “¿Imaynam qam kayanki puka traki?”
chay laguna-pi yatra-q-ña-taq ni-ra imayna-m qam ka-ya-nki puka traki
‘The one that lives in the lake said, “How do you have red feet?”’

(5) Kundurñataq atuqta apustirun, “¿Mayqinninchik lasta pi urqupi wañurushun?”
kundur-ña-taq atuq-ta apusti-ru-n mayqin-ni-nchik lasta-pi urqu-pi wañu-ru-shun
‘The condor bet the fox, “Which of us will die in the snow, in the hills?”’

It is used in the expression to speak in a language (6).

(6) Kastillanupi rimaq chayllamanñam shimin riyan manayá kay kichwa.
kastillanu-pi rima-q chay-lla-man-ña-m shimi-n ri-ya-n mana-yá kay kichwa
‘Those who speak in Spanish, their mouths are running just there. Not [those who speak in?] Quechua.’

It can be translated as ‘in’, ‘on’, or ‘at’. -pi has a marginal use as a genitive indicating subordinative relations – including, prominently, relationships of possession – between nouns referring to different items (7). In this capacity it is translated as ‘of’ or with a possessive.

(7) Chay plantapi yatan.
chay planta-pi yata-n
‘The side of that tree.’
3 Substantives

3.3.3.7 Exclusive -puRa

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

(1) Walmipula qutunakulanchik.
walmi-pula qutu-naku-la-nchik
woman-EXCL gather-RECIP-PST-1PL
‘We women gathered amongst ourselves.’

(2) Intrí warmiqa ¿Imatatr ruwanman hapinakushpa?
intri warmi-qa ima-ta-tr ruwa-n-man hapi-naku-shpa
between woman-TOP what-ACC-EVC make-3-COND grab-RECIP-SUBIS
‘Between women, what are they going to do when they grab each other?’

3.3.3.8 Reason -rayku

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

(1) Chawashiq lichillanrayku riymantri.
chawa-shi-q lichi-lla-n-rayku ri-y-man-tri
milk-ACMP-AG milk-RSTR-3-REASN go-1-COND-EVC
‘I could go help milk on account of her milk.’

(2) Papallaykikirayku pis awapakuruyman.
papa-lla-yki-rayku-pis awa-paku-ru-y-man
potato-RSTR-2-REASN-ADD weave-MUTBEN-URGT-1-COND
‘Even for your potatoes, I’d weave.’

(3) Waynayki shamunanrayku.
wayna-yki shamu-na-n-rayku
lover-2 come-NMLZ-3-REASN
‘On account of your lover’s coming.’
3.3 Substantive inflection

(4) *Mikunallanraykus* *yanukunqat*. AMV
   *miku-na-lla-n-rayku-pis* *yanu-ku-nqa-tr*
   eat-NMLZ-RSTR-3-REASN-ADD cook-REFL-3.FUT-EVC
   ‘On account of her food, she’ll probably cook.’

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

(5) *Qatra vakaqa* *wanuyan qutranman*. Sikintin *qaykus* *paq*. AMV
   *qatra vaka-qa* *wanu-ya-n* *qutra-n-man* *siki-ntin*
   dirty cow-TOP excrete-PROG-3 lake-3-ALL calf-INCL
   *qayku-sa-n-paq*
   corral-PRF-3-ABL
   ‘That dirty cow is pissing in the reservoir! For having been let out with her calf.’

(6) *Manam lichi kanchu. Pastu* *kawsu*. AMV
   *mana-m lichi* *ka-n-chu pastu-kawsu*
   no-EVD milk-3 be-3-NEG pasture.grass-cause
   ‘There’s no milk. Because of the grass.’

3.3.3.9 Accusative *-Kta* and *-ta*

In the CH dialect, the accusative is realized *-kta* after a short vowel and *-ta* after a long vowel or consonant (1), (2); in all other dialects it is realized as *-ta* in all environments. *-ta* indicates the object or goal of a transitive verb (3), (4).

(1) *Tilivisyunta likakuyan, piluta* *pukllaqkunaktam*. CH
   *tilivisyun-ta* *lika-ku-ya-n* *piluta puklla-q-kuna-kta-m*
   television-ACC look-REFL-PROG-3 ball play-AG-PL-ACC-EVD
   ‘They’re watching television, ball players.’
3 Substantives

(2) “Suti:ta-m apakunki”, ¡niy! “Llapanta apakunki”. CH
suti-ia-ta-m apa-ku-nki ni-y lla-pa-n-ta apa-ku-nki
name-1-ACC-EVD bring-REFL-2 say-IMP all-3-ACC bring-REFL-2
‘Say, “You’re going to take along my name. You’re going to take
along them all.”’

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

(4) Wak Kashapatapiñam maqarura César Mullidata. LT
wak Kashapata-pi-ña-m maqa-ru-ra César Mullida-ta
DEM.D Kashapata-LOC-DISC-EVD beat-URGT-PST César Mullida-ACC
‘They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.’

-ta may occur more than once in a clause, marking multiple objects (5), (6) or
both object and goal. In case one noun modifies another, case-marking on the
head N is obligatory (7); on the modifying N, optional (3).

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

(6) ¡Vakata lliwta qaqury! Rikurushaq hanaypim. AMV
vaka-ta lliw-ta qa-qu-ru-y riku-ru-shaq hanay-pi-m
cow-ACC all-ACC toss.out-URGT-IMP go-URGT-1.FUT up.hill-LOC-EVD
‘Toss out the cows, all of them! I’m going to go up hill.’

(7) Sibadata trakrata kwidanchik. AMV
sibada-ta trakra-ta kwida-nchik
barley-ACC field-ACC care.for-1PL
‘We take care of the barley field.’

Complement clauses are suffixed with -ta (8–10).
3.3 Substantive inflection

(8) **Qaqapaq lluqsiyta atipanchu.** Qayakun, “¿Imaynataq kanan lluqsi-shaq?” sp

qqa-paq lluqsi-y-ta atipa-n-chu qaya-ku-n imayna-taq

cliff-ABL go.out-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG shout-REFL-3 how-SEQ

kanan lluqui-shaq

now go.out-1.FUT

‘She couldn’t get off the cliff. She shouted, “Now, how am I going to get down?”’

(9) **Chaypaq kabrata mikuyta gallakuykun.** sp

chay-paq kabra-ta miku-y-ta qalla-ku-yku-n

DEM.D-ABL goat-ACC eat-INF-ACC begin-REFL-EXCEP-3

‘So, the fox started to eat the goat.’

(10) **Wambra willasuptiki imayna kutirimusanta.** LT

wambra willa-su-hti imayna kuti-ri-mu-sa-n-ta

child tell-3>2-SUBDS-3>2 how return-INCEP-URGT-PRF-3-ACC

‘When the children told you how they had returned.’

-ta always attaches to the last word in a multi-word phrase (11).

(11) **Chayshi yatrarun kundur kashanta.** AMV

chay-shi yatra-ru-n kundur ka-sha-n-ta

DEM.D-EVR know-URGT-3 condor be-PRF-3-ACC

‘That’s how they found out he was a condor.’

With -na nominalizations, -ta may be omitted. In many instances, -ta does not indicate accusative case. -ta may indicate the goal of movement of a person, as in (12) and (13), -n-ta may indicate PATH (14) (see also §§3.3.3.1, ex.(7)).

(12) **Siqashpaqa chuqaykaramun ukuta almataqa.** AMV

siqa-shpa-qa chuqa-yka-ra-mu-n uku-ta alma-ta-qa

ascend-SUBIS-TOP throw-EXCEP-URGT-CISL-3 inside-ACC soul-ACC-TOP

‘Going up, he threw the ghost inside.’

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

(13) **Qiñwaltam** riqrani yanta qipikuq. AMV
qiñwal-ta-m ri-rqa-ni yanta qipi-ku-q
Quingual.grove-ACC-EVD go-PST-1 firewood carry-REFL-AG
‘I went to the quingual grove to carry firewood.’

(14) **Ukunta** shamushpa. **Qaqunanta** shamushpapis. CH
uku-n-ta shamu-shpa Qaquna-n-ta shamu-shpa-pis
inside-3-ACC come-SUBIS Qaquna-3-ACC come-SUBIS-ADD
‘Coming via the interior. Coming via Qaquna.’

-ta marks substantives – nouns, adjectives, numerals, derived nouns – when they function as adverbs (15–18).

(15) **Kikinqa** allintaraqtqa gusaq. sp
kiki-n-qa allin-ta-raq-taq gusa-q
self-3-TOP good-ACC-CONT-SEQ enjoy-AG
‘They themselves enjoyed them well still.’

(16) **Rupanchikta** trurakunchik qilluta. AMV
rupa-nchik-ta trura-ku-nchik qillu-ta
clothes-1PL-ACC put-REFL-1PL yellow-ACC
‘We dress ourselves in yellow.’

(17) **Ishkay ishkaytam** plantaramuni. AMV
ishkay ishkay-ta-m planta-ra-mu-ni
two two-ACC-EVD plant-URGT-CISL-1
‘I planted them two by two.’

(18) “**Kumpadri, ¿Imaynataq waqayanki qamqa? ¡Kuyayllata waqanki!”**
nin. sp
kumpadri, imayna-taq waqa-ya-nki qam-qa kuya-y-lla-ta
compadre why-SEQ cry-PROG-2 you-TOP love-INF-RSTR-ACC
waqa-nki ni-n
cry-2 say-3
‘“Compadre, why are you crying? How lovely you sing!” he said.’

It may also mark an item directly affected by an event or time period culminating in an event (19).
3.3 Substantive inflection

(19) *Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abrilta lluqsi run waway.* AMV
Dem.D one morning thirty and one of April-ACC
lluqsi run waway.
‘On that morning, the thirty-first of April, my son left the house
[and was kidnapped].’

With verbs referring to natural phenomena, -ta may mark a place affected by an event (20), (21).

(20) *Yakupis tukuy pampata rikullaq.* AMV
yaku pis tukuy pampa ta ri ku lla q
‘The water, too, would go all over the ground.’

(21) ¿*Llaqtaykita paranchu?* AMV
llaqtay-ki-ta para n chu?
town-2-ACC rain 3-Q
‘Does it rain on your town?’

With verbs of communication, it may mark the person receiving the communication (22), (23).

(22) “*Kay swirupis allquypaqpis. Faltan*, nikurunshi subrinuntaq. LT
kay swiru pis allqu y paq pis fal ta n ni ku ru n shi
Dem.D whey-ADD dog-1-BEN-ADD lack-3 say-REFL-URGT-3-EVR
subrinu n ta qa
nephew-3-ACC-TOP
“This whey of mine, too, is for my dog. There isn’t enough,” he said
to his nephew.’

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

3.3.3.10 Instrumental, comitative -wan

-wan indicates means or company. -wan may mark an instrument or item which is essential to the event (1), (2).

(1) Chaymi qalatuykushpa kuriyan\textit{wan} alli-allita chikutita qura. LT
\textit{chay-mi qalatu-yku-shpa kuriya-n-wan alli-alli-ta} belt-3-INSTR good-good-ACC
\textit{chikuti-ta qu-ra} whip-ACC give-PST
‘Then they stripped him naked and gave him a whipping with his belt.’

(2) Qaliqa taklla\textit{wan}mi halun. Qipantaña\textit{taq} kulpakta maqanchik \textit{pikuwan}. CH
\textit{qali-qa taklla-wan-mi halu-n gipa-n-ta-ña-taq} plow-INSTR-EVD turn.earth-3 behind-3-ACC-DISC-SEQ
\textit{kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan} clod-ACC pick-INSTR
‘Men turn the earth with a [foot] plow. Behind them, we break up the clods with a pick.’

-wan marks all means of transportation (3).

(3) Karru\textit{wan}tri kapas trayamunña. Mutu\textit{wan}shi hamula. CH
\textit{karru-wan-tri kapas traya-mu-n-ña mutu-wan-shi} car-INSTR-EVC maybe arrive-CISL-3-DISC motorcycle-INSTR-EVR
\textit{hamu-la} come-PST
‘Maybe she came on the bus. She came by motorbike, she says.’

It may mark illnesses (4).

(4) ¿Prustata\textit{wan}tri kayanki? CH
\textit{prustata-wan-tri ka-ya-nki} prostate-INSTR-EVC be-PROG-2
‘Would you have prostate [problems]?’
3.3 Substantive inflection

-wan may mark any animate individual who takes part in an event together with the performer (5), (6); it may also mark the actor in an event referred to by a causative verb (7).

(5) Taytachalla:wan kawsakura: mamachalla:wan kawsakura:. Mama:qa huk kumprumisuwan rikun huk lawta. ACH
tayta-cha-lla-:-wan kawsa-ku-ra:- mama-cha-lla-:-wan
father-DIM-RSTR-1-INSTREFL-PST-1 mother-DIM-RSTR-1-INSTREFL-PST-1 mama-:-qa huk kumprumisu-wan ri-ku-n
live-PST-1 mother-1-TOP one commitment-INSTREFL-3
huk law-ta
one side-ACC
'I lived with just my grandfather and my grandmother. My mother went to another place with another commitment.'

(6) ¿Imapaqmi wak kundinawwan puriyanki? AMV
ima-paq-mi wak kundinaw-wan puri-ya-nki
what-PURP-EVD DEM.D zombie-INSTREFL zombie-PROG-2
'Why are you walking around with that zombie?'

(7) Manaraqmi qari:-pis kararaqchu. Sapalla: wak wasipa puñukura: vaka:-wan. ACH
mana-raq-mi qari:-pis ka-ra-raq-chu sapa-lla-: wak
no-CONT-EVD man-1-ADD be-PST-CONT-NEG alone-RSTR-1 DEM.D
wasi-pa puñu-ku-ra-: vaka-:-wan
house-LOC sleepREFL-PST-1 cow-1-INST
'I still didn’t have my husband. I slept alone in my house with my cows.'

wan may mark coordinate relations between nouns or nominal groups; case matching attaches to all items except the last in a coordinate series (8). It can usually be translated ‘with’.

(8) Milawan Aliciawan Hilda trayaramun. AMV
Mila-:wan Alicia-:wan Hilda traya-ra-mu-n
Mila-INSTREFL Alicia-INSTREFL Hilda arrive-URGT-CISL-3
'Hilda arrived with Mila and Alicia.'
3 Substantives

3.3.3.11 Possible combinations

Combinations of case suffixes are rare. They do occur, however, notably with -pa, -wan, and -hina. Where a noun phrase marked with genitive -pa or -paq functions as an anaphor, the phrase may be case marked as its referent would be (1), (2). Note that in (2) the accusative has no phonological reflex in the English gloss.

(1) *Paqarin yanapamay u paqarin ŋuqapakta chaypaq talpashun qampaktañataq.*

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Paqarin yanapa-} & \text{ma-y u paqarin ŋuqa-pa-kta chay-paq} \\
\text{tomorrow help-1.OBJ-IMP or tomorrow I-GEN-ACC} & \text{DEM.D-ABL} \\
\text{talpu-shun qam-pa-kta-ña-taq} & \text{YOU-GEN-ACC-DISC-SEQ} \\
\text{plant-1PL.FUT} & \text{\textquoteleft Help me tomorrow or tomorrow mine and then we’ll plant yours.\textquoteright}
\end{align*}\]

(2) *Piluntaqa yupayanshari chay chapupaqta. Ushachinchu yupayta.*

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Pilu-} & \text{n-ta-q} \text{ yupa-ya-n-sh-ari chay chapu-paq-ta} \\
\text{hair-3-ACC-SEQ count-PROG-3-EVR-ARI} & \text{DEM.D dog-GEN-ACC} \\
\text{ushachi-n-chu yupa-y-ta} & \text{be.able-3-NEG count-INF-ACC} \\
\text{\textquoteleft He’s counting the hairs of that small [hairless] dog, but he can’t count them.\textquoteright}
\end{align*}\]

In addition to functioning as a case marker, -wan also serves to conjoin noun phrases. In this capacity, -wan may follow other case markers (3), (4).

(3) *Mishkita yawarnintam mikurunchik mutintawan papantawan.*

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Mishki-ta yawar-ni-n-ta-m} & \text{ miku-ru-nchik} \\
\text{sweet-ACC blood-EUPH-3-ACC-EVD eat-URGT-1PL} & \text{hominy-3-ACC-INSTR} \\
\text{muti-n-ta-wan} & \text{papa-n-ta-wan} \\
\text{potato-3-ACC-INSTR} & \text{\textquoteleft We eat its delicious blood with hominy and with potatoes.\textquoteright}
\end{align*}\]

(4) *Chay kabranpawan vakanpawantri kisuchan.*

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Chay} & \text{ kabr-n-pa-wan vaka-n-pa-wan kisu-cha-n} \\
\text{DEM.D goat-3-GEN-INSTR cow-3-GEN-INSTR cheese-DIM-3} & \text{\textquoteleft Her cheese would be from her goats’ [milk] and from her cows’[milk].\textquoteright}
\end{align*}\]
Elicited examples (5), (6) follow Parker (1976).

(5) Qari
purawan kambyashun. † AMV
qari-pura-wan kambya-shun
man-EXCL-INST change-1PL.FUT
‘Let’s exchange husbands [for one another].’

(6) Piliyarachin wambrapurata. † AMV
piliya-ra-chi-n wamba-pura-ta
fight-URGT-CAUS-3 child-EXCL-ACC
‘He made the boys fight among themselves.’

Comparative -hina may also combine with other case markers (7), (8).

(7) Karsil
pahinam witrqamara. Wambra:kuna istudyaq pasan. ACH
karsil-pa-hina-m witrqa-ma-ra wamba-:-kuna istudy-a-q
prison-LOC-COMP-EVD close.in-1.OBJ-PST child-1-PL study-AG
pasa-n
pass-3
‘They closed me in like in a jail. My children leave to study.’

(8) Kanan vakata pusillaman chawayanchik kabrataha
nina. AMV
kanan vaka-ta pusill-a-man chawa-ya-nchik kabra-ta-hina
now cow-ACC cup-RSTR-ALL milk-PROG-1PL goat-ACC-COMP
‘Now we milk a cow into a cup like a goat.’

3.3.3.12 More specific noun-noun relations

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

(1) *Wak urqu qipanpa karu karutam muyumunchik.* AMV
   wak urqu qipa-n-pa karu karu-ta-m muyu-mu-nchik
   dem.d hill behind-3-LOC far far-acc-evd circle-cisl-1pl
   ‘We circle around very far behind that hill.’

(2) *Kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki.* sp
   kundur tiya-ya-n rumi hawa-n-pa ima-tri-ki
   condor sit-prog-3 rock top-3-loc what-evc-iki
   ‘The condor must be sitting on top of a rock.’

(3) *Waka uku npatriki runa wañura unay.* ach
   waka uku-n-pa-tri-ki runa wañu-ra unay
   ruins inside-3-loc-evc-iki person die-pst before
   ‘Inside the ruins, people must have died before.’

(4) *Wak wambra qaga trawpintam pasayan manam manchakuyan.* AMV
   wak wambra qaga trawpi-n-ta-m pasa-ya-n mana-m
   dem.d child cliff center-3-acc-evd pass-prog-3 no-evd
   mancha-ku-ya-n
   scare-refl-prog-3
   ‘That boy passes between the cliffs. He’s not afraid.’

3.4 Substantive derivation

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

3.4.1 Substantive derived from verbs

Four suffixes derive substantives from verbs in syq: -na, -q, -sHa, and -y. All four form both relative and complement clauses. -na, -q, -sHa, and -y form subjunc-
3.4 Substantive derivation

tive, agentive, indicative, and infinitive clauses, respectively. The nominalizing suffixes attach directly to the verb stem, with the exception that the first- and second-person object suffixes, -wa/ma and -sHa, may intervene. §3.4.1.1–3.4.1.4 cover -na, -q, -sHa, and -y in turn.

3.4.1.1 -na

-na derives nouns that refer to (a) the instrument with which the action named by the base is realized (alla-na ‘harvesting tool’) (1), (2); (b) the place in which the event referred to occurs (michi-na ‘pasture’) (3); and (c) the object in which the action named by the base is realized (upya-na ‘drinking water’, milla-na ‘nau-sea’) (4), (5).

(1) *Mulinchik makinapaq kamcharinchik kallanapa. AMV*
multi-nchik makina-paq kamcha-ri-nchik kalla-na-pa
grind-1PL machine-LOC toast-INCPT-1PL toast-NMLZ-LOC
‘We grind it in a machine and then we toast it in the toasting pan.’

(2) *Llikllakuna, punchukuna, puñunakuna ruwa:. ACH*
lliklla-kuna, punchu-kuna, puñu-na-kuna, ruwa-:
shawl-PL poncho-PL sleep-NMLZ-PL make-1
‘I make shawls, ponchos and blankets.’

(3) *Iskina hawanpa michinayki. AMV*
iskina hawa-n-pa michi-na-yki
corner above-3-LOC pasture-NMLZ-2
‘Above the corner where you pasture.’

(4) *Mamayqa wichayta mikunayta apashtapa asnuchanwan kargachakusa hamuq. AMV*
mama-y-qa wichay-ta miku-na-y-ta apa-shpa
mother-1-TOP up.hill-ACC eat-NMLZ-1-ACC bring-SUBIS
asnua-cha-n-wan karga-cha-ku-sa hamu-q
donkey-DIM-3-INST carry-DIM-REFL-PRF come-AG
‘My mother would come up hill bringing my food, carrying it with her donkey.’
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(5) Mikunantapis lliw lliwshi sibadanta trigunta ima kaqtapis katriwan takurachisa. ACH
miku-na-n-ta-pis lliw lliw-shi sibada-n-ta trigu-n-ta ima
eat-NMLZ-3-ACC-ADD all all-EVR barley-3-ACC wheat-3-ADD what
ka-q-ta-pis katri-wan taku-ra-chi-sa
be-AG-ACC-ADD salt-INSTR mix-URGT-CAUS-NPST
‘Their food, too, everything, everything, their barley, their wheat, anything, they mixed it with salt.’

Followed by a possessive suffix plus the copula auxiliary inflected for third person (null just in case tense/aspect are not specified), -na indicates necessity (i.e., it forms a universal deontic/teleological modal) (taqsa-na-yki ‘you have to wash’) (6), (7).

(6) Sibadayta wayrachishaq abasniyta pallanay kayan. AMV
sibada-y-ta wayra-chi-shaq abas-ni-y-ta palla-na-y
barley-1-ACC wind-CAUS-1.FUT broad.beans-EUPH-1-ACC pick-NMLZ-1
ka-ya-n
be-PROG-3
‘I’m going to winnow my barley – I have to pick my broad beans.’

(7) Hinata risani yanukunay kakuyaptin. LT
hina-ta risa-ni yanu-ku-na-y ka-ku-ya-hti-n
thus-ACC pray-1 cook-REFL-NMLZ-1 be-REFL-PROG-SUBDS-3
‘I pray like that – when he’s there, I have to cook.’

The past tense of necessity is formed by adding ka-RQa, the third person simple past tense form of ka- ‘be’ (palla-na-y ka-ra ‘I had to pick’) (8), (9).

(8) Kutikamura qari wambra: yaykunan kara manaña atiparachu. ACH
kuti-ka-mu-ra qari wambra:- yayku-na-n ka-ra
return-PASSACC-CISL-PST man child-1 enter-NMLZ-3 be-PST
mana-ña atipa-ra-chu
no-DISC be.able-PST-NEG
‘My son came back – he was supposed to enter [university] but he couldn’t any more.’
3.4 Substantive derivation

(9) Shinkakunaqa kasunan kara madriqa rabyasatr kutin. AMV
shinka-kuna-qa kasu-na-n ka-ra madri-qa
drunk-PL-TOP pay.attention-NMLZ-3 be-PST nun-TOP
rabya-sa-tr kuti-n
be.mad-PRF-EVC return-3
‘The drunks had to pay [should have paid] attention. The nun must have gotten mad.’

In combination with the purposive case suffix -paq, -na forms subordinate clauses that indicate the purpose of the action in the main clause (qawa-na-y-paq ‘so I can see’) (10–13).

(10) Ganawkuna michina:paq chay chaytam trakra trabahana:paq. sp
ganaw-kuna michi-na-:-paq chay chay-ta-m trakra
cattle-PL pasture-NMLZ-1-PURP DEM.D DEM.D-ACC-EVD field
trabaha-na-:-paq
work-NMLZ-1-PURP
‘So I can herd the cows, so I can work in the fields.’

(11) Tambopaq apamuq kani, “¡Mikuy! ¡Hampishunaykipaq!” nini. AMV
Tambo-paq apa-mu-q ka-ni, miku-y hampi-shu-na-yki-paq
Tambo-ABL bring-CISL-AG be-1 eat-IMP cure-3>2-NMLZ-3>2-PURP
ni-ni
say-1
‘I used to bring it from Tambopata. “Eat it so it can cure you!” I said.’

(12) Manaña yapa maqashunaykipaq. AMV
mana-ña yapa maqa-shu-na-yki-paq
no-DISC again hit-3>2-NMLZ-3>2-PURP
‘So she doesn’t hit you again.’

(13) “¿Imay ura chay kunihuqa kutimunqa yanapamananpaq?” nin. sp
imay ura chay kunihu-qa kuti-mu-nqa
when hour DEM.D rabbit-TOP return-CISL-3.FUT
yanapa-ma-na-n-paq ni-n
help-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP say-3
“What time is that rabbit going to come back so he can help me?” said [the fox].’
3 Substantives

-na forms subjunctive complement clauses with the verb *muna- ‘want’* (*tushu-na-n-ta muna-ni ‘I want her to dance’) (14), (15).

(14) **Pagananta munayan, rantinanta gasolinata. ACH**

*paga-na-n-ta muna-ya-n rant-i-na-n-ta gasolina-ta*

*pay-NMLZ-3-ACC want-PROG-3 buy-NMLZ-3-ACC gasoline-ACC*

‘He wants her to pay, to buy gasoline.’

(15) **Hinaptinshi paytaqa mana tarpunanta munasachu. ACH**

*hinaptin-shi pay-ta-qa mana tarpu-na-n-ta muna-sa-chu*

*then-EVR he-ACC-TOP no plant-NMLZ-3-ACC want-NPST-NEG*

‘Then, they say, they didn’t want him to plant.’

-na nominalizations, relative to the event of the main clause, refer to actions still to be completed (16), (17).

(16) **Mansanapaqña wak turun kayan. AMV**

*mansa-na-paq-ña wak turu-n ka-ya-n*

*tame-NMLZ-PURP-DISC DEM.D bull-3 be-PROG-3*

‘That bull is to be tamed/for taming already.’

(17) **Ñuqa laqyarushaq sikipa. Kiputaqa. Laqyapanash kayan. AMV**

*ñuqa laqya-ru-shaq siki-paq Kipu-ta-qa*

*I slap-URGT-1.FUT behind-LOC Kipu-ACC-TOP*

*laqya-pa-na-sh ka-ya-n*

*slap-REPET-NMLZ-EVR be-PROG-3*

‘I’m going to slap him on the behind. Kipu [a dog]. It’s there to be hit.’

3.4.1.2 Agentive -q

-q is agentive, deriving nouns that refer to the agent of the verb to which it attaches (*michi-q ‘shepherd’, ara-q ‘plower’) (1–4).
3.4 Substantive derivation

(1) Qaripis kanmi **wawachikuq**. Wawachin hapishpa. **ACH**
qari-pis ka-n-mi wawa-chi-ku-q wawa-chi-n
man-ADD be-3-EVD give.birth-CAUS-REFL-AG give.birth-CAUS-3
hapi-shpa
grab-SUBIS
‘There are also men midwives. Holding on, they birth the baby.’

(2) **Manam munaq** kunakta pushakuyan. **CH**
mana-m muna-q-kuna-kta pusha-ku-ya-n
no-EVD want-AG-PL-ACC bring.along-REFL-PROG-3
‘They’re bringing along **people who don’t want to.**’

(3) Wak **bandiduaq munarqachu manash wawayuqta. Wawapakuq** triki kidarqa. **ACH**
wak bandidu-qa muna-rqa-chu mana-sh wawa-yuq-ta
DEM.D bastard-TOP want-PST-NEG want-EVR baby-POS-ACC
wawa-paku-q-tri-ki kida-rqa
baby-MUTBEN-AG-EVC-KI remain-PST
‘That bastard didn’t want [a woman] with a baby, they say. She remained a **single mother**, for sure.’

(4) ¿Imaynataq wak **miyrdaq** ganayawan? **AMV**
imayna-taq wak miyrda-q gana-ya-wa-n?
how-SEQ DEM.D shit-AG win-PROG-1.OBJ-3
‘How is that shithead beating me?’

-q nominalizations may form adjectival and relative clauses (**chinka-ku-q pashña** ‘the lost girl’, ‘the girl who was lost’) (5–8).

(5) **Trabahapakuya: llapan rigakuq luna. Trabahaya:** **CH**
trabaha-paku-ya-: llapa-n riga-ku-q luna trabaha-ya-:
work-MUTBEN-PROG-1 all-3 irrigate-REFL-AG person work-PROG-1
‘All the **people who water** are working, we’re working.’

(6) **Istudyaq wambra** kunapaqshi mas mimuryanpaq. **AMV**
istudya-q wambra-kuna-paqshi mas mimurya-n-paq
study-AG child-PL-BEN-EVR more memory-3-PURP
‘For the **children who study**, they say, so that they have more memory.’
3 Substantives

(7) **maqtawan pashña chinkakuqqa** ACH  maqt-a-wan pashña chinka-ku-q qa  
    young.man-INSTR girl get.lost-REFL-AG-TOP  
    ‘the boy and the girl who were lost’

(8) **mana rikchaq runakuna** SP  mana rikcha-q runa-kuna  
    no go-AG person-pl  
    ‘the people who aren’t going’

With verbs of movement, -q forms complement clauses indicating the purpose of the displacement (taki-q hamu-nqa ‘they will come to sing’) (9–11).

(9) **Maskakuq wak vikuñachatam wakchakuq ritamunki.** LT  
    maska-ku-q wak vikuña-cha-ta-m wakcha-ku-q  
    look.for-REFL-AG DEM.D vicuña-DIM-ACC-EVD raise-REFL-AG  
    ri-tamu-nki go-IRREV-1  
    ‘You **left to look** for that little vicuña to **domesticate.**’

(10) **Misa lulaq shamun.** CH  
    misa lula-q shamu-n  
    mass make-AG come-3  
    ‘They **come to hold** mass.’

(11) ¡**Haku michiq! Michimushun chay llamata.** LT  
    haku michi-q michi-mu-shun chay llama-ta  
    let’s pasture-AG pasture-CISL-1PL.FUT DEM.D llama-ACC  
    ‘Let’s **[go to] herd!** We’ll herd those llamas.’

With the verb kay ‘be’ -q forms the habitual past (asi-ku-q ka-nki ‘you used to laugh’) (12–14) (see §4.3.3.3.4).

(12) **Unayqa paykunaqa ... mantilta ruwaq, mantilta burdaq, unayqa.** AMV  
    unay-qa pay-kuna-qa mantil-ta ruwa-q mantil-ta  
    long.ago-TOP he-PL-TOP table.cloth-ACC make-AG table.cloth-ACC  
    burda-q unay-qa  
    embroider-AG long.ago-TOP
3.4 Substantive derivation

‘Formerly, they **used to** make table cloths; they **used to** embroider table cloths, formerly.’

(13) *Huybisnipa dumingunpa kisuta apaq ka: ishkay. ACH huybis-ni-n-pa dumingu-n-pa kisu-ta apa-q ka-:
Thursday-EUPH-3-LOC Sunday-3-LOC cheese-ACC bring-AG be-1
ishkay
two
‘On Thursdays and Sundays, I **used to bring** two cheeses [to sell].’

(14) *Sirdallawan chumakuq kanchik, kaspichallawan aychiq kanchik. Winku purucham kaq. Antis. AMV sirda-lla-wan chuma-ku-q ka-nchik, kaspi-cha-lla-wan
bristle-RSTR-INTR strain-REFL-AG be-1PL stick-DIM-RSTR-INTR
aychi-q ka-nchik winku puru-cha-m ka-q antis
stir-AG be-1PL crooked pot-DIM-EVD be-AG before
‘We **used to strain** it with just bristles, **we used to stir** it with just a stick. **There used to be** a crooked little bottle. Before.’

3.4.1.3 Perfective -sHa

-sHa is perfective, deriving stative participles. It is realized as -sa in ACH, AMV, and SP and as -sha in LT and CH. -sHa nominalizations form adjectives (chaki-sa ‘dried’) (1–2) as well as relative (apa-sa-y ‘that I bring’) (3–7), and complement clauses (atipa-sha-y-ta ‘what I can’) (8–10).

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

(2) *Wak runapa trakinqa punkisam kayan tulluntri kuyusa kayan. ACH wak runa-pa traki-n-qa punki-sa-m ka-ya-n tullu-n-tri
DEM.D person-GEN foot-3-TOP swell-PRF-EVD be-PROG-3 bone-3-EVC
kuyu-sa ka-ya-n
move-PRF be-PROG-3
‘That person’s foot is **swollen**, the bone must be **moved** [out of place].’
3 Substantives

(3) Chay ganaw dividisanwan rikisiyantri. SP

chay ganaw divid-i-sa-n-wan rikisi-ya-n-tri

DEM.D cattle devid-e-PRF-3-INST get.rich-PROG-3-EVC

‘They must be getting rich with the cattle that they divided up among themselves.’

(4) Pampakurun matraymanqa chay wañusan tardiqa. AMV

pampa-ku-ru-n matray-man-qa chay wañu-sa-n tardi-qa

bury-REFL-URGT-3 cave-ALL-TOP DEM.D die-PRF-3 afternoon

‘They buried him in a cave the afternoon that he died.’

(5) Unay imas pasamashanchik ... CH

unay ima-s pasa-ma-sha-nchik

before what-ADD pass-1.OBJ-PRF-1PL

‘Before, anything that happened to us ...’

(6) kalamina rantishanchikkuna LT

kalamina ranti-sha-nchik-kuna

corrugated.iron buy-PRF-1PL-PL

‘the tin roofing that we bought’

(7) Ratuskamanshi kisuta ruwasaykita qawanqa. AMV

ratus-kaman-shi kisu-ta ruwa-sa-yki-ta qawa-nqa

moments-LIM-EVR cheese-ACC make-PRF-2-ACC see-3.FUT

‘A little later, she says, she’ll see the cheese that you made.’

(8) ¿Imatataq kanan ñuqa Lutupa ubihawan yatra sayta willakushaq? AMV


tell-REFL-1.FUT

‘Now what am I going to tell you about what I lived in Lutu with my sheep?’

(9) Luchashaq. Atipashaytatrik ruwakushaq. LT

lucha-shaq atipa-sha-y-ta-tri-k ruwa-ku-shaq

fight-1.FUT be.able-PRF-1-ACC-EVC-IK make-REFL-1.FUT

‘I’ll fight. I’ll do what I can.’
3.4 Substantive derivation

(10) *Ñuqapataqa silinsyu kaptin munashantaña ruwayan.* LT
ñuqa-pa-ta-qa silinsyu ka-hti-3 muna-sha-n-ta-ña
I-GEN-ACC-TOP abandoned be-SUBDS-3 want-PRF-3-ACC-DISC
ruwa-ya-3
make-PROG-3

‘When it falls silent, they’re doing what they want to my things.’

-sHa complement clauses are common with the verbs *yatra-* ‘know’, *qunqa-* ‘forget’, *qawa* ‘see’ and *uyaRi-* ‘hear’ (*upya-sa-ta uyari-rqa-ni* ‘I heard that he drank’) (11).

(11) *Ñuqaqa wambran qipikusan ta qawarqanichu.* AMV
ñuqa-qa wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-ni-chu
I-TOP child-3 carry-REFL-PRF-3-ACC see-PST-1-NEG

‘I didn’t see that she carried her baby.’

As substantives, they are inflected with possessive suffixes, not verbal suffixes (*ranti-sa-yki* ‘*ranti-sa-nki* ‘that you sold’); these may be reinforced with possessive pronouns (*qam-pa ranti-sa-yki* ‘that you sold’) (12).

(12) *Qampa rantikurasaykiyá chay shakash.* AMV
qam-pa rantiku-ra-sayki-yá chay shakash
you-GEN sell-URGT-2>1-EMPH DEM.D guinea.pig

‘That guinea pig that you sold me.’

-sHa may also form nouns referring to the place where an event, *e*, occurs (*dipurti ka-sha-n* ‘where there are sports’) (13–15).

(13) *Wambraqa pukllayasanpa tutaykarachin.* sp
wambra-qa puklla-ya-sa-n-pa tuta-yka-ra-chi-n
child-TOP play-PROG-PRF-3-LOC night-EXCEP-URGT-CAUS-3

‘Night fell where the girls were playing.’

(14) *Tilivisyunta likakuyan piluta pukllaqkunaktam maytraw dipurti kashan kunakta.* CH
tilivisyun-ta lika-ku-ya-n piluta puklla-q-kuna-kta-m
television-ACC look-REFL-PROG-3 ball play-AG-PL-ACC-EVD
may-traw dipurti ka-sha-n-kuna-kta
where-LOC sport be-PRF-3-PL-ACC
3 Substantives

“They’re watching television – the ball-players and where there are sports.’

(15) Riyasan piqa trayarun, pwintiman. AMV
    ri-ya-sa-n-pi-qa traya-ru-n, pwinti-man
    go-PROG-PRF-3-LOC-TOP arrive-URGT-3 bridge-ALL
    ‘He arrived where he was going, at a bridge.’

-sHa nominalizations, relative to the E of the main clause, refer to actions already completed (16), (17).

(16) Yapa kutishqa awakusanman. AMV
    yapa kuti-shqa awa-ku-sa-n-man
    again return-SUBIS weave-REFL-PRF-3-ALL
    ‘When she returned again to what/where she had woven.’

(17) ¿Pi yaykukuntri? Mana ya yatranichu pi kashantapis. AMV
    pi yayku-ku-n-tri mana ya yatra-ni-chu pi
    who enter-REFL-3-EVC mana EMPH know-1-NEG who
    ka-sha-n-ta-pis
    be-PRF-3-ACC-ADD
    ‘Who would have entered? I don’t know who it was, either.’

3.4.1.4 Infinitive -y

-y indicates the infinitive or what in English would be a gerund (tushu-y ‘to dance, dancing’) (1), (2).

(1) Ni puñuy ni mikuy. AMV
    ni puñu-y ni miku-y
    nor sleep-INF nor eat-INF
    ‘Neither sleeping nor eating.’

(2) Paqwayanñam talpukuy. CH
    paqwa-ya-n-na-m talpu-ku-y
    finish-PROG-3-DISC-EVD plant-REFL-INF
    ‘The planting is finishing up.’
Substantive derivation

-y nominalizations may refer to the object or event in which the verb stem is realized (ishpa- ‘urinate’ → ishpa-y ‘urine’; nana- ‘hurt’ → nana-y ‘pain’; rupa- ‘burn’ → rupa-y ‘sunshine’) (3–7).

(3) Warminpa ishpaynintash tuman. AMV
warmi-n-pa ishp-y-ni-n-ta-sh tuma-n
woman-3-GEN urinate-INF-EUPH-3-ACC-EVR drink-3
‘He drinks his wife’s urine, they say.’

(4) Traki nanaywan karqani. AMV
traki nana-y-wan ka-rqa-ni
foot hurt-INF-INSTR be-PST-1
‘I’ve had foot pain.’

(5) Tutil sudayllaña hamukuyan kwirpunchikpapis “¡Chaq! ¡Chaq! ¡Chaq!”
sutukuyan sudayniki. ACH
tutal su-da-y-lla-ña hamu-ku-ya-n
completely sweat-INF-RSTR-DISC come-REFL-PROG-3
kwirpu-nchik-pa-pis chaq chaq chaq su-tu-ku-ya-n
body-1PL-LOC-ADD tak tak tak drip-REFL-PROG-3
suda-y-ni-ki
sweat-INF-EUPH-2
‘Just a whole lot of sweat is coming out on our bodies – “Chak! Chak! Chak!” – your sweat is dripping.’

(6) ¿Uktubri paqwaypiñachu hamunki? CH
uktubri paqwa-y-pi-na-chu hamu-nki
October finish-INF-LOC-DISC-Q come-2
‘Are you coming at the end of October?’

(7) Aligrakuyan suygran wañukusantatr. Manayá pampa kuyninpa
karqachu, ¿aw? AMV
aligra-ku-y-a-n suygra-n wañu-ku-sa-n-ta-tr
happy-REFL-PROG-3 mother.in.law-3 die-REFL-PRF-3-ACC-EVC
mana-yà pampa-ku-y-ni-n-pa ka-rqa-chu aw
no-EMPH bury-REFL-INF-EUPH-3-LOC be-PST-Q yes
‘He must be very happy his mother-in-law died. He wasn’t at her burial, was he?’
-y nominalizations form adjectival and relative clauses (ranti-y kahun ‘bought casket’, yanu-ku-y tardi ‘the afternoon that we cook’) (8–10) and infinitive complement clauses (waqa-y-ta qalla-ku-n ‘it started to wail’) (11).

(8) **Rantiy** kahun mana yaykunchu. AMV  
ranti-y kahun mana yayku-n-chu  
buy-INF coffin no enter-3-NEG  
`Bought coffins won’t fit it.’

(9) **Waqtakunata lluqishpa runas puñuy.** ACH  
waqta-kuna-ta lluqsi-shpa runa-s puñu-y  
hillside-PL-ACC go.out-SUBIS person-ADD sleep-INF  
‘The people, too, **asleep**, they came out on the hillsides.’

(10) **Chay yanukuy tardish almaqa trayamun.** AMV  
chay yanu-ku-y tardi-sh alma-qa traya-mu-n  
DEM.D cook-REFL-INF afternoon-EVR soul-TOP arrive-CISL-3  
‘The souls arrive on the afternoon **that we cook**, they say.’

(11) **Waqayta qallakun, “¡Oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh!” sp**  
wqa-y-ta qalla-ku-n ooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh  
cry-INF-ACC start-REFL-3 ooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh  
‘It started **to wail**, “Oooh oooohh oooohhhh ooh ooh!”’

The latter are particularly common with the auxiliary verbs muna- ‘want,’ atipa- ‘be able,’ and yatra- ‘know’ (iskribi-y-ta muna-ni ‘I want to write’) (12–16).

(12) **Manañam diskutiyta ſuqa munanichu kayna.** LT  
mana-ña-m diskuti-y-ta ſuqa muna-ni-chu kayna  
no-DISC-EVD dispute-INF-ACC I want-1-NEG thus  
‘I don’t **want to fight** about it like this any more.’

(13) **¿Kukata akuykuyta munankichu?** AMV  
kuka-ta aku-yku-y-ta muna-nki-chu  
coca-ACC chew-EXCEP-INF-ACC want-2-Q  
‘Do you **want to chew** coca?’
3.4 Substantive derivation

(14)  
Wak vakaypa atakanmi mal kayan puriya atipanchu.  
AMV  
wak vaka-y-pa ataka-n-mi mal ka-ya-n puri-y-ta  
DEM.D cow-1-GEN leg-3-EVD bal be-PROG-3 walk-INF-ACC  
atipa-n-chu  
be.able-3-NEG  
‘My cow’s leg is hurt – she can’t walk.’

(15)  
Iskribiytapis usachinichu ni firmaytapis.  
CH  
iskribi-y-ta-pis usachi-ni-chu ni firma-y-ta-pis total  
write-INF-ACC-ADD be.able-1-NEG nor sign-INF-ACC-ADD totally  
analfabitu illiterate  
‘I can’t write or sign [my name], either. Completely illiterate.’

(16)  
Mana risakuyta yatrarachu.  
SP  
mana risa-ku-y-ta yatra-ra-chu Satanas-wan yatra-ra  
no pray-REFL-INF-ACC know-PST-NEG Satan-INSTR live-PST  
‘They didn’t know how to pray. They lived with Satan.’

Infinitive complements are case-marked with accusative -ta (17).

(17)  
Wakhina mana vininu tumayta munashpati manam yaykuyta  
munanchu ubihaqa.  
AMV  
wak-hina mana vininu tuma-y-ta muna-shpa-tri mana-m  
DEM.D-COMP no poison take-INF-ACC want-SUBIS-EVC no-EVD  
yayku-y-ta muna-n-chu ubiha-qa  
exter-INF-ACC want-3-NEG sheep-TOP  
‘Like that, not wanting to drink poison, the sheep don’t want to go in.’

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

(18)  
Manam lulay munanchu.  
CH  
mana-m lula-y muna-n-chu  
no-EVD make-INF want-3-NEG  
‘He doesn’t want to do it.’
3 Substantives

3.4.2 Substantives derived from substantives

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

3.4.2.1 Non-exhaustivity -kuna₂

-kuna₂ indicates that the referent of its base is accompanied by another entity, generally of the same class (qusa-yki-kuna ‘your husband and all’) (1–4).

1 Ispusu:ta mama:kuna tayta:kuna kta qayakushpa manam ...
   hiwyak:chu. CH
   ispusu:-ta mama:-kuna tayta:-kuna-kta qaya-ku-shpa
   husband-1-ACC mother-1-PL father-1-PL-ACC call-REFL-SUBIS
   mana-m hiwy-ku:-chu
   no-EEV scare-REFL-1-NEG
   ‘Calling on my husbands and on my mothers and my fathers, I’m not scared.’

2 Chay kwirpuyki-kuna mal kanman umaykikuna nananman. AMV
   chay kwirpu-yki-kuna mal ka-n-man uma-yki-kuna nana-n-man
   DEM.D body-2-PL bad be-3-COND head-2-PL hurt-3-COND
   ‘Your body among other things could be sick; your head among other things could hurt.’

3 Wak rikisunninkunata narun warkurun. AMV
   wak rikisun-ni-n-kuna-ta na-ru-n warku-ru-n
   DEM.D cheese.curd-EUPH-3-PL-ACC DMY-URGT-3 hang-URGT-3
   ‘She did that, she hung up her cheese curd along with other things.’

4 “Pachamanka-kuna kayan alli allin mikushun kanan tardi”, nishpa. SP
   pachamanka-kuna ka-ya-n alli allin miku-shun kanan
   barbecue-PL be-PROG-3 good good eat-1PL-FUT now
   tardi ni-shpa afternon say-SUBIS
“‘There’s a barbecue and all – we’re going to eat really, really well this afternoon,” said [the rabbit].’

3.4.2.2 Accompaniment, adjacency \texttt{-ntin}

\texttt{-ntin} indicates that the referent of the base accompanies or is adjacent to another entity (\textit{allqu-ntin} ‘with her dog’) (1–4).

1. \textit{Vistigashpapa pasakun vistigaq lliw gwardya\texttt{antin} huys\texttt{intin}.} sp vistiga\textit{-shpa-qa} pas\textit{-ku-n} vistiga\textit{-q} lliw gwardya\texttt{-ntin}
investigate-SUBIS-TOP pass-REFL-3 investigate-AG all police-ACMP huys\texttt{-ni-ntin}
judge-EUPH-ACMP

‘After they investigated, the investigators left \textit{with} the policemen and judges.’

2. \textit{Hinashpash pwirtanta kandawn\texttt{intinta} kuchurus\textit{a}, ¿aw? AMV hinashpa\texttt{-sh} pwir\textit{-ta-n-ta} kandaw\texttt{-ni-ntin-ta} kuchu-ru-sa aw then-EVR door-3-ACC lock-EUPH-3-ACC cut-URGT-NPST yes

‘Then, they say, they cut the door \textit{along with} its lock, no?’

3. \textit{Qullq\texttt{intint} ript\texttt{in} krusn\texttt{intintshi} qu\texttt{lqintintshi}.} AMV qu\texttt{lqiqi-ntin} ri-\textit{pti-n} krus-ni\texttt{-ntin-shi} qu\texttt{lqiqi-ntin-shi}
money-ACMP go-SUBDS-3 cross-EUPH-INCL-EVR money-ACMP-EVR

‘Leaving \textit{with} her money – \textit{with} her cross and \textit{with} her money, they say.’

4. \textit{Trayamura punt\texttt{antin} punt\texttt{antin} pay\texttt{qa}.} sp traya\texttt{-mu-ra} punt\texttt{-ntin} punt\texttt{-ntin} pay-\texttt{qa}
arrive-URGT-PST point-ACMP point-ACMP he-TOP

‘He arrived \textit{peak by peak}, he did.’

3.4.2.3 Multiple possession \texttt{-sapa}

\texttt{-sapa} derives a nouns referring to the possessor of the referent of the base. It differs from \texttt{-yuq} in that what is possessed is possessed in greater proportion than is
3 Substantives

usual (uma ‘head’ → uma-sapa ‘person with a head bigger than usual’, yuya-y ‘memory’ → yuya-y-sapa ‘person with a memory better than usual’. In the literature on Quechua it is sometimes referred to as “super” possession (possession of more than usual).

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

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

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

3.4.2.4 Possession -yuq

-yuq derives nouns referring to the possessor of the referent of the base (1–3).

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

(2) Kwirpu:mi hutrayuq. CH
   kwirpu:-mi hutra-yuq
   body-1-EVD fault-POSS
   ‘My body is the guilty one.’

