LDS - Lingua Descriptive Studies

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Published three times per year Printed in The Netherlands
IMBABURA QUECHUA
Peter Cole
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
For my parents, Vera Boles and Hal Cole, my wife, Gaby, and my children, Binny and Dov, with all my love.
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Introduction

The purpose of this volume is to provide a description of the Quechua language spoken in the Province of Imbabura in northern Ecuador (IQ). See Figures One and Two. The description is a contribution to the Lingua Descriptive Series, and, therefore, conforms to the general framework provided by the Lingua Descriptive Series Questionnaire (Comrie and Smith (1977)). The purpose of the series is to provide descriptions of genetically and typologically diverse languages in a format which makes information on one language directly comparable to information on another language described in the series. In order to accomplish this goal, the volumes in the series are identically organized. All provide answers to the detailed questions found in the Questionnaire. The reader is encouraged to familiarize himself with the Questionnaire prior to consulting this volume. The Questionnaire constitutes, in effect, a very detailed index to all volumes in the series.

The format of the series places certain constraints on the description. First, the organization of the description must conform to that of the Questionnaire. This can sometimes make it difficult to describe related phenomena in a unified fashion. While I have followed the overall outline of the series, where it appeared useful I have combined various subsections into larger sections in ways that seemed to me to permit a more coherent presentation of the structure of IQ. I have, however, tried to include answers to all items in the Questionnaire in my description.

Second, the volumes in the series are intended to be tools for subsequent theoretical studies rather than vehicles for theorization in themselves. Thus, it would be inappropriate to include in this book a discussion of the theoretical significance of the facts presented. I have, however, attempted to go somewhat beyond the mere presentation of data. It seems to me that uninterpreted data are less useful to the reader than data organized in terms of an analysis of the construction being described. Thus, especially in the sections on syntax, I have tried to provide analyses of the various constructions in the language, and to argue against other logically possible analyses. In providing analyses it has been necessary to make certain very general theoretical assumptions, roughly the more widely accepted assumptions of Transformational Generative Grammar. These include the use of tree notation, the assumption of more than one level of syntactic structure and the ordered application of grammatical rules (though not necessarily the extrinsic ordering of the rules themselves). I realize that even these assumptions are quite controversial. For instance, readers working within non-derivational theories of grammar may find the presumption that there are various levels of syntactic structure unacceptable. In most cases, however, the analyses presented in the text can be easily trans-
The language described in this volume is spoken by the indigenous inhabitants of the Province of Imbabura in northern Ecuador. The language was presumably brought to Ecuador when the region was conquered by the Incas (although this remains controversial). There are estimated to be some thirty to fifty thousand speakers of Imbabura Quechua, of whom fifteen to thirty percent are thought to be monolingual. IQ speakers are generally involved in occupations related to agriculture or to the production of textiles, although recently many have become mechanics and some have acquired university educations. The residents of Otavalo and the surrounding villages have come, in recent years, to have considerable renown for their weaving. Many residents of the area have travelled abroad to sell the products of the area. Otavaleños can be found in Paris, London, and Madrid, dressed in typical garb while arranging for the sale of indigenous (and non-indigenous) textiles and other goods. The Quechua speakers of Imbabura have become quite adapted to the modern world without, as yet, losing their identity as an indigenous people. (See Casagrande (1973, 1974), Rubio Orbe (1974), and Villavicencio (1975).)

Despite the considerable self-esteem produced by the commercial success of some Quechua speakers, it would appear from personal observation that the use of Quechua is diminishing, and the role of the official language of Ecuador, Spanish, is increasing. Many young people do not wear typical Indian garb, and are, therefore, considered to have become mishu (meztilos). Others, who continue to wear native garb and to consider themselves as Indians, have come to speak Spanish with members of their own generation. There is a nascent effort to initiate bilingual education, and native organizations are trying to encourage the use of Quechua, but despite the strong ethnic pride of many Otavaleños, the long-term prognosis for Quechua in Imbabura (as well as in most other Quechua speaking areas) seems gloomy.

The body of this volume consists of a synchronic description of IQ. Thus, it may be useful in the Introduction to put the language in diachronic perspective. (In the discussion which follows, I base myself largely on Parker (1963), (1969), (1970), and Torero (1964).) The Quechua language family is spoken in most of the Andean highlands from Colombia in the north to Chile and Argentina in the south, as well as in the jungle lowlands.
to the east of the Andes. The exact number of speakers is unknown, but Parker (1969) estimates around seven million.

The family is probably a linguistic isolate. An attempt was made (Orr and Longacre, 1968) to establish the existence of a "Quechumaran" family, which would include both Quechua and Aymar. This proposal, however, has not gained general acceptance.