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

(3) *Wiñan altupam puka waytachayuqmi.* AMV
   wiña-n altu-pa-m puka wayta-cha-yuq-mi
   grow-3 high-LOC-EVD red flower-DIM-POSS-EVD
   ‘The one with a little red flower grows in the hills.’

Ownership applies to substantives, including interrogative indefinites (4), numerals (5), pronouns (6), and so on.

(4) *Imayuqpis kankichu.* LT
   ima-yuq-pis ka-nki-chu
   what-POSS-ADD be-2-NEG
   ‘You don’t have anything.’ (lit. ‘you aren’t one with something’)

(5) *Kimsayuq* kayan. AMV
   kimsa-yuq ka-ya-n
   three-POSS be-PROG-3
   ‘She has three.’ (lit. ‘she is one with three’)

(6) *Chayyuq* triki chayqa. CH
   chay-yuq-tri-ki chay-qa
   DEM.D-POSS-EVC-IKI DEM.D-TOP
   ‘It must have that.’

In case the base ends in a consonant, the semantically vacuous particle -ni precedes -yuq (7).

(7) *Kuknin kasa kaqniqu huknin mana kaqniqu.* AMV
   huk-ni-n ka-sa ka-q-ni-qu huk-ni-n mana
   one-EUPH-3 be-NPST be-AG-EUPH-POSS one-EUPH-3 no
   ka-q-ni-qu
   be-AG-EUPH-POSS
   ‘One was wealthy, one had nothing.’

[yuq] is in free variation with [qu] following [i] (8).

(8) *¿Ayka watayuq nishurankitaqqa?* AMV
   ayka wata-yuq ni-shu-ra-nki-taq-qa?
   how-many year-POSS say-3>2-PST-3>2-SEQ-TOP
   ‘How old did she tell you she was?’
3 Substantives

-yuq is used in the expression ‘to be N years old’ (9) as well as in the construction of compound numerals (10).

(9) Chay trunka pichqayuq puntrawnintaña ñam trakrantañam tapamun. AMV
    chay trunka pichqa-yuq punraw-ni-n-ta-qa ña-m
    DEM.D ten five-POS day-EUPH-3-ACC-TOp DISC-EVD
    trakra-n-ta-ña-m tapa-mu-n
    field-3-ACC-EVD cover-CISL-3
‘At fifteen days they cover the field.’

(10) Imayuqpis kankichu chay wambraykita katrarunki mayurnikikama. LT
    ima-yuq-pis ka-nki-chu chay wambra-yki-ta katra-ru-nki
    what-POSS-ADD be-2-NEG DEM.D child-2-ACC release-URGT-2
    mayur-ni-ki-kama
    older-EUPH-2-LIM
‘You don’t have anything and you sent your son to your older brother.’

-yuq nouns may function adverbially without case-marking or other modification (11), (12).

(11) Puntantam hamullarqani kuka kintu quqawniyuqllam. SP
    punta-n-ta-m hamu-lla-rqa-ni kuka kintu
    point-3-ACC-EVD come-RSTR-PST-1 coca leaf
    quqaw-ni-yuq-lla-m
    picnic-EUPH-POSS-RSTR-EVD
‘I’ve come by the peak with just a picnic of coca leaves.’

(12) Pallayara puka pantalunniyuq ginduntaqa nini. LT
    palla-ya-ra puka pantalun-ni-yuq gindun-ta-qa ni-ni
    pick-PROG-PST red pants-EUPH-POSS peach-ACC-TOp say-1
‘She was picking peaches in red pants, I said.’

3.4.2.5 Partnership -masi

-masi indicates partnership. It attaches to NS to derive NS generally translated ‘N-mate’ ‘fellow N’ (1), (2), or ‘co-N’ (puñu-q → puñu-q-masi ‘bedmate’). -masi is not very widely employed.
3.4 Substantive derivation

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

(2) Chaywan apakatrakushpam rikakayachin runamasinchiktaqa. LT
chay-wan apa-katra-ku-shpa-m rika-ka-ya-chi-n
DEMD-INSTR bring-FREQ-REFL-SUBIS-EVD see-PASSACC-PROG-CAUS-3
runa-masi-nchik-ta-qa
person-PART-1PL-ACC-TOP
‘Carrying those [their arms], they made our fellow people look.’

(3) Chay yatraqmasinqa ayqikuyan. AMV
chay yatra-q-masi-n-qa ayqi-ku-ya-n
DEMD live-AG-PART-3-TOP escape-REFL-PROG-3
‘Her neighbor is escaping.’

(4) Qunqaytaqqa, chay ukuchamasin apamun trupataqa. ACH
qunqaytaq-qa, chay ukucha-masi-n apa-mu-n trupa-ta-qa
suddenly-TOP DEM.D mouse-PART-3 bring-CISL-3 tail-ACC-TOP
‘Suddenly, the mouse’s companion [arrived and] took away the tail.’

3.4.2.6 Restrictive suffix: -cha

-cha attaches to ns to derive ns with the meaning ‘little N’ (1–3).

(1) Wambra, uchuchuk wambra. Kayna wambrachakunalla. LT
wambra uch-uchuk wambra kayna wambra-cha-kuna-lla
child small-small child thus child-DIM-PL-RSTR
‘Little, little children – like this – just small children.’

(2) Santupa karqa kurunachankuna. AMV
Santu-pa ka-rqa kuruna-cha-n-kuna
Saint-GEN be-PST crown-DIM-3-PL
‘The saints had their little crowns.’
3 Substantives

(3) Turnuchawan ŋuqakunaqa trabaha: ch
turnu-cha-wan ŋuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-:
turn-DIM-INSTR I-PL-TOP work-1
‘We work by short turns.’

It may also express an affectionate attitude toward the referent of N (4).

(4) Katramuy indikananpaq, Hildach. AMV
katra-ra-mu-y indika-na-n-paq Hilda-cha
send-URGT-CISL-IMP indicate-NMLZ-3-PURP Hilda-DIM
‘Send him so that he shows him, Hilda, dear.’

(5) is taken from a song in which a girl addresses her lover.

(5) Pulvučhapaq tapaykullasa, wayračhapaq apaykullasa, kay sityuchaman
trayaykamunki. sp
pulvu-cha-paq tapa-yku-lla-sa wayra-cha-paq
dust-DIM-ABL cover-EXCEP-RSTR-PRF wind-DIM-ABL
apa-yku-lla-sa kay sityu-cha-man traya-yka-mu-nki
bring-EXCEP-RSTR-PRF DEM.P place-DIM-ALL arrive-EXCEP-CISL-2
‘Covered with dust, carried by the wind, you’re going to come to this
place.’

Applied to other substantives -cha may function as a limitative. In these cases, it
is generally translated ‘just’ or ‘only’ (6).

(6) Chaychapam kakullayan. AMV
chay-cha-pa-m ka-ku-lla-ya-n
DEM.D-DIM-LOC-EVD be-REFL-RSTR-PROG-3
‘It’s just right there.’

The forms Mama-cha (mother-DIM) and tayta-cha (father-DIM) are lexicalized,
meaning ‘grandmother’ and ‘grandfather’ respectively (7).

(7) Tiyu:pa sirvintin mamachapis sirvintin ŋuqa kara:. AMV
tiyu-:-pa sirvinti-n mama-cha-:-pis sirvinti-n ŋuqa ka-ra-:
uncle-1-GEN servant-3 mother-DIM-1-ADD servant-3 I be-PST-1
‘I was my uncles’s and my grandmother’s servant.’

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In addition to -cha, speakers sometimes employ the borrowed Spanish diminutive suffix, -itu/a (or its post-consonant form -citu/a) (8).

(8)  *Chay urunguysitu lluqsiramushqa chay kahapaq. AMV*

*Chay urunguy-situ lluqsi-ra-mu-shqa chay kaha-paq*

DEM.D fly-DIM go.out-URGT-CISL-SUBIS DEM.D coffin-ABL

“That *little* fly came out of the coffin.”
4 Verbs

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

4.1 Verb stems

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

4.2 Types of verbs

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

4.2.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are standardly defined for Quechuan languages as those that can take regular-noun direct objects case-marked accusative (llama-ta maqa-rqa ‘They hit the llama’) (1–4).
4 Verbs

(1) **Wak Kashapatapiña maqarura César Mullidata.** LT
wak Kashapata-piña-m maqarura-r-a César Mullida-ta
DEM.D Kashapata-LOC-DISC-EVD beat-URGT-PST César Mullida-ACC
‘They beat César Mullida there in Kashapata.’

(2) **Asñuqa nin, “Ñuqa tarisisayki sugaykitaqa”.** sp
asnu-qa donkey-top ni-n, ñuqa tari-si-sayki suga-yki-ta-qa
‘The mule said, “I’m going to help you find your rope.”’

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

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

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

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

(6) **¿Llaqtaykita paranchu?** AMV
llaqa-yki-ta para-n-chu
town-2-ACC rain-3-Q
‘Does it rain on your town?’

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

4.2.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are those, like puñu- ‘sleep’ (1) and wiña- ‘grow’ (2), that cannot occur in clauses including a regular noun case-marked accusative (‘puñu-ni kama-ta target meaning: ‘I sleep the bed’). Also included among the intransitives are the impersonal weather verbs, like qasa- ‘freeze’, which do not take subjects (qasa-ya-n ‘it’s freezing’).2

(1) Kamapam ſuqa puñukuyu: ishkaynį:. ACH
   kama-pa-m ſuqa puñu-ku-ya:- ishkay-ni-:
   bed-LOC-EVD I sleeprefl-PROG-1 two-EUPH-1
   ‘We were both sleeping in bed.’

(2) Chaypaqa wiña raptinga, ¿ayka puntrawnintataq riganchik? AMV
   chay-pa-qa wiña-ra-pty-n-qa ayka
   dem.d-LOC-TOP grow-UNINT-SUBDS-3-TOP how.many
   puntraw-ni-n-ta-taqa riga-nchik
   day-EUPH-3-ACC-SEQ irrigate-1PL
   ‘When it grows, at how many days do we water it?’

Verbs of motion (hamu- ‘come’, llluusi- ‘exit’) form a subclass of intransitive verbs. These often have adverbial complements marked with the directional suffixes -ta (accusative), -man (allative, dative), -paq (ablative) and -kama (limitative) (3), (4), and they may occur in clauses that include a nominalization with the agentive suffix -q indicating the purpose of movement (5), (6).

(3) Chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abrilta llluqirun waway. AMV
   chay huk madrugaw trinta i unu di abril-ta
   dem.d one morning thirty and one of April-ACC
   llluqi-ru-n wawa-y
go.out-URGT-3 baby-1
   ‘On that morning, the thirty-first of April, my son left the house
   [and was kidnapped].’

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

(4) *Hinashpa chay*paq *wichay*man *pasachisa* chay *Amador* kaqmanïñataq. ACH

Hinashpa chay-paq wichay-man pasa-chi-sa chay Amador
then DEM.D-ABL up.hill-ALL pass-CAUS-NPST DEM.D Amador
ka-q-man-ña-taq
be-AG-ALL-DISC-SEQ

‘Then, from there they made them march [to] up high to Don Amador’s place.’

(5) *Llaman qutuq risa,* mayuta pawayashpash saqakarusa. AMV

llama-n qutu-q ri-sa mayu-ta pawa-ya-shpa-sh
llama-3 gather-AG go-NPST river-ACC jump-PROG-SUBIS-EVR
saga-ka-ru-sa
go.down-PASSACC-URGT-NPST

‘She went to gather her llamas and when she jumped the river, she fell.’

(6) *Kabraykiwan qatishiq* hamusa ninkimiki. AMV

kabra-yki-wan qati-shi-q hamu-sa ni-nki-mi-ki
goat-2-INST follow-ACMP-AG come-NPST say-2-EVD-IKI

‘He came to help bring your goats, you said.’

4.2.3 Copulative/equational verbs

syq counts a single copulative verb, *ka-.* Like the English verb *be,* *ka-* has both copulative (‘I am a llama’) (1), (2) and existential (‘There are llamas’) (3), (4) interpretations.

(1) *Ñuqa-nchik* *fwi*rti *kanchik,* patchita, matrkata, trakran*chik* lluqsiqta* mikushpam. AMV

Ñuqa-nchik fwi*rri* ka-nchik patachi-ta matrka-ta
I-1PL strong be-1PL wheat.soup-ACC ground.cereal.meal-ACC
trakra-nchik lluqsi-q-ta miku-shpa-*m*
field-1PL come.out-AG-ACC eat-SUBIS-EVD

‘We are strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat soup and machka.’
4.2 Types of verbs

(2) Qammi salvasyunniy kanki. AMV
qam-mi salvasun-ni-y ka-nki
you-EVD salvation-EUPH-1 be-2
‘You are my salvation.’

(3) Kanña piña turu. AMV
ka-n-ña piña turu
be-3-DISC mad bull
‘There are mean bulls.’

(4) Rantiqpis kantaqi. AMV
ranti-q-pis ka-n-taq-mi
buy-AG-ADD be-3-SEQ-EVD
‘There are also buyers.’

Combined with the progressive, ya-, it may but need not have a stative interpretation as well (equivalent to the Spanish estar) (5), (6).

(5) ¿Cañete, maypahinañatr ka yanchik? Karru, mutu, ¡Asu machu! AMV
Cañete, may-pa-hina-ña-tr ka-yachik karru mutu
Cañete where-LOC-COMP-DISC-EVC be-PROG-IPL bus motorcycle
‘Cañete, like we are where already? Cars, motorcycles – My Lord!’

(6) Qam sumaq sumaq warmi kayanki. ACH
qam sumaq sumaq warmi-m ka-ya-nki
you pretty pretty woman-EVD be-PROG-2
‘You are a very pretty woman.’

ka- is irregular: the third person singular present tense form, ka-n, never appears in equational statements, but only in existential statements (7), (8).

(7) Wira wiram matraypi puñushpa, allin pastuta mikushpam. AMV
wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa allin pastu-ta
fat fat-EVD cave-LOC sleep-SUBIS good pasture.grass-ACC
miku-shpa-m
eat-SUBIS-EVD
‘Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow is really fat.’

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

(8) *Llutanshiki.* LT
    *llutan-shi-ki*
    deformed-EVR-IKI
    ‘They are deformed, they say.’

In these cases, *ka-ya-n* may be employed instead (9), (10).

(9) *Watunqa fiyu fiyu wiqam kayan.* AMV
    *watu-n-qa fiyu fiyu wiqa-m ka-ya-n*
    rope-3-TOP ugly ugly twisted-EVD be-PROG-3
    ‘Her rope is really horrid twisted wool.’

(10) ¿*Alpakachu wak kayan?’ AMV
    *alpaka-chu wak ka-ya-n*
    alpaca-Q DEM.D be-PROG-3
    ‘Is that alpaca [wool]?’

4.2.4 Onomatopoetic verbs

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

Pattern 1: 
\[ [C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1} [C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1} [C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1} (-ya)(-ku) \]
Pattern 1 involves the repetition of a single syllable twice or three times, generally with -ya or, more rarely, -ku or -ya-ku, i.e., \( S_1S_1S_1(-ya)(-ku) \).

*qurqurya- ‘snore’ and luqluqluqya- ‘boil’ are two good examples. Further examples are given in Table 4.1.*

Pattern 2: 
\[ [C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1} [C_3V_1]_{S2} [C_3V_1]_{S2} [C_3V_1]_{S2} (-ya)(-ku) \]
Pattern 2, like Pattern 1, involves the repetition of a single syllable generally with -ya or, more rarely, -ku or -ya-ku. Pattern 2 differs from Pattern 1, however, in that the repeated syllable is (1) always repeated three times; (2) never includes a coda; and (3) is preceded by a non-cognate syllable which generally if not always includes the same vowel as does the repeated syllable, i.e., \( S_1S_2S_2S_2(-ya)(-ku) \).

*bunrururu- ‘thunder’ is a good example of this pattern. Further examples are given in Table 4.2.*

Pattern 3:
\[ ([C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S2})_{U1}([C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S2})_{U1}([C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S1}[C_1V_1(C_2)]_{S2})_{U1}(-ya)(-ku) \]
4.2 Types of verbs

Table 4.1: Onomatopoetic verbs Pattern 1 examples

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

Table 4.2: Onomatopoetic verbs Pattern 2 examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>taqlalala-</td>
<td>clang, make the sound of a can knocking against something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>bunrururu-</td>
<td>thunder, make the sound of thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>challallalla-</td>
<td>drip, make the sound of water dripping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>lapapapa-ya-</td>
<td>make the sound of a billy goat chasing a female goat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Onomatopoetic verbs Pattern 3 examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>chiplichipli-</td>
<td>shine, sparkle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>piiiiichiwiippiiichiw-</td>
<td>make the sound of a pichusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>iraniraniran-ya-ku-</td>
<td>moo (make the sound of a cow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>wilwichwilwich-ya-ku-</td>
<td>make the sound of a pheasant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

One example is chiplichipli- ‘sparkle’. Further examples are given in Table 4.3.

Pattern 4: Pattern 4, like Patterns 1 and 3, involves the repetition of a single syllable or two-syllable unit two or three times, generally with -ya or -ku. Pattern 4 differs from Patterns 1 and 3, however, in that the final consonant in the final iteration is eliminated or changed. Examples of this pattern include waqwaqwaya- ‘guffaw’ and chalaqchalanya- ‘clang’. Table 4.4 supplies more.

There are further, less common variations. For example, kurutukutu- ‘make the sound of a male guinea pig chasing a female guinea pig’ involves the repe-
4 Verbs

Table 4.4: Onomatopoetic verbs Pattern 4 examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) chalaqchalan/ya-clang</td>
<td>make the sound of metal things coming into contact with each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) waqwaqwa-ya-laugh</td>
<td>laugh heartily, guffaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) chiwachihwa-ya-ku-</td>
<td>make the sound of a chivillo bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tabletian of a three-syllable unit with the elimination of the second syllable in the final iteration.

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

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

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

(4) Chitchityaku shpa rikullan kabarakunaqa. LT
chitchityaku-shpa ri-ku-lí-lí-qa kabra-kuna-qa
say.chit.chit-SUBIS go-REFL-RSTR-3 goat-PL-TOP
‘Chit-chitting, the goats left.’
4.3 Verb inflection

4.3.1 Summary

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

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

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

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

The simple present tense is unspecified for time. It generally indicates temporally unrestricted or habitual action. The simple present tense is indicated by the
suffixation of person-number suffixes alone; these are unaccompanied by any other inflectional markers. Example: *yanu-ni (sapa puntraw) ‘I cook (every day)’ (see §4.3.3.1).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 4.5 summarizes this information. In this and the tables that follow, for reasons of space, unless otherwise specified, all dialects employ the same forms.

---

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

The following abbreviations and conventions are employed:

\begin{quote}
\begin{align*}
\text{‘you’} & \rightarrow \text{you.s/you.pl} \\
\text{‘he’} & \rightarrow \text{he/she/it/they} \\
\text{‘can …’} & \rightarrow \text{can/could/will/would/shall/should/may/might} \\
\text{‘could …’} & \rightarrow \text{could/would/should/might} \\
\text{‘when …’} & \rightarrow \text{when/if/because/although/not until or V-ing}
\end{align*}
\end{quote}

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

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

Table 4.5 displays the differences among the dialects that are relevant to verbal inflection.

Table 4.5: Verbal inflectional suffixes with different realizations in syq dialects

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\hline
 & First person singular & past tense suffix & Perfect \(-sHa\) & Second-person alternative conditional \\
\hline
AMV & \(-ni\) & \(-rqa\) & \(-sa\) & yes \\
ACH & \(-:\) & \(-ra\) & \(-sa\) & no \\
CH & \(-:\) & \(-la\) & \(-sha\) & no \\
SP & \(-:\) & \(-ra\) & \(-sa\) & no \\
LT & \(-ni\) & \(-ra\) & \(-sha\) & no \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 give the verbal inflection paradigm of syq. All processes are suffixing, i.e., a verb root precedes all inflectional morphemes. Translations are given as if for the verb \(ni\)- ‘say.’ Details of form and use as well as extensive examples follow in §4.3.2–4.3.7.
### Table 4.6: Verbal inflection paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3P</th>
<th>1PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td>-ni&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'you say'</td>
<td>'he says'</td>
<td>'we say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td>-sha</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-nqa</td>
<td>-shun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I will say'</td>
<td>'you will say'</td>
<td>'he will say'</td>
<td>'we will say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td>-rqa-ni&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-rqa-nki&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-rqa-ø&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-rqa-nchik&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-ni&lt;sub&gt;LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ra-nki&lt;sub&gt;ACH,LT,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ra-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACH,LT,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ra-nchik&lt;sub&gt;ACH,LT,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-ni&lt;sub&gt;ACH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-la-nki&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-la-ø&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-la-nchik&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-la-ø&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'I (have) said'</td>
<td>'he (has) said'</td>
<td>'we (have) said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative past</strong></td>
<td>-sa-ni&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-nki&lt;sub&gt;ACH,AMV,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACH,AMV,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-nchik&lt;sub&gt;ACH,AMV,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sa-ni&lt;sub&gt;LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-nki&lt;sub&gt;CH,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-ø&lt;sub&gt;CH,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sa-nchik&lt;sub&gt;CH,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa-ni&lt;sub&gt;ACH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'I have said'</td>
<td>'he has said'</td>
<td>'we have said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Habitual past</strong></td>
<td>-q ka-ni&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-q ka-nki</td>
<td>-q</td>
<td>-q ka-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-q ka-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'I used to say'</td>
<td>'he used to say'</td>
<td>'we used to say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Continuative</strong></td>
<td>-ya-ni&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ya-nki</td>
<td>-ya-n</td>
<td>-ya-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ya-ø&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>'I am saying'</td>
<td>'he is saying'</td>
<td>'we are saying'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued on next page...
Table 4.6. Continued from previous page

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3P</th>
<th>1PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conditional (potential)</td>
<td>(-y)-man_{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>(-nki)-man</td>
<td>(-n)-man</td>
<td>(-nchik)-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man_{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man_{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man_{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man_{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I can ... say’</td>
<td>‘you can ... say’</td>
<td>‘he can ... say’</td>
<td>‘we can ... say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative conditional</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(-waq_{AMV})</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(-chuwan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘you could ... say’</td>
<td>‘you could ... say’</td>
<td>‘you could ... say’</td>
<td>‘we could ... say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past conditional</td>
<td>(-y)-man (ka)-rqa_{AMV}</td>
<td>(-nki)-man (ka)-rqa_{AMV}</td>
<td>(-n)-man (ka)-rqa_{AMV}</td>
<td>(-nchik)-man (ka)-rqa_{AMV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-y)-man (ka)-ra_{LT}</td>
<td>(-nki)-man (ka)-ra_{ACH,LT,SP}</td>
<td>(-n)-man (ka)-ra</td>
<td>(-nchik)-man (ka)-ra_{ACH,LT,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man (ka)-ra_{ACH,SP}</td>
<td>(-nki)-man (ka)-la_{CH}</td>
<td>(-n)-man (ka)-la_{CH}</td>
<td>(-nchik)-man (ka)-la_{CH}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘I could ... have said’</td>
<td>‘you could ... have said’</td>
<td>‘he could ... have said’</td>
<td>‘we could ... have said’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative past conditional</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>‘you could ... have said’</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>‘we could ... have said’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-waq)-rqa_{AMV}</td>
<td>(-waq)-ra_{LT}</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man (ka)-rqa_{AMV}</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-man (ka)-ra_{ACH,LT,SP}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘you could ... have said’</td>
<td>‘you could ... have said’</td>
<td>‘you could ... have said’</td>
<td>‘we could ... have said’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>(\times)</td>
<td>(-y)</td>
<td>(-chun)</td>
<td>(-shun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Say!’</td>
<td>‘Let him say!’</td>
<td>‘Let’s say!’</td>
<td>‘Let’s say!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinator different subjects</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-y_{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-ki</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-n</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-nchik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-y_{ACH,CH,SP} when ... I &lt;say&gt;</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-ki when ... you &lt;say&gt;</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-n when ... he &lt;say&gt;</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-nchik when ... we &lt;say&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinator identical subj. 1</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-shpa when ... I &lt;say&gt;</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-shpa when ... you &lt;say&gt;</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-shpa when ... he &lt;say&gt;</td>
<td>(-\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-(\cdot)-shpa when ... we &lt;say&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Table 4.7: Verbal inflection paradigm, actor-object suffixes

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘you say to me’</td>
<td>‘he says to me’</td>
<td>‘he says to us’</td>
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<td>‘he (has) said to us’</td>
<td>‘I (have) said to you’</td>
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<td>-wa-n-man ka-rqa&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-nki-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-yki-man ka-rqa&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>‘he could ... have said to me’</td>
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<td>-ma-nki-man ka-la&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td><strong>Alternative past conditional</strong></td>
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<td>-ma-pti-nki&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘when ... you say to me’</td>
<td>‘when ... he says to me’</td>
<td>‘when ... he says to us’</td>
<td>‘when ... I say to you’</td>
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4.3 Verb inflection
4.3.2 Person and number

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

4.3.2.1 Subject

The first person is indicated in both the verbal and substantive paradigms in Ach, Ch, and Sp by -(ach,ch,sp), in Amv, Lt; these are indicated by -ni_{AMV,LT}, and -y_{AMV,LT}, respectively. -: and -ni attach to verb stems (plus derivational or inflectional suffixes, if any are present, with the single exception that -ni cannot precede the conditional suffix -man) (puri-ni, puri-: ‘I walk’). -: and -y attach to the subordinating suffix -pti (qawa-pti-y, qawa-pti-: ‘when ... I see’) and to the verb stem in the conditional (lluksi-y -man, llluksi-:-man ‘I could leave’).

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

-n indicates the third person and -nchik refers to a group that includes the speaker and the addressee and, potentially, others in both the verbal and substantive paradigms. -n and -nchik attach to verb roots (plus derivational and inflectional suffixes, if any are present) (puri-n ‘he/they walk/s’; puri-nchik ‘we walk’) and the the subordinating suffix -pti as well (qawa-pti-n ‘when ... you see’ qawa-pti-nchik ‘when ... you see’). This information is summarized in Table 4.8.

4.3.2.2 Actor and object reference

-wa_{AMV,LT} and -ma_{ACH,CH,SP} indicate a first person object. Followed by the second person verbal suffix (-nki) -wa and -ma indicate that the speaker is the object of action by the addressee (qu-wa-nki, qu-ma-nki ‘you give me’) (1), (2); followed by third person verbal suffix (-n), they indicate that the speaker is the object of action by a third person (qu-wa-n, qu-ma-n ‘he/she/they give/s me’) (3), (4).

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

Table 4.8: Person suffixes by environment

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<th>subordinator -pti</th>
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<th>substantive (short) a, u final</th>
<th>substantive C. (or long V.) final</th>
<th>conditional V. stem + suffixes</th>
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<td>-ki</td>
<td>-yki</td>
<td>-ni-ki</td>
<td>-nki</td>
</tr>
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<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ni-</td>
<td>-n</td>
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<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>-ni-nchik</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) *Qam nimarangi, “¿Kuyurayanchu?” sp*

&qam ni-ma-ra-nki, kuyu-ra-ya-n-chu

you say-1.OBJ-PST-2 move-PASSACC-PROG-3-Q

‘You asked me, “Was it moving?”’

(3) *Kaywan pampachiwan. AMV*

kay-wan pampa-chi-wa-n

DEM-P-INSTR bury-CAUS-1.OBJ-3

‘He’ll bury me with this.’

(4) *Hapiraman. ACH*

hapi-ra-ma-n

grab-URGT-1.OBJ-3

‘It took hold of me.’

-nchik pluralizes a first-person object (*qu-wa-nchik, qu-ma--nchik* ‘he/she/they give/s us’) (5–7).

(5) *Lliw lliw mushuq kambyachiwanchik rupanchiktam hinashpam kahunman winawanchik. AMV*

lliw lliw mushuq kambya-chi-wa-nchik rupa-nchik-ta-m

all all new change-CAUS-1.OBJ-1PL clothes-1PL-ACC-EVD

hinashpa-m kahun-man wina-wa-nchik

then coffin-ALL toss.in-1.OBJ-1PL

‘They change us into brand new clothes. Then they toss us into a coffin.’
4 Verbs

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

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

Followed by second person imperative suffix (-y), -wa/-ma indicates that the speaker is the object of action by the addressee (*¡Qu-wa-y!, ¡Qu-ma-y! ‘Give me!’*) (8), (9).

(8) *¡Qawaykachiway* chay kundinawpa wasinta! **AMV**
    *qawa-yka-chi-wa-y* chay kundinaw-pa wasi-n-ta
    see-EXCP-CAUS-1.OBJ-IMP DEM.D  zombie-GEN  house-3-ACC
    ‘Show me the zombie’s house!’

(9) “*¡Amayá diharamaychu!” nishpa lukuyakuyan. **ACH**
    *ama-yá* diha-ra-ma-y-chu nishpa
    leave-URGT-1.OBJ-IMP-NEG  say-SUBIS
    luku-ya-ku-ya-n
    crazy-INC-REFL-PROG-3
    ‘Saying, “Don’t leave me!” he is going crazy.’

-shu, followed by a second person verbal suffix (-nki), indicates that the addressee is the object of action by a third person (*qu-shu-nki ‘he/she/they give/s you’) (10).

(10) *Makinchikqa tusku kaptingqa nanachinqa chichinta saytarushpa diharushunki*. **AMV**
    *maki-nchik-qa tusku ka-mpi-n-qa vaka-pa nana-chi-nqa*
    hand-1PL-TOP rough be-SUBDS-3-TOP cow-GEN  hurt-CAUS-3.FUT
    chichi-n-ta sayta-ru-shpa diha-ru-shunki
    teat-3-ACC kick-URGT-SUBIS leave-URGT-3>2
    ‘When our hands are rough, they make the cow’s teats hurt and she kicks and leaves you.’

-šHQayki indicates that the addressee is the object of future action by the speaker (*qu-sa-yki ‘I give you’) (11–14).
4.3 Verb inflection

(11) *Wirayachisayki. ACH*  
wira-ya-chi-sayki  
fat-INCH-CAUS-1>2.FUT  
'I'm going to fatten you up.'

(12) *Kanallan shuyakaramusayki. SP*  
kanallan shuya-ka-ra-mu-sayki  
just.now wait-PASSACC-URGT-CISL-1>2.FUT  
'Right now, I'm going to wait for you.'

(13) *Kay qullqita qusqayki. AMV*  
kay qullqi-ta qu-sqayki  
dem.p money-ACC give-1>2.FUT  
'I'm going to give you this money.'

(14) *Ñuqa qipirushqayki llaqtayta. AMV*  
ñuqa qipi-ru-shqayki llaqtayta  
I carry-URGT-1>2.FUT town-1-ACC  
'I'm going to carry you to my town.'

The object suffixes – -wa/-ma, -shu and -sHQa – succeed aspect suffixes (15–17) and precede tense (18–20) and subordinating suffixes (21–27), as well as the nominalizing suffix -na (28), (29) (qu-ya--wa-nki ‘you are giving me’; qu-wa-rqa-o ‘you gave me’; qu-su-pti-ki ‘when he/she/they gave you’; qu-wa-na-n-paq ‘so he/she/they give/s me’).

(15) *Munashantañam ruwan runaqa tantyayawantriki. LT*  
muna-sha-n-ta-ña-m ruwa-n runa-qa  
want-PRF-3-ACC-DISC-EVD make-3 person-TOP  
tantya-ya-wa-n-tri-ki  
size.up-PROG-1.OBJ-3-EVC-IKI  
'People do what they want already. They must be sizing me up, for sure.'

(16) *Kwirpum nanayan. Kaymi kay runam aysayamanña. ACH*  
kwirpu-m nana-ya-n kay-mi kay runa-m  
body-EVD hurt-PROG-3 dem.p-EVD dem.p person-EVD  
aysa-ya-ma-n-ña  
pull-PROG-1.OBJ-3-DISC
‘[My] body is hurting. These people are pulling me over here like this.’

(17) **Huktriki apayashunki. ¿Kikillaykichu puriyanki mutuwan?** AMV
    huk-tri-ki apa-y-shunki kiki-lla-yki-chu puri-ya-nki
    one-EVC-IKI bring-PROG-3>2 self-RSTR-2-Q walk-PROG-2
    mutu-wan
    motorcycle-INTR
    ‘**Someone else must be bringing you.** Or are you yourself wandering around with a motorbike?’

(18) **Chaynam kundur qipiwarqa matrayta.** AMV
    chayna-m kundur qipi-wa-rqa matray-ta
    thus-EVD condor carry-1.OBJ-PST cave-ACC
    ‘Like that, **the condor** carried **me** to his cave.’

(19) **“¿Imapaq aysapamaranki ŋuqa hawka puñukupti:?” nishpash.** SP
    imapaq aysa-pa-ma-ra-nki ŋuqa hawka puñu-ku-ptí-
    why pull-BEN-1.OBJ-PST-2 I tranquil sleep-REFL-SUBDS-1
    ni-shpa-sh
    say-SUBIS-EVR
    ‘**“Why did you** tug at me when I was sleeping peacefully?” said [the zombie].’

(20) **Nirayki.** SP
    ni-ra-yki
    say-PST-1>2
    ‘**I said to you.**’

(21) **Hamullarqani chikchik paralla tapallawaptin yana puyulla ŋitillawaptin.** AMV
    hamu-lla-rqa-ni chikchik para-lła tapa-lla-wa-ptí-n yana
    come-RSTR-PST-1 hail rain-RSTR cover-RSTR-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3 black
    puyu-lła ŋiti-lła-wa-ptí-n
    cloud-RSTR crush-RSTR-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3
    ‘**I came when** the freezing rain was covering **me,** **when** the black fog was crushing **me.**’
4.3 Verb inflection

(22) ¡Kay pampaman qatimuchun! Wakpa ńitiruwaptinqa. AMV
kay pampa-man qati-mu-chun wak-pa
DEM.P plain-ALL follow-CISL-INJUNC DEM.D-LOC
ńiti-ru-wa-hti-n-qa
crush-URGT-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3-TOP
‘Let him bring it toward that plain – over there he would crush me.’

(23) Mana yakukta qumaptin, ¿Imaynataq alfa:-pis planta:-pis kanqa? CH
mana yaku-kta qu-ma-hti-n, imayn-taq alfa:-pis
no water-ACC give-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3 how-SEQ alfalfa-ADD
planta:-pis ka-nqa
plant-1-ADD be-3.FUT
‘If they don’t give me water, how will I have alfalfa and plants?’

(24) Wamra willasuptiki. LT
wamra willa-su-hti-ki
child tell-2.OBJ-SUBDS-2
‘When the children told you.’

(25) Sudarachishuptiki kapasmi surqurunman. AMV
suda-ra-hti-su-hti-ki kapas-mi surqu-ru-n-man
sweat-URGT-CAUS-2.OBJ-SUBDS-2 perhaps-EVD take.out-URGT-3-COND
‘When it makes you sweat, it’s possible he could remove it.’

(26) Tantyawashpa chayta ruwan. LT
tantya-wa-shpa chay-ta ruwa-n
size.up-1.OBJ-SUBIS DEM.D-ACC make-3
‘Sizing me up, they do that.’

(27) Wasarimashpam nuchipis kwintakuq. SP
wasa-ri-ma-shpa-m nuchi-pis kwinta-ku-q
wake-INCEP-1.OBJ-SUBIS-EVD night-ADD tell.story-REFL-AG
‘At night, they would wake me up and tell stories.’

(28) Pipis fakultaykuwananpaq. LT
pi-pis fakulta-yku-wa-na-n-paq
who-ADD assist-EXCEP-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP
‘So someone can help me out.’
4 Verbs

(29) **Rakishunaykipaq. AMV**

raki-shu-na-yki-paq
separate-2.OBJ-NMLZ-2-PURP
‘So he sets some aside for you.’

Both object and subject suffixes – -wa/-ma, -shu and -sHQa, as well as -nki, -YkI, and -n – precede the conditional suffix -man (qu-wa-nki-man ‘you could give me’) (30–32).

(30) **Sarurullawankiman. Manam saruwanantaq munaniñachu. AMV**

saru-ru-lla-wa-nki-man mana-m saru-wa-na-n-taq
trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-COND-2 no-evd trample-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-SEQ
muna-ni-ña-chu
want-1-DISC-NEG
‘You could trample me. I don’t want him to trample me any more.’

(31) **Mana chichiyuq kaptikiqa chayna lluqarishunkimantri. AMV**

mana chichi-yuq ka-pti-qi-qa chayna
no breast-poss be-SUBDS-2-TOP thus
lluqa-ri-shu-nki-man-tri
top-INCEP-2.OBJ-2-COND-EVC
‘When you don’t have breasts they can top you.’

(32) **¡Kwidadu! Chaypitaq qalqali mikuluushunkiman. CH**

kwidadu chay-pi-taq qalqali miku-lu-shunki-man
careful DEM.D-LOC-SEQ zombie eat-URGT-2.OBJ-2-COND
‘Be careful! A demon could eat you there.’

Exceptions to these rules arise when object is 1PL. First, the first-person object pluralizer, -nchik, does not precede aspect, tense, subordinating, nominalizing and conditional suffixes, but, rather, succeeds them (ñiti-ru-wa-n-man-chik ‘it could crush us’) (33–35).

(33) **Mana kanan tumaytam munanchu qaninpaq shinkarakichiwarqanchik. AMV**

mana kanan tuma-y-ta-m muna-n-chu qanin-paq
no now drink-INF-ACC-EVD want-3-NEG previous-ABL
shinka-ra-chi-wa-rqa-nchik
get.drunk-URGT-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-1PL
‘She doesn’t want to drink now. Earlier, they had got us drunk.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(34) *Chiri pasawaptinchikpis, wiksa nanaykunapaq. AMV  
chiri  pasa-wa-pto-nchik-pis  wiksa  nana-y-kuna-paq  
cold  pass-31.OBJ-SUBDS-1PL-ADD  stomach  hurt-INF-PL-ABL  
‘When we get chills or for stomach pain [this plant is good].’

(35) *Ñitiruwanmanchik. AMV  
ñiti-ru-wan-ma-nchik  
crush-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL-COND-3>1PL  
‘It could crush us.’

Second, 3>1PL future is not indicated by *-wa/ma-nqa-nchik, as it would were it regular, but rather by -wa/mashun (36), (37).

(36) *Mundum ñitiramashun. Kaytam sustininkiqa. SP  
mundu-m ñiti-ra-ma-shun kay-ta-m sustini-nki-qa  
world-EVD crush-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL-COND-3>1PL  
‘The world is going to crush us. Hold this one up.’

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

Finally, third, just as the 1PL conditional may be indicated by either of two forms, one regular (-nchik-man) one alternative/portmanteau (-chuwan), the 3>1PL conditional, too, may be indicated by both regular (-wa/ma-n-man-chik) and portmanteau forms (-wa/ma-chuwan) (chuka-ru-wa-chuwan ‘it can make us sick’):

(38) *Kayanmi uniku qullqiyuqpaq. ¿Maypam rigalawachuwan runaqa? AMV  
ka-ya-n-mi  uniku  qullqi-yuq-paq  may-pa-m  
be-PROG-3-EVD  only  money-POSS-BEN  where-LOC-EVD  
rigala-wa-chuwan  runa-qa  
gift-1.OBJ-1PL-COND  person-TOP  
‘There are only for rich people. Where can people give us things for free?’
4 Verbs

(39) *Mikumachuwantri*. **ACH**
  
miku-ma-chuwan-tri
  
eat-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EVC
  
‘He could eat *us*.’

In all other cases, subject-object suffixes combine with standard morphology (40–42).

(40) *Qampis kuntistamuwankimá*. **AMV**
  
qam-pis kuntista-mu-wa-nki-m-á
  
you-ADD answer-CISL-1.OBJ-2-EVD-EMPH
  
‘You, too, are going to answer *me*.’

(41) ¿*Allichawanqachu manachu? Yatrarunqaña kukantaqa* qawaykushpa. **AMV**
  
alli-cha-wa-nqa-chu mana-chu yatra-ru-nqa-ña
  
good-FACT-1.OBJ-3.FUT-Q no-Q know-URGT-3.FUT-DISC
  
kuka-n-ta-qa qawa-yku-shpa
coca-3-ACC-TOP see-EXCEP-SUBIS
  
‘Is he going to heal *me* or not? He’ll find out by looking at his coca.’

(42) *Tirruristam hamuyan. Wak turutatr pagaykushaqqa manam wañuchimanqachu*. **ACH**
  
tirrurista-m hamu-ya-n wak turu-ta-tr
terrorist-EVD come-PROG-3 DEM.D bull-ACC-EVC
  
paga-yku-shaq-qa mana-m wañu-chi-ma-nqa-chu
  
pay-EXCEP-1.FUT-TOP no-EVD die-CAUS-1.OBJ-3.FUT-NEG
  
‘The terrorists are coming. I’ll pay them a bull and *they won’t kill me*.’

A typological note: number is expressed in spontaneously-occurring examples only in those cases in which there is a first-person plural object (43). In these cases all SYQ dialects follow the Southern QII pattern ordering suffixes: **OBJ-TNS-SBJ-NUM**. Note, though, that while in the Southern QII languages *-chik* pluralizes the subject, in SYQ *-chik* pluralizes the object. There are no spontaneous examples following the Central QII pattern **NUM-OBJ-TNS-SBJ**.
4.3 Verb inflection

(43) Mana ri$qkuna, ¿Imatam rimsayki? Yatranchikchu. AMV
mana ri-q-kuna ima-ta-m rima-sayki yatra-nchik-chu
no go-AG-PL what-ACC-EVD talk-1>2 know-1PL-NEG
‘People who haven’t gone, what am I going to say to you? We don’t know.’

There are no special forms for third-person objects. A third-person object is indicated by the case-marking of the third-person pronoun pay with either accusative -ta or allative/dative -man (pay-ta qawa-nchik ‘we see him/her,’ pay-kuna-man qu-nki ‘you give them’) (44).

(44) Kay swirupis allquypaqpis ... nikurunshi subrinuntaqa. LT
kay swiru-pis allgu-y-paq-pis ni-ku-ru-n-shi
dedm.p whey-add dog-1-BEN-ADD say-refl-URGT-3-EVR
subrinu-n-ta-qa
nephew-3-ACC-TOP
‘This whey also for my dog also ... he said, they say, to his nephew.’

First-and second-person object suffixes may be reinforced with similarly case-marked pronouns (45).

(45) Ńuqata uywamara mamacha: tiyu: tiya:. sp
ũuqa-ta uywa-ma-ra mama-cha-: tiyu-: tiya-:
I-ACC raise-1.OBJ-PST mother-DIM-1 uncle-1 aunt-1
‘My grandmother and my uncle and aunt raised me.’

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

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

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

This information is summarized in Table 4.9. Naturally-occurring examples of the five principal subject-object reference processes (1>2, 2>1, 3>1, 3>2, 3>1pl) are presented in (1–45).

Table 4.9: Actor-object inflectional suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1OBJ</th>
<th>2OBJ</th>
<th>1PL OBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SBJ</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Present: -YkI_{ACH,AMV,LT,SP} ×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Future: -sHQa-yki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SBJ</td>
<td>-wa-nki_{AMV,LT} ×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ma-nki_{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SBJ</td>
<td>-wa-N_{AMV,LT} -shu-nki -wa-nchik_{AMV,LT}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ma-N_{ACH,CH,SP} -ma-nchik_{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3 Tense

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

4.3.3.1 Simple present

The present tense subject suffixes in Syq are -ni and -: (1P), -nki (2P), -n (3P), and -nchik (1pl). Examples include: (atrqay-tuku-ni/-: ‘I pretend to be an eagle’, kundur-tuku-nki ‘you pretend to be a condor’, rutu-tuku-n ‘he pretends to be a rutu’ (small mountain bird), qari-tuku-nchik ‘we pretend to be men’). Table 4.10 displays the present tense inflectional paradigm; Table 4.11 displays the paradigm for present tense inflection with actor-object reference (see Subsection 4.3.2.2 for discussion). 1–8 supply examples.

(1) Wasiyta ñuqaqa pichakuni tallawanmi. AMV
    wasi-y-ta ñuqa-qa picha-ku-ni talla-wan-mi
    house-1-ACC I-TOP sweep-REFL-1 straw-INSTR-EVD
    ‘I sweep my house with straw.’
4.3 Verb inflection

Table 4.10: Present tense inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nchik</td>
<td>(dual, incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ni\textsubscript{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>-ni\textsubscript{AMV,LT} (excl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*-i\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>*-i\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP} (excl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.11: Present tense inflection – actor-object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1pl</th>
<th>1&gt;2</th>
<th>3&gt;2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wa-nki\textsubscript{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>-wa-n\textsubscript{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>-wa-nchik\textsubscript{AMV,LT}</td>
<td>-yki</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-nki\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>-ma-n\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td>-ma-nchik\textsubscript{ACH,CH,SP}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) *Manam ſuqa yatrapchu*. ACH
mana-m ſuqa yatrap--chu
no-EVD I know-1-NEG
‘I don’t know (how).’

(3) *Qamqa ritamunki urquta*. LT
qam-qa ri-tamu-nki urqu-ta
you-TOP go-IRREV-2 hill-ACC
‘You left for the hill for good.’

(4) *Allqu mikukun wakchuchataqa*. AMV
allqu miku-ku-n wakchu-cha-ta-qa
dog eat-REFL-3 lamb-DIM-ACC-TOP
‘The dog ate up the lamb.’

(5) *Viyhunchikta ruwanchik hinashpaqa kaña-chikmi*. AMV
viyhu-nchik-ta ruwa-nchik hinashpa-qa kaña-nchik-mi
effigy-1PL-ACC make-1PL then-TOP burn-1PL-EVD
‘We make our effigy then burn it.’
4 Verbs

(6) *Familyallan* ñuqakuna suya: CH
familya-lla-n ñuqa-kuna suya:-
family-RSTR-3 I-PL wait-1
‘Just their relatives – we waited.’

(7) *Kanan* qamkunatr hamuyanki. SP
kanan qam-kuna-tr hamu-ya-nki
now you-PL-EVC come-PROG-2
‘Now you are coming.’

(8) Suqta wanka vakata tumban. AMV
suqta wanka vaka-ta tumba-n
six hired-hand cow-ACC tackle-3
‘Six hired hands tackle the cow.’

Although it generally indicates temporally unrestricted or habitual action, the simple present is in fact unmarked for time. Present tense forms may also receive past tense or future tense interpretations in different contexts (*qawa-chi-n* ‘he showed/shows/will show’) (9).

(9) Chaytaqa qawaykushpa valurta hapi ni.
chay-ta-qa qawa-yku-shpa valur-ta hapi-ni
DEM.D-ACC-TOP see-EXCEP-SUBIS courage-ACC grab-1
‘Looking at that, I gathered courage.’

SYQ makes available a three-way distinction in the first person plural, between ñuqanchik (dual), ñuqanchikkuna (inclusive), and ñuqakuna (exclusive). In practice, ñuqanchik is employed with dual, inclusive and exclusive interpretations to the virtual complete exclusion of the other two forms, except in the CH dialect. Verbs and substantives appearing with the inclusive ñuqanchikkuna inflect following the same rules as do verbs and substantives appearing with the dual/default ñuqanchik (10); verbs and substantives appearing with the exclusive ñuqakuna inflect following the same rules as do verbs and substantives appearing with the singular ñuqakun (11).

(10) Kaypi ñuqanchikkunaqa kustumbrawmi kayanchik. AMV
kay-pi nuqa-nchik-kuna-qa kustumbraw-mi ka-ya-nchik
DEMP.LOC I-1PL-PL-TOP accustomed-EVD be-PROG-1PL
‘Here, we’re accustomed to it.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(11) *Wañuq taytachaymi chaytaqa ñuqakunaman willawarqa. AMV* 
wañu-q tayta-cha-y-mi chay-ta-qa ñuqa-kuna-man 
die-AG father-DIM-1-EVD DEM.D-ACC-TOP I-PL-ALL 
willa-wa-rqa 
tell-1.OBJ-PST 
‘Our late grandfather told that to us.’

Although ñuqa is generally interpreted as singular – likely an implicature attributable to the availability of plural forms in the first person – it is, in fact, unspecified for number and may receive plural interpretations (12).

(12) *Kamapam ñuqa puñukuya: ishkayni:. ACH* 
kama-pa-m ñuqa puñu-ku-ya:- ishkay-ni:- 
bed-LOC-EVD I sleep-REFL-PROG-1 two-EUPH-1 
‘We were both sleeping in bed.’

(13) *Dispidichin churinkunata hinashpaqa kaña*. AMV 
dispidi-chi-n churi-n-kuna-ta hinashpa-qa kaña-n 
bid.farewell-CAUS-3 child-3-PL-ACC then-TOP burn-3 
‘One has their children say good bye and then burns it [the effigy].’