There are two main branches of the Quechuan language family: the languages spoken in central Peru (called Quechua I by Torero and Quechua II by Parker) and those spoken elsewhere (called Quechua III by Torero and Quechua A by Parker). Quechua II is divided into three subfamilies of which two are relevant here. I shall refer to these subfamilies as northern Quechua and southern Quechua. All varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua (including IQ) are dialects of northern Quechua while southern Quechua includes the dialects of Cusco (the language of the Incas), and those of southern Peru generally, as well as those of Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina. (See Table One for details. I use the term "southern" to include the languages Parker calls "Coastal-Southern" and northern" to include what Parker calls "Ecuadorian" plus Colombian Quechua and, possibly, northern Peruvian varieties like that of San Martín (see Combs et al), which was relatively undescribed at the time Parker made his studies.)

As this is a description of IQ, a northern Quechua language, the Quechua I languages (and the southern Quechua languages as well) will be largely ignored in this work. In order to give some sense of the diversity of the Quechua languages, I have included occasional examples from Ancash Quechua in those cases in which IQ is not typical of the family as a whole. Parker's classification of Quechua A languages is given in Table One:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Quechua A</th>
<th>Ecuadorian-Southern</th>
<th>Northern Peruvian</th>
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Table One

IQ, and Ecuadorian Quechua generally, differ in a number of ways (both phonologically and grammatically) from other varieties of Quechua. (The phonological differences extend to San Martin as well, though grammatical differences do not.) Ecuadorian Quechua languages are derived historically from Proto-Ecuadorian-Southern Quechua. This language exhibited the consonant system shown in Table Two (which is essentially the consonant system found in modern southern Quechua):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Ecuadorian-Southern</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
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Table Two

(adapted from Parker (1969))

Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua underwent a number of sound changes:

1. C > C; i.e., glottalization of stops is lost.
2. C > C/(/C)(C) / C/(/C)(C); i.e., aspiration of non-initial stops is lost.
3. q, q> k, k> respectively.
4. k > /p, t, k, s, j, #.
5. k > g > /m, n, n, n, n, n, w, j.
6. p, t, k > b, d, g respectively/m, n, n, n.
7. j > /i,

Table Three

(adapted from Parker (1969))

These changes yielded the consonant system shown in Table Four:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Proto-Quechua A</th>
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Table Four

(adapted from Parker (1969))

In addition to the phonological changes just described, Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua displays a number of morphological and syntactic changes from earlier varieties of Quechua. Ecuadorian Quechua has undergone two processes of morphological simplification: (1) the loss of all verb-object agreement other than
first person agreement; (2) the loss of possessive nominal suffixes. For example, San Martín Quechua manifests the object agreement in the present tense seen below (adapted from Coombs et al, 100-110):

Object Agreement in San Martín

a. First Person Object: -wa-
pay - ka maka - wa - n
he-topic hit-1 object-3 subject
'I he hits me.'
b. Second Person Object, First Person Subject
fuka-ka maka - yki
I-topic hit-1 object, 2 subject
'I hit you.'
c. Second Person Object, Third Person Subject
pay - ka maka - shu - nki
he-topic hit-3 subject-2 object
'I he hits you.'

In IQ only the suffix -wa- remains:

Object Agreement in IQ

a. As above for San Martín
b. Second Person Object, First Person Subject
fuka-ka kan-ta maka - ni
I-topic you-acc hit-1 subject
'I hit you.'
c. Second Person Object, Third Person Subject
pay - ka kan-ta maka - n
he-topic you-acc hit-3 subject
'I he hits you.'

As is shown above, the loss of object agreement in Ecuadorian Quechua has resulted in the use of personal pronouns as objects. This is restricted to emphatic contexts in non-Ecuadorian Quechua. (See 2.1.3.6 for details.)

The second morphological change, the loss of the nominal possessive suffixes, has had even more far reaching effects than the loss of object agreement. In the Quechua languages generally, subordinate clauses appear in nominalized form. (This is an oversimplification of the situation. See 1.1.2.) In non-Ecuadorian Quechua languages subject-verb agreement markers are taken from the nominal rather than the verbal paradigm. The loss of these markers in Ecuadorian Quechua has led to the loss of subject-verb agreement in subordinate clauses:

Subject-Verb Agreement in Subordinate Clauses

a. San Martín

yacha - nki - chu istrictkay uullku
know-2 subject-inter two men
shamu-yka - na - n - kuna - ta
come-prog-future-3 subject-plural-acc

'He know that two men are coming?'
(from Coombs et al, 170)

b. IQ

yacha - nguí - chu istrictkay jari shamu-ju - na - ta
know-2 subject-inter two men come-prog-future-acc

'Do you know that two men are coming?'