### 4.3.3.2 Future

The future tense suffixes in SYQ are -shaq (1PL), -nki (2), -nqa (3), and -shun (1s) (1–6). Table 4.12 displays this paradigm; Table 4.13 displays the paradigm of future tense inflection with actor-object reference (see Subsection 4.3.2.2 for discussion).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
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<td>-shun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nki</td>
<td>-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nqa</td>
<td>-nqa</td>
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Table 4.12: Future tense inflection
4 Verbs

Table 4.13: Future tense inflection – actor-object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1pl</th>
<th>1&gt;2</th>
<th>3&gt;2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wa-nki&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-nqa-Ø&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-shun&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-sHQayki</td>
<td>-shunki</td>
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<td>-ma-nki&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-nqa-Ø&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-shun&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(2) Ubiha:ta michimu shawrock vaka:ta chawaru shawrock kisuta ruwaru shawrock. SP
ubiha-:-ta sheep-1 acc
michi-mu-shaq pasturc-1.FUT cow-1 acc
vaka-:-ta milk-1 acc
chawa-ru-shaq make-1.FUT
kisu-ta cheese-acc
ruwa-ru-shaq make-URGT-1.FUT
‘I’m going to herd my sheep; I’m going to milk my cows; I’m going to make cheese.’

(3) Vakatash harka nki vaka ta chawanki. AMV
vaka-:ta-sh herd-2
harka-nki vaka-:ta chawa-nki cow-acc-EVR cow-acc milk-2
‘You’ll herd the cows; you’ll milk the cows.’

(4) Ruparinqat. AMV
rupa-ri-nqa-tr
burn-INC-3.FUT-EVC
‘It will be warm [tomorrow].’

(5) Shimikita sirarusun. SP
shimi-ki-ta sew-URGT-1PL.FUT
mouth-2 acc sew-URGT-1PL.FUT
‘We’re going to sew your mouth shut.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(6) Kaytatr paqarikushun. AMV
   kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun
   DEM.P-ACC-EVC wash-INESS-REFL-1PL.FUT
   ‘We’ll wash this.’

The second person suffix is ambiguous between present and future tense. Second person and third person plural suffixes are the same as those for the second and third persons singular (7–9).

(7) Qamkunallam parlanki. CH
   qam-kuna-lla-m parla-nki
   you-PL-RSTR-EVD talk-2
   ‘Just you.PL are going to talk.’

(8) Qampa mamaykis taytaykis wañukunqa turikipis ñañaykipis. ACH
   qam-pa mama-yki-s tayta-yki-s wañu-ku-nqa turi-ki-pis
   you-GEN mother-2-ADD father-2-ADD die-INESS-3.FUT brother-2-ADD
   ñaña-yki-pis
   sister-2-ADD
   ‘Your mother and father will die, your brother and your sister, too.’

(9) Manalaq yakukta qumanqachu. CH
   mana-laq yaku-kta qu-ma-nqa-chu
   no-CONT water-ACC give-1.OBJ-3.FUT-NEG
   ‘They still aren’t going to give me water.’

4.3.3.3 Past

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

4.3.3.3.1 Simple past -RQa -RQa indicates the past tense.⁵ The morpheme is realized -rqa in AMV (1), (2); -ra in ACH (3), LT (4), (5), and SP (6); and -la in CH (7), (8). Table 4.14 displays the simple past tense inflectional paradigm; Table 4.15 displays the paradigm for simple past tense inflection with actor-object reference (see Subsection 4.3.2.2 for discussion).

Table 4.14: past tense inflection

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Table 4.15: past tense inflection – actor-object suffixes

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<td>-shu-la-nki&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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</table>

⁵ -RQa signals the preterite in all Quechuan languages; -RU, according to Cerrón-Palomino (1987), is a later evolution in some Quechuan languages from the modal suffix -RQu (outward direction). In Tarma Q and Pacaraos Q -RQu is now a perfective aspect marker Adelaar (1988: 18–29). An anonymous reviewer points out that in Southern Conchucos Quechua, -ru in Southern Conchucos Q originally indicated outward direction. It became a derivational perfective then an inflectional past (see Hintz 2011: 192–197).
(1) *Iskwilanta lliwta ya wamrayta puchukachirqani.* AMV
iskwila-n-ta lliw-ta ya wamra-y-ta puchuka-chi-rqa-ni
school-3-ACC all-ACC EMPH child-1-ACC finish-CAUS-PST-1
‘I made all my children finish their schooling.’

(2) ¿Imapaqtaq niwarqanki? ¡Pagarullawanmantri karqa! AMV
ima-paq-taq ni-wa-rqa-nki paga-ru-lla-wa-n-man-tri
what-PURP-SEQ say-1.OBJ-PST-2 pay-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC
ka-rqa
be-PST
‘Why did you say that to me? He would have sacrificed me!’

(3) *Kutikamura: lliw ganawnintin wamra: lliw listu hishpiruptinña.* ACH
kuti-ka-mu-ra-: lliw ganaw-ni-ntin wamra-: lliw listu
return-REFL-CISL-PST-1 all cattle-EUPH-INCL child-1 all ready
hishpi-ru-pta-n-ña
educate-URGT-SUBDS-3-DISC
‘I came back with all my cattle when my children had been educated.’

(4) *Kanan Primitivoqa ñuqa istankamurani.* LT
kanan Primitivo-top ñuqa istanka-mu-ra-ni
now Primitivo-TOP I fill.reservoir-CISL-PST-1
‘Now Primitivo [says] I filled the reservoir.’

(5) *Qam pasaypaqtriki riranki Diosninchkita tariq.* LT
qam pasaypaq-tri-ki ri-ra-nki Dios-ni-nchik-ta tari-q
you completely-EVC-IKI go-PST-2 God-EUPH-1PL-ACC find-AG
‘You surely went to look for our God.’

(6) *Antaylumata tarirushpaqa pallakullara hinaptinshi.* SP
antayluma-ta tari-shpa-qa palla-ku-lla-ra
antayluma.berry-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP pick-REFL-RSTR-PST
then-EVR
‘When she found the antayluma berries, she picked them then, they say.’
In all five dialects, person-number inflection in the past tense is as in the present tense, with the exception that in the third person, -n is replaced by -ø (9), (10).

(9) ¿Llaqtaykipa pasarqachu? AMV
llaqta-yki-pa pasarqa-chu
town-2-LOC pass-PST-Q
‘Did [the earthquake] go through your town?’

(10) Unaymi chayna pulilas chay tirruku. Awturidadkunakta ashushpa wañuchiyta munala. CH
unay-mi chayna puli-la chay tirruku
before-EVD thus walk-PST DEM.D Shining.Path
awturidad-kuna-kta ashu-shpa wañu-chi-y-ta muna-la
authority-PL-ACC approach-SUBIS die-CAUS-INF-ACC want-PST
‘The Shining Path walked about like that. They approached the officials. They wanted to kill them.’

In all five dialects, -RQa indicates tense but not aspect and is thus consistent with both perfective (11) and imperfective aspect (12–15).

(11) Alliallitayari lucharanchik wak hurquruptinqa. LT
alli-alli-ta-ya-ri lucha-ra-nchik wak
good-good-ACC-EMPH-ARI fight-PST-1PL DEM.D
hurqu-ru-pty-n-qa remove-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP
‘We fought really well when they took that out.’

(12) Manam ſuqakunaqa talpula:chu. CH
mana-m ſuqa-kuna-qa talpu-la-:-chu
no-EVD I-PL-TOP plant-PST-1-NEG
‘We haven’t planted.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(13) Chayllatam tumachirqani. Manam ikistiqrachu chay rantiypaq kay Viñacpaqa wak Gloria. AMV
chay-lla-ta-m tuma-chi-rqa-ni mana-m ikisti-rqa-chu
DEM.D-RSTR-ACC-EVD drink-CAUS-PST-1 no-EVD exist-PST-NEG
chay ranti-y-paq kay Viñac-pa-qa wak Gloria
DEM.D sell-Inf-ABL DEM.P Viñac-LOC-TOP DEM.D Gloria
‘I fed them only goat milk and cheese. Gloria, milk for sale, didn’t exist here in Viñac.’

(14) Chay limpu limpu chunyaku
ayvis. CH
chay limpu limpu chunya-ku-la-nchik ayvis
DEM.D all all silent-REFL-PST-1PL sometimes
‘But we were completely silent here sometimes.’

(15) Ripukuytam munarqanchik. AMV
ripu-ku-y-ta-m muna-rqa-nchik
go-REFL-INF-ACC-EVD want-PST-1PL
‘We wanted to run away.’

Perfective aspect is, rather, indicated by the derivational suffix -RU (16–22).

(16) Uyqa, chayta kasarasshpa puchkarunchik. AMV
uyqa chay-ta kasara-shpa puchuka-ru-nchik
sheep DEM.D-ACC marry-SUBIS finish-URGT-1PL
‘When we got married, we finished with those, the sheep.’

(17) Wak runaqa wawanta pamparun qipichaykushpam. AMV
wak runa-qa wawa-n-ta pampa-ru-n
DEM.D person-TOP baby-3-ACC bury-URGT-3
qipi-cha-yku-shpa-m
carry-DIM-REFL-SUBIS-EVD
‘The people buried their son, carrying him.’

(18) Yaqm wañurun. ACH
yaqa-m wañu-ru-n
almost-EVD die-URGT-3
‘He almost died.’
4 Verbs

(19) *Pusuman hiqaykuruni. kaypaq urayman.* LT
    pusu-man hiqay-yru-ni kay-paq uray-man
reservoir-ALL go.down-EXCEP-URGT-1 DEM.P-ABL down.hill-ALL
‘I fell towards the reservoir. From here down hill.’

(20) *Mana ganaw uywaqkunaman chayman partikuru*n sp
    mana ganaw uywa-q-kuna-man chay-man parti-ku-ru-n
no cattle raise-AG-PL-ALL DEM.D-ALL divide-REFL-URGT-3
‘They distributed it to those who don’t raise cattle.’

(21) *Disparisirunña*m. Manam uyari:chu. sp
    disparisi-ru-n-ña-m mana-m uyari:-chu
disappear-URGT-3-DISC-EVD no-EVD hear-1-NEG
‘They disappeared already. I don’t hear them [anymore].’

(22) *Chay walmita talilushpaqa apalu*nñam uspitalman.* CH
    chay walmi-ta tali-lu-shpa-qa apa-lu-n-ña-m
DEM.D woman-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP bring-URGT-3-DISC-EVD
uspital-man hospital-ALL
‘When they found the woman they took her to the hospital.’

-rQa and -Ru are thus not in paradigmatic opposition and differ in their distribution. -RQa, but not -Ru, is used in the construction of the habitual past (23), (24) and the past conditional (2), (25); while -Ru, but not -RQa, may be used in combination with -sHa (26), (27) as well as with -shpa (6), (22) and -pti (3), (28), (29), in which case it indicates the precedence of the subordinated event to the main-clause event.

(23) *Dumingunpa kisuta apaq kara: (*karu:) ishkay. ACH
    dumingu-n-pa kisu-ta apa-q ka-ra:- ishkay
Sunday-3-LOC cheese-ACC bring-AG be-PST-1 two
‘On Sundays, I would bring two cheeses.’

(24) *Trayamushpa manchachikuq kala.* CH
    traya-mu-shpa mancha-chi-ku-q ka-la
arrive-CISL-SUBIS scare-CAUS-REFL-AG be-PST
‘When she came, she would scare them.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(25) Kundinakurun**man**tri kara (*karun) kullqi chay kasa. sp
kundina-ku-*ru*-n-*man*-tri **ka-ra** kullqi chay **ka-sa**
condemn-REFL-URGT-3-COND-EVC be-PST money DEM.D be-NPST
‘She would have condemned herself – that was money.’

Cañete-ta ayari-ku-ra:- ispusu-:-ta lista-man
Cañete-ACC escape-REFL-PST-1 husband-1-ACC list-ALL
trura-ru-sa
put-URGT-NPST
‘I escaped to Cañete. They had put my husband on the list.’

(27) Chayllapaq willakarusa. (*willakarqasa). ACH
chay-lla-paq willa-ka-*ru*-sa
DEM.D-RSTR-ABL tell-PASSACC-URGT-NPST
‘That’s why they had told on him.’

(28) Chay hawlaruptintshi, atuq trayarun (*hawlaraptin). sp
chay hawla-*ru*-pti-n-shi atuq traya-*ru*-n
DEM.D cage-URGT-SUBDS-3-EVR fox arrive-URGT-3
‘When he had caged [the rabbit], the fox arrived.’

(29) Chay mulapaq siqaykuruptin puñukuratrik shinkaqqa. ACH
chay mula-paq siqa-yku-*ru*-pti-n
DEM.D mule-ABL go.DOWN-EXCEP-URGT-SUBDS-3
puñu-ku-ra-tri-k shinka-q-qa
sleep-REFL-PST-EVC-1K get.drunk-AG-TOP
‘When he fell off that mule, the drunk must have been asleep.’

4.3.3.3.2 Quotative simple past tense -sHQa In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, when speakers have only second-hand knowledge of the events they report, they may recur to a another past tense form, -sHQa, often referred to as the “narrative past” because it is used systematically in story-telling. In SYQ, -sHQa – realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in CH and LT – is used predominantly in story-telling (1), (2), historical narrative (3–5), and, generally, in relating information one has received from others (6–10).
4 Verbs

(1) **Huklla atuqshi kasa.** SP

*huκ-lla  atuq-shi  ka-sa*

one-RSTR fox-EVR be-NPST

‘[Once upon a time] there was a fox, they say.’

(2) **Chay ukucha kasa maqtatukushpa.** AMV

*chay  ukucha  ka-sa  maqta-tuku-shpa*

DEM.D mouse be-NPST young.man-SIMUL-SUBIS

‘It was a rat pretending to be a man.’

(3) **Hinashpa qalay qalay Chavin miniruwanshi parti sa.** ACH

*hinashpa  qalay  qalay  Chavin  miniru-wan-shi  parti-sa*

then all all Chavin miner-INST-EVR divide-NPST

‘Then they divided everything up with the Chavin miners.’

(4) **Chay intanadanga ayqiku.** ACH

*chay  intanada-n-qa  ayqi-ku-sa*

DEM.D step.daughter-3-TOP escape-REFL-NPST

‘His step-daughter escaped.’

(5) **Tariramusha armata.** LT

*tari-ra-mu-sha  arma-ta*

find-URGT-CISL-NPST weapon-ACC

‘They found firearms.’

(6) “¡Mátaló!” **nishashiki.** CH

*mátaló  ni-sha-shi-ki*

[Spanish] say-NPST-EVR-IKI

‘“Kill him!” she said, they say.’

(7) **Wañukachishpash qipirusa karuta mana disiyananpaq.** AMV

*wañu-ka-chi-shpa-sh  qipi-ru-sa  karu-ta  mana*

die-PASSACC-CAUS-SUBIS-EVR carry-URGT-NPST far-ACC no

disya-na-n-paq

suspect-NMLZ-3-PURP

‘When she killed him, they say, she carried him far, so they wouldn’t suspect.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(8) *Wak warmiqa llaman qutuq risa. Mayuta pawayashpash siqaykurusa*; karu karutash aparusa. AMV

wak warmi-qa llama-n qutu-q ri-sa mayu-ta
DEm.D woman-Top llama-3 gather-AG go-PST river-ACC
pawa-ya-shpa-sh siqa-yku-ru-sa karu karu-ta-sh
jump-prog-subis-evr go.down-excep-urgt-npst far far-ACC-evr
apa-ru-sa
bring-urgt-npst
‘That woman went to gather up her llamas. Jumping the river, she fell and [the river] took her far, they say.’

(9) *Fiystaman hamushpa siqaykurusha.* ACH

fiysta-man hamu-shpa siqa-yku-ru-sha
festival-all come-subis go.down-excep-urgt-npst
‘When they were coming to the festival they fell [into the canyon].’

(10) *Wak runaqa achka aychata aparamusa llama aychash sibadawan kambyakunanpaq.* AMV

wak runa-qa achka aycha-ta apa-ra-mu-sa llama
DEm.D person-Top a.lot meat-ACC bring-urgt-cisl-npst llama
aycha-sh sibada-wan kambya-ku-na-n-paq
meat-evr barley-intr exchange-refl-nmlz-3-purp
‘Those people brought a lot of meat – llama meat, they say, to exchange for barley.’

It may also be used in dream reports (11).

(11) *Lliw lliw kuchihinam mituman yaykurusa.* sp

lliw lliw kuchi-hina-m mitu-man yayku-ru-sa
all all pig-comp-evd mud-all enter-urgt-npst
‘All, like pigs, entered the mud.’

The morpheme is realized as -shqa, it seems, only in the first or culminating line of a story, and rarely even there (12).

(12) *Ishkay Wanka samakushqa huk matraypi, tarukapa kasanpi.* Wama

wamaq karka kasa. AMV

ishkay Wanka sama-ku-shqa huk matray-pi, taruka-pa
two Wanka rest-refl-npst one cave-loc taruka-gen
ka-sa-n-pi wama wamaq karka ka-sa
be-prf-3-loc a.lot a.lot manure be-npst
4 Verbs

‘Two Huancayoans were resting in a cave, in some tarucas’ place. There was a whole lot of manure.’

-RQa and -Ru, may also be employed in the same contexts as is -sHQa, even in combination with the reportative evidential, -shI (13), (14).

(13) Rutupis ingañargash maqtatukushpa pashñana. AMV
rutu.bird-ADD ingaña-rqa-sh maqta-tuku-shpa pashña-ta
‘A rutu-bird, too, deceived a girl by making himself out to be a young man, they say.’

(14) Millisu-nqa wañururqash huknin. AMV
millisu-n-qa wañu-ru-rqa-sh huk-ni-n
twin-3-TOP die-URGT-PST-EVR one-EUPH-3
‘His twin, the other one, died, they say.’

Inside quotations in story-telling, RQa and -Ru are generally employed (15), (16).

(15) Trayarunshari, ‘¿Maymi chay warmiy?’ AMV
traya-ru-n-sh-ari, may-mi chay warmi-y
arrive-URGT-EVR-ARI where-EVD DEM.D woman-1
‘The condor arrived, they say, [and said], “Where is my wife?”’

(16) Chaynam kundur qipiwarqasa matrayta chaypi wawakuruni. AMV
chayna-m kundur qipi-wa-rqa matray-ta chaypi
thus-EVD condor carry-1.OBJ-PST cave-ACC DEM.D-LOC
wawa-ku-ru-ni
give.birth-REFL-URGT-1
‘That condor carried me like that to a cave and I gave birth there.’

4.3.3.3.3 Perfect -sHa – realized as -sa in ACH, AMV and SP and as -sha in CH and LT – may be argued sometimes to admit interpretations cognate with the English perfect, indicating events beginning in the past and either continuing into the present or with effects continuing into the present (1–3). Table 4.16 displays the paradigm for perfect inflection with -sHa; Table 4.17 displays the paradigm for the inflection of -sHa for actor-object reference (see Subsection 4.3.2.2 for discussion).
### 4.3 Verb inflection

Table 4.16: Inflection of -sHa

<table>
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Table 4.17: Inflection of sHa – actor-object suffixes

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<td>-ma-sha-ø\textsubscript{CH}</td>
<td>-ma-sha-nchik\textsubscript{CH}</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(3) *Mikushayari. Mikushayari.* LT  
miku-sha-y-ari miku-sha-y-ari  
miku-SHA-EMPH-ARI eat-SHA-EMPH-ARI  
‘They’ve eaten them, all right. They’ve eaten them.’
That said, the non-nominalizing instances of -sHa in the corpus, almost without exception, have more readily-available interpretations as narrative pasts (see §4.3.3.3.2) (4).


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

Indeed, speakers offer only simple past translations for verbs suffixed with -sHa; perfect translations may be offered, rather, for -Rqa, -RU (very rarely), or the present7 (5–7) (see §4.3.3.3.1).8

(5) ‘¿Maypaqtqa suwamuranki?’ nishpa. LT may-paq-taq suwa-mu-ra-nki ni-shpa where-ABL-SEQ steal-CISL-PST-2 say-SUBIS

‘“Where have you stolen these from?” he said.’

(6) **Kananka shimi-lla qacharun hat-hatun. SP kanan-qa shimi-:-lla qacha-ru-n hat-hatun now-TOP mouth-1-RSTR rip-URGT-3 big-big

‘Now my mouth has ripped open wide.’

---

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

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

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

(7) Ni pi qawan chu ni pi tarin chu. ACH
ni pi qawa-n-chu ni pi tari-n-chu
nor who see-3-NEG nor who find-3-NEG
‘No one has seen her and no one has found her.’

Speakers do consistently translate the combination of -RU and -sHa with the Spanish past perfect (8–10); in Andean Spanish, however, this construction does not share the semantics of the Standard Spanish.9

(8) ¡Wak suwa liyunqa ubihayta tumbarusa! AMV
wak suwa liyun-qa ubiha-y-ta tumba-ru-sa
DEM.D thief lion-TOP sheep-1-ACC knock.down-URGT-SA
‘That thieving puma had knocked off my sheep!’

(9) Trakraymi tuñirun. Yakutam katraykurusa. AMV
trakra-y-mi tuñi-ru-n yaku-ta-m katra-yku-ru-sa
field-1-EVD crumble-URGT-3 water-ACC-EVD release -EXCEP-URGT-SA
‘My field washed away. They had released water.’

(10) Payllatam wañurachira runa ... hapirusa karrupi. ACH
pay-lla-ta-m wañu-ra-chi-ra runa hapi-ru-sa karrupi
he-RSTR-ACC-EVD die-URGT-CAUS-PST person grab-URGT-SA car-LOC
‘The people killed just him ... They had grabbed him on the bus.’

Given, however, the restrictions on the distribution of -RU-sHa – it inflects only for third person10 and it is not contentful either with stative verbs or with the copulative, ka – it is improbable that it that would constitute the language’s principal strategy for rendering the past perfect. Rather, to indicate the sequence of two completed events, speakers of syq generally employ either the subordinator -pti (11), (12) or a connective like hinashpa or hinaptin (13).11

---

9 This construction generally can only awkwardly be translated as a past perfect in English, however.
10 The corpus counts 330 instances of -RU (-ø/-chi/-mu) -sHa; in only two cases is it not inflected for third person.
11 It has been suggested to me that an additional function of -sHa might be to indicate ‘sudden discovery’ (Adelaar 1977) or surprise. That is, -sHa might indicate the mirative, as do the perfect marker -shka in Ecuadorian Q (Muysken 1977) and ‘non-experienced’ past tense marker -sqa in Cuzco Q (Faller 2003) (as cited in Peterson 2014: 223–33). This is a hypothesis I am currently investigating.
4 Verbs

(11) *Liluptinga, li: CH*

li-lu-pta-n-qa

go-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP go-1

‘When (after) he went, I went.’

(12) *Hinaptinshi iskinapa kayaptin baliyarun. ACH*

hinaptin-shi iskina-pa ka-ya-pta-n baliya-ru-n

then-EVR corner-LOC be-PROG-SUBDS-3 shoot-URGT-3

‘Then, they say, when he was in the corner, they shot him.’

(13) *Suyarusa hinashpa maqarusa. Chayshi nirqamik tumarun. AMV*

suya-rut-sa hinashpa maqa-ru-sa chay-shi ni-rqa-mi-k

wait-URGT-SA then beat-URGT-SA DEM.D-EVR say-PST-EVD-IK

tuma-rut-n take-URGT-3

‘She had waited for her then she had hit her. That’s why he took [the poison], they say.’

4.3.3.3.4 Habitual past -q ka- The habitual past is indicated by the combination of the agentive noun – formed by the addition of -q to the verb stem – and the relevant present tense form of ka- ‘be’ (zero in the third person) (1–4). Table 4.18 displays this paradigm; Table 4.19 displays the paradigm of habitual past inflection with actor-object reference (see Subsection 4.3.2.2 for discussion).

<table>
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<td>-q ka-nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-q</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) *Wak Marcopukyopa, triguta hurqupakamuq kani. AMV*

wak Marcopukyo-pa, trigu-ta hurqu-paka-mu-q ka-ni

DEM.D Marcopukyo-LOC wheat-ACC remove-MUTBEN-CISL-AG be-1

‘There in Marcopukyo, I used to harvest wheat.’
4.3 Verb inflection

Table 4.19: Habitual past inflection – actor-object suffixes

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-q ka-nki&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-q&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) *Chayhina puri<sub>q</sub> kanchik ayvis fusfuru puchaku<u>r<u>u</u>. AMV*
*chay-hina puri-<u>q</u> ka-nchik ayvis fusfuru puchuka-ru<u>q</u>*
dem.d-comp walk-ag be-1pl sometimes match finish-urgt-ag
‘We would walk around like that; sometimes the matches would run out.’

(3) *Awturidadkunaqa pakaku<u>q</u> huk law liku<u>q</u>. CH*
*awturidad-kuna-qa paka-ku<u>q</u> huk law li-ku<u>q</u>*
authority-pl-top hide-refl-ag one side go-refl-ag
‘The officials would hide, they would go other places.’

(4) *Chay tirruristawan kay Azángaro-paq riku<u>ya</u>q. Wama wamaq piliya<u>ku</u>ya<u>q</u>. ACH*
*chay tirrurista-wan kay Azángaro-paq riku-ya<u>q</u> wama*
dem.d terrorist-instr dem.p Azángaro-abl go-prog-ag a.lot
*wamaq piliya-ku-ya<u>q</u>*
a.lot fight-refl-prog-ag
‘They would be going from Azángaro with the terrorists. They would be fighting a lot.’

Generally translated in Spanish with the imperfect, the structure can be translated in English as ‘used to V’ or ‘would V’. Object suffixes precede -q (5), (6).

(5) *Wasiyta hamuruptiy uquchi<u>wa</u>q. Huk vidatam wakwan<u>qa</u>*
*wasi-y-ta hamu-ru-pto<y>ty uqu-chi-wa-<u>q</u> huk*
house-1-acq come-urgt-subds-1 wet-caus-1.obj-ag one
*vida-ta-m wak-wan-qa pukilla-ri-rqa-ni*
life-acq-evd dem.d-instr-top play-incep-pst-1
‘When I would come home, they would get me wet. I played around with them a lot.’
4 Verbs

(6) Taytacha: willamaq chayhinam antigwu viyhukuna purira nishpa. sp tayta-cha:- willa-ma-q chay-hina-m antigwu viyhu-kuna father-DIM-1 tell-1.OBJ-AG DEM.D-COMP-EVD ancient old-PL puri-ra ni-shpa walk-PST say-SUBIS

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

4.3.4 Conditional

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

4.3.4.1 Regular conditional (potential) -man

All SYQ dialects indicate the conditional with the suffix -man. In the first person, it is the person-number suffixes of the nominal (possessive) paradigm that are used in combination with -man (i.e., -y and not -ni is used for the first-person singular in the QII-aligned dialects) (28). -man follows all other inflectional suffixes (ri-nki-man *ri-man-ni-nki) (34); -man is in complementary distribution with tense morphemes (*ri-rqa-nki-man) (the examples cited are given in § 4.3.4.2). Table 4.20 displays this paradigm; Table 4.21 displays the paradigm of regular conditional inflection with actor-object reference (see Subsection 4.3.2.2 for discussion).

4.3.4.2 Modality

The SYQ conditional covers far more territory than does the conditional in Spanish or English, receiving ability (1–5), circumstantial (6), (7), (8), deontic (9), (10), (11), (12), teleological (13), (14), and epistemological (15), (16), (17) modal readings, both existential and universal. Table 4.22 displays the modal system of SYQ.
4.3 Verb inflection

Table 4.20: Regular conditional inflection

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Table 4.21: Regular conditional inflection – actor-object suffixes

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Table 4.22: Modal system

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>qawa-n-man-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manam V-INF-ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atipa-INF-chu *EV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>manam qawa-y-ta atipa-n-chu</td>
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<td>wiña-n-man-mi</td>
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<td>Deontic</td>
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<td>V-PRES-EVD</td>
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<td>qawa-n-mi</td>
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*The verbs us\text{Hachi}- ‘be able’, puydi- ‘be able’, and yatra- ‘know’ can replace atipa-. 

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4 Verbs

(1) Kanan chayta rinman. LT
kanan chay-ta ri-n-man
now DEM.D-ACC go-3-COND
‘Now, he could go there.’

(2) ¿Manachu kuska linman? CH
mana-чу kuska li-n-man
no-Q together go-3-COND
‘Can’t they go together?’

(3) Ulvidaru:, manayá yuyari:manchu. SP
ulvida-ru-: mana-yá yuyari-:-man-chu
forget-URGT-1 no-EMPH remember-1-COND-NEG
‘I’ve forgotten. I can’t remember.’

(4) ¿Imataka ruwankiman? ¿Imataka ruwanman? ACH
ima-ta-taq ruwa-nki-man ima-ta-taq ruwa-n-man
what-ACC-SEQ make-2-COND what-ACC-SEQ make-3-COND
‘What can you do? What can they do?’

(5) Manaña man kawsa:manchu. CH
mana-ña-m kawsa-:-man-chu
no-DISC-EVD live-1-COND-NEG
‘I can’t live any more.’

(6) Manatr wak lawpa pastu kamanchu. AMV
mana-tr wak law-pa pastu ka-n-man-chu
no-EVC DEM.D side-LOC pasture.grass be-3-COND-NEG
‘There can’t be any pasture on that side.’

(7) Sarurullawanman. AMV
saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man
trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND
‘She could trample me.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(8) **Suwapis rikaru** **man** **chaypa.** ACH
suwa-pis  rika-ru-*n*-man  chay-pa
thief-ADD see-URGT-3-COND  DEM.D-LOC
‘Thieves also can pop up around there.’

(9) **Wawakunki** **man** **mi hukllatas.** ACH
wawa-ku-nki-*man-*mi   huk-lla-ta-s
give.birth-REFL-2-COND-EVD  one-RSTR-ACC-ADD
‘You **should** give birth to at least one [child].’

(10) **Yatarunki** **mantaq.** AMV
yata-ru-nki-*mantaq*
catch-URGT-2-COND-SEQ
‘Be **careful** not to catch it.’

(11) **Chayshi** **manash invidyusu kaytaq atipanchikmanchu.** LT
chay-shi  mana-sh  invidyusu  kay-taq  atipa-nchik-man-chu
DEM.D-EVR  no-EVR  jealous  DEM.P-SEQ  be.able-1PL-COND-NEG
‘That’s why we **shouldn’t** be jealous.’

(12) **Ishchallataña shutuykachiyman**, ¿aw? AMV
ishcha-lla-ta-ña   shutu-yka-chi-y-*man*   aw
little-RSTR-ACC-DISC  drip-EXCEP-CAUS-1-COND  yes
‘I **should** make it drip just a little, right?’

(13) **Allin nutata surqunaykipaq istudyanki** **miki.** † AMV
allin  nuta-ta  surqu-na-yki-paq  istudy-a-nki-*miki-
i
good  grade-ACC  take.out-NMLZ-2-PURP  study-2-COND-EVD-IKI
‘If you **want** to get good grades, you **have to** study.’

(14) **Agua floridata u krisutapis apamunki** **manni.** ACH
agua  florida-ta  u  krisu-ta-pis  apa-mu-nki-*manki-
water  florida-ACC  or  Croesus-ACC-ADD  bring-CISL-2-COND-EVD
‘You **can** bring florida water or croesus [so as not to get sick].’
The verbs *usHachi-* and *puydi-* may also be employed in this construction (20–22).
(20) *Chay ninaman pawayta hawanta munayan mana usachinchu.* AMV
chay nina-man pawa-y-ta hawa-n-ta muna-ya-n mana
DEM.D fire-ALL jump-INF-ACC above-3-ACC want-PROG-3 no
usachi-n-chu
be.able-3-NEG
‘They want to jump over the fire, but they can’t.’

(21) *Piluntaqa yupayanshari chay chapupaqta. Ushachinchu yupayta.* AMV
pilu-n-ta-qa yupa-ya-n-sh-ari chay chapu-paq-ta
hair-3-ACC-TOP count-PROG-3-EVR-ARI DEM.D little.dog-GEN-ACC
ushachi-n-chu yupa-y-ta
be.able-3-NEG count-INF-ACC
‘[The zombie] is counting the hairless dog’s hairs. He can’t count them.’

(22) *Puriyta yatranñam.* AMV
puri-y-ta yatra-n-ña-m
walk-INF-ACC know-3-DISC-EVD
‘She can already walk.’

*atipa-, usHachi-, and puydi-* appear in verbal constructions only when negated;
they appear non-negated only in nominalizations (23), (24).

(23) *Hinashpa trayarushpaqa ... waqtakuyanchikña atipasanchikkama.* CH
hinashpa traya-ru-shpa-qa waqta-ku-ya-nchik-ña
then arrive-URGT-SUBIS-TOP hit-REFL-PROG-1PL-DISC
atipa-sa-nchik-kama
be.able-PRF-1PL-LIM
‘Then, when you get there, when there is any, you’re already hitting it as much as you can.’

(24) *Burrunchikwan rinchik Cañetekama maykamapis atipasanchikkama.* AMV
burru-nchik-wan ri-nchik Cañete-kama may-kama-pis
donkey-1PL-INSTR go-1PL Cañete-LIM where-LIM-ADD
atipa-sa-nchik-kama
be.able-PRF-1PL-LIM
‘With our donkeys we went to Cañete, to wherever, wherever we could.’
4 Verbs

Universal deontic readings additionally follow from the combination of the nominalizer, -na with nominal (possessive) person inflection (25); they are available, too, with the simple present tense.

(25) *Chaymi vaka harkaq rikunaykimiki. AMV
    chay-mi vaka harka-q riku-na-yki-mi-ki
    DEM.D-EVD COW herd-AG go-NMLZ-2-EVD-IKI
    ‘That’s why you have to go pasture the cows.’

In (26), the adverb *hawka* ‘tranquil’ modifying a future tense verb receives an existential deontic modal reading. As detailed in §6.2.11.3, under the scope of the conjectural evidential, -trl, conditionals are generally restricted to epistemic interpretations; under the scope of the direct evidential -mI, they receive all but conjectural interpretations.

(26) *Hawkañam tushunqa. AMV
    hawka-ña-m tushu-nqa
    tranquil-DISC-EVD dance-3.FUT
    ‘She can go dancing.’

Attaching to verbs inflected with second-person -iki, -man, may be interpreted as a caution (27).

(27) *Viñacta rishpa kichkata manam saruramunkiman. AMV
    Viñac-ta ri-shpa kichka-ta mana-m saru-ra-mu-nki-man
    Viñac-ACC go-SUBIS thorn-ACC no-EVD trample-URGT-CISL-2-COND
    ‘Be careful not to step on thorns when you go to Viñac.’

And finally, it appears that -man never attaches to either of the alternative-conditional morphemes, -waq or -chuman.12 This information is summarized in Table 4.22 (examples are given for the third person with the verb qawa- ‘see’).

(28) *Ruwayman lliw lliw. AMV
    ruwa-y-man lliw lliw
    make-1-COND all all
    ‘I can do everything.’

---

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

(29) *Suwakunmantriki.* LT

suwa-ku-n-man-tri-ki
rob-REFL-3-COND-EVC-IKI

‘[Where it’s abandoned] it’s very likely they will rob [you].’

(30) *Turantin siqaykurusa. Chay ukupaqa puchkarunmantriki.* AMV

tura-ntin siqa-yku-ru-sa chay uku-pa-qa
bull-INCL go.down-EXCEP-URGT-NPST DEM.D inside-LOC-TOP
puchuka-ru-n-man-tri-ki
finish-URGT-3-COND-EVC-IKI

‘He fell [from the roof] with the bull. He really might [have] been finished off inside.’

(31) *Qutrash. Manash pawayta atipanchu chaypaq.* AMV

qutra-sh mana-sh pawa-y-ta atipa-n-chu chaypaq
reservoir-EVR no-EVR jump-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG DEM.D-ABL

‘It’s a lake, they say. They can’t jump out of there, they say.’

(32) ¡Kwidadu! Chaypitaq qalqali mikulu shunkiman.

kwidadu chay-pi-taq qalqali miku-lu-shunki-man
be.careful DEM.D-LOC-SEQ zombie eat-URGT-3>2-COND

‘Be careful! A zombie could eat you there.’

(33) *Manam wañu:manchu.* SP

mana-m wañu-:-man-chu
no-EVD die-1-COND-NEG

‘I can’t die.’

(34) *Mana chichiyuq kaptikiqa chayna lluqarishunkimantri.* AMV

mana chichi-yuq ka-pti-qi qa chayna
no breast-POSS be-SUBDS-2-TOP thus
lluqa-ri-shu-nki-man-tri
walk.grabbing-INCEP-2.OBJ-2-COND-EVC

‘If you don’t have breasts they might lean on you.’
4 Verbs

(35) **Sarurullawanman manam saruwanantaq munanichu. AMV**

saru-ru-lla-wa-n-man  mana-m  saru-wa-na-n-taq
trample-URGT-RSTR-1.OBJ-3-COND  no-EVD  trample-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-SEQ
muna-ni-chu  want-1-NEG

‘She might trample me. I don’t want her to trample me.’

4.3.4.3 Alternative conditional -waq and -chuwan

Alternative conditional forms are attested in the second person both singular and plural in the AMV dialect and first person plural in all dialects. -waq indicates the second person conditional (1–3); -chuwan indicates the first person plural conditional (4–7); -waq may be explicitly pluralized with -pa(:)ku (8).

(1) **¿Imallatapis mikuchaykuwaqchu mamay? AMV**

ima-lla-ta-pis  miku-cha-yku-waq-chu  mama-y?
what-RSTR-ACC-ADD  eat-DIM-EXCEP-2.COND-Q  mother-1

‘Can you eat any little thing, Miss?’

(2) **Wak tinapa alcha waq. AMV**

wak  tina-pa  alcha-waq
DEM.D  tub-LOC  fix-2.COND

‘You can fix it in that tub.’

(3) **¡Ama! Huk lawman hitraykurulla waq. AMV**

ama  huk  law-man  hitra-yku-ru-lla-waq
PROH  one  side-ALL  spill-EXCEP-URGT-RSTR-2.COND

‘Don’t! Be careful you don’t spill it on the other side.’

(4) **Ratu ratum chaywanqa shinkaru chuwan. ACH**

ratu  ratu-m  chay-wan-qa  shinka-ru-chuwan
moment  moment-EVD  DEM.D-INSTR-TOP  get.drunk-URGT-1PL.COND

‘We can get drunk really quickly with that.’

(5) **Huk quptinqa mikuru chuwanmi. ACH**

huk  qu-pta-n-qa  miku-ru-chuwan-mi
one  give-SUBDS-3-TOP  eat-URGT-1PL.COND-EVD

‘When another gives, we can eat.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(6) Manañam kwintakuchuwanñachu. LT
mana-ña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-ña-chu
no-DISC-EVD account-REFL-1PL.COND-DISC-NEG
‘We can no longer become aware of it.’

(7) Tutayaqpaq, manam imatapis ruwachuwan. AMV
tuta-ya-q-paq mana-m ima-ta-pis ruwa-chuwan
night-INCH-AG-LOC no-EVD what-ACC-ADD make-1PL.COND
‘In the darkness, we couldn’t do anything.’

(8) Yanapapakuwaq. AMV
yanapa-paku-waq
help-JTACC-2.COND
‘You.pl. should help.’

Both morphemes simultaneously indicate person and conditionality and both are in complementary distribution with both tense and inflectional morphemes. -w/ma-chuwan is used with a first-person plural object (9–12).

(9) Vininamachuwantri. ACH
vinina-ma-chuwan-tri
poison-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EVC
‘It can poison us.’

(10) Sapallanchiktaqa mikuruachuwantri. ACH
sapa-lla-nchik-ta-qa mikuru-ma-chuwan-tri
alone-REST-1PL-ACC-TOP eat-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.COND
‘[When we’re] alone, [the Devil] can eat us.’

(11) Dibil kaptinchik chukarwachuwanyá. AMV
dibil ka-pti-nchik chuka-ru-wa-chuwan-yá
weak be-SUBDS-1PL crash-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EMPH
‘When we’re weak, it can make us sick.’

(12) Midiku hudiruwachuwanmi. AMV
midiku hudi-ru-wa-chuwan-mi
doctor screw-URGT-1.OBJ-1PL.COND-EVD
‘Doctors can screw us up.’
4 Verbs

Ability (13), (14), circumstantial (15), deontic (16), (19) epistemic (17) and teleological (18) readings are all available. If a word ends with -chuwan, stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable (19).

(13) ¿Vakata chuqamuwaqchu? AMV
    vaka-ta chuqa-mu-waq-chu
    cow-ACC throw.stones-CISL-2.COND-Q
    ‘Can you throw stones at [herd] cows?’

(14) Yaku usun chaymi llaqtata rishaq. Manam rigachuwanchu. LT
    yaku usu-n chay-mi llaqt-a-ta ri-shaq
    water waste.on.the.ground-3 DEM.D-EVD town-ACC go-1.FUT
    mana-m riga-chuwan-chu
    no-EVD irrigate-1PL.COND-NEG
    ‘Water is spilling. So I’m going to go to town. We can’t irrigate.’

(15) Kayanmi uniku qullqiyuqpaqyá ¿Maypam rigalawachuwan runaqa? AMV
    ka-ya-n-mi uniku qullqi-yuq-paq-yá may-pa-m
    be-PROG-3-EVD only money-POSS-BEN-EVD where-LOC-EVD
    rigala-wa-chuwan runa-qa?
    give.as.a.gift-1.OBJ-1PL.COND person-TOP
    ‘There are some just for people with money. Where can people give us things as gifts?’

(16) Chikutu llamachata apakuwaq. AMV
    chikitu llama-cha-ta apa-ku-waq
    small llama-DIM-ACC bring-REFL-2.COND
    ‘You could bring a small little llama.’

(17) Wañuypaqpis kayachuwantri. AMV
    wañu-y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuwan-tri
    die-INF-PURP-ADD be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC
    ‘We could be also about to die.’

(18) Trabahawaqmi mikuyta munashpaqa. AMV
    trabaha-waq-mi miku-y-ta muna-shpa-qa
    work-2.COND-EVD eat-INF-ACC want-SUBIS-TOP
    ‘You have to work if you want to eat.’
4.3 Verb inflection

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

4.3.4.4 Past conditional (irrealis)

The past conditional is indicated by the combination – as distinct words – of the conditional with *ka-RQa*, the third person past tense form of *ka-* ‘be’ (1–4). Table 4.23 displays this paradigm; Table 4.24 displays the paradigm for past conditional inflection with actor-object reference.

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<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td>-nchik-man kala-Øₕₕ</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-n-man kala-Øₕₕ</td>
<td>-n-man kala-Øₕₕ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) **Riruyma karqa ſuqapis yanga hanaypaq. AMV**
ri-ru-y-man      ka-rqa ſuq-apis yanga hanay-paq
go-URGT-1-COND be-PST 1-ADD lie up.hill-ABL
‘I, too, would have gone in vain from up hill.’

(2) **Chay pachalla ... ruwashinkiman karqa. AMV**
chay pacha-lla ruwa-shi-nki-man ka-rqa
DEM.D date-RSTR make-ACMP-2-COND be-PST
‘That time, you could have helped make it.’

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Table 4.24: Past conditional inflection – actor-object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
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<th>2&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1pl</th>
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<td>-wa-n-man ka-rqa&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-nchik-man ka-rqa&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-wa-n-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;L&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-nchik-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;L&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-ma-n-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;ACH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-nchik-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;ACH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-nki-man ka-la&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-n-man ka-la&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-nchik-man ka-la&lt;sub&gt;CH&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
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<td>1&gt;2</td>
<td>3&gt;2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-shu-nki-man ka-rqa&lt;sub&gt;AMV&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yki-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;L&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-shu-nki-man ka-ra&lt;sub&gt;L&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3)  **Mastam katraykurunman karqa. AMV**

**mas-ta-m**  **katra-yku-ru-n-man**  **ka-rqa**
more-ACC-EVD  release-EXCEP-URGT-3-COND  be-PAST

‘She should have let more out.’

(4)  **¿Imapis mas piyurtri kanchikman karqa? AMV**

**ima-pis**  **mas**  **piyur-tri**  **ka-nchik-man**  **ka-rqa**
what-ADD  more  worse-EVC  be-1PL-COND  be-PST

‘What worse thing could we have been?’

The regular conditional form may be used in all dialects (5–8); the alternative conditional forms may be used in those dialects in which they are available in the present tense (9–10).

(5)  **Dimunyu chayqa kara. Mikuramanmantri kara icha aparamanmantri kara. ACH**

**Dimunyu**  **chay-qa**  **ka-ra**  **miku-ra-ma-n-man-tri**  **ka-ra**  **icha**
Devil  DEM.D-TOP  be-PST  eat-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC  be-PST  or
**apa-ra-ma-n-man-tri**  **ka-ra**
bring-URGT-1.OBJ-3-COND-EVC  be-PST

‘That was the devil. He could have eaten me or he could have taken me away.’

(6)  **Kundinakurunmantri kara. Qullqi chay kasa. SP**

**kundina-ku-ru-n-man-tri**  **ka-ra**  **qullqi**  **chay**  **ka-sa**
condemn-REFL-URGT-3-COND-EVC  be-PST  money  DEM.D  be-NPST
‘She would have condemned herself [to being a zombie]. That was money.’

(7) “Lusta pagankimantri karqa lusninta,” niniyá. AMV
   lus-ta paga-nki-man-tri ka-rqa lus-ni-n-ta ni-ni-yá
   light-ACC pay-2-COND-EVC be-PST light-EUPH-3-ACC say-1-EMPH
   “You should have paid the electric bill, his electric bill,” I said then.

(8) Chayta pushakarunkiman kara. LT
   chay-ta pusha-ka-ru-nki-man ka-ra
   chay-ACC bring.along-PASSACC-URGT-2-COND be-PST
   ‘You should have taken her.’

(9) Mastam chawaruwaq karqa. AMV
   mas-ta-m chawa-ru-waq ka-rqa
   more-ACC-EVD milk-URGT-2.COND be-PST
   ‘You could have milked more.’

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

### 4.3.5 Imperative and injunctive

#### 4.3.5.1 Imperative -y

-y indicates the second-person singular imperative (1).

(1) ¡Chay kullarnikitaqa surquruy! AMV
    chay kullar-ni-ki-ta-qa surqu-ru-y
    DEM.D necklace-EUPH-2-ACC-TOP take.out-URGT-IMP
    ‘That necklace of yours, take it out!’

-y is suffixed to the verb stem, plus derivational suffixes, if any are present (2).
4 Verbs

(2) ¡Wañurachiy wakta! ACH
   wañu-ra-chi-y wak-ta
   die-URGT-CAUS-IMP DEM.D-ACC
   'Kill that one!'

When verb has a first-person singular direct or indirect object, -y attaches to the 2>1 actor-object suffix -ma/wa (3), (4).

(3) ¡Nuqamanpis qachamay! sp
   ñuqa-man-pis qacha-ma-y
   I-ALL-ADD rip-1.OBJ-IMP
   'Rip it for me, too!'

(4) ¡Samaykachillaway, awilita! AMV
   sama-yka-chi-lla-wa-y awilita
   rest-EXCEP-CAUS-RSTR-1.OBJ-IMP grandmother
   'Just make (have/let) me rest, grandmother!'

The second-person plural imperative may be indicated by the joint action derivational suffix, -pa(:)kU in combination with -y, and -ma/wa (5), (6).

(5) ¡Lluqsi pakuy (llapayki)! AMV
   lluqsi-paku-y (llapa-yki)
   go.out-JTACC-IMP all-2
   'Leave.PL!'

(6) ¡Takipakuy! ACH
   taki-paku-y
   sing-JTACC-IMP
   'Sing PL!'

The first-person plural imperative is identical to the first person plural future: it is indicated by the suffix -shun (7), (8).

(7) ¡Tushushun! AMV
   tushu-shun
dance-1PL.FUT
   'Let’s dance!'
4.3 Verb inflection

(8) ¡Kuskallam wañukushun! LT
kuska-lia-m wañu-ku-shun
together-RSTR-EVD die-REFL-1PL.FUT
‘Let’s die together!’

Prohibitions are formed by suffixing the imperative with -chu and preceding it with ama (9–12).

(9) “¡Amayá diharamaychu!” nishpa lukuyakuyan. ACH
ama-yá diha-ra-ma-y-chu ni-shpa
PROH-EMPH leave-URGT-1.OBJ-IMP-NEG say-SUBIS
luku-ya-ku-ya-n
crazy-INCH-REFL-PROG-3
“Don’t leave me!” he said, going crazy.

(10) ¡Ama ñuqaktaqa imanamaypischu! CH
ama ñuqa-kta-qa ima-na-ma-y-pis-chu
PROH I-ADD-TOP what-VRBZ-1.OBJ-IMP-ADD-NEG
‘Don’t do anything to me!’

(11) ¡Ama manchariychu! ¡Ama qawaychu! AMV
ama mancha-ri-y-chu ama qawa-y-chu
PROH scare-INEP-IMP-NEG PROH look-IMP-NEG
‘Don’t be scared! Don’t look!’

(12) ¡Amam nunka katraykanakushunchu! LT
ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun-chu
PROH-EVD never release-EXCEP-RECP-1PL.FUT-NEG
‘Let’s never leave each other!’

¡Haku! ‘Let’s go!’ is irregular: it cannot be negated or inflected (13), (14), except, optionally, with the first-person plural -nchik.

(13) ¡Hakuña, taytay, pakananpaq chay aychata! AMV
haku-ña, tayta-y paka-na-n-paq chay aycha-ta
let’s.go-DISC father-1 hide-NMLZ-3-PURP DEM.D meat-ACC
‘Let’s go, mate, so he can hide this meat!’
4 Verbs

(14) ¡Ama rishunchu (*haku)! AMV
ama ri-shun-chu
PROH go-1PL.FUT-NEG
‘Let’s not go!’ ‘We shouldn’t go.’

The second-person future tense, too, is often interpreted as an imperative (15), and prohibitions can be formed by preceding this with ama (16).

(15) Diosninchkqa nin, “Iha, apanki pukatr kita, wamanripa!” LT
Dios-ni-nchik-qa ni-n iha apa-nki pukatraki-ta
God-EUPH-1PL-TOP say-3 daughter bring-2 pukatraki.flower-ACC
wamanripa-ta
wamanripa.flower-ACC
‘Our God said, “Daughter, bring pukatraki plants and wamanripa plants!”’

(16) ¡Ama kutimunkichu! Qamqa isturbum kayanki. CH
ama kuti-mu-nki-chu qam-qa isturbu-m ka-ya-nki
PROH return-CISL-2-NEG you-TOP nuisance-EVD be-PROG-2
‘Don’t come back! You’re being a nuisance.’

4.3.5.2 Injunctive -chun

-chun indicates the third person injunctive (1–3), the suggestion on the part of the speaker as to the advisability of action by a third party.

(1) ¡Kukantaraq akuyku-chun! AMV
kuka-n-ta-raq aku-yku-chun
coca-3-ACC-CONT chew-EXcep-INJUNC
‘Let her take her coca still!’

(2) ¡Uqusakuna hinalla kachun! AMV
uqu-sa-kuna hina-lla ka-chun
wet-PRF-PL thus-RSTR be-INJUNC
‘Let the wet ones be like that!’

(3) ¡Witrqachun piliyaqkunata kalabusupi! AMV
witrq-a-chun piliya-q-kuna-ta kalabusu-pi
close.in-INJUNC fight-AG-PL-ACC prison-LOC
‘Let them shut the brawlers up in the prison!’
There are no first or second person injunctive suffixes. -\textit{chun} attaches to the verb stem, plus derivational suffixes, if any are present (4–6).

(4) ¡\textit{Kutimuchun}! Wañuchina-paq. ACH
\textit{kuti-mu-chun} wañu-chi-na-::paq
\textit{return-CISL-INJUNC die-CAUS-NMLZ-1-PURP}
‘\textit{Have him} come back – so I can kill him!’

(5) Papaniy wañu\textit{kuchun}pis wamran kawsa\textit{kuchun} ninshi. Chaykunata upyachiwaptinshi kawsakurqani. AMV
\textit{papa-ni-y wañu-ku-chun-pis wamra-n kawsa-ku-chun}
\textit{father-EUPH-1 die-REFL-INJUNC-ADD child-3 live-REFL-INJUNC ni-n-shi chay-kuna-ta upya-chi-wa-hti-n-shi}
\textit{say-3-EVR DEM.D-PL-ACC drink-CAUS-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3-EVR}
\textit{kawsa-ku-rqa-ni}
\textit{live-REFL-PST-1}
‘\textit{Let him die; let his child live, my father said, they say. When they made me take those [cures], I lived.’}

(6) ¡\textit{Hinallaña kayachun}! LT
\textit{hina-lla-ña ka-ya-chun}
\textit{thus-RSTR-DISC be-PROG-INJUNC}
‘\textit{Let it be just like that!’}

It simultaneously indicates injunctivity and person, and is in complementary distribution with other inflectional suffixes. The negative injunctive is formed by suffixing \textit{-chu} to the injunctive and preceding it with \textit{ama} (7), (8).

(7) ¡\textit{Ama lluqsichunchu} tukuy puntraw! CH
\textit{ama lluqsi-chun-chu tukuy puntraw}
\textit{PROH go.out-INJUNC-NEG all day}
‘\textit{Don’t let him} leave all day!’

(8) Ishkay palumaqa nin, “¡\textit{Ama yantataqa apayachunchu}!” ACH
\textit{ishkay paluma-qa ni-n ama yanta-ta-qa}
\textit{two dove-TOP say-3 PROH firewood-ACC-TOP apa-ya-chun-chu}
\textit{bring-PROG-INJUNC-NEG}
‘The two doves said, “\textit{Don’t let them} bring the firewood!”’
4 Verbs

The third-person future tense can sometimes be interpreted as an injunctive (9).

(9) Wañuchiptin, ‘¡Amam pampankichu! ¡Hinam ismunqa!’ ninshi. 
ACH 
wañu-chi-pty-n ama-m pampa-nki-chu hina-m ismu-nqa 
die-CAUS-SUBDS-3 PROH-EVD bury-2-NEG thus-EVD rot-3.FUT 
ninshi say-3-EVR 
‘When they killed him, “Don’t bury him! Let him rot like that!” he said.’

4.3.6 Aspect

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

4.3.6.1 Continuous -ya

All dialects of syq indicate continuous aspect with -ya. -ya marks both the progressive (1–6) and durative components (7), (8) of the continuous, indicating both actions and states continuing in time.

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

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

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

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

(5) **Chayshi Diosninchik, “¿Imatam ashiyanki?” nin. LT**
chay-shi Dios-ni-nchik ima-ta-m ashi-ya-nki ni-n
‘Then Our God said, “What are you searching for?”’

(6) **Uchuypis pasapasaypaqmi chakirun, uchuypis chakisham kayan. LT**
uchu-y-pis pasa-pasaypaq-mi chaki-ru-n, uchu-y-pis
chili-1-ADD complete-completely-EVD dry-URGT-3 chili-1-ADD
chaki-sha-m ka-ya-n
dry-PRF-EVD be-PROG-3
‘The chilies completely dried out; the chilies are dried out.’

(7) **Pipis. Ñuqa ukupaw kaku ya ni. AMV**
pi-pis ñuqa ukupaw ka-ku-ya-ni
who-ADD I busy be-REFL-PROG-1
‘No one. I’m busy.’

(8) **Hitakaruyta munayani. AMV**
hita-ka-ru-y-ta munya-y-ni
fall-PASSACC-URGT-INF-ACC wany-PROG-1
‘I want to fall.’

-ya may be used with or in place of -q to mark habitual action (9–11) when such action is customary.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{13}\) An anonymous reviewer points out that -ya in Yauyos seems to resemble the cognate suf-
4 Verbs

(9) **Mana suliya sa kapti nqa wak ta suliya chi ya nchik.** AMV
mana suliya sa ka pti n qa wak ta suliya chi ya nchik
no sun PRF be SUBDS 3 TOP DEM D ACC sun CAUS PROG 1 PL
‘When [the oca] hasn’t been sunned, we sun it.’

(10) **Uyqapa millwantam kaypaq puchkayanchik.** AMV
uyqa pa mill wa n ta m kay paq puch ka ya nchik
sheep GEN wool 3 ACC EVD DEM P ABL spin PROG 1 PL
‘We spin sheep’s wool here.’

(11) **Fwirsawan wawakuyanchik.** ACH
fwir sa wan wawa ku ya nchik
force INSTR give birth REFL PROG 1 PL
‘With effort, we give birth.’

-y a can appear in subordinate clauses (12), (13).

(12) **Hinaptinshi iskinapa kayaptin baliyarun.** ACH
Hinaptin shi is kina pa ka ya pti n baliya ru n
then EVR corner LOC be PROG SUBDS 3 shoot URG T 3
‘Then when he was in the corner, they shot him.’

(13) **Wak runa qa warminta wañurachin maqayashpalla.** AMV
wak runa qa warmi n ta wañu ra chi n
DEM D person TOP woman 3 ACC die URG T CAUS 3
maq a ya shpa lla
beat PROG SUBIS RSTR
‘That man, turning jealous, killed his wife, when he was beating her.’

-y a precedes -mu and -chi (14), (15) and precedes all inflectional suffixes.

(14) **Limpu limpu runata firmakayachin.** LT
limpu limpu runa ta firma ka ya chi n
all all person ACC sign PASS ACC PROG CAUS 3
‘They’re making all the people sign.’

fix -yka: in Huallaga Q, which Weber (1989) calls a general imperfective. The cognate suffix in South Conchucos Q, -y ka, in contrast, does not appear in habitual contexts. Hintz (2011) observes that while it is not a general imperfective, it is still much broader than a simple progressive; Hintz concludes that -y ka: in South Conchucos is continuous aspect.
4.3 Verb inflection

(15) Ladirankunapaq rumipis hinkuyamuntriki. ACH
ladira-n-kuna-paq rumi-pis hinku-ya-mu-n-tri-ki
hillside-3-PL-ABL stone-ADD roll-PROG-CISL-EVC-IKI
‘Stones, too, would be rolling down the sides [of the mountain].’

It forms the present (16), past (17), (18) and future (19) progressive.

(16) ¡Suyaykamay! ¡Qarqaryam qipa:ta shamukuyan! CH
suya-yka-ma-y qarqarya-m qipa::ta shamu-ku-ya-n
wait-EXCEP-1.OBJ-IMP zombie-EVD behind-1-ACC come-REFL-PROG-3
‘Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!’

(17) ¿Maypa saqaykurqa? Paypis wishu kayarqa. AMV
may-pa saqa-yku-rqa pay-pis wishu ka-ya-rqa
where-LOC go.down-EXCEP-PST she-ADD lame be-PROG-PST
‘Where did she fall? She, too, was limping.’

(18) Antaylumata tarirushpaqa pallakuyara hinaptinshi ... SP
antayluma-ta tari-ru-shpa-qa palla-ku-ya-ra
antayluma.berries-ACC find-URGT-SUBIS-TOP pick-REFL-PROG-PST
hina-pto-n-shi
then-EVR
‘After finding some antayluma berries, she was gathering them up.
Then ...’

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

4.3.6.2 Durative -chka

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

(1) Kayllapam kwidakanchi ñuqaqa aparamu. ACH
kay-lla-pa-m kwida-chka-nki ñuqa-qa apa-ra-mu-:
dem.p-rstr-loc-evd care.for-dur-2 I-top bring-urgt-cisl-1
‘You’ll go on taking care of this here [while] I bring it.’

(2) Mundum ñitiramashun kaytam sustininkiqa. Kayta sustinichkanchi ñuqañataqmi huk waklawpis siqaykayamun. sp
mundu-m ñiti-ra-ma-shun kay-ta-m sustini-nki-qa
world-evd crush-urgt-1.obj-1pl.fut dem.p-acc-evd sustain-2-top
kay-ta sustini-chka-nki ñuqa-ña-taq-mi huk wak law-pis
dem.p-acc sustain-dur-2 I-disc-seq-evd one dem.d side-add
siqa-yka-ya-mu-n
go.down-excep-prog-cisl-3
‘The world is going to crush us. Hold this! You go on holding this one. I, too – another is falling over there.’

(3) Aviva, tiyachkanchi chayllapa. AMV
Aviva tiya-chka-nki chay-lla-pa
Aviva sit-dur-2 dem.d-rstr-loc
‘Aviva, you’re going to be sitting just right there [while the others go looking].’

(4) ¡Taqsachkay! t CH
taqsa-chka-y
wash-dur-imp
‘You go on washing [while I play].’

4.3.6.3 Perfective -ku

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

(1) Pashñaalla kidalun. ¿Qaliqa likun maytataq? CH
pashña-lla kida-lu-n qali-qa li-ku-n may-ta-taq
girl-rstr stay-urgt-3 man-top go-refl-3 where-acc-seq
‘Just the girl stayed. The man went where?’
4.3 Verb inflection

(2) **Qullqita quykuptin ... pasakun. AMV**
quyllqi-ta qu-yku-pti-n pas-a-ku-n
money-ACC give-EXCEP-SUBDS-3 pass-REFL-3
‘When he gave him the money, he went away.’

(3) **Ripukun paqwash llapa wawan tudu ripukun. LT**
ripu-ku-n paqwash llapa wawa-n tudu ripu-ku-n
go-REFL-3 completely all child-3 everything go-REFL-3
‘Then, he left for good – all his children – all left.’

(4) **Baliyaptinqa wañukun. ACH**
baliya-pti-n-qa wañu-ku-n
shoot-SUBDS-3-TOP die-REFL-3
‘When they shot him, he died.’

(5) **¿Imanarunqatr? Wañukuntri. ACH**
ima-na-ru-nqa-tr wañu-ku-n-tri
what-VRBZ-URGT-3.FUT-EVC die-REFL-3-EVC
‘What will happen? He must have died.’

4.3.7 Subordination

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

-**pti** is employed when the subjects of the main and sub1432 bordinate clauses are different (*Huk qawa-**pti**-n-qa, ňuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu ‘Although others see, we don’t see’); **shpa** and **shtin** are employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical (*tushu-**shpa**/-**shtin** wasi-ta kuti-mu-n ‘Dancing they return home’). Cacra, but not Hongos, employs -r (realized [l]) in place of -**shpa** (*traqna-l pusha-la-mu-n ‘binding his hands and feet, they took him along’). -**pti** generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause began prior to that of the main clause but may also be employed in the case the events of the two clauses are simultaneous (*urkista-qa traya-mu-**pti**-n tushu-rqa-nchik ‘When the band arrived, we danced’). -**shpa** generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause (*Sapu-qa kurrkurrya-**shpa** kurri-ya-n ‘The frog is running going kurr-kurr!’) but may also be employed when event of the subordinated event precedes that of the main clause. -**shtin** is employed
only when the main and subordinate clause events are simultaneous (awa-shtin miku-chi-ni wamra-y-ta ‘(By) weaving, I feed my children’). -pti subordinates are suffixed with allocation suffixes (tarpu-pty-chik ‘when we plant’); in contrast, -shpa and -shtin subordinates do not inflect for person or number (*tarpu-shpa-nchik; *tarpu-shtin-yki). -shpa appears 1432 times in the corpus; in three instances it is inflected for person. In elicitation, speakers adamantly reject the use of personal suffixes after -shpa. Subordinate verbs are never suffixed with any other inflectional morphemes, with the exception of -ya (*tarpu-rqa-shpa; *tarpu-shaq-shpa). The evidentials, -ml, shl, and -trl cannot appear on the interior of subordinate clauses, and the negative particle -chu can neither appear on the interior nor suffix to subordinate clauses (mana-m rima-pty-ki (*chu ‘if you don’t talk’). Subordinate verbs inherit tense, aspect and conditionality specification from the main clause verb (ri-shpa qawa-y-man karga ‘If I would have gone, I would have seen’). Depending on the context, -pti and -shpa can be translated by ‘when’, ‘if’, ‘because’, ‘although’, or with a gerund; -shtin can be translated by a gerund only. This information is summarized in Table 4.25.

Table 4.25: Subordinating suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identical Subjects</th>
<th>-shpa</th>
<th>-shpa, -shtin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different Subjects</td>
<td>-pti</td>
<td>-pti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.3.7.1 Different subjects -pti

-pti is employed when the subjects in the main and subordinated clauses are different (1), (2) and the event of the subordinated clause begins before (3) or is simultaneous with (4) the event of the main clause. Table 4.26 displays the pattern of -pti inflection; Table 4.27 gives this pattern with actor-object reference.
4.3 Verb inflection

Table 4.26: -pti inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-pti-y&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-pti-nchik&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-pti-ki</td>
<td>-pti-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-pti-n</td>
<td>-pti-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.27: -pti inflection – actor-object suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1</th>
<th>3&gt;1pl</th>
<th>1&gt;2</th>
<th>3&gt;2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-wa-pti-ki&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-pti-n&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-wa-pti-nchik&lt;sub&gt;AMV,LT&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-pti-ki</td>
<td>-shu-pti-ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-pti-ki&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-pti-n&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>-ma-pti-nchik&lt;sub&gt;ACH,CH,SP&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) ¿Aruschata kumbidadaptinchik mikunmanchu? AMV arus-cha-ta kumbida-pto-nchik miku-n-man-chu rice-DIM-ACC share-SUBDS-1PL eat-3-COND-Q
‘If we share the rice, will she eat it?’

(2) Qusa: tiniynti alkaldi kaptin, “Kumpanaira, ¿maypim qusayki?” niman. CH
qusa-: tiniynti alkaldi ka-pto-n kumpanaira husband-1 lieutenant mayor be-SUBDS-3 companiera
may-pi-m qusa-yki ni-ma-n
where-LOC-EVD husband-2 say-1.OBJ-3
‘When my husband was vice-mayor they asked me, “Compañera, where is your husband?”’

(3) Chay kundurqa qipiaptin huk turuta pagaykun. SP
chay kundur-qa qipi-pto-n huk turu-ta paga-yku-n
DEM.D condor-TOP carry-SUBDS-3 one bull-ACC pay-EXCEP-3
‘After the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.’
4 Verbs

(4) **Huk mumintu puriyaptiki imapis prisintakurushunki.** AMV
    one moment walk-PROG-SUBDS-2 what-ADD
    present-REFL-URGT-2.OBJ-2
    ‘One moment you’re walking and something presents itself to you.’

- *pti* subordinates always inflect for person with allocation suffixes (5), (6).

(5) **Kalurniyuq kaptikiqa yawarin yanash.** AMV
    fever-EUPH-POSS be-SUBDS-2-TOP blood-EUPH-3 black-EVR
    ‘When you have a fever, its blood is black, they say.’

(6) **Chay plantaman siqaru-pti:-pis chay turu-qa ... siqaramun qipa:paq plantaman.** ACH
    go.up-URGT-SUBDS-1-ADD DEM.D bull-TOP
    ‘When I climbed up the tree, the bull ... climbed up the tree from behind me.’

The structure is usually translated in English by ‘when’ (7), (8) or, less often, ‘if’ (9), (10), ‘because’ (11–13), or ‘although’ (14).

(7) **Kundinawqa, witrqakuruptinga, wasi utrkunta altukunapash [yaykurun].** SP
    zombie-TOP close-REFL-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP house hole-3-ACC
    ‘When they shut themselves in, the zombie [entered] through a hole in the attic.’

(8) **Hinaptinshi “Wak turuta pagaykusayki,” niptin asipta-n.** ACH
    then-EVR DEM.D bull-ACC pay-EXCEP-1>2.FUT say-SUBDS-3 accept-3
    ‘Then, they say, when he said, “I’ll pay you that bull,” they accepted.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(9) Manam pagawaptikiqa manam wamraykiqa alliyanqachu. LT
mana-m paga-wa-hti-ki-qa mana-m wamra-yki-qa
no-EVD pay-1.OBJ-2-TOP no-EVD child-2-TOP
alli-ya-nqa-chu
good-INCH-3.FUT-NEG
‘If you don’t pay me, your son isn’t going to get better.’

(10) Wañuymantri karqa. Mana hampiptinga. AMV
wañu-y-man-tri ka-rqa mana hampi-hti-n-qa
die-1-COND-EVC be-PST no cure-SUBDS-3-TOP
‘I might have died. If they hadn’t cured her.’

(11) Payqa rikunñash warmin saqiruptin. AMV
pay-qa ri-ku-n-ña-sh warmi-n saqi-ru-hti-n
he-TOP go-REFL-3-DISC-EVR woman-3 abandon-URGT-SUBDS-3
‘He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.’

(12) Priykupaw puriyan siyrtumpatr warmin mal kaptin nin. AMV
priykupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n mal ka-hti-n
worried walk-PROG-3 certainly-EVC woman-3 bad be-SUBDS-3 n-in
say-3
‘Certainly, he’d be wandering around worried because his wife is sick.’

(13) Mana qusa: kaptin. Mana qali: kaptin trabahaya:. CH
mana qusa-: ka-hti-n mana qali-: ka-hti-n trabaha-ya-:
no husband-1 be-SUBDS-3 no man-1 be-SUBDS-3 work-PROG-1
‘Because I don’t have a husband. I’m working because I don’t have a husband.’

(14) Huk qawaptinga, ŋuqa-nchik qawanchikchu. AMV
huk qawa-hti-n-qa ŋuqa-nchik qawa-nchik-chu
one see-SUBDS-3-TOP I-1PL see-1PL-NEG
‘Although others see it, we don’t see it.’

Topic marking with -qa does not generally disambiguate these readings. With
-raq, -hti subordinates generally receive a ‘not until’ interpretation (15), (16).
4 Verbs

(15) _Hamuptiyraq_ ñuqaqa manam lluqsirqachu. AMV
hamu-pti-y-raq ñuqa-qa mana-m lluqsi-rqa-chu
come-SUBDS-1-CONT I-TOP no-EVD go.out-PST-NEG
‘Not until I came did she leave. (= ‘Until I came, she didn’t leave.’)’

(16) _Manañam puntrawyaruptin_ vakay chawachikunqachu. AMV
mana-ña-m puntraw-ya-ru-pti-n vaka-y
no-DISC-EVD day-INCH-URGT-SUBDS-3 cow-1
chawa-chi-ku-nqa-chu
milk-CAUS-REFL-3.FUT-NEG
‘Until it’s day time, my cow won’t let herself be milked.’

The first-person and second-person object suffixes, -wa/ma and -sHu precede -pti (17).

(17) _Chay pasarushpa sudarachishuptiki_ kapasmi surqurunman. AMV
chay pasa-ru-shpa suda-ra-chi-shu-pti-ki
kapas-mi surqu-ru-n-man
perhaps-EVD remove-URGT-3-COND
‘When you have it passed over you, when it makes you sweat, it’s possible it could remove it.’

4.3.7.2 Same-subjects _-shpa_

-shpa is employed when the subjects in the main and subordinated clauses are identical and the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with the event of the main clause (1); the event of the subordinated clause may, however, precede that of the main clause (2).

(1) _Chitchityakushpa_ rikullan kabrakunaqa. LT
chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa
say.chit.chit-REFL-SUBIS go-RSTR-3 goat-PL-TOP
‘Chit-chitting, the goats just left.’

(2) _Familyanchikta wañurichishpaga_ lliw partiyan. SP
familya-nchik-ta wanu-ri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n
family-1PL-ACC die-INCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-TOP all divide-PROG-3
‘After they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.’
-**shpa** subordinates do not inflect for person. -**shpa** can generally be translated with a gerund (3), as ‘when’ (4) or, less often, ‘if’ (5).

(3) *Traguwan, kukawan tushuchishpallam kusichakuni.* AMV  
    tragu-wan kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni  
    liquor-INSTR coca-INSTR dance-CAUS-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD harvest-REFL-1  
    ‘With liquor and coca, making them dance, I harvest.’

(4) *Kustumbrawkushpa hawkam yatrakunchik kaypahina.* AMV  
    kustumbraw-ku-shpa hawka-m yatra-ku-nchik kay-pa-hina  
    accustom-REFL-SUBIS tranquil-EVD live-REFL-1PL DEM.P-LOC-COMP  
    ‘When we adjust, we live peacefully, like here.’

(5) *Kutishpapa kutimushaq kimsa tawa watata.* AMV  
    kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta  
    return-SUBIS-TOP return-CISL-1.FUT three four year-ACC  
    ‘If I come back, I’ll come back in three or four years.’

Negated, V -**shpa** can be translated ‘without’ (6), ‘although’ (7) or ‘despite’.

(6) *Mana yanushpallam likwarunchik.* AMV  
    mana yanu-shpa-lla-m likwa-ru-nchik  
    no cook-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD liquify-URGT-1PL  
    ‘Without boiling it, we liquify it.’

(7) *Qullqita ganashpas bankuman ima trurakunki.* ACH  
    qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima trura-ku-nki  
    money-ACC win-SUBIS-ADD bank-ALL what put-REFL-2  
    ‘Although you earn money and save it in the bank.’

-**shpa** may attach to coordinated verbs (8), (9).

(8) *Kulurchakunata kayna trurashpa qawashta ñakarini.* AMV  
    kulur-cha-kuna-ta kayna trura-shpa qawa-shpa ñaka-ri-ni  
    color-DIM-PL-ACC thus put-SUBIS look-SUBIS suffer-INCEP-1  
    ‘Looking, putting the colors like this, I suffer.’
4 Verbs

(9) Kukachakunata akushpa sigaruchakunata fumashpa richkan tutakama. AMV
‘Chewing coca, smoking cigarettes, they go on until the night.’

Only Cacra uses the Q1 -r in place of the QII -shpa (compare (10–14) with (15)).

(10) Vakata harkanchik puchkasha millwata puchkapuchkasha. AMV
‘We herd the cows spinning – spinning and spinning wool.’

(11) Kutimushpaqa kayna baldillawan apakushaq niwan. LT
kuti-mu-shpa-qa kayna baldi-lla-wan apa-ku-shaq return-CISL-SUBIS-TOP thus bucket-RSTR-INTR BRING-REFL-1.FUT
ni-wa-n
say-1.OBJ-3
‘When I come back, I’ll bring them like this, with just a bucket,” he said to me.’

(12) Hinashpa maskashpa puriya. ACH
hinashpa maska-shpa puri-ya-:
then look.for-SUBIS walk-PROG-1
‘Then I’m walking around looking for them.’

(13) Wirtaman yaykurushpa klavilta lliw usharusa. SP
wirta-man yayku-ru-shpa klavil-ta lliw garden-ALL enter-URGT-SUBIS carnation-ACC all usha-ru-sa waste.on.the.ground-URGT-NPST
‘Entering the garden, he left all the carnations discarded on the ground.’
4.3 Verb inflection

(14) *Wiqawninchikman kayna katawan simillakta watakurushpa talpu*. CH wiqaw-ni-nchik-man kayna kata-wan similla-kta waist-EUPH-1PL-ALL thus shawl-INTR seed-ACC wata-ku-ru-shpa talpu:-
tie-REFL-URGT-SUBID plant-1
‘Like this, tying it to our waists with a shawl we plant seeds.’

(15) *Waqa likun atuq kampukta*. CH waqa-l li-ku-n atuq kampu-kta
cry-SUBIS go-REFL-3 fox countryside-ACC
‘Crying, the fox went to the countryside.’

4.3.7.3 Adverbial \(-shtin\)

\(-shtin\) is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinated clauses are identical (1), (2) and the events of the two clauses are simultaneous (3).

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

(2) *Yantakunata qutushtin lliptakunata kañakushtin, ... yatrama karqa. AMV* yanta-ku-n-ta qutu-shin llipta-kuna-ta kaña-ku-shtin firewood-PL-ACC gather-SUBADV ash-PL-ACC burn-REFL-SUBADV yatra-na ka-raqa live-NMLZ be-PST
‘Gathering wood, burning ash, we had to live [in the mountains].’

(3) *Wak pubri ubiha watrashtin riyan. AMV* wak pubri ubiha watra-shtin ri-ya-n
dem.d poor sheep give.birth-SUBADV go-PROG-3
‘Those poor sheep are giving birth even as they walk.’
-shtin subordinates do not inflect for person or number. -shtin subordinates are adverbial and can generally be translated by ‘while’ or with a gerund (4–7). While attested in spontaneous speech, -shtin is rare. Speakers overwhelmingly employ -shpa in place of -shtin.

(4) Pushaykushtinaŋ wamrataqa makin yatapasha yantaman katran. ACH pusha-yku-shtin-qa wamra-ta-qa maki-n
bring,along-excep-subadv-top child-acc-top hand-acc
yata-pa-sha yanta-man katra-n
feel-repet-prf firewood-all release-3
‘Bringing the boys [home], their hands held, she sent them for firewood.’

(5) Chay iskwilapaq wamran mikushtin. LT chay iskwila-paq wamra-n miku-shtin
dem.d school-abl child-3 eat-subadv
‘His child [came out] of school eating.’

(6) “Qarqaryam qipa:ta!” waqaŋ shashtinaŋ shamukuyan. CH qarqarya-m qipa-ta waqa-shtin shamu-ku-ya-n
zombie-evd behind-1-acc cry-subadv come-refl-prog-3
“A zombie is behind me!” he was coming crying.’

(7) Waqakushtinaŋ kayqa apayan waytakunakta. CH waqa-ku-shtin kay-qa apa-ya-n wayta-kuna-kta
cry-refl-subadv dem.p-top bring-prog-3 flower-pl-acc
‘Crying, they are bringing flowers.’

(8) Waqakushtinaŋ tristim ñuqanchikqa kidaranchik ñuqa mama-. SP waqa-ku-shtin tristi-m ñuqa-nchik-qa kida-ra-nchik ñuqa
cry-refl-subadv sad-evd i-pl-top stay-pst-ipl i
mama--
mother-1
‘Crying, sad, we stayed, my mother and I.’
4.3 Verb inflection

4.3.7.4 Limitative -kama

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

(1) Mana vilakuranichu puñunaykamam. AMV
mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kama-m
no keep.watch-REFL-PST-1-NEG sleep-NMLZ-1-LIM-EVD
‘I didn’t keep watch while I was sleeping.’

(2) Taksalla taksallapitaqa tarpukuni, mana hat-hatunpichu. Yaku kanankamalla. AMV
taksa-lla taksa-lla-pi-ta-qa tarpu-ku-ni mana small-RSTR small-RSTR-LOC-ACC-TOP plant-REFL-1 no hat-hatun-pi-chu yaku ka-na-n-kama-lla big-big-LOC-NEG water be-NMLZ-3-LIM-RSTR
‘I plant in just small, small [fields], not in really big ones. While/as long as there’s water.’

(3) Chaytri wañuq qarin wañunankamam maqarqa. AMV
chay-tri wañu-q qari-n wañu-na-n-kama-m maqa-rqa DEM.D-EVR die-AG man-3 die-NMLZ-3-LIM-EVD beat-PST
‘That’s why her1 late husband beat her2 until she2 died.’

(4) Almaqa wañunankama pampaman saqarun. AMV
alma-qa wañu-na-n-kama pampa-man saqa-ru-n soul-TOP die-NMLZ-3-LIM ground-ALL go.down-URGT-3
‘The ghost fell to the floor, to his death.’

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

4.4 Verb derivation

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

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

4.4.1 Suffixes deriving verbs from substantives

The suffixes deriving verbs from substantives are: factive -cha, reflexive -ku, simulative -tuku, and inchoative -ya, as displayed in Table 4.28. §4.4.1.1–4.4.1.4 cover each of these in turn.

Table 4.28: Suffixes deriving verbs from substantives, with examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-cha</td>
<td>factive</td>
<td>Mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>Qishta-ku-ru-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tuku</td>
<td>simulative</td>
<td>Atrqray-shi huvin-tuku-sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
<td>Puntraw-ya-ru-n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>¿ima-na-ku-shaq-taq mana kay pacha muna-wa-na-n-paq?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay-a-</td>
<td>‘give desire’</td>
<td>Pashña-nay-a-shunki.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.4.1.1 Factive -cha

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

(1) Maman kanan qatracharunqa pawakatrashpa. AMV
  mama-n kanan qatra-cha-ru-nqa pawa-katrap-shpa
  mother-3 now dirty-FACT-URGT-3.FUT jump-FREQ-SUBIS
  ‘Now his mother is going to make it dirty jumping.’

(2) Hatunchangqatri kay. AMV
  hatun-cha-nqa-tri kay
  big-FACT-3.FUT DEM.P
  ‘This one is going to make it big.’

(3) Cañeteman allicharachimunki kaypitr siguranaykipaqqa. LT
  Cañete-man alli-cha-ra-chi-mu-nki kay-pi-tr
  Cañete-ALL good-FACT-URGT-CAUS-CISL-2 DEM.P-LOC-EVC
  insure-NMLZ-2-PURP-TOP
  ‘You’re going to have that fixed in Cañete to be able to insure yourself here.’

(4) Chayna siruchakurun. AMV
  chayna siru-cha-ku-ru-n
  thus hill-FACT-REFL-URGT-3
  ‘It formed a hill like that.’

(5) Partichaykuptinqa chaki, chaki. AMV
  parti-cha-yku-pty-n-qa chaki chaki
  parts-FACT-EXCEP-SUBDS-3-TOP dry dry
  ‘When she breaks it into parts – dry, dry!’

(6) Kustalchayyan papatam. AMV
  kustal-cha-ya-n papa-ta-m
  sack-FACT-PROG-3 potato-ACC-EVD
  ‘She’s bagging potatoes.’
4 Verbs

(7) Chay turutaqa llampuchaykun chay yubuchanman. AMV
chay turu-ta-qa llampu-cha-yku-n chay yubu-cha-n-man
DEM.D bull-ACC-TOP llampu-FACT-EXCEP-3 DEM.D yoke-DIM-3-ALL
‘They put llampu on his little yoke.’

4.4.1.2 Reflexive -ku

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

(1) Misakun. Manam kasunchu misata. AMV
misa-ku-n mana-m kasu-n-chu misa-ta
mass-REFL-3 no-EVD pay.attention-3-NEG mass-ACC
‘She’s making [holding] mass. They don’t pay attention to mass.’

(2) Hirakurun. ACH
hira-ku-ru-n
herranza-REFL-URGT-3
‘They made [held] an herranza.’

(3) Walakuykurushaq. AMV
wala-ku-yku-ru-shaq
skirt-REFL-EXCEP-URGT-1FUT
‘I’m going to put on my skirt.’

(4) Manash wayatakunchikchu. AMV
mana-sh wayta-ku-nchik-chu
no-EVR flower-REFL-1PL-NEG
‘We don’t put flowers on our hats [on All Saints’ Day], they say.’

(5) Kumudakurun. AMV
kumuda-ku-ru-n
comfortable-REFL-URGT-3
‘He’s made himself comfortable.’
4.4 Verb derivation

(6) ¡Kurriy! Qillakuyankitrari. LT
kurri-y qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari
run-IMP lazy-REFL-PROG-2-EVC-ARI
‘Run! You must be getting lazy.’

-ku derivation is very productive and can be idiosyncratic (llulla-ku ‘tell a lie’, midida-ku ‘measure’) (7), (8).

(7) Manam mansuchu yatran waqrauyta. AMV
mana-m mansu-chu yatra-n waqra-ku-y-ta
no-EVD tame-NEG know-3 horn-REFL-INF-ACC
‘He’s not tame – he can [gore] people.’

(8) Karruwan ... sillakuykushpam riyanchik. SP
karru-wan sill-ku-yku-shpa-m ri-ya-nchik
bus-INSTR seat-REFL-EXCEP-EVD go-PROG-1PL
‘In a car ... [it’s like] we’re riding horseback in a saddle.’

4.4.1.3 Simulative -tuku

Suffixing to nouns, -tuku derives verbs with the meaning ‘to pretend to be N’ or ‘to become N’ (maqta-tuku- ‘pretend to be a young man’) (1–3).

(1) Chay ukucha kasa maqtatukushpa. AMV
chay ukucha ka-sa maqta-tuku-shpa
DEM.D mouse be-PST young.man-SIMUL-SUBIS
‘It was a mouse pretending to be a man.’

(2) ¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Qam ingañamalanki qalitukushpa! CH
sinvirgwinsa qam ingaña-ma-la-nki qali-tuku-shpa
shameless you trick-1.OBJ-PST-2 man-SIMUL-SUBIS
‘Shameless bastard! You fooled me pretending to be a man!’

(3) Wak wañuq wañurun ... asnuqa wañuqtukurun. AMV
wak wañu-q wañu-ru-n asnu-qa wañu-q-tuku-ru-n
DEM.D die-AG die-URGT-3 donkey-TOP die-AG-SIMUL-URGT-3
‘That “dead” one died ... the donkey had pretended to be dead.’

The structure appears primarily – indeed, almost exclusively – in the corpus in the context of a very popular genre of stories in which an animal dresses up, pretending to be a man, to trick a girl.
4 Verbs

4.4.1.4 Inchoative -ya

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

1) Puntrawaṟuyaruptin qa. LT
   punraw-ya-ru-pto-qa
   day-1PL-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP
   ‘When it becomes day [dawns].’

2) Hukya ruptin. LT
   huk-ya-ru-ni
   one-1PL-URGT-1
   ‘I joined them.’

3) Siyrtumpimik chay rumikunamik yanayasa kayan. AMV
   siyrtumpi-mi-k chay rumi-kuna-mi-k yana-ya-sa ka-ya-n
   certainly-PL-3-1PL-3.SG-PROG be-PROG-3
   ‘It’s true – even the stones will turn black there.’

4) “Manam wamraykija alliyanqachu”, nini. LT
   mana-m wamra-yki-qa alli-ya-nqa-chu ni-ni
   no-PL child-2-3.TOP good-3.FUT-NEG say-1
   “Your son isn’t going to get better,” I said.

5) Duruyarunña. Duruyaruptin hurqunchik wankuman. AMV
   duru-ya-ru-n-ña duru-ya-ru-pto-n hurqu-nchik
   hard-1PL-URGT-3-DISC hard-1PL-URGT-SUBDS-3 remove-1PL
   wanku-man mold-ALL
   ‘It’s already hard. When it gets hard, take it out [and put it] in the mold.’

6) Chay wańurtiptikiqwa, ¿pima qawashunki? ¿Yasqayańurtiptikiqwa? ACH
   chay wańu-pto-ki-qa pi-m-a qawa-shunki
   DEM.D die-URGT-SUBDS-2-TOP who-URGT-EMPH see-3.SG-PROG
   yasqa-ya-ru-pto-qi-qa
   old-1PL-URGT-SUBDS-2-TOP
   ‘When you die, who’s going to see to you? Or when you get old?’
4.4 Verb derivation

4.4.1.5 ‘To do’ na-

na-, following a demonstrative pronoun, yields a transitive verb meaning ‘to be thus’ (1), (2) or ‘to do thus’ (3).

(1) Mana hampichiptikiqa chaynanqam. AMV
mana hampi-chi-pti-ki qa chay-na-nqa-m
na cure-CAUS-SUBDS-2-TOP DEM.D-VRBZ-3.FUT-EVD
‘If you don’t have her cured, it’s going to be like that.’

(2) Qayna puntraw chaynan pararun tardi usyarirun. AMV
qayna puntraw chay-na-n para-ru-n tardi
previous day DEM.D-VRBZ-3 rain-URGT-3 afternoon
usya-ri-ru-n
clear-INCEP-URGT-3
‘Yesterday it was like that – it rained and in the afternoon and it cleared up.’

(3) Mana apuraw alliyananchikpaqmi, qatra shakash chaynan. AMV
mana apuraw alli-ya-na-nchik-paq-mi qatra shakash
no quickly good-INC-NMLZ-1PL-PURP-EVD dirty guinea.pig
chay-na-n
DEM.D-VRBZ-3
‘So that we don’t get better quickly, the filthy guinea pig goes like that.’

Following the interrogative indefinite ima ‘what’, na- derives the transitive verb imana-, meaning ‘to do something’ (4), (5), ‘to happen to’ (6).

(4) Chay mamakuqa yataykun. ¿Imanannqataq? Yataykachin. ACH
chay mamaku-qa yata-yku-n ima-na-nqa-taq
DEM.D grandmother-TOP touch-EXCEP-3 what-VRBZ-3.FUT-SEQ
yata-yka-chi-n
touch-EXCEP-CAUS-3
‘The old woman touched [their arms]. What are they going to do?
They let her touch their arms.’
4 Verbs


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

(6) ¿Wawayta imanaruntri? ACH wawa-y-ta ima-na-ru-n-tri

‘What would have happened to my son?’

4.4.1.6 Sensual and psychological necessity naya-

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

(1) Pashña nayashunki. † AMV pashña-naya-shu-nki
girl-DESR-2.OBJ-2

‘You want a girl.’

(2) Mishkinayarawan. AMV mishki-naya-ru-wa-n

fruit-DESR-URGT-1.OBJ-3

‘I want to eat fruit.’

(3) “Yakunaya wanmi”, nin runaqa. Chayshi wamranta nin, “¡Yakuta apamuy!” LT yaku-naya-wa-n-mi ni-n runa-qa chayshi wamra-n-ta water-DESR-1.OBJ-3-EVD say-n person-TOP DEM.D-EVR child-3-ACC ni-n yaku-ta apa-mu-y say-3 water-ACC bring-CISL-IMP

‘The person said, “I’m thirsty.” So he said to his child, “Bring water!”’
4.4 Verb derivation

4.4.2 Verbs derived from verbs

A set of eighteen suffixes derives verbs from verbs. They are: -cha, -chi, -ka, -katra, -kU, -lla, -mu, -nakU, -naya, -pa, -pa(:)kU, -pU, -Ra, -Ra, -RU, -shi, -tamu, and -YkU.

-chi (causative) derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause V’ or ‘permit V’ (wañu-chi- ‘kill’ (lit. ‘make die’)). Compounded with reflexive -ku, -chi derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause oneself to V’ or ‘cause oneself to be V-ed’ (yanapa-chi-ku- ‘get oneself helped’).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-Ra (persistence) derives verbs with the meaning ‘continue to V’ (qawa-ra- ‘look at persistently’); compounded with -ya (intensive) -raya derives passive
4 Verbs

from transitive verbs; that is, -raya derives verbs meaning ‘be V-ed’ (wata-raya- ‘be tied’).

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

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

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

tamu (irreversible) indicates a change of state that is irreversible (wañu-tamu- ‘die’).

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

Table 4.29 lists the VV derivational suffixes; associated examples are fully glossed in the corresponding sections.

Of the eighteen, arguably only four – causative -chi, reflexive -ku, reciprocal -nakU, and desierative -naya – actually change the root’s theta structure and derive new lexical items. The rest specify mode and/or aspect and/or otherwise function adverbially.

The analyses of §4.4.2.1 identify some of the more common possible interpretations of these suffixes. That said, the interpretations given are hardly exhaustive or definitive, not least because each generally includes multiple vectors. §4.4.2.3 looks at each of these suffixes in turn. -ya (continuative), also VV derivative suffix, was treated above in §4.3.6.1.

4.4.2.1 Distribution of VV derivational suffixes

The default order of VV derivational suffixes is given in Table 4.30. Although this order is generally rigid, some suffixes show optional order when appearing consecutively. Causative -chi is likely the most mobile; change in its placement results in a change in verb meaning (wañu-chi-naya-wa-n ‘it makes me want to kill’ wañu-naya-chi-wa-n ‘it makes me feel like I want to die’ (example from Albó (1964), as cited in Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 284). -chi and continuative -ya regularly commute (1), (2), as do exceptional -ykU and reflexive -kU (3), (4).
Table 4.29: Verb-verb derivational suffixes, with examples

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

Table 4.30: Default order of modal suffixes

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

(1) *Llamputa mikuykayachin shakashta. AMV
llampu-ta miku-yka-ya-chi-n shakash-ta
llampu-ACC eat-EXCEP-PROG-CAUS-3 guinea.pig-ACC
‘He’s making the guinea pig eat the llampu.’

(2) *Mana suliyasa kapinga wakta suliyachiyanchik. AMV
mana suliya-sa ka-pti-n-qa wak-ta suliya-chi-ya-nchik
no sun-PRF subds-3-TOP DEM.D-ACC sun-CAUS-PROG-1PL
‘When it hasn’t been sunned, we sun it.’

(3) *Ima kuchilluwanpis imawanpis apuntaykukushpa kayhina
kurriyamun. ACH
ima kuchillu-wan-pis ima-wan-pis apunta-yku-ku-shpa
what knife-INSTR-ADD what-INSTR-ADD point-EXCEP-REFL-SUBIS
kay-hina kurri-ya-mu-n
DEM.P-COMP run-PROG-CISL-3
‘With a knife or whatever, taking aim [at us] they’re running like this.’

(4) *ñuqanchikqa paraptin uvhanchik yatanpuñunchik muntita
mashtakujkushpam, ukunchikta yaku riptin. AMV
ñuqa-nchik-qa para-pti-n uviha-nchik yata-n-pi puñu-nchik
I-1PL-TOP rain-SUBDS sheep-1PL side-3-LOC sleep-1PL
munti-ta mashta-ku-uku-shpa m uku-nchik-ta yaku
brush-ACC spread-REFL-EXCEP-SUBIS-EVD below-1PL-ACC water
ri-pti-n
go-SUBDS-3
‘When it rains, we spread out brush and sleep next to our sheep –
when the water goes below us.’

Some combinations are not possible. Although some combinations are, arguably,
precluded for pragmatic reasons (i.e., they would denote highly unlikely or even
impossible states or events), the exclusion of others begs other accounts (5).

(5) *kumudashikuyan *kumudakushiy an AMV
*kumuda-shi-ku-ya-n *kumuda-ku-shi-ya-n
comfortable-ACMP-REFL-PROG-3 comfortable-REFL-ACMP-PROG-3
‘They accompanied getting comfortable.’
4.4 Verb derivation

4.4.2.2 Morphophonemics

In SYQ, as in other Quechuan languages, the first-person-object suffix -ma (1) and the cislocative suffix -mu (2) trigger the lowering of a preceding vowel -U- to -a-; causative suffix -chi does so as well when it precedes -kU, -RU, or -ykU (3). Table 4.31 displays the pattern of morphophonemic alterations in SYQ.

Table 4.31: VV derivational suffixes – morphophonemics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Realized as</th>
<th>Before</th>
<th>Elsewhere as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kU</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ma₁,OBJ</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pU</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-ma₁,OBJ</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-RU</td>
<td>-Ra</td>
<td>-ma₁,OBJ</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ykU</td>
<td>-yka</td>
<td>-ma₁,OBJ</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Chay gwardya paqarinnintaq kaypaq trayaramun. SP
    chay  gwardya  paqarin-n-taq  kay-paq
    DEM.D  police  tomorrow-URGT-3-SEQ  DEM.P-LOC
    arrive-URGT-CISL-3
    ‘The next day the police arrived here.’

(2) Makiyta ñuqaqa paqa karamu niñam. AMV
    maki-y-ta  ñuqa-qa  paqa-ka-ra-mu-ni-ña-m
    hand-1-ACC  I-TOP  wash-REFL-URGT-CISL-1-DISC-EVD
    ‘I’ve already washed my hands.’

(3) Wirayakachishpam qamtaqa mikushunki. ACH
    wira-ya-yka-chi-shpa-m  qam-ta-qa  miku-shunki
    fat-INCH-EXCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-EVD  you-ACC-TOP  eat-3>2
    ‘After she’s fattened you up, she’s going to eat you.’

Additionally, in SYQ, both -pU and -kU trigger vowel lowering, the first with -RU (4) and -ykU (5), and the second with -RU (6) and -pU.
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(4) Tapumuptin traskirapamuway hinashpa allicharapuway. AMV
tapu-mu-ptyn traski-ra-pa-mu-wa-y hinashpa
ask-CISL-SUBDS-3 accept-UNINT-BEN-CISL-1.OBJ-IMP then
alli-cha-ra-pu-wa-y
good-FACT-UNINT-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP
‘When he asks, receive it for me then put it in order it for me.’

(5) Chaytatrik indikaykapuwanki. AMV
chay-ta-tri-k indika-yka-pu-wa-nki
DEM.D-ACC-EVC-IK indicate-EXCEP-BEN-1.OBJ-2
‘You’re going to point that out to me.’

(6) Wak warmiqa wawapakurusam. AMV
wak warmi-qa wawa-pa-ku-ru-sa-m
DEM.D woman-TOP give.birth-MUTBEN-URGT-NPST-EVD
‘That woman gave birth to an illegitimate child.’

W. Adelaar (p.c.) points out that that “the morphophomemic vowel lowering presented [here] is not locally restricted.” In miku-yka-ya-chi-n, for example, he writes, -ykU- is apparently modified to -yka- under the influence of a non-adjacent suffix -chi-, and in ushtichi-ka-la-mu-y, -kU is apparently modified to -ka under the influence of the non-adjacent -mu. In these and similar cases, SYQ patterns with the Central Peruvian QI, he writes. He suggests that this non-local vowel lowering may be an archaic feature since Southern Peruvian Quechua does not have it.

4.4.2.3 Individual derivational and complementary suffixes

4.4.2.3.1 -cha Diminutive. -cha indicates action performed by a child or in the manner of a child (1) or action of little importance.

(1) Chay willkayta uchuklla pukllacha yan qawaykuni. AMV
chay willka-y-ta uchuk-l-la puklla-cha-ya-n qawa-yku-ni
DEM.D grandson-1-ACC small-RSTR play-DIM-PROG-3 look-EXCEP-1
‘I look. My little grandson is playing.’

It may also indicate an affectionate attitude on the part of the speaker (2), (3). Not attested in the CH dialect.
4.4 Verb derivation

(2) ¿Imatataq ruwayan pay? Grabachay. AMV  
ima-ta-taq ruwa-ya-n pay graba-cha-ya-n  
what-ACC-SEQ make-PROG-3 she record-DIM-PROG-3  
‘What is she doing? Recording.’

(3) Kanan nasicharamunña. AMV  
kanan nasi-cha-ra-mu-n-ña  
now be.born-DIM-URGT-CISL-DISC-DISC  
‘She’s already born now.’

4.4.2.3.2 Causative -chi, -chi-ku  -chi indicates that the subject causes or permits an action on the part of another participant; that is, -chi derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause to V’ (1–4).