Note the absence of subject-verb agreement in (b).

The loss of subject-verb agreement in subordinate clauses in Ecuadorian Quechua has been accomplished by the retention of personal pronouns in subordinate clauses and the development of a new, switch reference subjunctive. (The switch reference subjunctive is not found in Ecuadorian Quechua.) The realization of these developments in IQ is described in 1.1.2.

I have noted a number of ways that Ecuadorian Quechua differs from earlier forms of Quechua. These differences are quite great and result in a rather low level of mutual intelligibility between Ecuadorian Quechua and southern Quechua. In addition to the changes manifest in Ecuadorian Quechua generally, IQ has undergone a number of changes from Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua. These changes appear to be primarily phonological in nature, such as the loss of distinctive aspiration (which itself is manifested in several changes--[pʰ] > [f], [kʰ] > [x], [tʃ] > [tʃ].)

Parker's classification of Ecuadorian dialects is given in Table Five:

Proto-Ecuadorian

Highland

Northern-Central

Jungle

Northern

Central

Southern

Agato

Colta

Calista

Saraquro

Pulucate

Bobonaza

Limoncocha

Table Five

(Parker (1969): 157; note that Agato is a subdialect of IQ)

IQ is itself divided into a number of subdialects. I have made no systematic attempt to survey dialect differences within the Province of Imbabura although I do note some instances of dialectal variation when appropriate. Stark et al suggest that IQ is composed of five subdialects: (1) from Cuenca through San Pablo and from the east of Mount Imbabura to Angla, Zuleta, Angachat, and Rinconada, and from these communities to Mariano Acosta and Pimampiro, hereafter, Rinconada; (2) from San Roque; (3) the zone from San Rafael in the north to San Roque on the east side of the Amp River, hereafter Otavalo; (4) to the north of San Roque until San Antonio de Ibarra on the east side of the Amp River, hereafter, San Antonio; and (5) the north of San
Rafael and to the east of the River Ambi through the area near Cotacachi, hereafter, Cotacachi. Stark et al. do not state how these dialects differ. Figure Three shows the dialect divisions noted by Stark et al.

Previous work on IQ (e.g., Stark et al.) was based primarily on the Otavalo dialect. The initial research for this volume was carried out with informants from Mariano Acosta in the Rinconada dialect area. These informants had, however, lived for a considerable period in Otavalo. Thus, their speech may represent a mixture of the Rinconada and Otavalo dialects. Considerable additional informant work was carried out with speakers who apparently speak a mixture of the San Roque dialect and the Otavalo dialect. The chapters on phonology, ideophones and interjections, and vocabulary are based almost entirely on the speech of the Rinconada dialect.

The orthography employed in this volume is based on Spanish and constitutes a broadly phonetic representation of the form of morphemes. The application of rules of phonological assimilation across morpheme boundaries is not represented in the orthography. Thus, /xr/ 'ingressive aspect' is pronounced /gri/ (as a result of the application of a rule voicing /x/ before a voiced segment within the morpheme) and is represented orthographically as -gri-. But /xatux-ml/ 'seller validator', though pronounced /xatugml/, is represented orthographically as -jatugml, since the rule in this case applies across a morpheme boundary. The reader should consult Chapter 3 for further details. Table Six shows the approximate value of the symbols employed in the orthography (including those used primarily in borrowings). See Chapter 3.

a. Consonants

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b. Vowels

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Table Six

(The symbols e and o occur only in unassimilated borrowings.)

Note that, following Spanish orthography, gui is pronounced [gui], not [gju]: e.g., shamungui is /jamungi/, not /amungui/. This study is based on field work with native speakers of IQ in Otavalo and the surrounding areas in 1978 and in 1980-81. In
addition, since 1977 I have worked closely with Carmen Chuquín, a graduate student in linguistics at the University of Illinois and native speaker of IQ. My data are based on oral and written texts, and on elicitation. All elicited judgments were checked with a number of informants. Data from Ancash Quechua are drawn from information collected by myself and Gabriella Hermon in the Department of Ancash, Peru, in 1979-80 and from published sources.