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

(2) ¿Imash waqa-chishunki? ¿Ayvis waqankichu? ACH  
ima-sh waqa-chi-shu-nki ayvis waqa-nki-chu  
what-EVR cry-CAUS-2.OBJ-2 sometimes cry-2-Q  
‘What makes you cry, she asks? Do you cry sometimes?’

(3) Ishchallataña shutuykachiyma, ¿aw? AMV  
ishcha-lla-ta-ña shutu-yka-chi-y-man aw  
a.little-RSTR-ACC-DISC drip-EXCEP-CAUS-1-COND yes  
‘I have to make it drip just a little, right?’

(4) Nakayachiwanmi. AMV  
ña-ka-y-chi-wa-n-mi  
suffer-PROG-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-EVD  
‘He’s making me suffer.’

Compounded with reflexive -ku, -chi indicates that the actor causes him/herself to act or causes or permits another to act on him/her (5), (6).
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(5) Chirirushpaqa manañam llushtichikunchu. AMV
    chiri-ru-shpa-qa mana-ña-m llushtichiku-n-chu
cold-URGT-SUBIS-QA no-DISC-EVD skin-CAUS-REFL-3-NEG
    ‘When it’s cold, it doesn’t let itself be [=can’t be] skinned any more.’

(6) Yanapachikunki. AMV
    yanapa-chi-ku-nki
help-CAUS-REFL-2
    ‘You’re going to get yourself helped.’

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

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

(2) Pasaypaq punkisa purirqa. Qapari-ka-shtin ri-n ninmi. AMV
    pasaypaq punki-sa puri-rqa qapari-ka-shtin ri-n
    completely swell-PRF walk-PST shout-PASSACC-SUBADV go-3
    ni-n-mi
    say-3-EVD
    ‘He was walking totally swollen. He was shouting [despite himself].’

(3) Suyñukayanchik runallata fiyullataña. ACH
    suyñu-ka-ya-nchik runa-lla-ta fiyu-lla-ta-ña
dream-PASSACC-PROG-IPL person-RSTR-ACC ugly-RSTR-ACC-DISC
    ‘We’re having terrible dreams [nightmares] about the people.’

(4) Wakhina lliw lliw tumbakarushpa ... AMV
    wak-hina lliw lliw tumba-ka-ru-shpa
dem.d-comp all all fall-PASSACC-URGT-SUBIS
    ‘All of them, falling down like that ...’
4.4 Verb derivation

(5)  
Achka luna huntalamusha. Taytalla:qa kallipa pulikusha ashi kayan tayta:-taq. CH
achka luna hunta-la-mu-sha tayta-lla:-qa kalli-pa
a.lot person gather-URGT-CISL-TK father-RSTR-1-TOP street-LOC
puli-ku-sha ashi-ka-ya-n tayta-:-ta-qa
walk-REFL-NPST laugh-PASSACC-PROG-3 father-1-ACC-TOP
‘A lot of people had gathered. My father was walking in the street and they made fun of him.’

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

(1)  
Qawakatrayan. AMV
qawa-katra-ya-n
look-FREQ-PROG-3
‘She’s staring’, ‘She’s looking around.’

(2)  
Mana wayrakunaykipaq kaynacham apakatrapunki. AMV
mana wayra-ku-na-yki-paq kayna-cha-m apa-katra-ku-nki
no wind-REFL-NMLZ-2-PURP thus-DIM-EVD bring-FREQ-REFL-2
‘So that you don’t get bad air [sick], you’ll carry along some just like this.’

(3)  
Killantin killantin maskani tapukatrashta. AMV
killa-ntin killa-ntin maska-ni tapu-katra-shpa
month-INCL month-INCL search.for-1 ask-FREQ-SUBIS
‘I looked for him for months and months, asking and asking.’

(4)  
Wak maqtaqa pukllayta atipanchu, qay. Yangam saytakatrayan. AMV
wak maqta-qa puklla-ya-ta atipa-n-chu qay yanga-m
DEM.D young.man-TOP play-INF-ACC be.able-3-NEG hey in.vain-EVD
sayta-katra-ya-n
kick-FREQ-PROG-3
‘That boy can’t play [ball], eh. In vain, he’s kicking and kicking.’
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begin-REFL-EXCEP-3
‘It must have heated him up. He shouted and shouted. [Then] he starts to throw up, they say.’

‘Then he called several times, “Grandfather Prudencio! Wait for me! A zombie is coming behind me!”’

4.4.2.3.5 Reflexive, middle, medio-passive, passive -kU -kU indicates that the subject acts on him/herself or that the subject of the verb is the object of the event referred to; that is, -kU derives verbs with the meanings ‘V oneself’ (1-2), and ‘be V-ed’ (3).

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

(2) *Kundinakurushpa chay pashña kaqta trayaramun.* AMV kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta condemn-REFL-URGT-SUBIS DEMD girl be-AG-ACC tray-ar-ra-mu-n arrive-URGT-CISL-3
‘Condemning himself [becoming a zombie], he arrived at the girl’s place at night.’
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(3) Manam huyakuku:chu. Manam imapis manchachimanchu. CH
mana-m huya-ku:-chu mana-m ima-pis
no-EVD scare-REFL-1-NEG no=EVD what-ADD
mancha-chi-ma-n-chu
scare-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-NEG
‘I’m not scared. Nothing scares me.’

-kU often functions as a dative of interest, indicating that the subject has some particular interest in the event referred to (4), (5).

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

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

-kU is used with impersonal weather verbs (6); it can indicate completed action (a completed or more or less irreversible change of state) (7) (see §4.3.6.3 on perfective -ku), and excess of action (8), (9).

(6) Wayrakuyanmari. Wayrakuyan, qasakuyan, rupakuyan. AMV
wayra-ku-ya-n-m-ari wayra-ku-ya-n qasa-ku-ya-n
wind-REFL-PROG-3-EVD-ARI wind-REFL-PROG-3 ice-REFL-PROG-3
rupa-ku-ya-n
burn-REFL-PROG-3
‘It’s windy. It’s windy, it’s freezing, it’s hot.’

(7) Traputaqa aparikushpa pasakun. SP
traru-qa apa-ri-ku-shpa pasa-ku-n
rag-ACC-TOP bring-INCEP-REFL-SUBIS pass-REFL-3
‘Taking along the rag, she left.’

(8) Kashtukuyan. AMV
kashtu-ku-ya-n
chew-REFL-PROG-3
‘He’s chewing a lot.’
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(9) *Tilivisyunta likakuyan. Manam ſuqakunaqa gustamanchu chayqa tantu*. ch

_tilivisyun-ta_ lika-ku-ya-n    mana-m ſuqa-kuna-qa
_television-ACC_ look.at-refl-prog-3 no-evd I-pl-top
gusta-ma-n-chu chay-qa tantu
be.pleasing-1.obj-3-neg dem.d a.lot

‘They’re watching television [a lot]. We don’t like that too much.’

-ku appears in reflexive verbs borrowed from Spanish, translating the Spanish pronouns *me, te, se*, and *nos* (10), (11).

(10) *Manañam kwintakuchuwanchu. LT*

mana-ña-m kwinta-ku-chuwan-chu
no-disc-evd realize-refl-1pl.cond-neg

‘We can no longer realize it.’ Sp. ‘*Ya no podemos darnos cuenta*’.

(11) *Iṣkapakashaq maymanpis. ch*

iskapa-ku-shaq may-man-pis
escape-refl-1.fut where-all-add

‘I’m going escape to wherever.’ Sp. ‘*Me voy a escapar*’.

When it precedes either of the derivational suffixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional suffix -ma, -kU is realized as -ka (4).

4.4.2.3.6 Restrictive, limitative _-lla_  -lla indicates that the event referred to remains limited to itself and is not accompanied by other events (1), (2).

(1) *Wak runaqa wama wamaqtam piliyakullan. AMV*

wak runa-qa wama wamaq-ta-m piliya-ku-lla-n
dem.d person-top a.lot a.lot-acc-evd fight-refl-rstr-3

‘Those people fight too much, do nothing but fight.’

(2) *Alkansaptin, “Suyaykullaaway!” nishpa. AMV*

alkansa-pti-n, suya-ykula-ya-wa-y ni-shpa
reach-subds-3 wait-excep-restr-imp say-subis

‘When he reached her, he said, “Just wait for me!”’

It may also express (a) an affectionate or familiar attitude toward the event (3), (4), (b) regret with regard to the event (5), (6), or (c) pity for event participants (7).
4.4 Verb derivation

(3) *Fiystapa tushukunki. Kanan irransa kakullanqatriki.* AMV

fiysta-pa tushu-ku-nki kanan irransa
festival-LOC dance-REFL-2 now herranza
ka-ku-lla-nqa-tri-ki
be-REFL-RSTR-3.FUT-EVC-IKI

‘You’ll dance at the festival. Now there’s going to be an herranza, for sure.’

(4) *Aspirinakunata qayna puntraw apamulla wan qaquwan trakiyta.* AMV

aspirina-kuna-ta qayna puntraw apa-mu-lla-wa-n
aspirin-PL-ACC previous day bring-CISL-RSTR-1.OBJ-3
qaqu-wa-n traki-y-ta
massage-1.OBJ-3 foot-1-ACC

‘She brought me aspirin and everything yesterday and she rubbed my foot.’

(5) *Shunquy hunta llakiyuqtam saqillasqayki; ñawiy hunta wiqiyuqtaq dihallasqayki.* AMV

shunqu-y hunta llaki-yuq-ta-m saqi-lla-sqayki ñawi-y
heart-1 full sorrow-POSS-ACC-EVD leave-RSTR-1>2.FUT eye-1
hunta wiqi-yuq-ta-m diha-lla-sqayki
full tear-POSS-ACC-EVD leave-RSTR-1>2.FUT

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

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

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

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

(7) Chay wawakuna kidan hukvida tristi sapan. Runapam makinpaña yatrakullan. ACH
chay wawa-kuna kid-a-n hukvida tristi sapa-n runa-pa-m
DEM.D baby-PL stay-3 a.lot sad alone-3 person-GEN-EVD
maki-n-paña yatra-ku-lla-n
hand-3-LOC-DISC live-REFL-RSTR-3
‘Those children remain really sad, alone. They live out of other people’s hands.’

Other interpretations are also available (8).

(8) Qariqarillaraqchu qariqarillaraqmi niytaq niyallan hinashpa wañukun. SP
qari-qari-lla-raq-chu qari-qari-lla-raq-mi ni-y-taq
man-man-RSTR-CONT-Q man-man-RSTR-CONT-EVD say-IMP-SEQ
ni-ya-lla-n hinashpa wañu-ku-n
say-PROG-RSTR-3 then die-REFL-3
‘“Still brave and strong?” “Yes, still brave and strong!” he said for the sake of saying and died.’

4.4.2.3.7 -mu In the case of verbs involving motion, -mu indicates motion toward the speaker (1), (2) or toward a place which is indicated by the speaker (3–5).

(1) Ishkay killanta papaniy kartata pachimuwan wañukusanña. AMV
ishkay killa-n-ta papa-ni-y karta-ta pachi-mu-wa-n
two month-3-ACC father-EUPH-1 letter-ACC send-CISL-1.OBJ-3
wañu-ku-sa-n-ña
die-REFL-PRF-3-DISC
‘Two months later, my father sent me a letter that [the vicuña] had died.’

(2) Navidad ninchik trayamuptinga tushukunchik. CH
navidad-ni-nchik traya-mu-hti-n-qa tushu-ku-ndo
Christmas-EUPH-1PL arrive-CISL-SUBDS-3-TOP dance-REFL-1PL
‘When our Christmas comes, we dance.’

(3) Yuraq kaballuqa yuraq vakata arrastramusa. AMV
yuraq kaballu-qa yuraq vaka-ta arrastra-mu-sa
white horse-TOP white cow-ACC drag-CISL-NPST
‘A white horse was dragging along a white cow.’
4.4 Verb derivation

(4) Ladirankunapaq rumipis hinkuyamuntri. ACH
ladira-n-kuna-paq rumi-pis hinku-ya-mu-n-tri-ki
hillside-3-PL-ABL stone-ADD roll-PROG-CISL-3-EVC-1KI
‘Stones, too, must be rolling down from the hillsides.’

(5) Kanan wichayta riya: uvihaman. Uviha:ta michimushaq. SP
kanan wichay-ta ri-ya-: uviha-man uviha-:-ta
now up.hill-ACC go-PROG-1 sheep-ALL sheep-1-ACC
michi-mu-shaq
herd-CISL-1.FUT
‘Now I’m going up hill to my sheep. I’m going to herd my sheep.’

In the case of verbs that do not involve motion, -mu may have various senses. These may have in common that they all add a vector of movement to the action named by the V and, further, that such movement is away from ego, as an anonymous reviewer suggests (6), (7).

(6) Lichita mañakaramuy tiuykipa. LT
 lichi-ta maña-ka-ra-mu-y tiyu-yki-pa
 milk-ACC ask-REFL-URGT-CISL-IMP uncle-2-LOC
‘Go ask your uncle for milk.’

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

4.4.2.3.8 Reciprocal -nakU -nakU indicates that two or more actors act reciprocally on each other; that is, -nakU derives verbs with the meaning ‘V each other’ (1–3).

(1) ¿Wakpaq pantyunpa pampaнакунман? AMV
 wak-paq pantyun-pa pampa-naku-n-man
 DEM.D-ABL cemetery-LOC bury-RECP-3-COND
‘Can people there bury each other in the cemetery?’
4 Verbs

(2) Kaypaqmá kay visinukuna piliyakullan hukvidata dinunsiyanakun maqa-nakun. ACH
kay-paq-m-á kay visinu-kuna piliya-ku-l-la-n
DEMP-ABL-EVD-EMPH DEMP neighbor-PL fight-REFL-RSTR-3
hukvida-ta dinunsiya-naku-n maqa-naku-n
a.lot-ACC denounce-RECP-3 hit-RECP-3
‘Around here, my neighbors fight a lot. They denounce each other; they hit each other.’

(3) Kikinkunatrik ruwanakun wak pastuta kita-nakushpa. LT
kiki-n-kuna-tri-k ruwa-naku-n wak pastu-ta
self-3-PL-EVC-IK make-RECP-3 DEM.D pasture.grass-ACC
kita-naku-shpa
take.away-RECP-SUBIS
‘They themselves do that to each other, taking that pasture grass from each other.’

-na never appears independently of -kU. -chinakU derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause each other to V’ (4–6). When it precedes either of the derivational suffixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional suffix -ma, -(chi)nakU is realized as -(chi)naka.

(4) Yuyarichinakuyan. AMV
yuya-ri-chi-naku-ya-n
remember-incep-CAUS-RECP-PRG-3
‘They’re making each other remember.’

(5) Kikinkamatr wañuchinakura. Gwardyakunatr wañuchira. ACH
kiki-n-kama-tr wañu-chi-naku-ra gwardya-kuna-tr wañu-chi-ra
self-3-LIM-EVC die-CAUS-RECP-PST police-PL-EVC die-CAUS-PST
‘They must have killed each other themselves.’ (lit. ‘caused e.o. to die’)

(6) Ishkay kimsam. Yatrachinakuykushpa misita watarun kunkanman. ACH
ishkay kimsa-m yatra-chi-naku-yku-shpa misi-ta wata-ru-n
two three-EVD know-CAUS-RECP-EXCEP-SUBIS cat-ACC tie-URGT-3
kunka-n-man
throat-3-ALL
‘Two or three. Teaching each other, they tied cats to their necks.’
(lit. ‘cause e.o. to know’)

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4.4 Verb derivation

4.4.2.3.9 -naya  In combination with a verb stem, V, it yields a compound verb meaning ‘to give the desire to V’ (1–4).

1)  *Tutakuykunña mikunayan lliwña.*  
    *tuta-ku-yku-n-ña miku-naya-n lliw-ña*  
    night-REFL-EXCEP-3-DISC eat-DESR-3 all-DISC  
    ‘Night falls already and he is hungry and everything already.’

2)  *Mashwata mikuptinchik ishpanayaranchik.*  
    *chay riñunninchikta limpiyanshi.*  
    mashwa-ACC miku-pti-nchik ishpna-naya-wa-nchik chay  
    mashwa-ACC eat-SUBDS-1PL urinate-DESR-1.OBJ-1PL DEM.D  
    riñun-ni-nchik-ta limpiya-n-shi  
    kidney-EUPH-1PL-ACC wash-3-EVR  
    ‘When we eat mashua, it makes us want to urinate. It cleans our kidneys, they say.’

3)  *Chayta siguruta watanki Hilda icha tira-nayashpa iskaparunman.*  
    *chay-ta siguru-ta wata-nki Hilda icha tira-naya-shpa*  
    DEM.D-ACC secure-ACC tie-2 Hilda or pull-DESR-SUBIS  
    iskapa-ru-n-man  
    escape-URGT-3-COND  
    ‘Tie it up tight, Hilda, or else, wanting to pull, it could escape.’

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

Particularly with weather verbs, -naya may indicate that the E named by the root V is imminent (5), (6).

5)  *Paranayamun.*  
    *para-naya-mu-n.*  
    rain-DESR-CISL-3  
    ‘It’s about to rain.’
4 Verbs

(6)  Shakashqa wañunayanña. AMV
    shakash qa wañu naya nña
    die TOP die DESR-3-DISC
    ‘The guinea pig is about to die already.’

4.4.2.3.10 Repetitive -pa  -pa indicates repetitive action, deriving verbs with the meaning ‘re-V’ or ‘V again’ or ‘repeatedly V’ (1–6) (yata ‘touch’ → yata pa ‘fondle’). It is unattested in the CH dialect.

(1)  Liyun mikusa. Tuqapaykun. ‘¿Wañusachu kayan?’ nishpa. AMV
    liyun miku sa tuqa pa yku n wañu sa chu ka ya n
    eat NPST spit REPET EXcep 3 dead PRF Q be PROG 3
    ni shpa
    say SUBIS

(2)  Huk puntraw huk tuta nanapashunki. ACH
    huk puntraw huk tuta nana pa shu nki
    one day one night hurt REPET 2 OBJ 2
    ‘One day and one night it’s hurting and hurting you [to give birth].’

(3)  ‘¿Imapaqtan wak yawar yawar kayan?’ diciendo dice qawapaykun. AMV
    ima paq taq wak yawar ka ya n qawa pa yku n
    what PURP SEQ DEM D blood be PROG 3 look REPET EXcep 3
    ‘[They said,] “Why is there this blood, all this blood?” and stared at him.’

(4)  Qawapaykaramushpam. LT
    qawa pa yka ra mu shpa m
    look REPET EXcep URG T CISL SUBIS EVD
    ‘Going to go check it.’

(5)  Warmi ka pti n qa yata pa shpa tr qaqu ya n. AMV
    warmi ka pti n qa yata pa shpa tr qaqu ya n
    woman be SUBDS 3 TOP touch REPET SUBIS EVC rub PROG 3
    ‘If it’s a woman he’ll be fondling her while he massages.’
4.4 Verb derivation


‘Why did you tug/yank at me when I was sleeping peacefully? It scares me.’

When it is compounded with intensive -ya, -pa indicates uninterrupted action; that is, -paya derives verbs meaning ‘continue to V’ (7).


‘Is it still playing? Or does it want to bite?’

4.4.2.3.11 -pU -pU indicates that an action is performed on behalf (1), (2) – or to the detriment – of someone other than the subject.

(1) Chayllapa priparapunki. AMV chay-lla-pa pripara-pu-nki DEM.D-RESTR-LOC prepare-BEN-2

‘Just there prepare it [for her].’

(2) “¡Hinata risarapuway! Pagashaykim,” niwan. LT hina-ta risa-ra-pu-wa-y paga-shayki-m ni-wa-n thus-ACC pray-UNINT-BEN-1.OBJ-IMP pay-1>2.FUT-EVD say-1.OBJ-3

‘He said to me, “Pray for me like that! I’ll pay you.”’

When it precedes either of the derivational suffixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional suffix -ma, -pU is realized as -pa (3), (4).


‘Hilda, go and buy me a cigarette so he can smoke while he’s coming back.’
4 Verbs

(4) “¡Gwardapamanki! ¡Gwardapamanki!” niman. CH

gwarda-pa-ma-nki  gwarda-pa-ma-nki  ni-ma-n
save-BEN-1.OBJ-2  save-BEN-1.OBJ-2  say-1.OBJ-3

‘He said to me, “Save it **for me**! Save it **for me**!”’

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

(1) Kutiramushpaqa kapastri taripa:kunman karqa. AMV

kuti-ra-mu-shpa-qa  kapas-tri  tari-pa:ku-n-man
return-URGT-CISL-SUBIS-TOP  perhaps-EVC  find-JTACT-URGT-COND

ka-rqa
be-PST

‘If they had returned maybe they would have found him.’

(2) Kayna hapipakunchik. ACH

kayna  hap-i-paku-nchik
thus  grab-JTACC-1PL

‘Like this. We hold on [to the woman to help her give birth].’

(3) Pasan. Lliw lliw ripa:kuyan. Sapalla: kashaq. SP

pasa-n  lliw  lliw  ri-paku-ya-n  sapa-lla:-  ka-shaq
go-JTACC-PROG-3  all  all  alone-RSTR-1  be-BE-1.FUT

‘They’re leaving. All [of them] are going. I’m going to be all alone.’

(4) Chayshik chay susiyukuna ruwapakurqa chay nichutanta. AMV

chay-shi-k  chay  susiyu-kuna  ruwa-paku-rqa  chay
DEM.D-EVR-K  DEM.D  associate-REFL  MAKE-MUTBEN-PST  DEM.D

nichu-ta-n-ta
CRYPT-ACC-3-ACC

‘That’s why, they say, before, the members made the crypts **together**.’

(5) Kukakunata akupakunchik. Kustumbrinchikmi. AMV

kuka-kuna-ta  aku-paku-nchik  kustumbr-i-nchik-mi
coca-PL-ACC  chew-MUTBEN-1PL  custom-1PL-EVD

‘We chew coca [**together**]. It’s our custom.’
4.4 Verb derivation

(6) *Uqaktam talpupa:kuya:* CH
    *uqa-kta-m talpu-pa:ku-ya-:
    oca-ACC-EVD plant-JTACC-PROG-1
    ‘We’re planting oca.’

(7) *Kañapa:kurqani rupanta.* Comp. *Kañapakurqanchik.* AMV
    *kaña-paku-rqa-ni rupa-n-ta kaña-paku-rqa-nchik*
    burn-JTACC-PST-1 clothes--3-ACC burn-JTACC-PST-1PL
    ‘We’ve been burning her clothes.’ ‘We have burned [for someone else].’

4.4.2.3.13 Mutual benefit –pakU

- pakU indicates actions performed outside the scope of original planning (1–3) as well as actions performed as a means or preparation for something else more important (including all remunerated labor) (4–6).

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

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

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

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

(5) Kay siyrapqa pasiyapaku: michipaku: sp
kay siyra-pa-qa pasiya-paku-: michi-paku-:
dem.p mountain-loc-top walk-mutben-1 herd-mutben-1
‘In these mountains, I pasture, I herd [for others].’

(6) Karruwanñatr kanan imatapis rantipaku yan chay llamayuqkuna alpakayuqkuna. ach
karru-wan-ña-tr kanan ima-ta-pis ranti-paku-ya-n
car-instr-disc-evc now what-acc-add buy-mutben-prog-3
chay llama-yuq-kuna alpaka-yuq-kuna
dem.d llama-poss-pl alpaca-poss-pl
‘Now the people with llamas and the people with alpacas must be buying everything [in order to sell it] with a car.’

When it precedes either of the derivational suffixes -mu or -chi or the inflectional suffix -ma, -pakU is realized as -paka (7).

(7) Sibadata takapakaramushaq waway machka mikunanpaq. amv
sibada-ta taka-paka-ra-mu-shaq wawa-y machka
barley-acc beat-mutben-cisl-1.fut baby-1 cereal.meal
miku-na-n-paq
eat-nmlz-3-purp
‘I’m going to thresh barley [for someone else] so my children can eat toasted barley.’

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

(1) Rinki qaqaman tiyarachishunki. sp
ri-nki qaqa-man tiya-ra-chi-shu-nki
go-2 cliff-all sit-unint-caus-2.obj-2
‘You’ll go to the cliff and he’ll make you sit and sit [stay] there.’

(2) Durasnu ... llullu mashtarakuyan. lt
durasnu llullu mashta-ra-ku-ya-n
peach unripe spread.out-unint-refl-prog-3
‘Peaches ... They’re spread out unripe.’
4.4 Verb derivation

(3) **Qawarayamun pashñeqa ura-ta.** LT

qawa-ra-ya-mu-n
look-UNINT-INTENS-CISL-3
girl-TOP

pashñeqa
girl-TOP

ura-ta
hour-ACC

‘The girl kept checking the time.’

In combination with intensive -ya, -Ra derives passive verbs from active verbs (4–7).

(4) **Qaqapa ismu kundurlla warkurayan.** AMV

qaaqa-pa ismu kundur-lla
cliff-LOC

warku-ra-ya-n
rotted condor-RSTR

hang-UNINT-INTENS-3

‘A rotten condor is hanging from a cliff, they say.’

(5) **Pwintikama trayaruptin huk mamakucha traqnarayasa pwintipa.** AMV

pwinti-kama traya-ru-pty-n
bridge-ALL

huk mamakucha
one grandmother

traqna-ra-ya-sa
pwinti-pa
bind.limbs-UNINT-INTENS-NPST

bridge-LOC

‘When he arrived at the bridge, an old woman was tied up to the bridge.’

(6) “**Qala tullatam aparun.” “Maypaqtaq chay aparusa?” “Ukllupam trurarayasa.”** SP

qala tulla-ta-m
dog bone-ACC-EVD

apa-ru-n
bring-URGT-3

may-paq-taq
where-ABL-SEQ

dem.D

cha

apa-ru-sa
bring-URGT-NSPT

ukllu-pa-m
store.house-LOC-EVD

trura-ra-ya-sa
put-UNINT-INTENS-NPST

‘The dog took a bone.’ “Where was it taken from?” “It was stored in the store-house.”

(7) **Kamallapaña sapalla: hitarayapti: runa trayaramun.** ACH

kama-lla-pa-ña
bed-RSTR-LOC-DISC

sapa-lla-::
alone-RSTR-1

hita-ra-ya-pty-:
throw.out-UNINT-INTENS-SUBDS-1

runa
person

traya-ra-mu-n
arrive-URGT-CISL-3

‘When I was layed out in bed all alone, a person came.’
4 Verbs

4.4.2.3.15 Inceptive -Ri -Ri, realized -li in Cacra (1), indicates that the event referred to is in its initial stage, that it has not yet concluded (2–4).

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

(2) Pararirunqañam. AMV
para-ri-ru-nqa-ña-m
rain-INCEP-URGT-3.FUT-DISC-EVD
‘It’s starting to rain already.’

(3) Warmikunaqa shinkarishpa takishpam waqan. AMV
warmi-kuna-qa shinka-ri-shpa taki-shpa-m waqa-n
woman-PL-TOP get.drunk-INCEP-SUBIS sing-SUBIS-EVD cry-3
‘When the women start to get drunk and sing, they cry.’

(4) Chaypa kalabasuy chinkariyanñam. LT
chay-pa kalabasu-y chinka-ri-ya-n-ña-m
dem.d-LOC squash-1 lose-INCEP-PROG-3-DISC-EVD
‘My squash there are getting lost.’

-ri is common in apologetic statements and supplicatory commands (5), (6). -li is attested in Carcra but not in Hongos.

(5) ¡Pasakamuy! ¡Tiyarikuy! AMV
pasa-ka-mu-y tiya-ri-ku-y
pass-REFL-CISL-IMP sit-INCEP-REFL-IMP
‘Come in! Please sit down.’

(6) Kaytatr paqarikushun. AMV
kay-ta-tr paqa-ri-ku-shun
dem.d-ACC-EVC pay-INCEP-REFL-1PL.FUT
‘Let’s wash this.’
4.4 Verb derivation

4.4.2.3.16 Urgency, personal interest -RU

-RU is realized as -lU in the ch dialect (4) and as -rU in all others. It has a variety of interpretations, all subsumed, in some grammars of other Quechuan languages, as “action with urgency or personal interest” (1–3).

1. “Mana virdita mikushpaqa lukiyarushaq”, nin. AMV
   mana virdi-ta miku-shpa-qa luki-ya-ru-shaq ni-n
   no green-ACC eat-SUBIS-TOP crazy-INCH-URGT-1.FUT say-3
   ‘They say, “If I don’t eat green [pasture grass], I’m going to go crazy.”’

2. Chay mana rantikuptinqa ... chakirunqa. AMV
   chay mana ranti-ku-pit-qa chaki-ru-nqa
   DEM.D no buy-REFL-SUBDS-3-TOP dry-URGT-3.FUT
   ‘If she doesn’t sell it [right away], it’s going to dry out [and be worthless].’

3. “¡Sinvirgwinsa! ¡Ñuqaqa willakurushaqmi gwardyanman tirruku kasaykita!” AMV
   sinvirgwinsa ñuqa-qa willa-ku-ru-shaq-mi gwardyan-man shameless I-TOP tell-REFL-URGT-1.FUT-EVD police-ALL
   tirruku ka-sa-yki-ta
   terrorist be-PRF-2-ACC
   “Shameless bastard! I’m going to tell the police that you were a terrorist!”

It very often marks perfective aspect (4–6) (see §4.3.3.3.1 on past tense marker -RQa).

4. Qali paqwalun allichalul. CH
   qali paqwa-lu-n alli-cha-lu-
   man finish-URGT-3 good-FACT-URGT-1
   ‘The men finished and we fixed it up.’

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

(5) **Chinkarun.** *Ni may risan yatrakunchu.* **ACH**
*chinka-ru-n* ni may *ri-sa-n* *yatra-ku-n-chu*
‘They got lost. We don’t know where they went.’

(6) **Mana chichinanpaq tardi watarun mamanta wawanta kapacharun.** **AMV**
*mana* chichi-na-n-paq *tardi* wata-ru-n *mama-n-ta*
no nurse-NMLZ-3-PURP late tie-URGT-3 mother-3-ACC
*wawa-n-ta* kapacha-ru-n
baby-3-ACC muzzle-URGT-3
‘So that he wouldn’t nurse, she tied up his mother and put a muzzle on her baby.’

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

(7) **Campionchata winarun aytrikurun qarinta mikurachin.** **AMV**
*Campion-cha-ta* wina-ru-n *aytri-ku-ru-n*
Campion.rat.poison-DIM-ACC add.in-URGT-3 stir-REFL-URGT-3
*qari-n-ta* miku-ра-chi-n
man-3-ACC eat-URGT-CAUS-3
‘She threw in the rat poison, stirred it, and made her husband eat it.’

(8) **Chaymi, “¡Kaypaq hurqaramanki kay hawlapaq.”** **SP**
*chay-mi* kay-paq *hurqa-ra-ma-nki* kay *hawla-paq*
DEM.D-EVD DEM.P-ABL remove-URGT-1.OBJ-2 DEM.P cage-ABL
‘So, [he said,] “Take me out of this! [Let me out] of this cage here!”’

4.4.2.3.17 Accompaniment -sHi  
-sHi is realized as -si in the SP dialect (1) and as -shi in all others.

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

-sHi indicates accompaniment for the purpose of aiding or protecting; that is, -sHi derives verbs meaning ‘accompany in V-ing’ (2) or ‘help V’ (3–5).
4.4 Verb derivation

(2) *Manam hamurqachu tiyashiq*. AMV
mana-m hamu-rqa-chu tiya-shi-q
no-EVD come-PST-3-NEG sit-ACMP-AG
“She didn’t come to help sit.”

(3) *Harkashisaykim nin huvin*. AMV
harka-shi-sayki-m ni-n huvin
herd-ACMP-1>2.FUT-EVD say-3 young.man
“I’m going to help you pasture,” the young man said.’

(4) *Hampishirqatrik. ¿Imataq kutichirqa? AMV*
hampi-shi-rqa-tri-k ima-taq kuti-chi-rqa
heal-ACMP-PST-EVC-1K what-SEQ return-CAUS-PST
‘She must have helped cure. What did she offer?’

(5) *Kwidashimanchu. Hapalla: kwidaku: hapalla:. CH*
kwida-shi-ma-n-chu hapa-lla-: kwida-ku-:

hapa-lla-:
care.for-ACMP-1.OBJ-3-NEG alone-RSTR-1 take.care-REFL-1 alone-RSTR-1
‘He didn’t help take care [of the animals]. Alone, I took care of them.
Alone.’

4.4.2.3.18 Irreversible change -tamu -tamu indicates change that is irreversible (1–4). It is very frequently used in the CH dialect but not often spontaneously attested in other dialects.

(1) *Kaman mastakuyashpa kamanpa tiyakuykushpaqa wanütamusha*. CH
kama-n masta-ku-ya-shpa kama-n-pa
bed-3 spread.out-REFL-PROG-SUBIS bed -3-LOC
tiya-ku-yku-shpa-qa wañu-tamu-sha
sit-REFL-EXCEP-SUBIS-TOP die-IRREV-NPST
‘When she was making the bed, when she sat on the bed, she **died**.’

(2) *Wañutamusha qariqa; warmiqa kidarusha*. LT
wañu-tamu-sha qari-qa warmi-qa kida-ru-sha
die-IRREV-NPST man-TOP woman-TOP remain-URGRT-NPST
‘The man **died**; the woman remained.’
4 Verbs

(3) Puchukatamun. AMV
puchuka-tamu-n
finish-IRREV-3
‘It finished off.’

(4) Atuqtaqa ñiti tamu umapaq. AMV
atuq-ta-qa ñiti-tamu-n uma-paq
fox-ACC-TOP crush-IRREV-3 head-ABL
‘They crushed the fox from the head.’

4.4.2.3.19 Intensive -ya, -raya, -paya -ya is dependent; it never occurs independent of -ra or -pa. (see §4.4.2.3.9 and 4.4.2.3.12).
-raya is a detransitivizer, deriving passive from transitive verbs; that is, -raya derives verbs meaning ‘be V-ed’ (1–3).

(1) Pwintikama trayaruptin huk mamakucha traqnarayasa pwintipa. AMV
pwinti-kama traya-ru-pty-n huk mamakucha
bridge-ALL arrive-URGT-SUBDS-3 one grandmother
traqna-ra-ya-sa pwinti-pa
bind.limbs-UNINT-INTENS-NPST bridge-LOC
‘When he arrived at the bridge, an old woman was tied up to the bridge.’

(2) “Qala tullatam aparan.” “¿Maypaqtay chaq aparusa?” “Ukllupam trurarayasa.” SP
qala tulla-ta-m apa-ru-n may-paq-taq chaq
dog bone-ACC-EVD bring-URGT-3 where-ABL-SEQ DEM.D
apa-ru-sa ukllu-pa-m trura-ra-ya-sa
bring-URGT-NSPT store.house-LOC-EVD put-UNINT-INTENS-NPST
“The dog took a bone.” “Where was it taken from?” “It was stored in the store-house.”

(3) Kamallapaña sapalla: hitarayapti: runa trayaramun. ACH
kama-lla-pa-ña sapa-lla-: hita-ra-ya-pty-:
bed-RSTR-LOC-DISC alone-RSTR-1 throw.out-UNINT-INTENS-SUBDS-1
runa traya-ra-mu-n
person arrive-URGT-CISL-3
‘When I was layed out in bed all alone, a person came.’
4.4 Verb derivation

-raya may also indicate persistent or repetitive action (4). (see §4.4.2.3.12 for further examples).

(4) Qawaraymun pashñaqa urata. LT
qawa-ra-ya-mu-n pashñaqa ura-ta
look-UNINT-INTENS-CISL-3 girl-TOP hour-ACC
‘The girl kept checking the time.’

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

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

4.4.2.3.20 Exceptional -YkU -YkU has a broad range of meanings; in early grammars of other Quechuan languages -YkU is said to indicate ‘action performed in some way different from usual’ (1–6).

(1) Pilataykachishpash baliyasa. Baliyayta munasa. ACH
pilata-yka-chi-shpa-sh baliya-sa baliya-y-ta
lie.face.down-EXCEP-CAUS-SUBIS-EVR shoot-NPST shoot-INF-ACC
muna-sa
want-NPST
‘They made them lie face-down on the ground and shot them. They wanted to shoot.’

(2) Chaypash alma trayan hinashpash kurasunninta tapakuykun. AMV
chay-pa-sh alma traya-n hinashpa-sh kurasun-ni-n-ta
dem.D-LOC-EVR soul arrive-3 then-EVR heart-EUPH-3-ACC
tapa-ku-yku-n
knock-REFL-EXCEP-3
‘The souls arrive there, they say, then they knock their hearts.’

(3) Hinashpa chaypa lliw lliw qutunakuy Kushpa alma-ta dispachashun. AMV
hinashpa chay-pa lliw lliw qutu-naku-yku-shpa alma-ta
then dem.D-LOC all all gather-RECP-EXCEP-SUBIS soul-ACC
dispatch-shun
dispatch-1PL.FUT
Then, when we are all grouped together, we’ll bid farewell to the souls.’

‘When they arrive with the car, we’re going galloping in a saddle.’

‘In that earthquake the coffins fell down with those.’

“If you count my hairs,” [said the hairless dog to the zombie] “you can eat my mistress.”

It merits further analysis. -YkU is common in polite imperatives (7), (8).

‘Comadre, do me a favor and hand me my hat.’

‘Right here, Sir, please have a seat.’

-YkU also occurs with nouns referring to a time of day (9).
4.4 Verb derivation

(9) *Chaypaq tutaykurun. Tutaykuruptin vilata prindirun.* AMV

| chay-paq | tuta-yku-ru-n | tuta-yku-ru-pto-n |
| DEM.D-ABL | night-EXCEP-URGT-3 | night-EXCEP-URGT-SUBDS-3 |
| vila-ta | prindi-ru-n |
| candle-ACC | light-URGT-3 |

‘Later, night fell. When it got dark, he lit a candle.’

When it precedes any of the derivational suffixes -mu, -pU, -chi, -RU or the inflectional suffix -ma, -ykU is realized as -yka (1), (5).
5 Particles

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

5.1 Interjections

All spontaneously attested indigenous exclamations share a common pattern: they begin with a and end in w or, less commonly, in k or y, as in (a-h); with the exception of the final w, they feature almost exclusively the alveolar and palatal consonants ch, ll, l, n, ñ, t, and y (which accounts for the entire catalogue of syq alveolars and palatals with the exception of voiceless fricatives s, sh, and retroflex tr); they include no vowels except for a; they consist, with few exceptions, of three or four syllables; and they bear stress on the final syllable. Syllable repetition is not uncommon. Non-exclamatory interjections do not follow this pattern, like in (i) and (j). Curse words are freely borrowed from Spanish (k–m). Table 5.1 lists some of the more commonly-heard interjections. (1–7) give a few examples in context.

(1) Primay Amaciatapis chayhinashiki intrigaykururqa. ¡Achachalláw! AMV
prima-y Amacia-ta-pis chay-hina-shi-ki
cousin-1 Amacia-ACC-ADD DEM.D-COMP-EVR-IKI
intriga-yku-ru-rqa achachalláw
deliver-EXCEP-URGT-PST how.awful
‘They delivered my cousin Amacia, too [to the Devil], they say. How awful!’
Table 5.1: Interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>¡Atratráw!</td>
<td>‘Yikes!’ ‘What a fright!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>¡Achachalláw!</td>
<td>‘How awful!’ ‘How ugly!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>¡Achalláw!’</td>
<td>‘How beautiful!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>¡Alaláw!’</td>
<td>‘How cold!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>¡Atatcháw!</td>
<td>‘How beautiful!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>¡Ananáw!</td>
<td>‘Ouch!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>¡Añalláw!</td>
<td>‘How delicious!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>¡Atratrák!</td>
<td>‘Yikes!’ ‘What a fright!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>¡Hinata!</td>
<td>‘So be it!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>¡Pay!</td>
<td>‘Enough!’ ‘Thanks!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>¡Karay!</td>
<td>‘Darn!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>¡Karahu!</td>
<td>‘Damn!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>¡Miyrda!</td>
<td>‘Shit!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

5.2 Assenters and greetings

(6) ¡Dios Tayta! ¿Imapaq kimawanchikman? ¡Achachalláw! AMV  
Dios tayta ima-paq kima-wa-nchik-man achachalláw  
God father what-PURP burn-1.OBJ-1PL-COND how.awful  
‘Good God! Why would they burn [cremate] us? How awful!’

(7) ¡Achacháw! Apuríman lapcharun kichkata. AMV  
achacháw Apurí-man lapcha-ru-n kichka-ta  
ouch Apurí-ALL grab-URGT-3 thorn-ACC  
‘Ouch! She grabbed onto a thorn bush [going to] Apuri.’

5.2 Assenters and greetings

The list of assenters includes three members: arí, aw, and alal, exemplified in (1) and (2).

(1) Pukapis kasa vakahina. Arí, wak sintakusa kayan. AMV  
puka-pis ka-sa vaka-hina arí wak sinta-ku-sa ka-ya-n  
red-ADD be-NPST cow-COMP yes DEM.D ribbon-refl-prf be-PROG-3  
‘Spkr 1: “The colored one was like a cow.” Spkr 2: “Yes, it has [its ears pierced with] ribbons.”

(2) Aw, lavashunriki, kaypis qatra qatra kayan. AMV  
aw lava-shun-tri-ki kay-pis qatra qatra ka-ya-n  
yes wash-1PL.FUT-EVC-IKI DEM.P-ADD dirty dirty be-PROG-3  
‘Yes, we’ll wash it. It’s really dirty.’

The first and second are used in all dialects, while the the third is used only in CH. arí often carries the emphatic enclitic -yá (3).

(3) “Kutimushaq,” nishpash chay pindihuqa manam warminman  
trayachinchu. ¡Ariyá warmiyuq! AMV  
kuti-mu-shaq ni-shpa-sh chay pindihu-qa mana-m  
return-CISL-1.FUT say-SUBIS-EVR DEM.D bastard-TOP no-EVD  
warmi-n-man traya-chi-n-chu arí-yá warmi-yuq  
woman-3-ALL arrive-CAUS-3-NEG yes-EMPH woman-POSS  
‘Although the bastard [had] said, “I’m going to return,” he never made it back to his wife. Yes! He had a wife!’
5 Particles

aw is used to check for agreement from interlocutors and to form tag questions (4), (5).

(4) Chay chaqla kinray-tatr pasarurqa, ¿aw? AMV
    chay       chaqla          kinray-ta-tr   pasa-ru-rqa  aw
    DEM.D stone.outcropping across-ACC-EVC pass-URGT-PST yes
    ‘He must have come by around that stone outcropping, no?’

(5) Yapamik kutinqa, ¿aw? AMV
    yapa-mi-k    kuti-nqa  aw
    again-EVD-1K return-3.FUT yes
    ‘She’s going to come back, isn’t she?’

The Spanish greetings, buynus diyas ‘good day’, buynas tardis ‘good afternoon’ and buynas nuchis ‘good evening’, ‘good night’ (6) have been borrowed into SYQ and are employed with greater frequency than are greeting indigenous to the language. ¡Rimallasayki! ‘I greet you!’ is the most common of the greetings indigenous to SYQ. ¡Saludallasayki! is also used.

(6) Mana ganawniki kanchu ni “Buynus diyas” ni “Buynus diyas, primacha”, nada nishunkichu. AMV
    mana       ganaw-ni-ki   ka-n-chu   ni   buynus   diyas   ni   buynus   diyas
    no         cattle-EUPH-2 be-3-NEG nor good day nor good day
    prima-cha nada    ni-shunki-chu
    cousin-DIM nothing say-2.OBJ-2-NEG
    ‘When you don’t have cattle, they don’t even say “Good morning,” “Good morning, cousin,” to you – nothing.’

5.3 Prepositions

SYQ makes use of some prepositions borrowed from Spanish. The preposition most frequently employed is asta (‘up to’, ‘until’, ‘even’, Sp. ‘hasta’ ‘up to’, ‘until’) (1). asta is usually employed redundantly, in combination with the indigenous case suffix -kama, apparently with the same semantics (asta aka-kama ‘until here’).
5.4 Adverbs

(1) Asta wañukunay puntrawkamatriki chayna purishaq. LT
asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-kama-tri-ki chayna puri-shaq
until die-REFL-NMLZ-1 day-LIM-EVC-IKI thus walk-1.FUT
‘Until the day I die, I’m going to walk around like that.’

(2) Tinkuyani ubihaywan ŋuqa disdi uchuychallaypaq kani. AMV
inku-ya-ni ubiha-y-wan ŋuqa disdi uchuy-cha-llo-y-paq kani
find-PROG-1 sheep-1-INST I since small-DIM-RSTR-1-ABL be-1
‘I’ve found myself with my sheep since I was very small.’

5.4 Adverbs

The class of adverbs native to syq is rather small (1–3).

(1) Chafliwan pikarun, yapa hapin, yapa pikarun, yapa hapin, yapa pikarun. AMV
chafl-i-wan pika-ru-n yapa hapi-n yapa pika-ru-n yapa
pick-INST pick-URGT-3 again grab-3 again pick-URGT-3 again
hapi-n yapa pika-ru-n
grab-3 again pick-URGT-3
‘He struck with a pick. Again, [the zombie] grabs him. Again he
struck with the pick. Again he grabs. Again he struck.’

(2) Yaqa wañurqani chayshi tiyay. AMV
yaqa wañu-rqa-ni chay-shi tiya-y
almost die-PST-1 DEM.D-EVR aunt-1
‘I almost died, then, [says] my aunt.’

(3) Hinallatañam qaninpa apakaramun wak yantata. LT
hina-lla-ta-ña-m qaninpa apa-ka-ra-mu-n wak
thus-RSTR-ACC-DISC-EVD before bring-PASSACC-URGT-CISL-3 DEM.D
yanta-ta
firewood-ACC
‘Just like before already, they brought that firewood.’

Verbal modification in syq, as in other Quechuan languages, is accomplished
primarily by derivatives and enclitics (-pa ‘repeatedly’, -ña ‘already’). syq makes
heavy use of the adopted/adapted Spanish adverbs *apuraw* ‘quick’, *pasaypaq* ‘completely’, *siympri* ‘always’ and *ayvis* ‘sometimes’ (4–7).

(4) *Mana apuraw hurquptinqa chayqa wañuchin.* **ACH**  
mana apuraw hurqu-p’ti-n-qa chay-qa wañu-chi-n  
no quick remove-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D-TOP die-CAUS-3  
‘If [the placenta] is not taken out quickly, it kills.’

(5) *Uchuypis pasa-pasaypaqmi chakirun, uchuypis chakisham kayan.* **LT**  
uchu-y-pis pasa-pasaypaq-mi chaki-ru-n uchu-y-pis  
chile-1-ADD comp-completely-EVD dry-URGT-3 chile-1-ADD  
chaki-sha-m ka-ya-n  
dry-PRF-EVD be-PROG-3  
‘My chiles, too, completely dried out. My chiles, too, are dried out.’

(6) *Waqayaniyá siympri yuyariyaniyá.* **AMV**  
wqa-ya-ni-yá siympri yuya-ri-ya-ni-yá  
cry-PROG-1-EMPH always remember-INECP-PROG-1-EMPH  
‘I’m crying. I’m always remembering.’

(7) *Ayvis lliw chinkarun ayvis huklla ishkayllata tariru.* **ACH**  
ayvis lliw chinka-ru-n ayvis huk-lla ishkay-lla-ta  
sometimes all lose-URGT-3 sometimes one-RSTR two-RSTR-ACC  
tari-ru-:  
find-URGT-1  
‘Sometimes all get lost; sometimes I find just one or two.’

Additionally, adverbs can sometimes be derived from adjectives with the suffixation of -lla (8), (9); and adjectives may sometimes occur adverbally, in which case they are usually inflected with -ta, as in (10–12).

(8) *Ni pitapis kritika:chu dañukuruptinpis sumaqllam nikulla.* **ACH**  
ni pi-ta-pis kritika-:chu dañu-ku-ru-p’ti-n-pis  
who-ACC-ADD criticize-1-NEG damage-REFL-URGT-SUBDS-3-ADD  
sumaq-lla-m ni-ku-lla-:  
pretty-REST-EVD SAY-REFL-RSTR-1  
‘I don’t criticize anyone. When they do harm, I talk to them nicely.’
5.4 Adverbs

(9) ¡Kayta pasarachiy! Kargarayanñamiki. ¡Sumaqlla winaruy! AMV
dem.p pass-passacc-caus-imp carry-uni-intens-3-disc-3-evd-iki
prettv-rstr add.in-urgt-imp
'Have him come here! It’s being carried already. Add it in nicely!'

(10) Kanan tutaqa suyñukuruni fiyutam. ¿Ima pasaruwanqa? AMV
now night-top dream-refl-urgt-1 ugly-acc-evd what
pass-urgt-1.obj-3.fut
'Last night I dreamed horribly. What’s going to happen to me?'

(11) ¿Manachu chay Aliciawan risachiwaq? Aliciam sumaq sumaqta
risan. AMV
no-q dem.d Alicia-instr pray-caus-2.cond Alicia-evd pretty
pretty-acc pray-3
'Can’t you have Alicia pray for her? Alicia prays really nicely.'

(12) Tushuptiypis alli-allita pigakuq. AMV
dance-subds-1-add good-good-acc stick-refl-ag
'When I would dance, he would stick himself [to me] really well.'

Some nouns referring to time may occur adverbially without inflection, as in (13) and (14), others are inflected with -ta, as (see §3.2.1.2) (15) shows.

(13) “¡Kanallan intrigaway!” nishpash chay kundur trayarun. AMV
right.now deliver-1.obj-imp say-subis-evr dem.d condor
arrive-urgt-3
‘Hand her over to me right now!’ said the condor [when] he arrived.'
5 Particles

(14) Rinrilla:pis uparura qayna wataqa. ACH
rinri-lle:-pis upa-ru-ra qayna wata qa
ear-RSTR-1-ADD deaf -URGT-PST previous year-TOP
‘My ears went deaf last year.’

(15) Chaymi shamula: qaspalpuqta. Chaymi karkarya qipa:ta shamusha. CH
chay-mi shamu-la-: qaspalpuq-ta chay-mi karkarya
DEM.D-EVD come-PST-1 nightfall-ACC DEM.D-EVD zombie
qipa-:-ta shamu-sha
behind-1-ACC come-NPST
‘Then I came at nightfall. Then a zombie came behind me.’

5.5 Particles covered elsewhere

Coordinators are discussed in §7.3 on coordination, negators in §7.5 on negation, and prenumerals in Sub §3.2.5.3 on time numerals and prenumerals.
6 Enclitics

This chapter covers the enclitic suffixes of Southern Yauyos Quechua. In syq, as in other Quechuan languages, enclitics attach to both nouns and verbs as well as to adverbs and negators. Enclitics always follow all inflectional suffixes, verbal and nominal; and, with the exception of restrictive -lla, all follow all case suffixes, as well. syq counts sixteen enclitics. -Yá (emphatic) indicates emphasis. Consistently translated in Spanish by pues.1 -chu (interrogation, negation, disjunction) indicates absolute and disjunctive questions, negation, and disjunction. -lla (restrictive) generally indicates exclusivity or limitation in number; it is generally translated as ‘just’ or ‘only’. -lla may express an affective or familiar attitude. -ña (discontinuitive) indicates transition, change of state or quality. In affirmative statements, it is generally translated as ‘already’; in negative statements, as ‘no more’ or ‘no longer’; in questions, as ‘yet’. -pis (inclusion) indicates the inclusion of an item or event into a series of similar items or events; it is generally translated as ‘too’ or ‘also’ or, when negated, ‘neither’. -puni (certainty, precision); it is generally translated ‘necessarily’, ‘definitely’, ‘precisely’. This last is attested only in the qii dialects, where it is infrequently employed. -qa (topic marker) indicates the topic of the clause; it is generally left untranslated.2 -raq (continuative) indicates continuity of action, state or quality. Translated ‘still’ or, negated, ‘yet’. -taq (sequential) indicates the sequence of events. In this capacity, translated ‘then’ or ‘so’. -taq also marks content questions. -ml (evidential – direct experience) indicates that the speaker has personal-experience evidence for the proposition under the scope of the evidential. Usually left untranslated.

-shI (evidential – reportative/quotative) indicates that the speaker has non-personal-experience evidence for the proposition under the scope of the evidential. -shI appears systematically in stories. Often translated as ‘they say.’ -trI (evid-

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1 An anonymous reviewer points out that pues is used in Andean Spanish "to negotiate common ground, shared knowledge. As such, it is possible that -ya is also an interactional or stance marker," a way a participant in a conversation may negotiate what other participants know or should know.

2 -qa may nevertheless be indicated in Spanish translations by intonation, gesture, and various circumlocutions of speech, as an anonymous reviewer points out.
identical – conjectural) indicates that the speaker is making a conjecture to the proposition under the scope of the evidential from a set of propositions for which she has either direct or not-direct evidence. Generally translated in Spanish as seguro ‘for sure’, indicating possibility or probability. -ari (assertive force) indicates conviction on the part of the speaker. Translated as ‘certainly’ or ‘of course’.3 -ik and -iki (evidential modifiers) indicate increasing evidence strength (and increased assertive force or conjectural certainty, in the case of the direct and conjectural modifiers, -ml and -trl, respectively). Generally translated in Spanish as pues and seguro, respectively. Examples in Table 6.1 are fully glossed in the corresponding sections.

6.1 Sequence

Combinations of individual enclitics generally occur in the following order.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
-q\alpha & -ml & -Raq & -shI & -ikI & -lla & -puni & -pis & -\text{n}a & -taq & -chu & -trl & -Y\acute{a} & -aRi \\
\end{array}
\]

In complementary distribution are: -raq with -\text{n}a; the evidentials with each other as well as with -qa; -ari with -ikI; and -Y\acute{a} with -ikI.

6.2 Individual enclitics

In syq, as in other Quechuan languages, the enclitics can be divided into two classes: (a) those which position the utterance with regard to others salient in the discourse (restrictive/limitative -lla, discontinuative -\text{n}a, additive -pis, topic marking -qa, continuative -Raq, sequential -taq, and interrogative/negative/disjunctive -chu); and (b) those that position the speaker with regard to the utterance (emphatic -Y\acute{a}, certainty marker -puni, and the evidentials -mi, -shi, and -tri along with their modifiers -ik, -iki, and -aRi.). §6.2.1–6.2.10 cover all enclitics except the evidentials and their modifiers, in alphabetical order. The evidentials and their modifiers are the subject of §6.2.11.

3 An anonymous reviewer writes that in other varieties of Quechuan, “-ari is interpersonal. It expresses solidarity, affirming what someone else says, thinks or believes to be true.”
## 6.2 Individual enclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Yá</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
<td>¡Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu! ¡Ari-yá!</td>
<td>‘We do not set on fire!’ ‘Yes, indeed!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chu₁</td>
<td>interrogation</td>
<td>¿Iskwila-man trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu mama-yki?</td>
<td>‘Did your mother put you in school?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chu₂</td>
<td>negation</td>
<td>Chay-tri <em>mana</em> suya-wa-rqa-<em>chu</em></td>
<td>‘That must be why she wouldn’t have waited for me.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-chu₃</td>
<td>disjunction</td>
<td>¿Qari-<em>chu</em> ka-nki warmi-<em>chu</em> ka-nki?</td>
<td>‘Are you a man or a woman?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lla</td>
<td>restriction</td>
<td>Uma-<em>lla</em>-ña traki-<em>lla</em>-ña ka-ya-sa.</td>
<td>‘There was only the head only the hand.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ña</td>
<td>discontinuity</td>
<td>Chay-shi ni-n kundinadaw-<em>ña</em>-m wak-<em>qa</em> ka-ya-n.</td>
<td>‘That one, they say, is already condemned.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pis</td>
<td>inclusion</td>
<td>Tukuy tuta tusha-<em>n qa</em>ynintin-ta-<em>pis</em>.</td>
<td>‘They dance all night and the next day, too.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-puni</td>
<td>certainty</td>
<td>Mana-<em>puni</em>-m.</td>
<td>‘By no means’, ‘Not on your life’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qa</td>
<td>topic</td>
<td>Mana yatra-<em>q</em>-ni-<em>n</em>-qa.</td>
<td>‘Those of them who didn’t know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raq</td>
<td>continuity</td>
<td>Kama-<em>n</em>-pi puñu-ku-ya-pty-<em>n</em>-ra* puñu-ru-n.</td>
<td>‘He found him still sleeping in his bed.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-taq</td>
<td>sequence</td>
<td>hinaptin-<em>ña</em>-taq-<em>shi</em></td>
<td>‘then’ ‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ml</td>
<td>evidential-direct</td>
<td>Yanga-<em>ña</em>-m qipi-ku-sa puri-<em>ni</em>.</td>
<td>‘In vain, I walk around carrying it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shI</td>
<td>evidential-reportative</td>
<td>Qari-<em>n</em>-ta-<em>sh</em> wañu-ra-<em>n</em>-chik.</td>
<td>‘She killed her husband, they say.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-trI</td>
<td>evidential-conjecture</td>
<td>Awa-ya-<em>n</em>-tr-<em>iki</em> kama-ta.</td>
<td>‘He must be weaving a blanket.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ari</td>
<td>assertive</td>
<td>Chay-sh-<em>ari</em> kanan avansa-ru-nqa.</td>
<td>‘That one definitely will advance now, they say.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ikI</td>
<td>evidential</td>
<td>Kay-na-<em>lla</em>-m-<em>iki</em> kay urqu-pa-<em>qa</em> yatra-nchik.</td>
<td>‘Just like this we live on this mountain.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.1 Emphatic -Yá

Realized as -ýá in all environments (1–5) except following an evidential, in which case both the I of the evidential and the Y of the emphatic are elided and Yá is realized as á (6–8).

(1) ¡Ariyá! AMV
   arí-yá
   yes-EMPH
   ‘Yes indeed.’

(2) ¡Mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu! AMV
   mana-yá rupa-chi-nchik-chu
   no-EMPH burn-CAUS-1PL-NEG
   ‘We do not set on fire!’

(3) Pantyunpayá. ¡Ima wasiyipitr pampamushaq! AMV
   pantyun-pa-yá ima wasi-y-pi-tr pampa-mu-shaq
   cemetery-LOC-EMPH what house-1-LOC-EVC bury-CISL-1.FUT
   ‘In the cemetery! I doubt I’m going to bury someone in my house.’

(4) ¿Imaynayá piru paykuna yatrañ warmi u qari? AMV
   imayna-yá piru pay-kuna yatra-n warmi u qari
   how-EMPH but they-PL know-3 woman or man
   ‘How ever can they know if it will be a woman or a man?’

(5) Sirbisatatr mas mastaqa rantikurun. Sirbisatayá. AMV
   sirbisa-ta-tr mas mas-ta-qa ranti-ku-ru-n sirbisa-ta-yá
   beer-ACC-EVC more more-ACC-TOP buy-REFL-URGT-3 beer-ACC-EMPH
   ‘Spkr 1: “They must have sold a lot more beer.” Spkr 2: “Beer, all right!”’

(6) Balikushatr kara. Paytamá rikarani. LT
   baliku-sha-tr ka-ra pay-ta-m-á rika-ra-ni
   request.a.service-PRF-EVC be-PST he-ACC-EVD-EMPH see-PST-1
   ‘He must have been requested. I saw him.’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(7) Trabahayta kanan kumunalta trulalamá. CH
    trabaha-y-ta  kanan  kumunal-ta  trula-la-m-á
work-INF-ACC  now  community-ACC  put-PST-EMPH
‘Now he’s put the community to work.’

(8) Unayqa Awkichanka inkantakurashá wak altupa yantaman riptiki. SP
    unay-qa  Awkichanka  inkanta-ku-ra-sh-á  wak
before-TOP  Awkichanka  enchant-REFL-PST-EVR-EMPH  DEM.D
    altu-pa  yanta-man  ri-pty-ki
high-LOC  firewood-ALL  go-SUBDS-2
‘In olden times, Awkichanka, too, bewitched, they say, up hill if you
went for firewood.’

6.2.2 Interrogation, negation, disjunction -chu

-chu indicates absolute (1) and disjunctive questions (2), (3), negation (4), and
disjunction (5).\(^4\)

(1) ¿Iskwilaman trurashurqankichu mamayki? AMV
    iskwila-man  trura-shu-rqa-nki-chu  mama-yki
school-ALL  put-2.OBJ-PST-2-Q  mother-3
‘Did your mother put you in school?’

(2) ¿Qari-chu kanki warmichu kanki? AMV
    ¿qari-chu  ka-nki  warmi-chu  ka-nki
man-Q  be-2  woman-Q  be-2
‘Are you a man or a woman?’

(3) ¿Don Juan chu icha alman chu hamuyan? AMV
    Don  Juan-chu  icha  alma-n-chu  hamu-ya-n
Don  Juan-Q  or  soul-3-Q  come-PROG-3
‘Is it Don Juan, or is his spirit coming?’

(4) Chaytri mana suyawarqachu. AMV
    chay-tri  mana  suya-wa-rqa-chu
DEM.D-EVC  no  wait-1.OBJ-PST-NEG
‘That’s why she wouldn’t have waited for me.’

\(^4\) An anonymous reviewer points out that in Huaylas Q, negative -tsu is distinguished from polar
question -ku. Huaylas is not unique among Quechuan languages in making this distinction.
Enclitics

Kandilaryapachu bintisinkupachu. AMV
candilary-pa-chu  binti-sinku-pa-chu
Candelaria-LOC-DISJ twenty-five-LOC-DISJ
‘Either on Candelaria or on the twenty-fifth.’

Where it functions to indicate interrogation or negation, -chu attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of the interrogation or negation (6).

¿Chaypa chu tumarqanki? AMV
chay-pa-chu  tuma-rqa-nki
dem.L-LOC-Q  take-PST-2
‘Did you take [pictures] there?’

Where it functions to indicate disjunction – in either disjunctive questions or disjunctive statements – -chu generally attaches to each of the disjuncts (7).

Mariochu karqa Juliánchu karqa. AMV
Mario-chu  ka-rqa  Julián-chu  ka-rqa
Mario-DISJ be-PST  Julián-DISJ be-PST
‘It was either Mario or Julián.’

Questions that anticipate a negative answer are indicated by mana-chu (8).

¿Manachu kuska linman? CH
mana-chu  kuska  li-n-man
no-Q  together  go-3-COND
‘Couldn’t they go together?’

mana-chu may also “soften” questions (9).

Paysanu, ¿manachu vakata rantiyta munanki? AMV
paysanu  mana-chu  vaka-ta  ranti-y-ta  muna-nki
countryman no-Q  cow-ACC buy-INF-ACC want-2
‘My countryman, do you not want to buy a cow?’

It may also be used, like aw ‘yes’, in the formation of tag questions (10).

Lliw lliwtriki wañukushun, puchukashun entonces, ¿manachu? ACH
lliw  lliw-tr-iki  wañu-ku-shun  puchuka-shun  intunsis
all  all-EVC-IKI  die-REFL-1PL.FUT finish.off-1PL.FUT therefore
mana-chu
no-Q
‘We’ll all have to die, to finish off then, isn’t that so?’
In negative sentences, -chu generally co-occurs with mana ‘not’ (11); -chu is also licensed by additive enclitic -pis (12), (13) and ni ‘nor’ (14), (15).

(11) Aa, manayá kanchu. Manayá bula kanchu. LT
    aa mana-yá ka-n-chu mana-yá bula ka-n-chu
    ah no-EMPH be-3-NEG no-EMPH ball be-3-NEG
    ‘Ah, there aren’t any. There aren’t any balls.’

(12) Kaspinpis kanchu. AMV
    kaspi-n-pis ka-n-chu
    stick-3-ADD be-3-NEG
    ‘She doesn’t have a stick.’

(13) Manchakushpa tutas puñuchu. ACH
    mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu-:-chu
    scare-REFL-SUBIS night-ADD sleep-1-NEG
    ‘Being scared, I don’t sleep at night.’

(14) Apuraw wañururqariki. Ni apanña chu. AMV
    apuraw wañu-ru-rqa-r-iki ni apa-n-ña-chu
    quick die-URGT-PST-R-IKI nor bring-3-DISC-NEG
    ‘He died quickly. They didn’t even bring him [to the hospital].’

(15) Manam waytachu ni pishquchu. AMV
    mana-m wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu
    no-EVD flower-NEG nor bird-NEG
    ‘Neither a flower nor a bird.’

In prohibitions, -chu co-occurs with ama ‘don’t’ (16).

(16) “¡Ama wawqi:taqa wañuchiychu!” niptinshi wañurachin paywantapis. ACH
    ama wawqi-:-ta-qa wañu-chi-y-chu ni-pti-n-shi
    PROH brother-1-ACC-TOP die-CAUS-IMP-NEG say-SUBDS-3-EVR
    wañu-ra-chi-n pay-wan-ta-pis
die-URGT-CAUS-3 he-INST-ACC-ADD
    ‘When he said, “Don’t kill my brother!” they killed him with him, too.’
-chu does not appear in subordinate clauses, where negation is indicated with a negative particle alone (17), (18).5

(17) Mana qali kaptinqa Ṽuqanchikpis taqllakta hapishpa qaluwanchik. CH
mana qali ka-pte-n-qa Ṽuqanchik pis taqlla-kta hap-i-shpa
no man be-SUBDS-3-TOP we-ADD plow-ACC grab-SUBIS
galuwa-nchik
turn.earth-1PL
‘When there are no men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.’

(18) Mana qatrachakunanpaq mandilchanta watachakun. AMV
mana qatra-cha-ku-na-n-paq mandil-cha-n-ta wata-cha-ku-n
no dirty-FACT-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP apron-DIM-3-ACC tie-DIM-REFL-3
‘She’s tying on an apron so she doesn’t get dirty.’

(19) Manam lluqsiptiyki(qa *chu), waqashaqmi. AMV
mana-m lluqsi-pti-yki-qa chu waqa-shaq-mi
no-EVD go.out-SUBDS-2-TOP neg cry-1.FUT-EVD
‘If you don’t go, I’ll cry.’

In negative sentences, -chu never occurs on the same segment as does an evidential enclitic (20).

(20) Mana lluqsirqanki(*mi)chu. AMV
mana lluquis-riqa-nki-mi-chu
no go.out-PST-2-EVD-NEG
‘You didn’t leave.’

Finally, interrogative -chu is further restricted in that it does not appear in questions using interrogative pronouns (21).6

(21) *¿Pi hamurqachu? AMV
pi hamu-rqa-chu
who come-PST-NEG
‘Who came?’

5 An anonymous reviewer points out that elsewhere in Quechua, the correlates of negative -chu typically can appear in subordinate clauses. There are no naturally-occurring examples of this in the Yauyos corpus.

6 ¿*Pi-taq hamu-n-chu? ¿*Pi-taq-chu hamu-n? ‘Who is coming?’
6.2 Individual enclitics

6.2.3 Restrictive, limitative −lla

−lla indicates exclusivity or limitation in number: the individual (1–3) or event type (4), (5) remains limited to itself and is accompanied by no other.

(1) Iskwilapam niytu:kunaqa wawa:kunaqa rinmi ſuqallam ka: analfabitu. SP
iskwila-pa-m niytu:-kuna-qa wawa:-kuna-qa ri-n-mi school-LOC-EVD nephew-1-PL-TOP baby-1-PL-TOP go-3-EVD ſuqa-lla-m ka−: analfabitu I-RSTR-EVD be-1 illiterate
‘My grandchildren are in school. My children went. I’m the only illiterate one.’

(2) Runapi umallaña trakillaña kayasa. AMV
runa-pi uma-lla-ña traki-lla-ña ka-ya-sa person-GEN head-RSTR-DISC foot-RSTR-DISC be-PROG-NPST
‘Just the head and the hand remained of the person.’

(3) Kichwallaktam limakuya: kaytrawlaq manam kastillanukta lima:chu. CH
kichwa-lla-kta-m lima-ku-ya−: kay-traw-laq mana-m Quechua-RSTR-ACC-EVD speak-REFL-PROG-1 DEM.P-LOC-CONT no-EVD kastillanu-kta lima−:-chu Spanish-ACC speak-1-NEG
‘I’m talking just Quechua. Here, still, we don’t speak Spanish.’

(4) Fwirti kashpallamá linchik pustaman. CH
fwirti ka-shpa-lla-m-á li-nchik pusta-man strong be-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD-EMPH go-IPL clinic-ALL
‘Only if it’s bad will we go to the health clinic.’

(5) Lliw liwtam rantishpallañaam kanan kamatapis chay polarkunatapis. ACH
lliw lliw-ta-m ranti-shpa-lla-ña-m kanan kama-ta-pis all all-ACC-EVD buy-SUBIS-RSTR-DISC-EVD now blanket-ACC-ADD chay polar-kuna-ta-pis DEM.D fleece-PL-ACC-ADD
‘Now just buying everything – blankets, [polyester] fleece.’
-lla can generally be translated as ‘just’ (6), (7) or ‘only’ (8); it sometimes has an ‘exactly’ interpretation (9).

(6) **Chaynallam mikuchin ... pachachin. AMV**

   *chayna-lla-m  miku-chi-n  pacha-chi-n*

   thus-RSTR-EVD  eat-CAUS-3  dress-CAUS-3

   ‘**Just** like that, she feeds him, she clothes him.’

(7) **Sirkallatam riya: manam karutachu. SP**

   *sirka-lla-ta-m  ri-ya-:  mana-m  karu-ta-chu*

   close-RSTR-ACC-EVD  go-PROG-1  no-EVD  far-ACC-NEG

   ‘**I just** go close; I don’t go far.’

(8) **Chayllatam yatrani. Masta yatranichu. AMV**

   *chay-lla-ta-m  yatra-ni  mas-ta  yatra-ni-chu*

   DEM.D-LIM-ACC-EVD  know-1  more-ACC  know-1-NEG

   ‘**I only** know that. I don’t know more.’

(9) **Iskinanpi sikya tunallanpi wallpay watrakunraq. LT**

   *iskina-n-pi  sikya  tuna-lla-n-pi  wallpa-y*

   corner-3-LOC  aqueduct  corner-RSTR-3-LOC  chicken-1

   *watra-ku-n-raq*

   give.birth-REFL-3-CONT

   ‘My hen lays eggs in the corner, **right** in the corner of the canal.’

It is very, very widely employed (10–12).

(10) **Lliwta abaskuna albirhakuna ayvislla rantikuni apani llaqtatam. AMV**

    *lliw-ta  abas-kuna  albirha-kuna  ayvis-lla  ranti-ku-ni*

    all-ACC  broad.beans-PL  peas-PL  sometimes-RSTR  buy-REFL-1

    *apa-ni  llaqta-ta-m*

    bring-1  town-ACC-EVD

    ‘Everything – broad beans, peas – **once in while** I sell stuff – I bring it into town.’

(11) **Chaynallam. Chayllam kwintuqa. Mas kanchu manam. SP**

    *chayna-lla-m  chay-lla-m  kwintu-qa  mas  ka-n-chu  mana-m*

    thus-RSTR-EVD  DEM.D-RSTR-EVD  story-TOP  more  be-3-NEG  no-EVD

    ‘That’s the way it goes. That’s **all** there is to the story. There’s no more.’

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6.2 Individual enclitics

(12) *Chaytam aysashpalla pasachiwaq. AMV*

\[\text{chay-ta-m aysa-shpa-llla pasa-chi-wa-q} \]

DEM.D-ACC-EVD pull-SUBIS-RSTR pass-CAUS-1.OBJ-AG

‘They had me cross the river pulling [me by the hand].’

6.2.4 Discontinuative -ña

Discontinuative. -ña indicates transition – change of state or quality. In affirmative statements, it can generally be translated as ‘already’ (1–3); in negative statements, as ‘no more’ or ‘no longer’ (4), (5); and in questions, as ‘yet’ (6), (7).

(1) *Kundinadawñam wakqa kayan. AMV*

\[\text{kundinadaw-ña-m wak-qa ka-ya-n} \]

condemned-DISC-EVD DEM.D-TOP be-PROG-3

‘That one is already condemned.’

(2) *Ñuqaqa kukaywanñam qawaruni. AMV*

\[\text{ñuqa-qa kuka-y-wan-ña-m qawa-ru-ni} \]

I-TOP coca-1-INSTR-DISC-EVD see-URGT-1

‘I saw it with my coca already.’

(3) *Paqwayanchikñam talpuyta, ¿aw? Papaktapis talpulaluñam, kanan halakta, ¿aw? CH*

\[\text{paqwa-ya-nchik-ña-m talpu-y-ta aw papa-kta-pis} \]

finish-PROG-1PL-DISC-EVD plant-INF-ACC yes potato-ACC-ADD

\[\text{talpu-la-lu-ñañ-m kanan hala-kta aw} \]

plant-UNINT-URGT-1-DISC-EVD now corn-ACC yes

‘We’re finishing the planting already, no? We’ve already planted the potatoes, now the corn, no?’

(4) *Unaytrik. Kananqa kanñachu imapis. SP*

\[\text{unay-tri-k kanan-qa ka-n-ña-chu ima-pis} \]

before-EVC-IK now-TOP be-3-DISC-NEG what-ADD

‘That would be a long time ago. Now there isn’t anything any more.’

(5) *Manaña ni santu ni imapis. AMV*

\[\text{mana-ña ni santu ni ima-pis} \]

no-DISC nor saint nor what-ADD

‘There are no longer saints or anything.’
6 Enclitics

(6) ¿Pasarunñachu? Tapushun. AMV
pas-a-ru-n-ña-chu tapu-shun
pass-URGT-3-DISC-Q ask-1PL.FUT
‘Did she go by yet? Let’s ask.’

(7) ¿Rimayanñachu kanan wakpi? LT
rima-ya-n-ña-chu kanan wak-pi
talk-PROG-3-DISC-Q now DEM.D-LOC
‘Are they talking yet there now?’

It can appear freely but never unaccompanied, redundantly, by ña (8), (9).

(8) “Ñam tukuchkanĩña!” ¡Puk! ¡Puk! ¡Puk! sikisapa sapu. AMV
ña-m tuku-chka-n-ña puk puk puk siki-sapa sapu
disc-EVD finish-DUR-1-DISC puk puk puk behind-MULT.Poss frog
‘I’m already finishing up!’ Puk! Puk! Puk! said the frog with the behind bigger than usual.’

(9) Ñam riqsayanña hukya yaykun. LT
ña-m riqsi-ya-n-ña huk-ya yayku-n
disc-EVD know-PROG-3-DISC one-EMPH enter-3
‘They’re getting to know it already and another comes in.’

6.2.5 Inclusion -pis

-pis indicates the inclusion of an item or event into a series of similar items or events. Translated as ‘and’, ‘too’, ‘also’, and ‘even’ (1–5) or, when negated, ‘neither’ or ‘not even’ (6–8).

(1) Turnuchawan ñuqakunaqa trabaha: walmipis qalipis. CH
turnu-cha-wan ñuqa-kuna-qa trabaha-: walmi-pis qali-pis
turn-DIM-INSTR I-PL-TOP work-1 woman-ADD man-ADD
‘We work in turns, the women and the men.’

(2) Tukuy tuta tushun qaynintintapis. AMV
tukuy tuta tushu-n qaynintin-ta-pis
all night dance-3 next.day-ACC-ADD
‘They dance all night and the next day, too.’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(3) Paypis chay subrini wañukuptinñamik payqa tumarun. AMV

pay-pis chay subrini wañu-ku-hti-n-ña-mi-k pay-qa
tumarun.

he-ADD DEM.D nephew die-REFL-SUBDS-3-DISC-EVD-3K he-TOP

take-URGT-3

‘He, too, when his nephew died, took it [poison].’

(4) Salchipullu rantikuqtapis tumarun. AMV

salchipullu ranti-ku-q-ta-pis tumarun.

fried.chicken buy-REFL-AG-ACC-ADD take-URGT-3

‘She took [pictures] of the people selling fried chicken also.’

(5) Maman wañukuptinpis manam waqanchu. AMV

mama-n wañu-ku-hti-n-pis mana-m waqa-n-chu

mother-3 die-REFL-SUBDS-3-ADD no-EVD cry-3-NEG

‘Even when his mother died, he didn’t cry.’

(6) “¿Imapaqtatq ñuqa waqashaq?” nin. “Warmiypaqpis waqarqani-chu.” AMV

ima-paq-taq ñuqa waqa-shaq nin warmi-y-paq-pis

waqa-rqa-ni-chu

cry-1.FUT say-3 woman-1-BEN-ADD

cry-PST-1-NEG

“Why am I going to cry?” he said. “I didn’t cry for my wife, either.”

(7) Paykunaqa manam qawarqapischu. AMV

pay-kuna-qa mana-m qawa-rqa-pis-chu

he-PL-TOP no-EVD see-PST-ADD-NEG

‘Neither did they see us.’

(8) Pata saqaytapis atipanchu. AMV

pata saqa-y-ta-pis atipa-n-chu

terrace go.up-INF-ACC-ADD be.able-3-NEG

‘They can’t even go up one terrace.’

-pis may – or, even, may generally – imply contrast with some preceding element. Where it scopes over subordinate clauses, it can often be translated ‘although’ or ‘even’ (9), (10).
6 Enclitics

(9) *Uratam munashpapis.* AMV
ura-ta-m muna-shpa-pis
hour-ACC-EVD want-SUBIS-ADD
‘Although I want to know the time.’

(10) *Hinaptin wasipiña rumiwan takaptinpis uyanchu.* SP
hinaptin wasi-pi-ña rumi-wan taka-ptyi-n-pis uya-n-chu
then house-LOC-DISC stone-INSTR hit-SUBDS-3-ADD be.able-3-NEG
‘Later, at home, even when they hit it with a rock, it couldn’t.’

Attaching to interrogative-indefinite stems, it forms indefinites and, with *mana*, negative indefinites (11–13).

(11) *Chaynam imallatapis wasiman apamun.* AMV
chayna-m ima-lla-ta-pis wasi-man apa-mu-n
thus-EVD what-RSTR-ACC-ADD house-ALL bring-CISL-3
‘That way he brings a little something to his house.’

(12) *Llapa tiyndaman yaykushpaqa lliw lliwshi imantapis apakun.* ACH
llapa tiynda-man yayku-shpa-qa lliw lliw-shi ima-n-ta-pis
all store-ALL enter-SUBIS-TOP all all-EVR what-3-ACC-ADD
apa-ku-n
bring-REFL-3
‘They entered all the stores and took everything and anything they had.’

(13) *Alli chambyakuqpaq manam imapis faltanmanchu.* AMV
alli chambya-ku-q-paq mana ima-pis falta-n-man-chu
good work-REFL-AG-BEN no what-ADD be.missing-3-COND-NEG
‘Nothing can be lacking for a good worker.’

It is in free variation with -pas, and, after a vowel, with -s (14–16), the latter particularly common in the ACH dialect.

(14) ‘*Diskansakamuy wasikipa!*’ niwan kikinpas diskansuman ripun. LT
diskansa-ka-mu-y wasi-ki-pa ni-wa-n kiki-n-pas diskansu-man
rest-REFL-AG-BEN-IMP house-2-LOC say-1.OBJ-3 self-3-ADD rest-ALL
ripu-n
go-3
‘Go rest in your house,” he said to me and he, himself, too, went to rest.’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(15) *Hinaptinqa yutu pawaptinqa chay, “¡Aaaapship ship ship!” Yutupas* “¡Wwaaaayyy!” SP
    then-TOP partridge fly-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D aaaapship ship ship
    partridge-ADD wwwwaaayyy
    “Then, when the partridge jumped, he [cried],
    “Aaaap-ship-ship-ship!” The partridge, too, [cried] “Wwaaaayyy!””

(16) *Ñuqatas harquruwara Kashapataman riranim. LT*
    ñuqa-ta-s harqu-ru-wa-ra Kashapata-man ri-ra-ni-m
    I-ACC-ADD toss.out-URGT-1.OBJ-PST Kashapata-ALL go-PST-1-EVD
    ‘They threw me out, too, and I went to Kashapata.’

6.2.6 Precision, certainty -puni

-puni indicates certainty or precision. It can be translated as ‘necessarily’, ‘definitely’, ‘precisely’. It is attested only in the AMV dialect, where, still, it is not widely employed.

(1) *Paqarinpunim rishaq.* † AMV
    paqarin-puni-m ri-shaq
tomorrow-CERT-EVD go-1.FUT
    ‘I’m going to go precisely tomorrow.’

(2) * Mana punim.* † AMV
    mana-puni-m
    no-CERT-EVD
    ‘By no means.’

(3) *Chay wiqawninchikmanpunim chiri yakuta truranchik.* AMV
    chay wiqaw-ni-nchik-man-puni chiri yaku-ta trura-nchik
    DEM.D waist-EUPH-1PL-ALL-CERT cold water-ACC put-1PL
    ‘We put cold water right on our lower backs.’
6.2.7 Topic-marking -qa

-qa indicates the topic of a clause (1–8), including in those cases where it attaches to subordinate clauses (9), (10).

1. Madri sultiram kaya: ŋuqallaqa. Ch
   madri sultira-m ka-ya-: ŋuqa-lla-qa
   mother alone-EVD be-PROG-1 I-RSTR-TOP
   ‘I’m a single mother.’

2. Ganawniyiqiqa achkam miranqa. Lt
   ganaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqa
   cattle-EUPH-2-TOP a.lot-EVD increase-3.FUT
   ‘Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.’

3. Qamqa waqakunki sumaqllatam. ŋuqaqa quyu quyuta waqayani. Sp
   qam-qa waqa-ku-nki sumaq-lla-ta-m ŋuqa-qa quyu quyu-ta
   you-TOP cry-REFL-2 pretty-RSTR-ACC-EVD I-TOP ugly ugly-ACC
   waqa-ya-ni
   cry-PROG-1
   ‘You sing nicely. I’m singing awfully.’

4. Yatraqningqa; mana yatraqningqa manayá. Amv
   yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana-yá
   know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP no know-AG-EUPH-TOP no-EMPH
   ‘Those of them who knew; not those of them who didn’t know.’

   kanan-qa miku-nchik muna-sa-nchik[-ta] qullqi ka-ptyi-n-qa
   now-TOP eat-1PL want-PRF-1-ACC money be-SUBDS-3-TOP
   ‘Now we eat whatever we want when there’s money.’

6. Llaqtaykipa ¿tarpunkichu sibadata? Amv
   llaqta-yki-pa-qa tarpu-nki-chu sibada-ta
   town-2-LOC-TOP plant-2-Q barley-ACC
   ‘In your town, do you plant barley?’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(7) *Urayqa puriq kani trakillawan trakinchipis nanankama.* AMV
uray-qa puri-q ka-ni traki-lla-wan traki-chikpis
down.hill-TOP walk-AG be-1 foot-RSTR-INTR foot-1PL-ADD
nana-na-n-kama
hurt-NMLZ-3-LIM
I would walk **down hill** just on foot until our feet hurt.

(8) *Difindiwanchik malichukunapaqqa.* AMV
difindi-wan-ncik malichu-kuna-paq-qa
defend-1.OBJ-1PL curse-PL-ABL-TOP
It protects us against **curses**.

(9) *lluqsi-la pasiyuman yaykushpaqa manaña puydilaøchu piru.* CH
lluqsi-la pasiyu-man yayku-shpa-qa mana-ña puydi-la-chu
go.out-PST walk-ALL enter-SUBIS-TOP no-DISC be.able-PST-NEG
piru
but
They went out for a walk but **when they went in**, they couldn’t.

(10) *Qipiruptinqa ... chay kundurqa qipiptin huk turuta pagaykun.* SP
qipi-ru-hti-n-qa chay kundur-qa qipi-piti-n huk
carry-URGT-SUBDS-3-TOP DEM.D condor-TOP carry-SUBDS-3 one
turu-ta paga-yku-n
bull-ACC pay-EXCEP-3
When he carried her, after the condor carried her, she payed him a bull.

6.2.8 Continuative -Raq

-Raq – realized in CH as -laq (1) and in all other dialects as -raq – indicates continuity of action, state or quality.

(1) *Kichwallaktam limakuya: kaytrawlalq manam kastillanukta lima-chu.* CH
kichwa-lla-kta-m lima-ku-ya-: kay-trawl-laq mana-m
Quechua-RSTR-ACC-EVD talk-REFL-PROG-1 DEM.P-LOC-CONT no-EVD
kastillanu-kta lima-:-chu
Spanish-ACC talk-1-NEG
I’m just talking Quechua. Here, **still**, we don’t speak Spanish.
It can generally be translated ‘still’ (2–4) or, negated, ‘yet’ (5), (6).


‘You’re still skinny. I’m going to fatten you up in a cage.’

(3) *Taqsanaraqtri. Millwata taqsashun. Amv taqsa-na-raq-tri millwa-ta taqsa-shun wash-NMLZ-CONT-EVD wool-ACC wash-1PL.FUT*

‘It has to be cleaned still. We have to clean the wool.’

(4) *Kamanpi puñukuyaptinraq tarirun. Lt kama-n-pi puñu-ku-ya-pti-n-raq tari-ru-n bed-3-LOC sleep-REFL-PROG-SUBDS-3-CONT find-URGT-3*

‘He found him when he was sleeping still in his bed.’

(5) *Runtuwanmi qaquyanmi chaypa manaraqmi shakashwan. Amv runtu-wan-mi qaqu-ya-n-mi chay-pa mana-raq-mi egg-INSTR-EVD massage-PROG-3-EVD DEM.D-LOC no-CONT-EVD shakash-wan guinea.pig-INSTR*

‘He’s massaging with an egg – not yet with the guinea pig.’

(6) *Manam mayqinniypis wañuniraqchu. Amv mana-m mayqin-ni-y-pis wañu-ni-raq-chu no-EVD which-EUPH-1-ADD die-1-CONT-NEG*

‘None of us has died yet.’

Marking rhetorical questions, it can indicate a kind of despair (7), (8).


‘His blood? *What in the world* did the devil suck out of him?’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(8) Chay gringukunaqa altukunatash rin. ¿Imaynaraq chay runata waniuchin? ACH
    chay gringu-kuna-qa altu-kuna-ta-sh ri-n imayna-raq chay
    DEM.D gringo-PL-TOP high-PL-ACC-EVR go-3 how-CONT DEM.D
    runa-ta wañu-chi-n
    PERSON-ACC die-CAUS-3
    ‘The gringos go to the heights, they say. How on earth could they kill those people?’

With subordinate clauses, it may indicate a prerequisite or a necessary condition for the event to take place, translating in English as ‘first’ or ‘not until’ (9).

(9) Kisuta ruwashparaq trayamuyan. AMV
    kisu-ta ruwa-shpa-raq traya-mu-ya-n
    cheese-ACC make-SUBIS-CONT arrive-CISL-PROG-3
    ‘Once she makes the cheese, she’s coming.’

Chay-raq indicates an imminent future, translating in Andean Spanish recién (10). Employed as a coordinator, it implies a contrast between the coordinated elements (see §7.3).

(10) Chayraqmi tapayan. Qallaykuyani chayraq. AMV
    chay-raq-mi tapa-ya-n qalla-yku-ya-ni chay-raq
    DEM.D-CONT-EVD cover-PROG-3 begin-EXcep-PROG-1 DEM.D-CONT
    ‘He’s just now going to cap it. I’m just now going to start.’

6.2.9 Sequential -taq

-taq indicates the sequence of events (1).

(1) Tardiqa yapa listu suyan; yapataqshi trayarun. AMV
    tardi-qa yapa listu suya-n yapa-taq-shi traya-ru-n
    afternoon-TOP again ready wait-3 again-SEQ-EVR arrive-URGT-3
    ‘In the afternoon, again, ready, he waits. Then, again, [the zombie] arrived.’

Adelaar (p.c.) points out that in Ayacucho Quechua -ña-taq is a fixed combination. It appears that may be the case here too (2–4). In these examples -taq seems to continue to indicate a sequence of events.
6 Enclitics

(2)  
\[ \text{Lliwta pikarushpa, kaymanñataq quturini trurani wakmanñataq. AMV lliw-ta pika-ru-shpa kay-man-ña-taq qutu-ri-ni} \]
\[ \text{all-ACC pick-URGT-SUBDS DEM.D-ALL-DISC-SEQ gather-INCEP-1} \]
\[ \text{trura-ni wak-man-ña-taq} \]
\[ \text{put-1 DEM.P-ALL-DISC-SEQ} \]

“When I have all these sorted, then I gather everything here and then store it there.’

(3)  
\[ \text{Qaliqa takllawanmi halun. Qipantaña taq kulpakta maqanchik pikuwan. CH} \]
\[ \text{qali-qa taklla-wan-mi halu-n qipa-n-ta-ña-taq} \]
\[ \text{man-TOP plow-INSTR-EVD turn.earth-3 behind-3-ACC-DISC-SEQ} \]
\[ \text{kulpa-kta maqa-nchik piku-wan} \]
\[ \text{clod-ACC hit-1PL pick-INSTR} \]

‘Men turn over the earth with a foot plow. Behind them, then, we break up the clods with a pick.’

(4)  
\[ \text{Ñuqapa makiywan aytrichiyanmi. Kanan trakillañaataq. Huknin makiwanñataq kananmi. AMV} \]
\[ \text{ñuqa-pa maki-y-wan aytri-chi-ya-n-mi kanan} \]
\[ \text{I-GEN hand-1-INSTR stir-CAUS-PROG-3-EVD now} \]
\[ \text{traki-lla-ña-taq huk-ni-n maki-wan-ña-taq kanan-mi} \]
\[ \text{foot-RSTR-DISC-SEQ one-EUPH-3 hand-INSTR-DISC-SEQ now-EVD} \]

‘He’s stirring it with my hand. Now, the foot. Now with the other hand.’

In a question introduced by an interrogative (pi-, ima- ...) -taq attaches to the interrogative in case it is the only word in the phrase or, in case the phrase includes two or more words, to the final word in the phrase (5–7).

(5)  
\[ \text{¡Ishpaykuruwan! ¿Imapaqtq ishpan? AMV} \]
\[ \text{ishpa-yku-ru-wa-n ima-paq-taq ishpa-n} \]
\[ \text{urinate-EXcep-URGT-1.OBJ-3 what-PURP-SEQ urinate-3} \]

‘It urinated on me! Why does it urinate?’

(6)  
\[ \text{¿Ima rikuqtaq karqa sapatillayki? AMV} \]
\[ \text{ima rikuq-taq ka-rqa sapatilla-yki} \]
\[ \text{what color-SEQ be-PST shoe-2} \]

‘What color were your shoes?’
6.2 Individual enclitics

¿Imanashaqtaq? Diosllatañatriki. LT
ima-na-shaq-taq Dios-lla-ta-ña-tr-iki
what-VRBZ-1.FUT-SEQ God-RSTR-ACC-DISC-EVC-IKI
‘What am I going to do? It’s for God already.’

In this capacity, -taq may be the most transparent of the enclitics attaching to q-phrases. In a clause with a conditional or in a subordinate clause, -taq can indicate a warning (8).

(8) Kurasunniyman shakashta trurayan. Ñuqa niyani
    “¡Kaniruwaptinña-taq!” AMV
    kurasun-ni-y-man shakash-ta trura-ya-n ñuqa ni-ya-ni
    heart-EUPH-1-ALL guinea.pig-ACC put-PROG-3 I say-PROG-1
    kani-ru-wa-pto-n-ña-taq
    bite-URGT-1.OBJ-SUBDS-3-DISC-SEQ
    ‘He’s putting the guinea pig over my heart. I’m saying, “Be careful it
doesn’t bite me!”’

-taq also functions as a conjunction (9) (see §7.3).

(9) Warmiñataq puchkawan qariñataq tihiduwan. AMV
    warmi-ña-taq puchka-wan qari-ña-taq tihidu-wan
    women-DISC-SEQ spinning-INSTR man-DISC-SEQ weaving-INSTR
    ‘Women with spinning and men with weaving.’

6.2.10 Emotive -ya

-ya indicates regret or resignation. It can be translated ‘alas’ or ‘regretfully’ or with a sigh. Not very widely employed.

(1) Hinashpaqaya, “Wañurachishaqña wakchachaytaqa dimasllam
    sufriyan.” AMV
    hinashpa-qa-ya wañu-ra-chi-shaq-ña wakcha-cha-y-ta-qa
    then-TOP-EMO die-URGT-CAUS-1.FUT-DISC lamb-DIM-1-ACC-TOP
    dimas-lla-m sufri-ya-n
    too.much-RSTR-EVD suffer-PROG-3
    ‘Then, alas, ‘I’m going to kill my little lamb already – he’s suffering
too much,” [I said].’
6 Enclitics

(2)  
\[ \text{Unay runakunaqa yatrayan masta, mastaya, lliwta ... aaaa. AMV} \]
\[ \text{unay runa-kuna-qa yatra-ya-n mas-ta mas-ta-ya} \]
\[ \text{before person-PL-TOP know-PROG-3 more-ACC more-ACC-EMO} \]
\[ \text{lliw-ta aaaa} \]
\[ \text{all-ACC ahhh} \]

‘In the old days, people knew more, more, everything, ahhh.’

6.2.11 Evidence

Evidentials indicate the type of the speaker’s source of information. SYQ, like most\(^7\) other Quechuan languages, counts three evidential suffixes: direct \(-mi\) (1–3), reportative \(-shi\) (4–6), and conjectural \(-tri\) (7–9) (i.e. the speaker has her own evidence for P (generally visual); the speaker learned P from someone else; or the speaker infers P based on some other evidence). Following a short vowel, these are realized as \(-m\), \(-sh\), and \(-tr\), respectively (3), (6), (9).

(1)  
\[ \text{Taytacha José irransakurqa chaypa. AMV} \]
\[ \text{tayta-cha José irransa-ku-rqa chay-pa-m} \]
\[ \text{father-DIM José herranza-REFL-PST DEM.D-LOC-EVD} \]

‘My grandfather José held herranzas there.’

(2)  
\[ \text{Trurawarqaya huk ratu. Manayá puchukachiwarqachu.} \]
\[ \text{Trurawarqam. AMV} \]
\[ \text{trura-wa-rqa-yá huk ratu mana-yá} \]
\[ \text{put-1.OBJ-PST-EMPH one moment no-EMPH} \]
\[ \text{puchuka-chi-wa-rqa-chu trura-wa-rqa-m} \]
\[ \text{finish-CAUS-1.OBJ-PST-NEG put-1.OBJ-PST-EVD} \]

‘They put me in [school] a short while. They didn’t have me finish, but they did put me in.’

(3)  
\[ \text{Qayna puntraw qanin puntrawlla trayamura:. ACH} \]
\[ \text{qayna puntraw qanin puntraw-lla-m} \]
\[ \text{previous day day.before.yesterday day-RSTR-EVD} \]
\[ \text{traya-mu-ra-:} \]
\[ \text{arrive-CISL-PST-1} \]

‘I arrived yesterday, just the day before yesterday.’

\(^7\) Note, though, that Huallaga Q counts four evidentials, \((-mi, -shi, -chi, \text{ and } -chaq)\) (Weber 1989:76). South Conchucos Q counts six, \((-mi, -shi, -chi, -cha; \text{ and } -cher)\); Sihuas, too, counts six (Hintz and Hintz 2014).
6.2 Individual enclitics

(4) *Radyukunapa rimayta rimayan. Lluqsiyamunshi tirurista. Tirurista rikariyamunshi. sp*
radio-PL-LOC talk-INF-ACC talk-PROG-3 go.out-PROG-CISL-3-EVR
tirurista tirurista rikari-ya-mu-n-shi
terrorist terrorist appear-PROG-CISL-3-EVR
‘On the radio they talk for the sake of talking. Terrorists are coming out, they say. Terrorists are appearing, they say.’

(5) *Chay uchukllapa pashña-taq uywakuptinñataqshi maqtaqa aparqa mikunanta.*
dem.d small-RSTR-LOC girl-ACC raise-REFL-SUBDS-3-DISC-SEQ-EVR
maqta-qa apa-rqa miku-na-n-ta
‘When he raised the girl in that cave, the man brought her his food, they say.’

(6) *Qarintash wañurachin mashantash wañurachin.*
man-3-ACC-EVR die-URGT-CAUS-3 son.in.law-3-ACC-EVR
wañu-ra-chi-n
die-URGT-CAUS-3
‘She killed her husband, they say; she killed her son-in-law, they say.’

(7) *Qiñwalman trayarachiptiki wañukunmantri.*
quingual.grove-ALL arrive-URGT-CAUS-SUBDS-2 die-REFL-3-COND-EVC
‘If you make her go all the way to the quingual grove, she might die.’

(8) *Suwawantri. Durasnuy kara mansanay kara qanin puntraw.*
rob-1.OBJ-3-EVR peach-1 be-PST apple-1 be-PST previous day
‘They may have robbed me. The day before yesterday I had peaches and apples.’
Wasiy rahasa kayan. Saqaykurunqatr. AMV
wasi-y raha-sa ka-ya-n saqa-yku-ru-nqa-tr
house-1 crack-PRF be-PROG-3 go.down-EXCEP-URGT-3.FUT-EVC
‘My house is cracked. It’s going to fall down.’

The evidential system of syq is unusual among Quechuan languages, however, in that it overlays the three-way distinction standard to Quechua with a second three-way distinction. The set of evidentials in syq thus counts nine members: -mI, -m-ik, and -m-iki; -shI, -sh-ik, and -sh-iki; and -trI, -tr-ik, and -tr-iki. The -I, -ik, and -iki forms are not allomorphs: they receive different interpretations, generally indicating increasing degrees of evidence strength or, in the case of modalized verbs, increasing modal force. §6.2.11 describes this system in some detail. For further formal analysis, see Shimelman (2012).

In addition to indicating the speaker’s information type, evidentials also function to indicate focus or comment and to complete copular predicates (for further discussion and examples, see §7.11 and 7.8 on emphasis and equatives).