There have been a number of earlier studies of IQ and of Ecuadorian Quechua generally which I consulted extensively. Many of the facts appearing in this work were first noted in previous studies. I would like to acknowledge the great contribution made by these works: Stark et al (1973), a pedagogical grammar of IQ; Ross (1963), a pedagogical grammar of Highland Ecuadorian Quechua; Ott, Blair, and Yacelga Aguilar (1971), a pedagogical grammar of IQ; Hermon (1981), a study of the treatment of non-nominative subject constructions in the framework of Chomsky's (1981) Government and Binding Theory, with special attention to IQ; Mysken (1977), a study of the verb phrase in Ecuadorian Quechua; Chuquín (1980), an examination of IQ phonology; Stark et al (1972), an IQ-Spanish, Spanish-IQ vocabulary; and Stark and Mysken (1977), a Quechua-Spanish, Spanish-Quechua dictionary of Highland Ecuadorian Quechua dialects. I also drew extensively on the unpublished notes of Frank Salomon and on Salomon, Chuquín, and Cole (1980), a draft pedagogical grammar of IQ. Much of the description of validators and other independent suffixes is based on Salomon's unpublished notes. See also my earlier works on IQ as cited in the references.

Thanks are due to many people for their help in preparing this book. I would like to express my appreciation to Joe Casa-grande, Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, Peter Landerman, David Odden, and David Weber for their very helpful comments and suggestions, with regard to various aspects of this study. Special thanks are due to Carmen Chuquín, Bernard Comrie, Gaby Hermon, and Frank Salomon for their detailed comments on much of the material in this volume. A substantial part of the research reported on here was carried out jointly with Gaby.

I would also like to thank all of my informants for their patience, industry, and good will. Among them, special thanks are due to Carmen Chuquín, Marisa Chuquín, Marita Emilia Chuquín, Zoila Chuquín, Carlos Conterón, and Alberto Conejo, all of whom made a contribution to this work which I cannot repay. I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable editorial assistance of Elaine Degenhart and Steve Helmreich in reading this book for publication. Thanks also to Sue Ann Kendall for her map work.

The research reported on here could not have been carried out without the financial help of a number of institutions: the Center for Advanced Study of the University of Illinois (whose director Dan Alpert, and staff associate, Peggy Harris, took special care to provide an environment congenial to research); the University of Illinois Research Board; the University of Illinois Center for International Comparative Studies; the University of Illinois Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies; the National Science Foundation (grant #BNS 79-04784); and the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. (Support from the NSF and the Joint Committee was for research on Ancash Quechua, some of which is reported on here.) The assistance of these organizations is gratefully acknowledged.
Abbreviations
acc = accusative
adv = adverbial/adverbializer
adverb = adverbializer
agt = agentive
agent = agentive
coref = coreferential
desid = desiderative
imper = imperative
inter = interrogative
limit = limitative
n. = noun
N = noun
neg = negative
nominal = nominalizer
NP = noun-phrase
oblig = obligatory
past part = past participle
prog = progressive
purp = purpose
S = sentence
v. = verb
V = verb
valid = validator
VP = verb-phrase
vs. = versus

1. SYNTAX
1.1. General questions
1.1.1. Sentence types
1.1.1.1. Direct speech and indirect speech

IQ manifests a variety of devices for reporting what another has said. Perhaps the most common technique is the direct quotation. Quotations are finite clauses, and bear all the trappings of independent sentences. Typically, the fact that the sentence is quoted is indicated by the appearance of the verb nin 'says' after the quote:

(1) pay Kitu-pi kaw-a-ni ni-n
He Quito-in live-1 say-3

"He says, "I live in Quito;' he says that he lives in Quito.'

Frequently, the quotation will be contained within an adverbial clause of saying, which will itself be subordinate to a higher verb of saying:

(2) futa wawki -ta tiku-rka-ngui chu ni-shpa tapu-wa-rka
my brother-acc see-past-2-inter say-adv ask -1-past 3

"Did you see my brother?" he asked me; he asked me whether I had seen his brother.

The verb nin 'says' is often used in indirect speech as well. In (3)

(3a) Kitu-pi kaw-a-ni-n Quito-in live-3 say-3

'It is said that he lives in Quito.'

(3b) wagra-ta shwa-rka-ngui ni-n
cow-acc steal-past-2 say-3

'It is said that you stole a cow.'

nin indicates that someone other than the speaker is the source of the information conveyed. Sentences like (3b) are clearly not direct quotes. If (3b) were a direct report of what a third party said to the speaker, the use of second person would refer to the speaker rather than to the addressee (cf. English, (1) he told me. "You stole a cow," (direct quote in which you refers to person uttering (1)) and (ii) he told me that you stole a cow (indirect quotation in which you refers to addressee of (i))).

It should be noted that nin in IQ has acquired a function fulfilled by the hearsay validator -shi in other Quechua languages. (See 2.1.8 for a general discussion of uses of -shi and other validators in IQ.) For instance, in Ancash Quechua (3a) would be expressed as (4).

(4) Ancash Quechua
Huaraz-chaw-shi yacha-n
Huaraz-in-hearsay live-3

'It is said that he lives in Huaraz.'
In IQ, however, -shi has largely lost its reportative use. Sentence (5) is interpreted as 'I wonder whether it is true that you stole a cow?' rather than 'Is it said that you stole a cow?'