Evidentials are subject to the following distributional restrictions. They never attach to the topic or subject; these are, rather, marked with -qa. In content questions, the evidential attaches to the question word or to the last word of the questioned phrase (10) (see §7.6 on interrogation).

(10) ¿Maymi chay warmi? AMV
may-mi chay warmi
where-EVD DEM.D woman
‘Where is that woman?’

Evidentials do not appear in commands or injunctions (11); finally, only one evidential may occur per clause (12).

(11) ¡Ruwaruchun*mi/shi/tri! AMV
ruwa-ru-chun-*mi/shi/tri
make-URGT-INJUNC-EVD-EVR-EVC
‘Let him do it!’

(12) ¡Vakay wira wiram, matraypi puñushpa, allin pastuta mikushpam. AMV
vaka-y wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa allin pastu-ta
cow-1 fat fat-EVD cave-LOC sleep-SUBIS good pasture.grass-ACC
miku-shpa-m
eat-REFL-EVD
‘My cow is really fat, sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture grass.’
All three evidentials are interpreted as assertions. The first, \(-ml\), is generally left untranslated in Spanish; the second, \(-shl\), is often rendered “dice ‘they say’”; the third is reflected in a change in verb tense or mode (see §6.2.11.3). The difference between the three is a matter, first, of whether or not evidence is from personal experience, and, second, whether that evidence supports the proposition, \(p\), immediately under the scope of the evidential or another set of propositions, \(P'\), that are evidence for \(p\), as represented in Table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supports scope proposition (p)</th>
<th>Supports (P') evidence for (p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct</strong></td>
<td><strong>REPORTATIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(personal experience) evidence</td>
<td>(-ml)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reportative</strong></td>
<td><strong>REPORTATIVE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-personal experience) evidence</td>
<td>(-shl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So, employing \(-ml(p)\), the speaker asserts predicate \(p\) and represents that she has personal-experience evidence for \(p\); employing \(-shl(p)\), the speaker asserts \(p\) and refers the hearer to another source for evidence for \(p\); and employing \(-trl(p)\), the speaker asserts \(p\) and represents that \(p\) is a conjecture from \(P'\), propositions for which she has either \(-ml\)-type or \(-shl\)-type evidence or both. That is, although SYQ counts three evidential suffixes, it counts only two evidence types, direct and reportative; these two are jointly exhaustive. §6.2.11.1–6.2.11.3 cover \(-ml\), \(-shl\), and \(-trl\), in turn. §6.2.11.4 covers the evidential modifiers, \(-ari\) and \(-ik/iki\).

### 6.2.11.1 Direct \(-ml\)

\(-ml\) indicates that the speaker speaks from direct experience. Unlike \(-shl\) and \(-trl\), it is generally left untranslated. Note that in the examples below, with the exception of (1), the speaker’s knowledge is not the product of visual experience.

1. **Vakaqa kaypa waqrayuqmiki kayan. AMV**
   
   vaka-qa kay-pa waqra-yuq-m-iki ka-ya-n
   
   cow-top DEM.P-LOC horn-POSS-EVD-IKI be-PROG-3
   
   “The cows here have horns.”
6 Enclitics

(2) *Piñiy mi pakarayan wasiypa wak ichuy pa ukunpa.* AMV
  *piñi-y-mi* necklace-1-EVD  *paka-ra-ya-n* hide-UNINT-INTENS-3  *wasi-y-pa* house-1-LOC  *wak ichuy-pa* DEM.D straw-GEN  *uku-n-pa* inside-3-LOC
  ‘My necklace is hidden in my house under the straw.’

(3) *Chaywan mi pwirtata ruwayani. Mana achkataq ruwanichu.* AMV
  *chay-wan-mi* dem.d door-acc  *pwirta-ta ruwa-ya-ni mana-m achka-taq* make-PROG-1 no-EVD a.lot-ACC  *ruwa-ni-chu* make.1-NEG
  ‘I make doors with this. I don’t make a lot.’

(4) *Karrupis ashnakuyanmi.* ACH
  *karru-pis* car-ADD  *ashna-ku-ya-n-mi* smell-refl-prog-3-EVD
  ‘The buses, too, stink.’

(5) *Qunirirachishunki. Kaliyntamanchik mi.* ACH
  ‘It warms you up. It warms us up.’

6.2.11.2 Reportative -*shI*

-*shI* indicates that the speaker’s evidence does not come from personal experience (1–4).

(1) *Awkichanka urqupaqa inkantush – karrush chinkarurqa qutrapa.* AMV
  *Awkichanka urqu-pa-qa inkantu-sh karru-sh chinka-ru-rqa*
  *Awkichanka hill-LOC-TOP spirit-EVR car-EVR lose-URGT-PST qutra-pa*
  lake-LOC
  ‘In the hill Okichanka, there is a spirit, they say – a car was lost in a reservoir.’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(2) *Mashwaqa prustatapaqshi allin. CH*
*mashwa-qa prustata-paq-shi allin*
mashua-TOP prostate-BEN-EVR good
‘Mashua is good for the prostate, they say.’

(3) *Chaypash runtuta mikuchishunki. AMV*
*chay-pa-sh runtu-ta miku-chi-shu-nki*
DEM.D-LOC-EVR egg-ACC eat-CAUS-2.OBJ-2
‘They’ll feed you eggs there, they say.’

(4) *Lata-wan yanu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra. ACH*
*lata-wan yanu-shpa-taq-shi runa-ta-pis miku-ru-ra*
can-INSTR cook-SUBIS-SEQ-EVR person-ACC-ADD eat-URGT-PST
‘They [the Shining Path] even cooked people in metal pots and ate them, they say.’

It is used systematically in stories (5), (6).

(5) *Unayshi kara huk asnu. SP*
*unay-shi ka-ra huk asnu*
before-EVR be-PST one donkey
‘Once upon a time, they say there was a mule.’

(6) *Chaypaqshi kutirun maman kaqta papanin kaqta. LT*
*chay-paq-shi kuti-ru-n mama-n ka-q-ta papa-ni-n*
DEM.D-ABL-EVR return-URGT-3 mother-3 be-AG-ACC father-EUPH-3
*ka-q-ta*
be-AG-ACC
‘He returned from there, they say, to his mother’s place, to his father’s place.’

6.2.11.3 Conjectural -trI

-trI indicates that the speaker does not have evidence for the proposition directly under the scope of the evidential, but is, rather, conjecturing to that proposition from others for which she does have evidence (1–8).
(1) *Awayan*trikami*ata*. AMV
awa-*ya-n-tr-iki kama-ta
weave-PROG-EVR-IKI blanket-ACC
‘He must be weaving a blanket.’

(2) *Wañoypaqpis kaya*chuwantrikii.* AMV
waño-*y-paq-pis ka-ya-chuwan-tr-iki
die-INF-ABL-ADD be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC-IKI
‘We could be also about to die.’

(3) *Kukachankunata aparuptiyqa tiyaparuwanqatrik*. AMV
kuka-*cha-n-kuna-ta apa-ru-pto-y-qa
coca-DIM-3-PL-ACC bring-URGT-SUBDS-1-TOP
tiya-pu-ra-wa-nqa-tr-ik
sit-BEN-URGT-1.OBJ-EVC-IKI
‘If I bring them their coca, they’ll accompany me sitting.’

(4) *Chayman*trikayari*ku*. ACH
chay-*man-tr-ik aya-ri-ku-ra
dem.D-ALL-EVC-IK cadaver-INCEP-REFL-PST
‘She must have become a cadaver.’

(5) *Upyachinmantri*. CH
upya-*chi-ma-n-tri
drink-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-EVC
‘She might make me drink.’

(6) *Yakuña*tr riku*yan pampa*ntaqaa.* ACH
yaku-*ña-tr ri-ku-ya-n pampa-n-ta-qa
water-DISC-EVC go-REFL-PROG-3 ground-3-ACC-TOP
‘Water should already be running along the ground.’

(7) *Allintaqa. Kapastrik palabrata kichwapa apakunqa kananpis.* sp
allin-ta-qa kapas-tr-iki palabra-ta kichwa-pa
good-ACC-TOP possible-EVC-IKI word-ACC Quechua-GEN
apa-ku-*nqa kanan-pis
bring-REFL-3.FUT now-ADD
‘Good. Maybe they’ll bring Quechua now, too.’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(8) *Ayvis kumpañaw hamuyan – wañuypaqpis kayachuwantriki.* AMV

 sometimes accompanied come-PROG-3 die-1-PURP-ADD

 be-PROG-1PL.COND-EVC-IKI

‘Sometimes someone comes accompanied – we might be also about to die.’

6.2.11.4 Evidential modification

SYQ counts four evidential modifiers, -ari and the set ø, -ik and -iki. §6.2.11.4.1 and 6.2.11.4.2 cover -ari and -ø/-ik/iki, respectively. The latter largely repeats Shimmelman (2012).

6.2.11.4.1 Assertive force -aRi -aRi – realized -ali in CH (1) and -ari in all other dialects – indicates conviction on the part of the speaker.\(^8\)

(1) *Wayrakuyan mari.* AMV

 wind-REFL-PROG-3-EVD-ARI

‘It’s windy.’

It can often be translated as ‘surely’ or ‘certainly’ or ‘of course’. -aRi generally occurs only in combination with -mI (2), (3), -shI (4), (5) and -Yá (6–8).

(2) *Manamari llapa ruwayaqhina kayani.* AMV

 make-PROG-AG-COMP be-PROG-1

‘No, of course, it seems like I’m making it all up.’

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\(^8\) The Quechuas of (at least) Ancash-Huailas Parker (1976: 151), Cajamarca-Canaris Quesada Castillo (1976: 158) and Junin-Huancan Cerrón-Palomino (1976a: 238–9) have suffixes -rI, -rI and -ari, respectively, which, like the SYQ -k succeed evidentials and are most often translated *pues* ‘then’. It seems unlikely that the AHQ, CCQ and JHQ forms correspond to the -k or -ki of SYQ. First, unlike -ik or -iki, -rI and -ari may appear independent of any evidential and they may function as general emphatics. Second, SYQ, too, has a suffix -ari which, like -rl and -ari, functions as a general emphatic, also translating as *pues*. Third, the SYQ -ari is in complementary distribution with -k and -ki. Finally, unlike the AHQ, CCQ and JHQ forms, the SYQ -ari cannot appear independently of the evidentials -mI or -shI or else of -y, and, further, always forms an independent word with these.
(3) Ñuqa[ta]s firmachiwanmari. Piru manashari chay wawi warmiytapis firmachinraqchu. LT
ñuqa-[ta]-s firma-chi-wa-n-m-ari piru mana-sh-ari chay
I-ACC-ADD sign-CAUS-1.OBJ-3-EVD-ARI but no-EVR-ARI DEM.D
wawi warmi-y-ta-pis firma-chi-n-raq-chu
baby woman-1-ACC-ADD sign-CAUS-3-CONT-NEG
‘They made me sign, too. But they didn’t make my daughter sign yet, they say.’

(4) Viñaçpqshali. CH
Viñaç-pq-sh-ali
Viñaç-ABL-EVR-ARI
‘From Viñaç, she says, then.’

(5) Ripunshari umaqa kunkanman. AMV
ripu-n-sh-ari uma-qa kunka-n-man
go-3-EVR-ARI head-TOP neck-3-ALL
‘The head went [flying back] towards his neck, they say.’

(6) ¡Kurriy! Qillakuyankitrari. LT
kurri-y qilla-ku-ya-nki-tr-ari
run-IMP lazy-REFL-PROG-2-EVC-ARI
‘Run! ... You must be being lazy.’

(7) Kidakushun kaypayari. ACH
kida-ku-shun kay-pa-y-ari
stay-REFL-1PL.FUT DEM.P-LOC-EMPH-ARI
‘We’re going to stay here.’

(8) Yatraqningqa mana yatraqningqa manayari. AMV
yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana yatra-q-ni-n-qa mana-y-ari
know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP no know-AG-EUPH-3-TOP no-EMPH-ARI
‘The ones who knew how. The ones who didn’t know how, no, of course.’

It is far less often employed than -ik and -iki. It is, however, prevalent in the LT
dialect, which supplied the single instance of tr-ari in the corpus (9).
6.2 Individual enclitics

(9) *Chay wayra itana piru rimidyum Hilda. ¡Piru wachikunyari! AMV
    chay wayra itana piru rimidyu-m Hilda piru
    DEM.D wind thorn but remedy-EVD Hilda but
    wachi-ku-n-y-ari
    sting-REFL-3-EMPH-ARI
    ‘The wind thorns are medicinal, Hilda. But do they ever sting!’

6.2.11.4.2 Evidence strength -ik and -iki SYQ is unusual\(^9\) in that each of its
three evidentials counts three variants, formed by the suffixation of -ø, -ik or
-iki. The resulting nine forms are direct -mI-ø, -m-ik and -m-iki (1–3); reportative
-shl-ø, -sh-ik and -sh-iki (4–6); and conjectural -trl-ø, -tr-ik and -tr-iki (7–9).\(^10\)

(1) *Manam trayamunchu manamik rikarinchu. ACH
    mana-m traya-mu-n-chu mana-m-ik rikari-n-chu
    no-EVD arrive-CISL-3-NEG no-EVD-IK appear-3-NEG
    ‘He hasn’t arrived. He hasn’t showed up.’

(2) *Limatam rishaq. Limapaqa buskaq kanmiki. Sutintapis rimayanmiki.
    ¿Ichu manachu? LT
    Lima-ta-m ri-shaq Lima-pa-qa buska-q ka-n-m-iki
    Lima-ACC-EVD go-1.FUT Lima-LOC-TOP look.for-AG be-3-EVD-IKI
    suti-n-ta-pis rima-ya-n-m-iki ichu mana-chu
    name-3-ACC-ADD talk-PROG-3-EVD-IKI or no-Q
    ‘I’m going to go to Lima. In Lima, there are people who read cards,
    then. They’re saying his name, then, yes or no?’

(3) *Wañuchinakun imamiki chaytaqa munachu. SP
    wañu-chi-naku-n ima-m-iki chay-ta-qa muna-:-chu
    die-CAUS-RECIP-3 what-EVD-IKI DEM.D-ACC-TOP want-1-NEG
    ‘They kill each other and what-not, then. I don’t want that.’

\(^9\) Ayacucho Q also makes use of -ki.
\(^10\) In Lincha, -iki may modify both -mI and -shI but not -trl; in Tana, -iki may modify all three
evidentials.
6 Enclitics

(4) Chayshik chay susyukuna ruwapakurqa chay nichuchanta wañushpa chayman pampakunanpaq. AMV
chay-sh-ik chay susyu-kuna ruwa-paku-rqa chay
DEM.D-EVR-1K DEM.D associates-PL make-JTACC-PST DEM.D
nichu-cha-n-ta wañu-shpa chay-man pampa-ku-na-n-paq
crypt-DIM-3-ACC die-SUBIS DEM.D-ALL bury-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP
‘That’s why, they say, before, the members made each other the small crypts, to bury them when they died.’

(5) Llutanshiki. Llutan runashik kan. LT
llutan-sh-iki llutan runa-sh-ik ka-n
ugly-EVR-1K ugly person-EVR-1K be-3
‘They’re messed up, they say. There are messed up people, they say.’

(6) “¡Mátalol!” nisha shiki. CH
mátalol ni-sha-sh-iki
[Spanish] say-NPST-EVR-IKI
‘“Kill him!” she’s said, they say.’

(7) ¿Imapaqraq chayta ruwara paytaqa? Yanqaña trik chayta wañuchira. ACH
ima-paq-raq chay-ta ruwa-ra pay-ta-qa yancaña-tr-ik
what-PURP-CONT DEM.D-ACC make-PST he-ACC-TOP lie-DISC-EVC-IK
chay-ta wañu-chi-ra
DEM.D-ACC die-CAUS-PST
‘What did they do that to him for? They must have killed him just for the sake of it.’

(8) Ablanshiki. “Tragu, vino”, nishpatriki ablayamun. SP
abla-n-sh-iki tragu vino ni-shpa-tr-iki abla-ya-mu-n
talk-3-EVR-IKI drink wine say-SUBIS-EVC-IKI talk-PROG-CISL-3
‘They talk, they say, for sure. “Pay me liquor, wine,” they must be saying, talking.’
6.2 Individual enclitics

(9) Alkansachin warkawan\textit{tri}. Kabrapis kasusam, piru. Riqsiyan\textit{triki} runantaqa. AMV
alkansa-\textit{chi-n} warka-wan-\textit{tri} kabra-pis kasu-\textit{sa-m} piru
reach-CAUS-3 sling-INSTR-EVC goat-ADD attention-PRF-EVD but
riqsi-\textit{ya-n-tr-iki} runa-\textit{n-ta-qa}
know-PROG-3-EVC-IKI person-3-ACC-TOP
‘She must make [the stones] reach with the sling, for sure. The goats obey her. They must know their master, for sure.’

Evidentials obligatorily take evidential modifier (hereafter “\textit{em}”) arguments; \textit{ems} are enclitics and attach exclusively to evidentials. So, for example, *mishi-\textit{m} [cat-EVD] and *mishi-\textit{ki} (cat-IKI) are both ungrammatical. The corresponding grammatical forms would be mishi-\textit{m-ø} [cat-EVD-ø] and *mishi-\textit{mi-ki} (cat-EVD-IKI), respectively. With all three sets of evidentials, the -\textit{ik} form is associated with some variety of increase over the -\textit{ø} form; the -\textit{iki} form, with greater increase still. With all three evidentials, -\textit{ik} and -\textit{iki} – except in those cases in which they take scope over universal-deontic-modal or future-tense verbs – indicate an increase in strength of evidence. With the direct -\textit{mI}, -\textit{ik} and -\textit{iki} generally also affect the interpretation of strength of assertion; with the conjectural -\textit{trI}, the interpretation of certainty of conjecture. In the case of universal-deontic modal and future-tense verbs, with both -\textit{mI} and \textit{trI}, -\textit{ik} and -\textit{iki} indicate increasingly strong obligation and increasingly imminent/certain futures, respectively.

6.2.11.5 Evidentials in questions

In questions, the evidentials generally indicate that the speaker expects a response with the same evidential (\textit{i.e.}, an answer based on direct evidence, reportative evidence or conjecture, in the cases of -\textit{mI}, -\textit{shI}, and -\textit{trI}, respectively) (1–3).

(1) ¿Amador Garaychu? ¿\textit{Imam} sutin kara? ACH
Amador Garay-chu ima-m sutit n ka-ra
Amador Garay-Q what-EVD name-3 be-PST
‘Amador Garay? What was his name?’

(2) ¿\textit{Maypish} wasinta lulayan? CH
may-pi-sh wasi-n-ta lula-ya-n
where-LOC-EVR house-3-ACC make-PROG-3
‘Where did she say she’s making her house?’
6 Enclitics

(3) ¿Kutiramunmanchutr? ¿Imatrik pasan? ACH
   kuti-ra-mu-n-man-chu-tr ima-tr-ik pasan
   return-URGT-CISL-Q-EVC what-EVC-IK pass-3
   ‘Could he come back? What would have happened?’

The use of -trl in a question may, additionally, indicate that the speaker doesn’t actually expect any response at all (4), while the use of -shl may indicate not that the speaker is expecting an answer based on reported evidence, but that the speaker is reporting the question.

(4) ¿Kawsanchutr manachutr? No se sabe. ACH
   kawsa-n-chu-tr mana-chu-tr? No se sabe.
   live-3-Q-EVC no-Q-EVC [Spanish]
   ‘Would he be alive or dead? We don’t know.’
7 Syntax

This chapter covers the syntax of Southern Yauyos Quechua. The chapter counts fourteen sections covering constituent order, sentences, coordination, comparison, negation, interrogation, reflexives and reciprocals, equatives, possession, topic, emphasis, complementation, relativization and subordination.

7.1 Constituent order

The unmarked constituent order in syq, as in other Quechuan languages, is SOV (Mila-qa vikuña-n-kuna-ta riku-ra ‘Melanie saw her vicuñas’). That said, because constituents are obligatorily marked for case, a change in the order of constituents in an utterance will not necessarily change the sense of that utterance (Mila-qa riku-ra vikuña-n-kuna-ta ‘Melanie saw her vicuñas’). Change in constituent order does not necessarily change the interpretation of topic or focus. Topic is generally signaled by -qa, while the evidentials -ml, -shl, and -trl signal focus (Carmen-qa llama-n-kuna-ta-sh wañu-chi-nqa ‘Carmen will butcher her llamas, they say’ Carmen-qa llama-n-kuna-ta wañu-chi-nqa-sh ‘Carmen will butcher her llamas, they say’). In the first case, the focus is on the direct object: she will butcher her llamas and not, say, her goats; in the second case, it is the verb that is marked as the focus: she will butcher her llamas and not, say, pet them. Nevertheless, the verb and the object cannot commute in subordinate clauses, where only the order OV is grammatical (fruta-cha-y-kuna apa-sa-y-ta ‘the fruit I bring’ *apa-sa-y-ta fruta-cha-y-kuna-ta).

Modifiers generally precede the elements they modify: adjectives precede the nouns they modify (yuraq wayta ‘white flower’), possessors precede the thing possessed (pay-pa pupu-n ‘her navel’), and relative clauses precede their heads (trabaha-sa-yki wasi-pa ‘in the house where you worked’). In case an NP includes multiple modifiers, these appear in the order: (1) \text{DEM-QUANT-NUM-NEG-PREADJ-ADJ-ATR-NUCLEUS}
7 Syntax

7.2 Sentences

With the exceptions of (a) abbreviated questions and responses to questions (¿May-pi? ‘Where?’ Chay-pi-(m) ‘There’), and (b) exclamations (¡Atatayáw! ‘How disgusting!’) no SYQ sentence is grammatical without a verb (‘Sasa. ‘Hard’). As it is unnecessary in SYQ to specify either the subject or the object, a verb alone inflected for person is sufficient for grammaticality (Apa-n ‘[She] brings [it]’). First- and second-person objects are indicated in verbal inflection: -wa/-ma indicates a first-person object, and -yki, -sHQayki and -shunki indicate second-person objects (suya-wa-nki ‘you wait for me’ suya-shunki ‘She’ll wait for you’) (see §4.3.2.2 on actor-object reference).

7.3 Coordination

The enclitics -pis, -taq, and -raq can all be used to coordinate NPs (1–2), AdvPs and VPs (3); the case suffix -wan can be used with the first two of these three (4). -pis, -taq, and -raq generally imply relations of inclusion, contrast, or contradiction, respectively. Thus, -pis (inclusion) can generally be translated as ‘and’ or ‘also’ (1), (2).

(1) walmipis qalipis CH
    walmi-pis qali-pis
    woman-ADD man-ADD
    ‘women and men’

(2) Uyqapaqpis kanmi alpakapaqpis kanmi llamapaqpis kanmi. ACH
    uyqa-paq-pis ka-n-mi alpaka-paq-pis ka-n-mi llama-paq-pis
    sheep-ABL-ADD be-3-EVD alpaca-ABL-ADD be-3-EVD llama-ABL-ADD
    ka-n-mi
    be–3–EVD
    ‘There are [some] out of sheep [wool] and there are [some] out of alpaca [wool] and there are [some] out of llama [wool].’

1 An anonymous reviewer suggests that a better gloss here would be ‘not only women, but men, too.’ This gloss would be consistent with an analysis of -pis as generally indicating contrast. In this case, I am directly translating the Spanish gloss suggested to me by my consultant.
Ishpani pis chu puquchini pis chu urinate-1-ADD-NEG ferment-CAUS-1-ADD-NEG ‘I neither urinate nor ferment [urine].’

-wan is unmarked and can generally be translated as ‘and’ (4).

Mila wan Alicia wan Hilda trayaramun. Mila-instr Alicia-instr Hilda-instr arrive-URGT-CISL-3 ‘Hilda arrived with Mila and Alicia.’

-taq and -raq (contrast and contradiction) can both be translated ‘but’, ‘while’, ‘whereas’ and so on (5).

Wawanchikta idukanchik qillakunaqa mana taq mi. We’re educating our children; whereas the lazy ones aren’t.

Additional strategies employed for coordination in SYQ include (a) the employment of the indigenous coordinating particle icha ‘or’ (6) or any of the borrowed Spanish coordinators i ‘and’ (7), u ‘or’ (8), piru ‘but’ (9), or ni ‘nor’ (10) (Sp. y, o, pero, and ni) and (b) juxtaposition.

Mikuramanmantri kara icha aparamanmantri. It would have eaten me or it would have taken me away.

Tushunchik i imahintam kriyinchik nüqakunaqa piru chay ivanhilyukuna sabadistakunaqa mana kriyinchu. We dance and believe in the saints but those Evangelists and Seventh Day Adventists don’t believe.
7 Syntax

(8) Kaytaq ishkay puntraw u huk puntrawllam ruwa: ACH
kay-taq ishkay puntraw u huk puntraw-lla-m ruwa: DEM.P-SEQ two day or one day-RSTR-EVD make-1
‘I make this one in two days or just one day.’

(9) “Ñañaypis, turiypis kargam piru wañukunña,” nishpa, ¡rimay! AMV
ñaña-y-pis, turi-y-pis ka-rqa-m piru wañu-ku-n-ña
sister-1-ADD brother-1-ADD be-PST-EVD but die-REFL-3-DISC
ni-shpa rima-y
say-SUBIS talk-IMP
‘Say, “I had a sister and a brother, but they died.” Talk!’

(10) Ni alpaka ni llama. Kanan manam trayamunchu. ACH
ni alpaka ni llama kanan mana-m traya-mu-n-chu
nor alpaca nor llama now no-EVD arrive-CISL-3-NEG
‘Neither alpacas nor llamas. They don’t come here now.’

Juxtaposition is accomplished with the placement of the coordinated elements in sequence (11), (12).

(11) Sibadakunata kargashpa, triguta ranti-shpa, sarata ranti-shpam purira. ACH
sibada-kuna-ta karga-shpa trigu-ta ranti-shpa sara-ta
barley-PL-ACC carry-SUBIS wheat-ACC buy-SUBIS corn-ACC
ranti-shpa-m puri-rra
buy-SUBIS-EVD walk-PST
‘They walked about, carrying barley and selling wheat and selling corn.’

(12) Walmiqa talpunchik, allichanchikmi. CH
walmi-qq taipu-nchik alli-cha-nchik-mi
woman-TOP plant-1PL good-FACT-1PL-EVD
‘We women plant and fix up [the soil].’

When -kuna signals inclusion, it can be used to coordinate NP’s (13) (see §3.4.2.1).

(13) Chayman risa Marleni, Ayde, Vilma, Normakuna. AMV
chay-man ri-sa Marleni Ayde Vilma Norma-kuna
DEM.D-ALL go-NPST Marleni Ayde Vilma Norma-PL
‘Marleni went there with Ayde, Vilma and Norma.’
The Spanish coordinators are widely employed. Coordinators indigenous to SYQ generally attach to both coordinated elements (14). The coordinators are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

(14) Ullqush pis kayan, ¿aw? Chuqlluqupa pis yuraq pis puka pis. AMV
ullqush pis ka-ya-n aw chuqlluqupa pis
yllqush flowers-ADD be-PROG-3 yes chuqlluqupa flowers-ADD
yuraq pis puka pis
white-ADD red-ADD
‘There are ullqush flowers, too, no? Chuqlluqupa flowers, too – white and red.’

7.4 Comparison

Comparisons of inequality are formed in SYQ with the borrowed particle mas (‘more’) in construction with the indigenous ablative case suffix, -paq, which attaches to the base of comparison (1), (2).

(1) Huancayopaqa wak mashwaqa papa paq pis masmi kwistan. AMV
Huancayo-loc-top dem.d mashua-top potato-ABL-ADD more-evd
kwista-n
cost-3
‘In Huancayo, mashua costs more than potatoes.’

(2) Qayna puntraw paq masmi. AMV
qayna puntraw paq mas-mi
previous day-ABL more-evd
‘It’s more than yesterday.’

mas and minus ‘less’, also borrowed from Spanish, may function as pronouns (3) and adjectives (4), and, when inflected with accusative -ta, as adverbs (5) as well.

(3) Granadakunaktapis, armamintukunaktapis lantiyan masta. CH
granada-kuna-kta pis armamintu-kuna-kta pis lanti-ya-n mas-ta
grenade-PL-ACC-ADD armaments-PL-ACC-ADD buy-PROG-3 more-ACC
‘Grenades and weapons and all, too – they’re buying more.’
7 Syntax

(4) Qayna wata pukum karqa. Chaymi minus pastupis karqa. AMV
qayna wata puku-m ka-rqa chay-mi minus
previous year little-EVD be-PST DEM.D-EVD less
pastu-pis ka-rqa
pasture.grass-ADD be-PST
‘Last year there was little [rain]. So there was less pasture grass.’

(5) Mastaqa mashtakuyanmi. LT
mas-ta-qa mashta-ku-ya-n-mi
more-ACC-TOP spread-REFL-PROG-3-EVD
‘It’s spreading out more.’

Also borrowed from Spanish are the irregular mihur ‘better’ (6) and piyur ‘worse’ (7), (8).

(6) Pularpaqpis mas mihurtam chayqa ayllukun. ACH
pular-paq-pis mas mihur-ta-m chay-qa ayllu-ku-n
fleece-ABL-ADD more better-ACC-EVD DEM.D-TOP WTAP-REFL-3
‘It’s much better than fleece – this wraps [you] up.’

(7) Unayqa manayá iskwilaqa kasa. Unayqa analfabitullaya kayaq. Warmiqa piyur. AMV
unay-qa mana-yá iskwila-qa ka-sa unay-qa
before-TOP no-EMPH school-TOP be-NPST before-TOP
analfabitu-lla-ya ka-ya-q warmi-qa piyur
illiterate-RSTR-EMO be-PROG-AG woman-TOP worse
‘Ah, before, they didn’t have schools. Before, they were just illiterate. Worse [for the] women.’

(8) Sapa putraw piyur piyurñam kayani. Mastaña qayna puntraw mana
puriyta wakchawta qatiyta atipanichu. AMV
sapa putraw piyur piyur-ña-m ka-ya-ni mas-ta-ña
every day worse worse-DISC-EVD be-PROG-1 more-ACC-DISC
qayna puntraw mana puri-y-ta wakchaw-ta qati-y-ta
previous day no walk-INF-ACC sheep-ACC follow-INF-ACC
atipa-ni-chu
be.able-1-NEG
‘Every day it’s worse, I’m worse. More yesterday. I couldn’t walk or
take out my sheep.’

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Comparisons of equality are formed with the borrowed particle *igwal* ‘equal’, ‘same’ in construction with the indigenous instrumental/comitative case suffix, -wan, which attaches to the base of comparison (9).

(9) *Runawan igwaltriki vakaqa: nuybi mis. AMV runa-wan igwal-tr-iki vaka-qa: nuybi mis*
    person-INST equal-EVC-IKI cow-TOP nine month
    ‘Cows are the same as people: [they gestate for] nine months.’

7.5 Negation

This section partially repeats §6.2.2 on -chu. Please consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. In SYq, negation is indicated by the enclitic -chu in combination with any of the particles *mana*, *ama*, or *ni* or with the enclitic suffix -pis. -chu attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of negation. In negative sentences, -chu generally co-occurs with *mana* ‘not’ (1), (2). -chu is also licensed by additive -pis (3), (4) as well as by *ni* ‘nor’ (5), (6).

(1) *Chaytri mana suyawarqachu. AMV chay-tri mana suya-wa-rq-chu*
    DEM.D-EVC no wait-1.OBJ-PST-NEG
    ‘That’s why she wouldn’t have waited for me.’

(2) *Aa, manaya kanchu. Manaya bulayuq kanchu. LT aa mana-ya ka-n-chu mana-ya bula-yuq ka-n-chu*
    ah no-EMO be-3-NEG no-EMO ball-POSS be-3-NEG
    ‘Ah, there aren’t any. No one has any balls.’

(3) *Kaspinpis kanchu. AMV kaspipn-pis ka-n-chu*
    stick-3-ADD be-3-NEG
    ‘She doesn’t have a stick.’

(4) *Manchakushpa tutas puñu:chu. ACH mancha-ku-shpa tuta-s puñu:-chu*
    scare-REFL-SUBIS night-ADD sleep-1-NEG
    ‘Being scared, I didn’t sleep at night.’
7 Syntax

(5) *Apuraw wañururqariki. Ni apanñachu.* AMV
apuraw wañu-ru-rqa-r-iki ni apa-n-ña-chu
quick die-URGT-PST-R-IKI nor bring-3-DISC-NEG
‘He died quickly. They didn’t even bring him [to the hospital].’

(6) *Manam waytachu ni pishquchu.* AMV
manam wayta-chu ni pishqu-chu
no-EVD flower-NEG nor bird-NEG
‘Neither a flower nor a bird.’

-chu co-occurs with *ama* in prohibitions (7) and imperatives (8), (9), as well as in injunctions (10).

(7) ¡*Ama manchariychu!* ¡*Ama qawaychu!* AMV
ama mancha-ri-y-chu ama qawa-y-chu
PROH scare-INCEP-IMP-NEG AMA look-IMP-CHU
‘Don’t be scared! Don’t look!’

(8) ¡*Ama kutimunkichu!* Qamqa isturbum kayangi. AMV
ama kuti-mu-nki-chu qam-qa isturbu-m ka-ya-nki
PROH return-CISL-2-NEG you-TOP nuisance-EVD be-PROG-2
‘Don’t you come back! You’re a hinderance.’

(9) ¡*Amam nunka katraykanakushunchu!* LT
ama-m nunka katra-yka-naku-shun-chu
PROH-EVD never release-EXCEP-RECIPIPL.FUT-NEG
‘Let’s never leave each other!’

(10) ¡*Ama wañuchunchu!* † AMV
ama wañu-chun-chu
PROH die-INJUNC-NEG
‘Don’t let her die!’

-chu does not appear in subordinate clauses. In subordinate clauses negation is indicated with a negative particle alone (11–12).
(11) **Mana qali kaptinqa ŋuqanchikpis taqllakta hapishpa qaluwanchik. CH**
mana qali ka-ptime-qna ŋuqanchik-pis taqlla-kta hapishpa
no man be-SUBDS-3-TOP we-ADD plow-ACC grab-SUBIS
qaluwa-nchik
turn.earth-1PL
‘When there are no men, we grab the plow and turn the earth.’

(12) **Mana qatrachakunanpaq mandilchanta watachakun. AMV**
mana qatra-chakuna-n-paq mandil-cha-n-ta wata-chakun
no dirty-FACT-REFL-NMLZ-3-PURP apron-DIM-3-ACC tie-DIM-REFL-3
‘She’s tying on her apron so she doesn’t get dirty.’

### 7.6 Interrogation

This section partially repeats §3.2.3 and §6.2.2 on interrogative indefinites and -chu. Please consult those sections for further discussion and glossed examples.

Absolute (1) and disjunctive (2), (3) questions are formed with the enclitic -chu. When it functions to indicate interrogation, -chu attaches to the sentence fragment that is the focus of the interrogation (4).

(1) **¿Chuqamunkimanchu? AMV**
chuqa-munki-man-chu
throw-CISL-2-COND-Q
‘Can you throw?’

(2) **¿Maytaq chayqa? ¿Apurichu Viñacchu? CH**
may-taq chay-qa Apurí-chu Viñac-chu
where-SEQ DEM.D-TOP Apurí-Q Viñac-Q
‘Where is that? Apurí or Viñac?’

(3) **¿Maniyayan icha katrariyanchu? AMV**
maniya-ya-n icha katra-ri-ya-n-chu
tie.limbs-PROG-3 or release-INCEP-PROG-3-NEG
‘Is she tying its feet or is she setting it loose?’
7 Syntax

(4) ¿Chaypachu tumarganki? AMV
   chay-pa-chu tuma-rqa-nki
   DEM.D-LOC-Q take-PST-2
   ‘Did you take [pictures] there?’

In disjunctive questions, it generally attaches to each of the disjuncts (5).

(5) ¿Kanastapichu baldipichu? AMV
   kanasta-pi-chu baldi-pi-chu
   basket-LOC-Q bucket-LOC-Q
   ‘In the basket or in the bucket?’

Questions that anticipate a negative answer are indicated by manachu (6).

(6) ¿Manachu friqulniki? ¿Puchukarunchu? AMV
   mana-chu friqul-ni-ki puchuka-ru-n-chu
   no-Q bean-EUPH-2 finish-URGT-3-Q
   ‘Don’t you have any beans? They’re finished?’

Manachu may also “soften” questions (7).

(7) ¿Manachu chay wankuchata qawanki? AMV
   mana-chu chay wanku-cha-ta qawa-nki
   no-Q DEM.D mold-DIM-ACC see-2
   ‘You haven’t seen the little [cheese] mold?’

Manachu, like aw ‘yes’, may also be used in the formation of tag questions (8).

(8) Wak chimpapaqa yuraqyayan, ¿manachu? ACH
   wak chimpa-pa-qa yuraq-ya-ya-n mana-chu
   DEM.D front-LOC-TOP white-INCH-PROG-3 no-Q
   ‘There in front they’re turning white, aren’t they?’

Interrogative -chu does not appear in questions using interrogative pronouns (9), (10).

(9) *¿Pi haqtrirqachu? AMV
   pi haqtri-rqa-chu
   who sneeze-PST-Q
   ‘Who sneezed?’
7.6 Interrogation

(10) *¿Pitaq qurquryarachi? *¿Pitaqchu qurquryara? AMV
pi-taq qurqurya-ra-chu pi-taq-chu qurqurya-ra
who-SEQ snore-PST-Q who-SEQ-Q snore-PST
‘Who snored?’

Constituent questions are formed with the interrogative-indefinite stems pi ‘who’, ima ‘what’, imay ‘when’, may ‘where’, imayna ‘how’, mayqin ‘which’, imapaq ‘why’, and ayka ‘how much/many’ (see Table 3.2). Interrogative pronouns are formed by suffixing the stem – generally but not obligatorily – with one of the enclitics -taq, -raq, -mI, -shI or -trl (11–13).

(11) ¿Imay uraraq chay kunihuqa kutimunqa yanapamananpaq? sp
imay ura-raq chay kunihu-qa kuti-mu-nqa
when hour-CONT DEM.D rabbit-TOP return-CISL-3.FUT
yanapa-ma-na-n-paq
help-1.OBJ-NMLZ-3-PURP
‘What time is that rabbit going to come back so he can help me?’

(12) ¿Imatr kakun? LT
ima-tr ka-ku-n
what-REV be-REFL-3
‘What could it be?’

(13) Tapun, “¿Imapaq waqakunki, paluma?” ACH
tapu-n ima-paq waqa-ku-nki paluma
ask-3 what-PURP cry-REFL-2 dove
‘He asked, “Why are you crying, dove?”’

Interrogative pronouns are suffixed with the case markers corresponding to the questioned element (14), (15).

(14) ¿Inti pasaruptin imay urata munayan? AMV
inti pasa-ru-piti-n imay ura-ta muna-ya-n
sun pass-URGT-SUBDS-3 when hour-ACC want-PROG-3
‘What time will it be when the sun sets?’

(15) ¿Traklamanchu liyan? ¿Piwanýa? CH
trakla-man-chu li-ya-n pi-wan-yá
field-ALL-Q go-PROG-3 who-INSTR-EMPH
‘Is he going to the field? With whom?’
The enclitic generally attaches to the final word in the interrogative phrase: when the interrogative pronoun completes the phrase, it attaches directly to the interrogative; in contrast, when the phrase includes an NP, the enclitic attaches to the NP (pi-paq-taq ‘for whom’ ima qullqi-tr ‘what money’) (16).

(16) Chaypaqa wiñaraptinqa, ¿ayka puntrawnintataq riganchik? AMV
    chay-pa-qa wiña-ra-pti-n-qa ayka
dem.d-loc-top grow-unt-int-subds-3-top how.many
    puntra-ri-n-taq riga-nchik
day-euph-3-acc-seq irrigate-1pl
  ‘When it grows, at how many days do you water it?’

Enclitics are not employed in the interior of a subordinate clause but may attach to the final word in the clause (¿Pi mishi-ta saru-ri-sa-n-taq qawa-rqa-nki? ‘Who did you see trample the cat?’).

7.7 Reflexives and reciprocals

This section partially repeats §4.4.2.3.5 and §4.4.2.3.8 on -ku, and -na Please consult those sections for further discussion and examples. SYQ employs the verb-verb derivational suffixes -kU and -nakU to indicate reflexive and reciprocal action, respectively.

-kU may indicate that the subject acts on himself/herself or that the subject of the verb is the object of the event referred to, i.e., -kU derives verbs with the meanings ‘V one’s self’ (1), (2), and ‘be Ved’ (3), (4). Note that -kU is not restricted to forming reflexives and may also indicate pseudo-reflexives, middles, medio-passives and passives.

(1) Kikinpis Campionakurun. AMV
    kiki-n-pis Campiona-ku-ru-n
    self-3-add poison.with.Campion-refl-urgt-3
  ‘They themselves Campioned themselves [took Campion rat poison].’

(2) Kundinakurushpa chay pashña kaqta trayaramun. AMV
    kundina-ku-ru-shpa chay pashña ka-q-ta
    condemn-refl-urgt-subis dem.d girl be-ag-acc
    traya-ra-mu-n arrive-urgt-cisl-3
‘Condemning himself [turning into a zombie], he arrived at the girl’s place.’

(3) *Manchakunchik runa wañuypaq kaptin.* AMV
*mancha-ku-nchik runa wañu-y-paq ka-pti-n*
scare-REFL-1PL person die-INF-PURP be-SUBDS-3
‘We get scared when people are about to die.’

(4) *Pampakurun chayshi.* AMV
*pampa-ku-ru-n chay-shi*
bury-REFL-URGT-3 DEM.D-EVR
‘He was buried, they say.’

-na indicates that two or more actors act reflexively on each other, i.e., -na derives verbs with the meaning ‘V each other’ (5), (6).

(5) *Unayqa chay nishpa willanakun.* AMV
*unay-qa chay ni-shpa willa-naku-n*
before-TOP DEM.D say-SUBIS tell-RECIP-3
‘Formerly, saying that, we told each other.’

(6) *Valinaku.* ‘Paqarin yanapamay u paqarin ſuqa-kta chaypaq talpashun qampaktañataq’, *ninaku*:mi. CH
‘We solicit each other, “Help me tomorrow,” or, “Tomorrow me and then we’ll plant yours,” we say to each other.’

-na is dependent and never appears independent of -kU. -chinakU derives verbs with the meaning ‘cause each other to V’ (7), (8).

(7) *Yuyarichinakuyan.* AMV
*yuya-ri-chi-naku-ya-n*
remember-INCEP-CAUS-RECIP-PROG-3
‘They’re making each other remember.’
7 Syntax

(8) Kukankunata tragunkunata muyuykachinakushpa. AMV
    kuka-n-kun-ka tragu-n-kun-ka muyu-yka-chi-naku-shpa
    coca-3-PL-ACC drink-3-PL-ACC circle-EXCEP-CAUS-RECIP-SUBIS
    ‘Making their coca and liquor circulate among themselves.’

Preceding any of the derivational suffixes -mu, -ykU, or -chi or the inflectional
suffix -ma, -chi-na-kU is realized as -(chi-na)-ka.

7.8 Equatives

This section partially repeats §4.2.3 on equative verbs Please consult that section
for further discussion and examples. SYQ counts a single copulative verb, ka-.
Like the English verb be, ka- has both copulative (1), (2) and existential (3), (4)
interpretations. ka- is irregular: its third person singular present tense form, ka-n,
ever appears in equational statements, but only in existential statements. ‘This
is a llama’ would be translated Kay-qa llama-m, while ‘There are llamas’ would
be translated Llama-qa ka-n-mi.

(1) Ñuqa-nchik fwirti kanchi katchita, mattraka, trakra-nchik l luqsiqta
    mikushpam. AMV
    ñuqa-nchik fwirti ka-nchik patachita mattrka-ta
    I-1PL strong be-1PL wheat.soup-ACC ground.cereal.meal-ACC
    trakra-nchik l luqsi-q-ta miku-shpa-m
    field-1PL come.out-AG-ACC eat-SUBIS-EVD
    ‘We are strong because we eat what comes out of our fields – wheat
    soup and toasted grain.’

(2) Qammi salvasyunniy kanki. AMV
    qam-mi salvasyun-ni-y ka-nki
    you-EVD salvation-EUPH-1 be-2
    ‘You are my salvation.’

(3) Kanña piña turu. AMV
    ka-n-ña piña turu
    be-3-DISC angry bull
    ‘There are mean bulls.’
7.9 Possession

(4) Rantiqpis kantajmi. AMV
ranti-q-pis  ka-n-taq-mi
buy-AG-ADD  be-3-SEQ-EVD
‘There are also buyers.’

Evidentials (-mI, -shI and -trI) often attach to the predicate in equational statements without ka-n (5), (6).

(5) Vakay wira wiram matraypi puñushpa, allin pastuta mikushpam. AMV
vaka-y wira wira-m matray-pi puñu-shpa allin pastu-ta
cow-1 fat fat-EVD cave-LOC sleep-SUBIS good pasture.grass-ACC
miku-shpam
eat-SUBIS
‘Sleeping in a cave and eating good pasture, my cow is really fat.’

(6) Llutanshiki. LT
llutan-sh-iki
deformed-EVR-IKI
‘They are deformed, they say.’

The principal strategy in syq for constructing equational statements is to employ the continuous form ka-ya-n (7).

(7) ¿Alpakachu wak kayan? AMV
alpaka-chu  wak  ka-ya-n
alpaca-Q  DEM.D  be-PROG-3
‘Is that alpaca [wool]?’

7.9 Possession

This section partially repeats §3.3.1 on possession. Please consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. syq employs the suffixes of the nominal paradigm to indicate possession. These are the same in all dialects for all persons except the first person singular. Two of the five dialects – AMV and LT – follow the QII pattern, marking the first person singular with -y; three dialects – ach, ch, and sp – follow the Qi pattern marking it with - (vowel length). The syq nominal suffixes, then, are: -y or -: (1p), -Yki (2p), -n (3p), -nchik (1PL) (1–5). Table 3.4 displays this paradigm.
(1)  
Wiqawni ymi nanan. AMV  
wiqaw-ni-y-mi nana-n  
waist-EUPH-1-EVD hurt-3  
‘My lower back hurts.’

(2)  
Qusa:ta listaman trurarusa. ACH  
qusa--ta lista-man trura-ru-sa  
husband-1-ACC list-ALL put-URGT-NPST  
‘They put my husband on the list.’

(3)  
Kimsan wambra yki takikuyan. AMV  
kimsa-n wambra-yki-kuna taki-ku-ya-n  
three-3 child-2-PL sing-REFL-PROG-3  
‘The three of your children are singing.’

(4)  
¿Maypish wasinta lulayan? CH  
may-pi-sh wasi-n-ta lula-ya-n  
where-LOC-EVR house-3-ACC make-PROG-3  
‘Where [did she say she] is making her house?’

(5)  
Chayna achka wambranchikta familyanchik kunata aparun. ACH  
chayna achka wambra-nchik-ta familya-nchik-kuna-ta apa-ru-n  
thus a.lot child-1PL-ACC family-1PL-PL-ACC bring-URGT-3  
‘So they took away lots of our children, our relatives.’

In the case of words ending in a consonant, -ni — semantically vacuous — precedes the person suffix (6).

(6)  
Ganawninta qatikura qalay qalay. ACH  
ganaw-ni-n-ta qati-ku-ra qalay qalay  
cattle-EUPH-3-ACC follow-REFL-PST all all  
‘They herded their cattle, absolutely all.’

SYQ “have” constructions are formed SUBSTANTIVE-poss ka- (7).

(7)  
Mana wambrayki kanchu mana qariyki kanchu. ACH  
mana wambra-yki ka-n-chu mana qari-yki ka-n-chu  
no child-2 be-3-NEG no man-2 be-3-NEG  
‘You don’t have children, you don’t have a husband.’
In case a noun or pronoun referring to the possessor appears in the same clause, the noun or pronoun is case-marked genitive with either -pa, -pi, or -paq (8), (9).

(8) *Duyñupa wallqanta ruwan. AMV*
   
   *duyñu-pa wallqa-n-ta ruwa-n*
   
   *owner-GEN garland-3-ACC make-3*
   
   ‘They make the owner his wallqa (garland).’

(9) *Asnuqa hatarishpash ripukun chay runapa wasinman. SP*
   
   *asnu-qa hatari-shpa-sh ripu-ku-n chay runa-pa*
   
   *donkey-TOP get.up-SUBIS-EVR go-REFL-3 DEM.D person-GEN*
   
   *wasi-n-man*
   
   *house-3-ALL*
   
   ‘Geting up, the donkey went to the man’s house.’

### 7.10 Topic

This section partially repeats §6.2.7 on -qa. Please consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ uses the enclitic -qa to mark topic.

(1) *Ganawniykiqa achkam miranqa. LT*
   
   *qanaw-ni-yki-qa achka-m mira-nqa*
   
   *cattle-EUPH-2-TOP a.lot-ADV increase-3.FUT*
   
   ‘Your cattle are going to multiply a lot.’

(2) *Chaynam unayqa manam imapis kapingqa. AMV*
   
   *chayna-m unay-qa mana-m ima-pis ka-piti-n-qa*
   
   *thus-EVD before-TOP no-EVD what-ADD be-SUBDS-3-TOP*
   
   ‘That’s how it was before when there wasn’t anything.’

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1 An anonymous reviewer points out that possessive constructions are formed differently in QI: “The possessed item takes a possessive suffix and the copula takes -pU followed by an object suffix that agrees with the person of the possessor. In other words, the verbal object suffix and the possessive suffix refer to the same person.” The reviewer offers the following examples:

*Ishkay waika-: ka-pa-ma-n. ‘I have two cows.’*

*Ishkay waika-yki ka-pu-shu-nki. ‘You have two cows.’*

*Ishkay waika-n ka-pu-n (or ka-n). ‘She has two cows.’*
7 Syntax

(3) *Kananqa mikun munasanchik qullqi kaptinqa. AMV*
kanan-qa miku-n muna-sa-nchik qullqi ka-pti-n-qa
now-TOP eat-3 want-PRF-1PL money be-SUBDS-3-TOP
‘Now we eat whatever we want when there’s money.’

(4) *Llaqtaykipa qa ¿tarpunkichu sibadata? AMV*
llaqta-yki-pa-qa tarpu-nki-chu sibada-ta
town-2-LOC-TOP plant-2-Q barley-ACC
‘In your town, do you plant barley?’

7.11 Focus

In *syq*, it is the evidentials, *-ml*, *-shl*, and *-trl*, that, by virtue of their placement, indicate focus or comment. For example, in (1), the evidential attaches to the direct object, *shakash* ‘guinea pig’, and it is that element that is stressed: it is a guinea pig that you are going to butcher tomorrow. In (2) the evidential attaches to the temporal noun *paqarin* ‘tomorrow’, with the resulting interpretation: it is tomorrow that you are going to butcher a guinea pig. Evidentials never attach to the topic or subject. Topic and subject are, rather, marked with *-qa*, as is *qam* in (1) and (2).

(1) *Paqarin qamqa shakashtr wañuchinki. † AMV*
paqarin qam-qa shakash-ta-tr wañu-chi-nki
tomorrow you-TOP guinea.pig-ACC-EVC die-CAUS-2
‘Tomorrow you’ll kill a guinea pig.’

(2) *Paqarintri qamqa shakash ta wañuchinki. † AMV*
paqarin-tri qam-qa shakash-ta wañu-chi-nki
tomorrow-EVC you-TOP guinea.pig-ACC die-CAUS-2
‘Tomorrow you’ll kill a guinea pig.’

7.12 Complementation (infinitive, agentive, indicative and subjunctive clauses)

This section partially repeats §3.4.1 on substantives derived from verbs Please consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. *syq* forms infini-
7.12 Complementation (infinitive, agentive, indicative and subjunctive clauses)

tive complements with -y (1–3), purposive complements with -q (4), (5), indicative complements with -sHa (6–9), and subjunctive complements with -na (10). Infinitive complements often figure as the object of the verbs muna- ‘want’ (1), atipa- ‘be able’ (2), and gusta- ‘like’ (3). Indicative complements are common with the verbs yatra- ‘know’ (7), (8), qunqa- ‘forget’, qawa ‘see’ (9), and uyari- ‘hear’. Note that infinitive complements are case-marked with accusative -ta and that -q purposive complements only occur with verbs of movement (-na-(poss)-paq, being used for other verb types (11) (see §3.4.1.1)).

(1) ¿Munankichu sintachiytaqa? AMV
muna-nki-chu sintachi-y-ta-qa
want-2-q put.ribbons-INF-ACC-TOP
‘Do you want to? To piece their ears with ribbons?’

(2) Lukuyarun runalla. Manam puñyta atiparachu. ACH
luku-ya-ru-n runa-lla mana-m puñu-y-ta
crazy-INCH-URGT-3 person-RSTR no-EVD sleep-INF-ACC
atipa-ra-chu
be.able-PST-NEG
‘My husband was going crazy. He couldn’t sleep.’

(3) Algunus turuqa runa waqrayta gustan. AMV
algunus turu-qa runa waqra-y-ta gusta-n
some bull-TOP person horn-INF-ACC like-3
‘Some bulls like to gore people.’

(4) Misa lulaq shamun. CH
misala-q shamu-n
mass make-AG come-3
‘They come to hold mass.’

(5) Pasaruptin qawaq hamuni. AMV
pasa-ru-pty-n qawa-q hamu-ni
pass-URGT-SUBDS-3 see-AG come-1
‘When that happened, I came to see.’
7 Syntax

(6)  Atipasanta\-\-tiki ruwan. ACH
    atip-sa-n-ta-tr-\-iki ruwa-n
    be.\-able-PRF-3-\-ACC-EVC-\-IKI make-3
    ‘They do what they can.’

(7)  Ni maypa kasanta\-\-pis yatra\-\-chu. Waqaku:. ACH
    ni may-pa ka-sa-n-ta-pis yatra-\-\-chu waqa-ku-:
    nor where-\-LOC be-PRF-3-\-ACC-\-ADD know-1\-NEG cry-\-REFL-1
    ‘I don’t even know where he is. I cry.’

(8)  Kwirpu: yatra\-\-n imapaq kayna pulisha\-\-tapis. CH
    kwirpu-: yatra-n ima-paq kayna puli-sha-\-\-ta-pis
    body-1 know-3 what-PURP thus walk-\-PRF-1-\-ACC-\-ADD
    ‘My body knows why I walk around like this.’

(9)  Ńuqaqa wambran qipikusan qawarqanichu. AMV
    Ńuqa-qa wambra-n qipi-ku-sa-n-ta qawa-rqa-ni-chu
    I-TOP child-3 carry-\-REFL-PRF-3-\-ACC see-PST-1-NEG
    ‘I didn’t see that she carried her baby.’

(10)  Puchukananta munani. AMV
    puchuka-na-n-ta muna-ni
    finish-\-NMLZ-3-\-ACC want-1
    ‘I want them to finish.’

(11)  ¡Uqi pullu\-yki qawachinaypaq kaynam ruwasay! AMV
    uqi pullu-yki qawa-\-\-chi-na-y-paq kayna-m ruwa-sa-\-y
    grey shawl-2 see-\-CAUS-NMLZ-1-PURP thus-EVD make-\-PRF-1
    ‘[Bring] your grey manta so I can show it to her. What I make is like this.’

7.13 Relativization

This section partially repeats §3.4.1 on substantives derived from verbs. Please consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. syq forms relative clauses with the four deverbalizing suffixes: concretizing -na (1), agen-
tive -q (2), perfective -sHa (3), and infinitive -y (4). As these structures are
formally nouns, they are inflected with substantive suffixes, not verbal suffixes (rant-i-sa-yki “rant-i-sa-nki ‘that you sold’) (5).

(1) Asta wañukunay puntraw kamatriki chayna purishaq. LT
asta wañu-ku-na-y puntraw-kam-tr-iki chay-na puri-shaq
until die-REFL-NMLZ-1 day-LIM-EVC-IKI thus walk-1.FUT
‘Until the day I die, I’m going to walk around like that.’

(2) Rigakuq luna trabahaya: CH
riga-ku-q luna trabaha-ya-
irrigate-REFL-AG person work-PROG-1
‘The people who water, we’re working.’

(3) Ñuqaqa manam rimayta yatrara:chu prufusurni: nimasanta. sp
ñuqa-qa mana-m rima-y-ta yatra-ra-:-chu prufusur-ni-:
I-TOP no-EVD talk-INF-ACC know-PST-1-NEG teacher-EUPH-1
ni-ma-sa-n-ta
say-1.OBJ-PRF-3-ACC
‘I didn’t know how to say what my teacher said to me.’

(4) Chay vilakuy puntraw simintiryupa. AMV
chay vila-ku-y puntraw simintiryu-pa
dem.d candle-REFL-INF day cemetery-LOC
‘The day we lit candles in the cemetery.’

(5) Rigalakullaq ka: mana rantikusa:taqa. ACH
rigala-ku-lla-q ka-: mana ranti-ku-sa-:-ta-qa
give.as.a.gift-REFL-RSTR-AG be-1 no buy-REFL-PRF-1-ACC-TOP
‘I used to give away what I didn’t sell.’

The inflected forms may be reinforced with possessive pronouns (6). -sHa may additionally form nouns referring to the location where (7 or time at which (8) an event E occurred. -sHa is realized as -sa in ACH (5), AMV (9) and SP (11) and as -sha in LT (10) and CH. Any substantive constituent – subject (2), object (9), or complement (1) – can be relativized. Nominalizing suffixes attach directly to the verb stem, with the exception that the person suffixes -wa/-ma (first person object) and -sHu (second person object) may intercede (12), (13).
7 Syntax

(6) *Qampa rantikurasaykiyá chay shakash.* AMV  
qam-pa  ranti-ku-ra-sa-yki-yá  chay  shakash  
you-gen  buy-refl-unint-prf-2-emph  dem.d  guinea.pig  
‘That guinea pig that you sold.’

(7) *Chay fwirapi chay vilakuna rantikusan.* AMV  
chay  fwira-pi  chay  vila-kuna  ranti-ku-sa-n  
dem.d  outside-loc  dem.d  candle-pl  buy-refl-prf-3  
‘That’s outside where they sell candles.’

(8) *Urqupa kayasanchikpis.* AMV  
urqu-pa  ka-ya-sa-nchik-pis  
hill-loc  be-prog-prf-1pl-add  
‘When we were in the mountains.’

(9) *Pampaykuni frutachaykuna apasayta.* AMV  
pampa-yku-ni  fruta-cha-y-kuna  apa-sa-y-ta  
bury-excep-1  fruit-dim-1-pl  bring-prf-1-acc  
‘I bury the fruit that I bring.’

(10) *Kalamina rantishanchikkuna.* LT  
kalamina  ranti-sha-nchik-kuna  
corrugated.iron  buy-prf-1pl-pl  
‘The tin roofing that we bought.’

(11) *Ni mayman yaykusay yatrakunchu.* SP  
ni  may-man  yayku-sa-y  yatra-ku-n-chu  
nor  where-all  enter-prf-1  know-refl-3-neg  
‘They didn’t know even where I had gone in.’

(12) *Ampullakta inyiktamananchikpaq.* CH  
ampulla-kta  inyikta-ma-na-nchik-paq  
ampoule-acc  inject-1.obj-nmlz-1pl-purp  
‘Ampoules to inject us / for injecting us.’
7.14 Subordination

Filupa paninga nin, “Maqawaytam ūqata pinsayan”. AMV
Filu-pa pani-n-qa ni-n maqa-wa-y-ta-m ūq-ta
Filu-gen sister-3-TOP say-3 hit-1.OBJ-INF-ACC-EVD I-ACC
pinsa-ya-n
think-PROG-3
’Filomena’s sister said, “He’s thinking about hitting [wants to hit] me.”’

7.14 Subordination

This section partially repeats §4.3.7 on subordination. Please consult that section for further discussion and glossed examples. SYQ counts three subordinating suffixes – -pti, -shpa, and -shtin – and one subordinating structure – -na-poss-kama. Additionally, in combination with the purposive case suffix, -paq, -na forms subordinate clauses that indicate the purpose of the action expressed in the main clause (qawa-na-y-paq ‘so I can see’) (see §3.4.1.1).²

-pti is employed when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are different (huk qawa-pti-n-qa, ūqta-nchik qawa-nchik-chu ‘Although others see, we don’t see’) (1); shpa and -shtin are employed when the subjects of the two clauses are identical (tushu-shpa wasi-ta kuti-mu-n ‘Dancing they return home’) (2), (3). -pti generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause began prior to that of the main clause but may also be employed in the case those events are simultaneous (urkista-qa traya-mu-pti-n tushu-rqa-nchik ‘When the band arrived, we danced’).

(1) Qawaykuptinga sakristan wañurusa. AMV
qawa-yan-qui-pty-n-qa sakristan wañu-ru-sa
see-EXCEP-SUBDS-3-TOP sacristan die-URGT-NPST
’When he looked, the caretaker had died.’

(2) Chitchityakushpa rikullan kabrakunaqa. LT
chitchitya-ku-shpa riku-lla-n kabra-kuna-qa
say.chit.chit-REFL-SUBIS go-RSTR-3 goat-PL-TOP
“Chit-chitting,” the goats just left.

² An anonymous reviewer points out that all of the case-marked deverbal NPs – not just -kama and -paq – can form subordinate/adverbial clauses.
7 Syntax

(3) Yantakunata qutushtin lliptakunata kañakushtin, hanay ... AMV
yanta-kuna-ta qutu-shtin llipta-kuna-ta kaña-ku-shtin
firewood-PL-ACC gather-SUBAVD ash-PL-ACC burn-REFL-SUBADV
hanay
up.hill
‘Gathering wood, burning ash, [we lived] up hill.’

-shpa generally indicates that the event of the subordinated clause is simultaneous with that of the main clause (sapu-qa kurrkurrya-shpa kurri-ya-n “The frog is running going kurr-kurr!”) (4) but may also be employed in case the subordinated event precedes the main-clause event (5).

(4) Traguwan, kukawan tushuchispallam kusichakuni. AMV
tragu-wan kuka-wan tushu-chi-shpa-lla-m kusicha-ku-ni
drink-INSTR coca-INSTR dance-CAUS-SUBIS-RSTR-EVD harvest-REFL-1
‘With liquor and coca, making them dance, I harvest.’

(5) Familyanchikta wañurichishpaqa lliw partiyan. sp
familya-nchik-ta wañu-ri-chi-shpa-qa lliw parti-ya-n
family-1PL-ACC die-INECP-CAUS-SUBIS-TOP all distribute-PROG-3
‘After they killed our relatives, they distributed everything.’

-shtin is employed only when the main and subordinate clause events are simultaneous (Awa-shtin miku-chi-ni wambra-y-ta ‘(By) weaving, I feed my children’) (6).

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

-pto subordinates are suffixed with allocation suffixes (tarpu-pto-nchik ‘when we plant’) (7); -shpa and -shtin subordinates do not inflect for person or number (*tarpu-shpa-nchik; *tarpu-shtin-yki). Subordinate verbs inherit tense, aspect and conditionality specification from the main clause verb (Ri-shpa qawa-y-man karqa ‘If I would have gone, I would have seen’).
7.14 Subordination

(7) *Manam pagawaptikiqa manam wambraykiqa alliyanqachu. LT*
*mana-m pag-a-wa-pti-qi qa mana-m wamba-yi-qi qa*
*no-EVD pay-1.OBJ-SUBDS-2-TOP no-EVD child-2-TOP alli-ya-nqa-cha*
*good-INCH-3.FUT-NEG*
‘If you don’t pay me, your son isn’t going to get better.’

Depending on the context, *-pti* and *-shpa* can be translated by ‘when’ (1), ‘if’ (8), ‘because’ (9), (10) ‘although’ (11) or with a gerund (2). -*shtin* is translated by a gerund only (3), (6).

(8) *Kutishpaqa kutimushaq kimsa tawa watata. AMV*
*kuti-shpa-qa kuti-mu-shaq kimsa tawa wata-ta*
$return-SUBIS-TOP return-CISL-1.FUT three four year-ACC*
‘If I come back, I’ll come back in three or four years.’

(9) *Priykupaw puriyan siyrtumpatr warmin mal kaptin. AMV*
*priykupaw puri-ya-n siyrtumpa-tr warmi-n mal ka-PTI-n*
*worried walk-PROG-3 certainly-EVC woman-3 bad be-SUBDS-3*
‘Certainly, he’d be wandering around worried because his wife is sick.’

(10) *Payqa rikunñash warmin saqiruptin. AMV*
*pay-qa ri-ku-nña-sh warmi-n saq-i-ru-PTI-n*
*he-TOP go-REFL-3-DISC-EVR woman-3 leave-URGT-SUBDS-3*
‘He left because his wife abandoned him, they say.’

(11) *Qullqita ganashpas bankuman ima trurakunki ach*
*qullqi-ta gana-shpa-s banku-man ima tru-ra-kun-ki*
*money-ACC earn-SUBIS-ADD bank-ALL what put-REFL-2*
‘Although you earn money and save it in the bank’

-*na-poss-kama* is limitative. It forms subordinate clauses indicating that the event referred to either is simultaneous with (12) or limits (13) the event referred to in the main clause (*puñu-na-y-kama* ‘while I was sleeping’; *wañu-na-n-kama* ‘until she died’).

(12) *Mana vilakuranichu puñunaykaman. AMV*
*mana vila-ku-ra-ni-chu puñu-na-y-kaman*
*no watch-over-REFL-PST-1-NEG sleep-NMLZ-1-LIM*
‘I didn’t keep watch while I was sleeping.’
7 Syntax

(13) *Traki paltanchikpis pushllunjanka purinchik.* AMV
traki palta-nchik-pis pushllu-na-n-kama puri-nchik
foot soul-1PL-ADD blister-NMLZ-3-LIM walk-1PL
‘We walked until blisters formed on the souls of our feet.’
Appendix A: Analysis of the Southern Yauyos Quechua lexicon

What follows is an analysis of lexical differences among the five dialects. This analysis is excerpted from the introduction to the lexicon that accompanies this volume.

The lexicon counts 2537 Quechua words. Most were gleaned from glossed recordings collected in the eleven districts over the course of four years, 2010–2014; additional terms were identified by eliciting cognate or correlate terms for various items in Cerrón-Palomino (1994)’s unified dictionary of Southern Quechua as well as his dictionary of Junín-Huanca Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino 1976b). The recordings and annotated transcriptions have been archived by The Language Archive of the Dokumentation Bedrohter Sprachen/Documentation of Endangered Languages (DoBeS) archive at the Max Planck Institute (http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/?openpath=MPI1052935%23) and the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) at the University of Texas at Austin (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/welcome.html). All documents – including the unformatted .xml lexical database – can be consulted via those institutions’ web sites. All terms were reviewed with at least two speakers of each dialect: Benedicta Lázaro and Martina Reynoso (AH); Mila Chávez, Delfina Chullunkuy, Esther Madueño, Hilda Quispe, and Celia Rojas (MV); Iris Barrosa, Gloria Cuevas, Senaida Oré, Hipólita Santos, and Erlinda Vicente, (CH); Ninfa Flores and Sofía Vicente (LT); and Santa Ayllu, Elvira Huamán, Sofía Huamán, and Maximina P.

As stated in the Introduction, Yauyos is located on the border between the two large, contiguous zones where languages belonging to the two great branches of the Quechua language family are spoken: the “Quechua I” (Torero) or “Quechua B” (Parker) languages are spoken in the regions immediately to the north; the “Quechua II” or “Quechua A” languages, in the regions immediately to the south. Both grammatically and lexically, the dialects of southern Yauyos share traits with both the qi and qii languages. Critically, however, the dialects which sort with the the qi languages grammatically do not necessarily also sort with them lexically; nor do the dialects which sort with the qii languages grammatically
necessarily sort with them lexically. That is, grammatically and lexically, the dialects cleave along distinct lines.

Grammatically, two of the five dialects – those of Madeán-Viñac and Lincha-Tana – sort together, as these, like the qi languages, indicate the first-person subject with -ni, the first-person possessor with -y, and first-person object with -wa. The remaining three – Azángaro-Huángáscaq, Cacra-Hongos, and San Pedro – sort together, as these, like the qi languages, indicate the first person subject and possessor with vowel length and the first-person object with -ma.¹

Lexically, however, the dialects cleave along different lines, lines defined not by morphology but by geography. Lexically, the two more northern dialects – the “QI” CH and the “QII” LT – sort together while the three more southern dialects – the “QI” AH and SP together with the “QII” MV – sort together. Below, I detail an analysis of the lexicon that I performed using a subset of 2551 terms. The dialects generally agree in the terms they use to name the same referent: I could identify only 37 instances in which the dialects employed words of different roots. In 32 of these instances the dialects cleaved along north-south lines and in 22 of the relevant 28 cases for which correlate terms could be identified from Junín-Huanca Quechua and Ayacucho Quechua (the former a “QI” language spoken immediately to the north of Yauyos, the second, a “QII” language spoken very nearby, to the south), the northern dialects employed the term used in Junín-Huanca, while the southern dialects employed the term used in Ayacucho.²

This does not mean that the dialects employed identical terms in all the remaining 2387 cases (subtracting 75 for 36 pairs and one triplet). Far from it. All dialects employed identical terms in only 1603 instances. Included among these are all but 20 of the 522 words in the corpus borrowed from Spanish (examples

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¹ Yauyos counts three additional dialects, spoken in the districts of Alis and Tomas; Huancaya and Vitis; and Laraos, all located in the north of the province. The lexicon, like the grammar, makes abstraction of these dialects.

² No pair was counted more than once. The lexicon includes both roots and derived terms. Thus both the pairs sumaq (MV, AH, SP) and tuki (CH, LT) ‘pretty’ and sumaq-lla (MV, AH, SP) and tuki-lla (CH, LT) ‘nicely’ appear in the corpus. Only the root pair, sumaq ~ tuki, was entered in the catalogue of those cases where dialects differed in root terms employed. There were 116 cases of this type. These were excluded from the count and account given here. Examples are given immediately below.

\[
\begin{align*}
qawa-\text{(MV, AH, SP)} \sim rika-\text{(CH, LT)} & \text{‘see’} \\
& \rightarrow qawa-chi- \sim rika-chi- \text{‘show’, ‘make and offering’} \\
chakwash\text{(MV, AH, SP)} \sim paya\text{(CH, LT)} & \text{‘old woman’} \\
& \rightarrow chakwash-ya- \sim paya-ya- \text{‘become an old woman’} \\
qishta\text{(MV, AH, SP, LT)} \sim tunta\text{(CH, LT)} & \text{‘nest’} \\
& \rightarrow qishta-cha- \sim tunta-cha- \text{‘build a nest’}
\end{align*}
\]
in 1. Once terms of Spanish origin are eliminated, we are left with a corpus of 1940 items. All dialects agreed perfectly in their realizations of these items in 1081 cases (56%) (examples in 2). The remaining 755 items are accounted for as follows. In 154 cases a Quechua-origin term was realized identically in all dialects in which it was attested but remained unattested in one or more dialects, as in 3. Given the current state of the language – classified as “moribund” in the 2013 edition of Ethnologue Lewis, Simons & Fennig (2015) – nothing can be concluded from these gaps, neither that the dialects originally employed the same term, nor that it was necessarily different. In 630 cases, the dialects employed terms of the same root but with different realizations, as in 4. Included among these are 236 cases where these differences can be attributed to differences in the phonology between Cacra-Hongos and the other four dialects: the realization of *[r]* as [l], for example (151 cases, examples in 5) or */s*/ as [h] (45 cases, examples in 6). Also counted among these 745 cases are terms affected by metathesis and other phonological processes (vowel lowering (/i/), velarization (/q/), depalatization (/sh/), and gliding (/y/), among others) (207 cases, examples in 7 and 8). Finally, the sample counts terms affected by variation in verbal or nominal morphology (62 cases, examples in 9). Principal among these are instances of words derived with past participles – formed with -sha in the north and -sa in the south – and others that also differ by virtue of the fronting of /sh/ (40 cases, examples in 10 and 11).

1. Spanish-origin terms identical in all dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Dialects</th>
<th>Spanish Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tuma-</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>(Sp. tomar)</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kida-</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>(Sp. quedar)</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papil</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>(Sp. papel)</td>
<td>‘paper’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Virtually any term of Spanish origin in current use in the area may be borrowed into syq. I have included Spanish-origin words in the lexicon just in case they were either 1 of extremely high use (tuma- ‘take’, ‘drink’ (Sp. tomar ‘take’, ‘drink’)); 2 had no corresponding indigenous term (in contemporary usage) (matansya ‘massacre’ (Sp. matanza ‘massacre’)); or 3 had altered substantially either in their pronunciation or denotation (firfanu ‘orphan’ (Sp. huérfano ‘orphan’); baliya- ‘shoot’ (Sp. bala ‘bullet’)).
A Analysis of the Southern Yauyos Quechua lexicon

2. Quechua-origin terms identical in all dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sapi</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>‘root’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sasa</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanapa-</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ishpay</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>‘urine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayqi-</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>‘escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaqchu-</td>
<td>(ALL)</td>
<td>‘sprinkle, scatter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Terms with no Quechua-language correlate in one or more of the dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua-origin term</th>
<th>Spanish-origin term</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chaskay</td>
<td>lusiru (Sp. lucreo)</td>
<td>(CH, LT)  ‘morning star’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapsipa-</td>
<td>balansya (Sp. balancear)</td>
<td>(CH, LT)  ‘rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uya</td>
<td>kara (Sp. cara)</td>
<td>(CH, LT)  ‘face’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Terms of the same root but with different realizations in different dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Realization</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warmi</td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td>~ walmi</td>
<td>(LT, CH)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapa</td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td>~ hapa</td>
<td>(LT, CH)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqsa</td>
<td>(MV, AH)</td>
<td>~ asqa</td>
<td>(SP)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘bitter [potato]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaracha</td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP, CH)</td>
<td>~ karacha</td>
<td>(LT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘scabies’, ‘mange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alli-paq</td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td>~ alli-lla</td>
<td>(LT, CH)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitra-sa</td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td>~ kitra-sha</td>
<td>(LT, CH)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Terms where *

[r] is realized as [l] in CH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>raki-</td>
<td>→ [laki]</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quru</td>
<td>→ [qolu]</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘mutilated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trura-</td>
<td>→ [čula]</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘put’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Terms where *

[s] is realized as [h] in CH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sara/</td>
<td>→ [hala]</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sama/</td>
<td>→ [hama]</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sati/</td>
<td>→ [hati]</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘insert’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. Terms affected by metathesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chaksa-</td>
<td>MV, AH, CH</td>
<td>air out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shanta-</td>
<td>AH, CH, SP</td>
<td>choke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shipti-</td>
<td>MV, AH, LT</td>
<td>pinch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Terms affected by other phonological processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allpi</td>
<td>MV, AH, LT</td>
<td>dust, dirt (vowel lowering)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chillqi</td>
<td>MV, AH, LT</td>
<td>bud (develarization)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malshu</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>breakfast (gliding)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Terms affected by variation in verbal or nominal morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>utrku-</td>
<td>MV, AH, LT</td>
<td>dig a hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tardi-ku</td>
<td>MV, AH, LT</td>
<td>get late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aytri-na</td>
<td>MV, CH</td>
<td>stick for stirring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Terms derived with past participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paki-sa</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punki-sa</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>swolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaku-na-sa</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>thirsty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Terms that differ by the exchange s/sh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suytu</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>oval, oblong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siqsi-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>itch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiswi</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP CH</td>
<td>greasy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A clear pattern emerges both with regard to the cases where the dialects employed terms of different roots and those in which they varied in their realizations of the same root term. In 32 of the 37 instances in which root terms differed, the dialects cleaved along north-south lines, with the northern dialects – CH and LT\(^4\) – sorting together and the southern dialects – MV, AH, and SP – sorting together, as in 1.

\[^4\] With the exception of two and a half cases: one where LT sorts with the southern dialects (‘make an offering’), one where LT recorded no Quechua-origin term (‘bitter’), and one where Cacra and Hongos split, Cacra alone recording a second term (‘rain’).
A Analysis of the Southern Yauyos Quechua lexicon

In four of the five remaining instances San Pedro supplied the outstanding term. In 32 of the 37 cases, cognate terms could be identified for Junín and Ayacucho (Yauyos’ “qi” (northern) and “qii” (southern) neighbors, respectively). In 23 of the relevant 28 of these 32 cases, the northern dialects – “qi” CH and “qii” LT – employed the term used in Junín, while the southern dialects – the “qi” AH and SP and the “qii” MV – employed the term used in Ayacucho, as in 2.5

The full list appears in Table A.1.

1. Root terms varying along north-south lines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chumpi</em></td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td><em>watrakuq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anu-</em></td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td><em>wasqi-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sumaq</em></td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
<td><em>tuki</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South</th>
<th>North</th>
<th></th>
<th>Ayacucho</th>
<th>Junín</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>puyu</em></td>
<td><em>pukatay</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>puyu</em></td>
<td><em>pukatay</em></td>
<td>‘cloud’, ‘fog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>qishTa</em></td>
<td><em>tunta</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>qisha</em></td>
<td><em>tunta</em></td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rakta</em></td>
<td><em>tita</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rakta</em></td>
<td><em>tita</em></td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Synonyms employed in southern but not northern dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employed in all</th>
<th>Employed just in the south</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>wallwa-</em></td>
<td><em>uqlla(n)cha-</em></td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>patrya-</em></td>
<td><em>tuqya-</em></td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alalaya-</em></td>
<td><em>chiriya-</em></td>
<td>(MV, AH, SP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have taken it as my task here only to present the data; I leave it to other scholars to come to their own conclusions. The raw data are available in the form of an .xml document that can be accessed by all via the DoBeS and AILLA websites.

5 In at least two of these 32 cases, the Junin term had a cognate correlate in Jaqaru, an Aymaran language spoken in Tupe, Cacra’s closest neighbor to the north. The terms are *kallwi-* ‘cultivate’ and *liklachiku* ‘underarm’.
Table A.1: Differences among dialects in root terms used to refer to the same referent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root\textsubscript{A}</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Root\textsubscript{B}</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Ayacucho root</th>
<th>Junín root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'old man'</td>
<td>machu</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>awkish</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>machu</td>
<td>awkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'old woman'</td>
<td>chakwash</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>paya</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>chakwash</td>
<td>paya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nettle'</td>
<td>llupa/itana</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>chalka</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>itana</td>
<td>itana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'germinate'</td>
<td>shinshi</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>chil\textsubscript{Q}</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'close eyes, blink'</td>
<td>qimchiku-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>chipupa-</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>chipu- (close hand)</td>
<td>qimchikatraa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sash'</td>
<td>chumpi</td>
<td>MV, SP</td>
<td>watraku</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>chumpi</td>
<td>watrakuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sneeze'</td>
<td>hachiwsa</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP, LT</td>
<td>haqchu-</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>hachi</td>
<td>hachiwsa-, achiwyaa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cultivate, hoe'</td>
<td>hallma-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>kallwa-</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>kallwa-</td>
<td>kallwa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'scratch'</td>
<td>rachka-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>hata-</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>hata-</td>
<td>rachka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'add fuel'</td>
<td>lawka-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP, LT</td>
<td>huyu-</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sickly'</td>
<td>iqu</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>latru</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>iqu</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thorn, bramble'</td>
<td>kichka</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>kasha</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>kichka</td>
<td>kasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stick'</td>
<td>kaspi</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>shukshu</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>kaspi</td>
<td>shukshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'splitter'</td>
<td>killwi</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>qawa/qaqqa</td>
<td>LT, CH/SP</td>
<td>killwi</td>
<td>waqqa ('log', 'timber')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'make an offering return'</td>
<td>qawachi-</td>
<td>MV, AH, LT</td>
<td>likachi-</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>qawa- ('see')</td>
<td>lika- ('see')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'underarm', 'armpit'</td>
<td>wallwauckumv</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>liklachiku</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>wallwa</td>
<td>liklachiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'all'</td>
<td>lliw</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>limpu</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>lliw</td>
<td>lliw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'avalanche', 'mudslide'</td>
<td>lluqlla</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>tuñiy</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>tuñiy- ('tumble down')</td>
<td>lluqlla ('waterfall')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'coagulate'</td>
<td>tikya-</td>
<td>MV, AH, CH, LT</td>
<td>marki-</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>tikya-</td>
<td>tikya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'knee'</td>
<td>muqu</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>qunqur</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>muqu, qunqura- ('knee')</td>
<td>muqu ('joint')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'comb' (v.), 'cloud', 'fog'</td>
<td>ñaqa-</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>qachaku-</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>ñaqa-</td>
<td>ñaqa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thorn bush variety'</td>
<td>puyu</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>pukutay</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>puyu</td>
<td>pukutay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sick'</td>
<td>unqu</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>qisha</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>unqu</td>
<td>qishya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nest'</td>
<td>qish\textsubscript{T}a</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>tanta</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>qish\textsubscript{T}a</td>
<td>qisha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thick'</td>
<td>rakta</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>tita</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>rakta</td>
<td>tita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'snow', 'sleet'</td>
<td>ritti</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>rasu</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>ritti</td>
<td>lasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eaten by birds'</td>
<td>shaqli</td>
<td>MV, AH, CH, LT</td>
<td>wishlu-</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'beautiful'</td>
<td>sumaq</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>sumaq</td>
<td>tuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sheep'</td>
<td>uyyqa</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>usha</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>(uwish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'roll'</td>
<td>sinku-</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>trinta-</td>
<td>LT, CH</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'explode'</td>
<td>tuqya-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>patra-</td>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>tuqya-</td>
<td>patra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bitter'</td>
<td>aqsa</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP</td>
<td>qatqi</td>
<td>CH</td>
<td>qatqi</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[potato]</td>
<td>para-</td>
<td>MV, AH, SP, CH</td>
<td>tamya-</td>
<td>Cacra</td>
<td>para-</td>
<td>tamya-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NC = not cognate; ? = not found
Appendix B: Further analysis of evidential modifiers

This appendix presents a further analysis of the interpretation of propositions under the scope of the various permutations of the direct and the conjectural evidentials – -ml and -trI – in combination with the three evidential modifiers – ø, -ik, and -iki.

B.1 The EM’s and the interpretation of propositions under direct -ml

In the case of the direct -ml, all three forms, -ml-ø, -ml-ik, and -ml-iki, indicate that the speaker has evidence from personal experience for the proposition immediately under the scope of the evidential. The -ik and -iki forms then indicate increases in the strength of that evidence, generally that it is increasingly immediate or definitive. For example, consultants explain, with wañu-rqa-ø [die-pst-3] ‘died’, a speaker might use -ml-ø if she had seen the corpse, while she would use -ml-iki if she had actually been present when the person died. Or with para-ya-n [rain-prog-3] ‘it’s raining’, a speaker might use -ml-ø if she were observing the rain from inside through a window, while she would use -ml-iki if she were actually standing under the rain. (1) and (2) give naturally-occurring -ml-iki examples. In (1) the speaker reports her girlhood experience working as a shepherdess in the puna (high, cold, wet pasture grounds). What would run out on her was her matches. In (2) the speaker reports her experience with the Shining Path, an armed Maoist group that terrorized the region in the 1980’s with its robberies, kidappings and public executions. The fight she refers to is the battle between the Shining Path and the government Sinchis (commandos). In both examples, the speakers are reporting events they experienced with painful immediacy and with regard to which there are no more authoritative sources than themselves.
Further analysis of evidential modifiers

(1) **Ariyá urqupaqa puchakapakunchik miki.** AMV
    ari-yá urqu-pa-qa puchuka-paku-nchik-m-iki
    yes-EMPH hill-LOC-TOP finish-MUTBEN-1PL-EVD-IKI
    ‘Yes, in the hills we ran out.’

(2) **Huk visislla piliyara chaypaq chinkakurañamiki.** AMV
    huk visis-lla piliya-ra chay-paq chinka-ku-ra-ña-m-iki
    one times-RSTR fight-PST DEM.D-ABL lose-REFL-PST-DISC-EVD-IKI
    ‘They fought just once and then they disappeared.’

In addition to indicating increases in evidence strength, -ik and -iki, in combination with -mI, generally correspond to increases in strength of assertion. A -m-ik assertion is interpreted as stronger than a -mI-ø assertion; a -m-iki assertion as stronger still. In Spanish, -mI-ø generally has no reflex in translation. More than anything else, it serves to mark comment or focus (see §7.11) or else to stand in for the copular verb ka, defective in the third-person present tense (see §4.2.3). In contrast, -m-iki does have a reflex in Spanish: it translates with an emphatic, either pues ‘then’ or sí ‘yes’. So, **quni-m-ø** [warm-EVD-ø] receives the Spanish translation ‘es caliente’ ‘it’s warm’; in contrast, **quni-m-iki** [warm-EVD-ki] receives the translations, ‘es caliente, pues’ ‘it’s warm, then’ or ‘sí, es caliente ‘yes, it’s warm’. Example (3) is taken from a story. An old lady has sent two boys for wood – “so I can cook you a nice supper,” she said. Two doves appear at the wood pile to warn the boys. **Miku-shunki-m-iki** ‘she’s going to eat you’, they warn. Using the -iki form, the birds make the strongest assertion they can. They need to convince the boys that they are indeed in trouble – their very lives are in danger.

(3) **Kananqa wirayykachishunki mikushunkimiki.** AMV
    kanan-qa wira-ya-yka-chi-shunki mikushunki-mi-ki.
    now-TOP fat-INCH-EXCEP-CAUS-3>2.FUT eat-3>2.FUT-EVD-IKI
    ‘Now she’s going to fatten you up and eat you!’

In those cases in which -mI takes scope over universal-deontic-modal or future-tense verbs, -k and -ki do not generally indicate an increase in evidence strength; rather, they indicate increasingly strong obligations and increasingly immediate futures, respectively. So, for example, under the scope of -mI-ø, **yanapa-na-y** [help-NMLZ-1] receives a weak universal deontic interpretation, ‘I ought to help’. In contrast, under the scope of -m-ik or -m-iki, the same phrase receives increasingly strong universal interpretations, on the order of ‘I have to help’ and ‘I must..."
B.2 The EM’s and the interpretation of propositions under conjectural -trl

help’, respectively. Under the scope of -ml-ø, the phrase is understood as something like a strong suggestion, while under -m-iki, it is understood as a more urgent obligation. That is, here, -ik and -iki seem to do something like increase the degree of modal force, turning a weak universal modal into a strong one. This is the case, too, where -ml takes scope over future-tense verbs. For example, explain consultants, in the case of the future-tense ri-shaq [go-1.fut] ‘I will go’, a speaker might use -ml-ø if she were going to go at some unspecified, possibly very distant future time. In contrast, she might use -m-ik if her going were imminent, and -m-iki if she were already on her way. The speaker of (4), for example, urgently needed to water her garden and had been on her way to do just that when she got caught up in the conversation. When she uttered (4) she was, in fact, already in motion.

(4) Rishaq yakutamiki qawashaq. AMV
ri-shaq yaku-ta-mi-ki qawa-mu-shaq
go-1.fut water-acc-evd-iki look-cisl-1.fut
‘I’m going to go. I’m going to take care of the water now.’

B.2 The EM’s and the interpretation of propositions under conjectural -trl

In the case of the conjectural -trl, all three forms, -trl-ø, -tri-k, and -tri-ki, indicate that the speaker has either direct or reportative evidence for a set of propositions, P, and that the speaker is conjecturing from P to p, the proposition immediately under the scope of the evidential. The -ik and -iki forms then indicate increases in the strength of the speaker’s evidence and generally correspond to increases in certainty of conjecture.

In case a verb under its scope is not already modalized or not already specified for modal force or conversational base by virtue of its morphology, -trl assigns the values [universal] and [epistemic], for force and base, respectively. So, for example, the progressive present-tense kama-ta awa-ya-n [blanket-acc weave-prog-3] ‘is weaving a blanket’ and the simple past-tense wañu-rqa-ø [die-pst-3] ‘died’, both unmodalized and therefore necessarily not specified for either modal force or conversational base, receive universal epistemic interpretations under the scope of -trl: ‘he would/must be weaving a blanket’ and ‘he would/must have died’, respectively. Speakers bilingual in Yauyos and Spanish consistently translate and simple-present- and simple-past-tense verbs under the scope of
Further analysis of evidential modifiers

-trí with the future and future perfect, respectively. The awa-ya-n ‘is weaving’ and wañu-rqa-ø ‘died’ of the examples immediately above are translated estará tejiendo and habrá muerto, respectively. In English, ‘would’ and ‘must’ will have to do the job.

Present-tense conditional verbs in syq may receive at least existential ability, circumstantial, deontic, epistemic and teleological interpretations. Past-tense conditional verbs may, in addition to these, also receive universal deontic and epistemic interpretations. That is, present-tense conditionals are specified for modal force [existential], but not modal base, while past-tense conditionals are specified for neither force nor base. -trí restricts the interpretation of conditionals, generally excluding all but epistemic readings. In the case of past-tense conditionals, it generally excludes all but universal readings, as well. For example, although the present-tense conditional of (1), saya-ru-chuwan ‘we could stand around’, is normally five-ways ambiguous, under the scope of -trí, only the existential epistemic reading available: ‘it could happen that we stand around’. Similarly, although the past-tense conditional of (2), miku-ra-ma-n-man ka-rqa-ø ‘could/would/should/might have eaten me’, is normally seven-ways ambiguous, under the scope of -trí, only the universal epistemic reading is available: ‘the Devil would necessarily have eaten me’. The context for (1) – a discussion of women and alcohol – supports the epistemic reading. The speaker, a woman who in her eighty-odd years had never taken alcohol, was speculating on what would happen if women were to drink. Her conclusion: it’s possible we would stand around naked, going crazy.

(1) Qalapis sayaruchuwan-trí lukuyarishpaqa. AMV
   qala-pis saya-ru-chuwan-trí luku-ya-ri-shpa-qa
   naked-ADD stand-URGT-1PL.COND-EVC crazy-INCH-INCEP-SUBIS-TOP
   ‘We could also stand around naked, going crazy.’

(2) Mana chay kaptinqa mikuromanmantri kaɾqa chay dimunyukuña. AMV
   mana chay ka-pty-n-qa miku-ra-ma-n-man-trí ka-rqa
   no DEM.D be-SUBDS-3-TOP eat-URGT-1.OBJ-3.COND-EVC be-PST
   chay dimunyu-kuna
   DEM.D devil-PL
   ‘If not for that, the Devil might have eaten me.’

If it is the case, as Copley (2009) argue, and Matthewson, Rullmann & Davis (2005) that the future tense is a modal specified for both force, [universal], and
B.2 The EM’s and the interpretation of propositions under conjectural -trl

base, [metaphysical] or [circumstantial], -trl should have no effect on the interpretation of mode in the case of future-tense verbs. This is indeed the case. For example, both the tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga of (3) and ashna-ku-lla-shaq of (4) receive exactly the interpretations they would have were they not under the scope of -trl: ‘they will accompany me sitting’ and ‘I’m going to stink’, respectively. This does not mean that -trl-ø/iki has no effect on the interpretation of future-tense verbs, however. Although it leaves TAM interpretation unaffected, -trl continues to indicate that the proposition under its scope is a conjecture. And -ik and -iki, as they do in conjunction with -ml, indicate increasingly immediate or certain futures. So, although the TAM interpretations of (3)’s tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga ‘will accompany me sitting’ and (4)’s ashna-ku-lla-shaq ‘I’m going to stink’ are unchanged under the scope of -trl, the -ik of the first and the -iki of the second signal immediate and certain futures, respectively. In (3), that future was about an hour away: it was 6 o’clock and the those who were to accompany the speaker were expected at 7:00 for a healing ceremony. The context for (4), too, was a healing ceremony. The speaker was referring to the upcoming part of the ceremony in which she would have to wash with putrid urine – certain to make anyone stink!

(3) Kukachankunata aparuptiyqa tiyaparuwanqatrik. AMV
kuka-cha-n-kunata apa-ru-pti-y-qa
coca-DIM-3-PL-ACC bring-URGT-SUBDS-1-TOP
tiya-pa-ru-wa-nga-trl-k
sit-BEN-URGT-1.OBJ-3.FUT-EVC-IK
‘When I bring them their coca, they will accompany me sitting.’

(4) ¡Ashnakullashaqtriiki! AMV
ashna-ku-lla-shaq-tri-ki
smell-REFL-RSTR-1.FUT-EVC-IKI
‘I’m going to stink!’

In those cases in which -ik and -iki modify -trl, they generally correspond to increases in certainty of conjecture: a -tr-ik conjecture is interpreted as more certain than a -trlø conjecture; and a -tr-iki conjecture is interpreted as more certain still. Recall that under the scope of -trl, present-tense conditional verbs generally receive existential epistemic interpretations while past-tense-conditional as well as simple-present- and simple-past-tense verbs generally receive universal epistemic interpretations. In the case of the first, -k and -ki yield increasingly
strong possibility readings; in the case of the second, third and fourth, increasingly strong necessity readings. So, under the scope of \textit{trl-ø}, the present-tense conditional \textit{wañu-ru-n-man} [die-\textsc{urgt-3-cond}] ‘could die’ receives something like a weak possibility reading; under \textit{-tr-iki}, in contrast, the same phrase receives something like a strong possibility reading. Consultants explain that the \textit{-ø} form might be used in a situation where the person was sick but it remained to be seen whether he would die; the \textit{-iki} form, in contrast, might be used in a situation where the person was gravely ill and far more likely to die. Similarly, under the scope of \textit{-trl-ø}, the simple past tense \textit{wañu-rqa-ø} [die-\textsc{pst-3}] ‘died’ would receive something like a weak necessity reading: it is highly probable but not completely certain that the person died. In contrast, under the scope of \textit{-tr-iki}, the same phrase would receive something like a strong necessity reading: it is very highly probable, indeed, virtually certain, that the person died. Consultants explain that a speaker might use \textit{-ø} form if she knew, say, that the person, who had been very sick, still had not returned two months after having been transported down the mountain to a hospital in Lima. In contrast, that same speaker might use the \textit{-iki} form if she had, additionally, say, heard funeral bells ringing and seen two of person’s daughters crying in the church. (5) and (6) give naturally-occurring examples. In (5), the speaker makes a present-tense conditional \textit{-trl-ø} conjecture: She could possibly be with a soul (\textit{i.e.}, accompanied by the spirit of a recently deceased relative). The speaker made this conjecture after hearing the report of a single piece of evidence – that a calf had spooked when she came near. Surely, whether or not a person is walking around with the spirit of a recently dead relative hovering somewhere close by is a hard thing to judge, even with an accumulation of evidence. In this case, only the weak \textit{-ø} form is licensed. In (6), in contrast, the speaker makes a simple-present-tense \textit{-tr-iki} conjecture: A certain calf (a friend’s) must be being weaned. The speaker, having spent all but a half dozen of her 70-odd years raising goats, sheep, cows and alpacas, would not just be making an educated guess as to whether a calf was being weaned. She knows the signs. In this situation, the strong \textit{-iki} form is licensed.

(5) \textit{Almayuqpis kayanmantri}. \textsc{amv}
\textit{alma-yuq-pis ka-ya-n-man-tri}
soul-\textsc{poss-add} be-\textsc{prog-3-cond-evc}
‘She \textbf{might be} accompanied by a soul.’
B.3 A sociolinguistic note

(6)  *Anuyanña triki*. AMV
    anu-ya-n-ña-tr-iki
    wean-PROG-3-DISC-EVD-IKI
    ‘She must be weaning him already, for sure.’

In sum, Yauyos’ three evidentials, *-ml*, *shl*, and *-trl*, each has three variants, formed by the affixation of three evidential modifiers, *-ø*, *-ik*, and *-iki*. The EM’s are ordered on a cline of strength, with the *-ik* and *-iki* forms generally indicating progressively stronger evidence. With the direct *-ml*, this then generally corresponds to progressively stronger assertions; with the conjectural *-trl*, to progressively more certain conjectures. In the case of verbs receiving universal-deontic-modal or future-tense interpretations, *-k* and *-ki* indicate stronger obligations and more imminent futures, respectively. *-trl* has the prior effect of changing the modal interpretation of the verbs under its scope. In case a verb under its scope is not already already specified for modal force or conversational base by virtue of its morphology, *-trl* assigns the default values [universal] and [epistemic] for force and base, respectively.

B.3 A sociolinguistic note

In a dialogue, *-ø(φ)* will often be answered with *-ik(φ)* or *-iki(φ)*, where φ is a proposition-evidential pair. Thus, *Karu-m-ø* ‘it’s far’ may be answered with *Aw, karu-mi-ki* ‘Yes, you got it/that’s right/you bet you/ummmhun/, it’s far’. In (1), the first speaker makes a *-trl-ø* conjecture, ‘They must have left drunk’. The second answers with *-tr-i-k*, echoing the judgement of the first, ‘Indeed, they must have gotten drunk’.

(1)  *Spkr 1*: “Chay kidamuq runakuna shinkañatr lluqsimurqa.”
    *Spkr 2*: “Shinkaruntri-k.” AMV
    chay  kida-mu-q  runa-kuna  shinka-ña-tr  lluqsi-mu-rqa
    DEM.D stay-CISL-AG person-PL drunk-DISC-EVC exit-CISL-PST
    shinka-ru-n-tri-k
    get.drunk-URGT-3-EVC-IK
    ‘Spkr 1: “Those people who stayed must have come out drunk already.” Spkr 2: “Indeed, they must have gotten drunk.”'
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A grammar of Yauyos Quechua

This book presents a synchronic grammar of the southern dialects of Yauyos, an extremely endangered Quechuan language spoken in the Peruvian Andes. As the language is highly synthetic, the grammar focuses principally on morphology; a longer section is dedicated to the language’s unusual evidential system. The grammar’s 1400 examples are drawn from a 24-hour corpus of transcribed recordings collected in the course of the documentation of the language.