(5) wagra-ta shwa-shka-ngui - shi
cow-acc steal-perfect-2-validator
In sentences like those of (3) nin 'says' appears to function as an indicator of the evidential status of the sentence analogous to a validator rather than as a superordinate verb of saying. Embedded clauses in IQ manifest morphological and syntactic properties which clearly distinguish them from matrix clauses, among them the nominalization of the embedded verb, and nearly obligatory verb final word order. In (3a) the verb kawsa 'lives' is not nominalized. Verb medial order is possible as well:

(6) Juzi chari-n jatun wasi-ta ni-n
José have-3 big house-acc say-3
'It is said that José has a big house.'

In contrast to (6), indirect quotations may be overtly embedded beneath a verb of saying:

(7) Marya ni-n Juzi jatun wasi-ta chari - j - ta
Maria says-3 José have-3 big house-acc have-nominal-acc
'María says that José has a big house.

In (7) the embedded verb is nominalized (see 1.1.2.1), and the embedded clause shows verb final word order (cf. 8):

(8) *Marya ni-n Juzi chari - j - ta jatun wasi-ta
Maria says-3 José have-nominal-acc big house-acc
('Maria says that José has a big house.')

### 1.1.1.2. Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences are of two principal types: yes-no questions (1.1.1.2.1) and question word questions (1.1.1.2.2). Yes-no questions and question word questions differ in terms of syntax and morphology. There are no systematic word order or intonation differences among these various sentence types.

A variety of devices, often exploiting properties of the validator system and of other independent suffixes (2.1.8), are used to indicate rhetorical questions of various types and the expectations of the speaker with regard to the type of reply he will receive.

#### 1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions, like declarative sentences and wh-questions, display rising-falling intonation, as in

(9) Declarative sentence

```
wasi-man - mi  ri-ju ni
house-to-validator go-prog-1
'I am going to the house.'
```

(10) Yes-no question

```
wasi-man - chu ri-ju-ngui
house-to-inter go-prog-2
'Are you going to the house?'
```

Yes-no questions are normally distinguished from other sentence types by the suffixation of the validator -chu (-cha in the conditional). -chu is also used in negative sentences (see 1.4). The position of -chu indicates the focus of the question. For instance, (10) could be translated freely as 'Is it to the house (rather than, e.g., to the town) that you are going?' The suffixation of -chu to the verb, however, may be used to indicate focus on the verb:

(12) *Juzi chari-n jatun wasi-ta ni
José have-3 big house-acc say-3
'Is it José that you want to go to Quito?'

#### 1.1.1.2.2. Question word questions

Rhetorical questions include those used in (12), (13) and (14), and in which the interrogative word is placed last:

(13) ‘Juzi chari-n jatun wasi-ta
José have-3 big house-acc say-3
‘José lives in Quito to go-subjunctive want-2
(‘Is it José that you want to go to Quito?’)

('Is it José that you want to go to Quito?')

are ill-formed. Instead focus must be on the embedded clause as a whole:

(14) Juzi chari-n jatun wasi-ta
José have-3 big house-acc say-3
'What you want that José go to Quito?'

('What you want that José go to Quito?')

(15) na - chu Juzi - ka Agatu-pi kawsa-n
neg-inter José-topic Agato-in live-3
'Doesn't José live in Agato? Isn't it true that José lives in Agato?'

The expectation of a negative reply is expressed by using nachu with a negative sentence:

(16) Juzi manachu Agatu-pi chu kawsa-n na - chu
José neg Agato-in-neg live-3 neg-inter
'José doesn't live in Agato, does he? Isn't it true that José doesn't live in Agato?'
Note that maych can appear either sentence initially or sentence finally.

Shinach 'isn't it so' may be used in a similar way:

(17) tayta - ka sumaj - ta trabalaja-rka shina - chu
  father-topic beautiful-acc work-past 3 in this way-inter
  'Father worked very well, right?'

Shinach, unlike nachach, must be sentence final:

(18) *shina - chu tayta - ka sumaj - ta trabalaja-rka
  in this way-inter father-topic beautiful-acc work-past 3
  ('Right, father worked very well.')

Alternative questions are expressed by the juxtaposition of affirmative and negative yes-no questions. These may be full sentences as in

(19a) shamu-ngui-chu u mana shamu-ngui-chu
  come - 2-inter or neg come - 2-inter
  'Will you come or not?'

or a full question and an elliptical question as in

(19b) shamu-ngui-chu u mana
  come - 2-inter or neg
  'Will you come or not?'

Note the obligatory use of the disjunction u 'or', which is borrowed from Spanish o (see 1.3). In Otavalo sino (from Spanish sino) can be used instead of u.

1.1.1.2.2. Question word questions

The basic question words in IQ are ima 'what', may 'where', pi 'who', mayjan 'which', and mashna 'how much'. ima, may, pi, and mayjan allow the full range of postpositional suffixes (see 2.1.1.5-6): e.g.,

(20a) ima-ta; ima-manda; ima-pi
  what-acc what-from what-in

(20b) may-pi; may-wa; may-manda
  where-in where-to where-from

(20c) pi-paj; pi-manda; pi-wa
  who-for who-from who-with

In addition, a variety of somewhat idiomatic question words are formed from ima 'what':

(21a) imashna 'how' (from ima 'what' plus shina 'in this way')

(21b) ima nisha 'why' (from ima 'what' plus nisha 'saying')

(21c) imashpa 'why' (probably from same source as ima nishpa)

(21d) imapaj 'what for' (from ima 'what' plus -paj 'for')

(21e) ima ura 'approximately' when' (from ima plus ura 'hour', a Spanish borrowing)

(21f) ima ura 'exactly when, at what time' (from same source

Mayjan 'which', ima 'what', mashna 'how much', and pi 'who' may be used independently,

(22) mayjan
  which
  ima
  what
  mashna
  -ta - taj muna-ngui
  how much
  -acc-inter want - 2
  pi
  who
  'Which
  'What
  'How much
  do you want?'
  'What
  'Which man came?'

or they may modify a substantive:

(25a) mayjan warma-ta - taj jaya-ngui
  which woman-inter love - 2
  'Which woman do you love?'

(25b) ima alku-ta - taj marya - ka chari-n
  what dog-inter Maria-topic have-3
  'What kind of dog does Maria have?'

(25c) mashna kulki - taj japi-rka-ngui
  how much silver-inter take-past-2
  'How much money did you get?'

(25d) pi ruma-ta shamu-rka
  who man-inter come-past 3
  'Which man came?'

(The use of pi as in (23d) is not accepted by all speakers and may be limited to the Otavalo area.) All other question words are only used independently and may not modify a substantive.

Intonation in question word questions is the same as in declarative sentences and yes-no questions:

(24) mayjan ruwana-ta - taj randa-rka-ngui
  which poncho-inter buy - past - 2
  'Which poncho did you buy?'

As is seen in examples (22)-(24), an interrogative suffix distinct from that used in yes-no questions appears in question word questions. This suffix is attached to the right-most element in the questioned phrase, following any postpositions:

(25) mayjan wasi-pi - taj kan-paj wauki - ka kawae-n
  which house-in-inter you-or brother-topic live-3
  'Which house does your brother live in?'

The most frequent interrogative suffix in question word questions is -taj, also pronounced -ta (as the result of a general rule optionally deleting velar fricatives word finally, and not to be confused with the accusative suffix -ta, which does not alternate with -taj). This suffix is used to indicate that the sentence is a genuine request for information, which the speaker believes the hearer can and will supply.

Questions, the answers to which are clearly known to the questioner, are formed with -mi in place of -taj.
Such questions might, for example, be used by a teacher to test a student's knowledge.

When the suffix -shi is used rather than -taj or -mi the speaker does not necessarily expect the hearer to be able to answer the question:

(26a) pi - mi pandaniki inga - ka
    who-inter first Inca-topic
    'Who is the first Inca?'

(26b) may - pi - mi pandaniki inga - ka kawsa-rka
    where-in-inter first Inca-topic live-past 3
    'Where did the first Inca live?'

Such questions might, for example, be used by a teacher to test a student's knowledge.

When the suffix -shi is used rather than -taj or -mi the speaker does not necessarily expect the hearer to be able to answer the question:

(27a) pi - shi riku-wa-rka
    who-inter see-1-past
    'I wonder who saw me.'

(27b) ima - ta - shi fuka taitya - ka randi-rka
    what-acc-inter my father-topic buy-past
    'I wonder what my father bought?'

Like -shi, the suffix -chari is used when the questioner does not necessarily expect the addressee of the question to be able to supply an answer:

(28) may - man-chari ri-ju - nga
    where-to-inter go-prog-future 3
    'Where might he be going?'

Questions with -chari differ from those with -shi in that -chari is used when the information requested is of no particular importance to the questioner. -Chari questions might be described as questions of idle curiosity. In (29), in contrast to (28),

(29) may - man-shi ri-ju - nga
    where-to-inter go-prog-future 3
    'I wonder where he is going?'

the answer to the question is important to the speaker, but he supposes that the hearer will be unable to provide the needed information. (-Shi can also be used in yes-no questions. When it is, it is suffixed to ima 'what'.)

(30) wawa - ka waka-n - chu ima - shi
    child-topic cry-3-inter what-inter
    'I wonder whether the baby is crying.'

It is important to note that interrogative suffixes are not restricted to questions. The use of a particular suffix in questions is generally predictable in terms of its meaning and use in other sentence types. This is discussed systematically in section 2.1.8.

There are two basic strategies for forming question word questions. The questioned element may be marked with an interrogative suffix and fronted to the beginning of the sentence, as in (24)-(29) (this will be referred to as the extraction strategy) or, when the questioned element is within a subordinate clause, the questioned element may be fronted to the beginning of the subordinate clause, and the subordinate clause fronted to the beginning of the sentence and marked with an interrogative suffix (this will be referred to as the clause fronting strategy):

(31) [pi Utavalu-man ri - chu - taj muna-ngu]
    who Otavalo-to go-subjunctive-inter want-2
    'Who do you want to go to Otavalo?'

As will be seen below, the clause fronting strategy allows the questioning of constituents that cannot be questioned by the extraction strategy.

1.1.1.2.1.2 Constituents of the main clause that can be questioned

Any constituent of the main clause may be questioned with the exception of the verb. Consider the elements which can be questioned in:

(32) fuka wawki - ka fuka mma-man ali wagra-ta
    my brother-topic my mother-to good cow-acc
    kara-rka Ukavalu-pi kayna sabadu
give-past 3 Otavalo-in yesterday Saturday
    'My brother gave my mother a good cow in Otavalo last Saturday.'

(33) Questioning the subject
    pi - taj kan-paj mma-man ali wagra-ta kara-rka
    who-inter you-poss mother-to good cow-acc
give-past 3 Otavalo-in yesterday Saturday
    'My brother gave your mother a good cow in Otavalo last Saturday?'

(34) Questioning the direct object
    ima - taj kan-paj wawki kan-paj mma-man
    what-acc-inter you-poss brother you-poss mother-to
    kara-rka Ukavalu-pi kayna sabadu
give-past 3 Otavalo-in yesterday Saturday
    'What did your brother give your mother in Otavalo last Saturday?'

(35) Questioning the indirect object
    pi-man - taj kan-paj wawki ali wagra-ta kara-rka
    who-to-inter you-poss brother good cow-acc
give-past 3 Utavalu-pi kayna sabadu
    Otavalo-in yesterday Saturday
    'To whom did your brother give a good cow in Otavalo last Saturday?'
(36) Questioning a time adverbial
ima wera-taj kan-paj wakni kan-paj mama-man ali
when - inter you-poss brother you-poss mother-to good
wagra-ta kara-rka Utauvalu-pl
cow-acc give-past 3 Otavalo-in
'When did your brother give a good cow to your mother
in Otavalo?'

(37) Questioning a locative adverbial
may - pi - taj kan-paj wakni kan-paj mama-man ali
where-in-inter you-poss brother you-poss mother-to good
wagra-ta kara-rka kayna sabadu
cow-acc give-past 3 yesterday Saturday
'Where did your brother give your mother a good cow
last Saturday?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. Constituents of subordinate clauses that can
be questioned

All elements of subordinate clauses may be questioned by
either extraction or clause fronting with the exception of the
subordinate subjects. These may be questioned by clause front-
ing, but not by extraction. Subordinate clauses are non-finite,
so finiteness is not a variable for question formation from
subordinate clauses in IQ. Consider the question word ques-
tions that may be formed from the object complement clause in
(38).

(38) [Juan wagra-ta randi - shka] - ta ya - ni
Juan cow-acc buy-nominalizer-acc think-1
'I think Juan bought a cow.'

The complement subject cannot be questioned by extraction:
(39) [pi - taj ya-ngui [wagra-ta randi - shkal] - ta
who-inter think-2 cow-acc buy-nominalizer-acc
('Who do you think bought a cow?')

It may, however, be questioned by clause fronting:
(40) [pi wagra-ta randi - shkal] - ta - taj ya-ngui
who cow-acc buy-nominalizer-acc-inter think-2
'Who do you think bought a cow?'

The constraint blocking (39) would appear to be related to
similar constraints on relative clause formation (see 1.1.2.2.3.7)
and the movement to initial position of emphasized elements
(1.11.2.2). It may also be related to constraints on embedded
subject extraction in other languages.

(41) 'Who do you think that bought a cow?'

This topic is beyond the purview of the present study, but note
that IQ uses no subordinating (or other indigenous) conjunc-
tions. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (39) cannot be due to the
normal position of the complement subject vis-à-vis a subordin-
ating conjunction, as has been suggested for (41) (Chomsky and

Positions other than subject may be freely questioned by

either extraction or clause fronting:
(42) Questioning of direct object by extraction
ima - ta - taj ya-ngui [Juan randi - shka] - ta
what-acc-inter think-2 Juan buy-nominalizer-acc
'What do you think that Juan bought?'

(43) Questioning of direct object by clause fronting
[ima - ta Juan randi - shka] - ta - taj ya-ngui
what-acc Juan buy-nominalizer-acc-inter think-2
'What do you think that Juan bought?'

(44) Questioning of indirect object by extraction
pi-man - taj ya-ngui [Juan wagra-ta jatu - shka] - ta
who-to-inter think-2 Juan cow-acc sell-nominalizer-acc
'To whom do you think Juan sold the cow?'

(45) Questioning of the indirect object by clause fronting
[pi-man Juan wagra-ta jatu - shka] - ta - taj ya-ngui
who-to Juan cow-acc sell-nominalizer-acc-inter think-2
'To whom do you think Juan sold the cow?'

The same pattern observed with regard to object complements
is found with subject complements. Consider the extraction
possibilities from (46):

(46) ali - mi [Juan wajcha-man kulki - ta kara - shka]
good-valid Juan orphan-to silver-acc give-nominalizer-
ka topic
'It is good that Juan gave money to the orphan.'

The complement subject may be questioned by clause fronting.
(47) [pi wajcha-man kulki - ta kara - shka] - taj ali
who orphan-to silver-acc give-nominalizer-inter good
'Who is it good gave money to the orphan?'

but not by extraction:
(48) [pi - taj ali [wajcha-man kulki - ta kara - shka]
who-inter good orphan-to silver-acc give-nominalizer-
ka topic
('Who is it good gave money to the orphan?')

In contrast, direct objects and other non-subject constituents
of the complement clause may be questioned either by extraction
or by clause fronting:
(49) Questioning direct object by extraction:
ima - ta - taj ali [Juan wajcha-man kara - shka
what-acc-inter good Juan orphan-to give-nominalizer-
ka] topic
'What is it good that Juan gave to the orphan?'

(50) Questioning direct object by clause fronting:
ima - ta Juan wajcha-man kara - shka - taj ali
what-acc Juan orphan-to give-nominalizer-inter good
'What is it good that Juan gave to the orphan?'
(51) Questioning indirect object by extraction:

mayjan-man-taj alí Juan kulki - ta kara - shkaJ - taj which-to-inter good Juan silver-acc give-nominalizer-ka

topic

'To which is it good that Juan gave money?'

(52) Questioning indirect object by clause fronting:

mayjan-man Juan kulki - ta kara - shkaJ - taj which-to Juan silver-acc give-nominalizer-inter good

'To which is it good that Juan gave money?'

Unlike some other Quechua languages (e.g., Ancash), in TQ (non-subject) constituents of adverbial clauses may be questioned by either extraction or clause fronting (the (a) and (b) sentences in examples (53) and (54) are synonymous):

(53) Questioning from a time adverbial

(53a) Extraction

may - pi - taj Marya ka - jpi Juan wawana-ta where-in-inter María be-adverbializer Juan poncho-acc randi-rka

buy-past 3

'Where did Juan buy a poncho when María was?'

(53b) Clause fronting

may - pi Marya ka - jpi - taj Juan wawana-ta where-in María be-adverbializer-inter Juan poncho-acc randi-rka

buy-past 3

'Juan bought a poncho when María was where?'

(54) Questioning from a causal adverbial:

(54a) Extraction

ima ta - taj José apamu - shka - manda Iína what-acc-inter José bring-nominalizer-because Elena wasi-manda l lugshi-rka house-from leave-past 3

'What did because José brought Elena left?'

(54b) Clause fronting

ima - ta José apamu - shka - manda - taj Iína what-acc José bring-nominalizer-because-inter Elena wasi-manda l lugshi-rka house-from leave-past 3

'Elena left because José brought what?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. Constituents of noun phrases that can be questioned

The environments in which it is possible to question constituents of a noun phrase are quite limited. In the case of possessed noun phrases like the direct object of (55),

(55) riku-rka-ní wawa-paj alku-ta see-past-1 child-of dog-acc

'I saw the child's dog.'

the direct object as a whole may be questioned,

(56) ima - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui what-acc-inter see-past - 2

'What did you see?'

as may the possessor if the full possessed noun phrase is extracted and not the possessor alone:

(57a) pi-paj alku-ta - taj riku-rka-ngui who-of dog-acc-inter see-past - 2

'Whose dog did you see?'

(57b) *pi-paj - taj riku-rka-ngui alku-ta

who-of inter see-past - 2 dog-acc

('Whose did you see a dog?')

(Sentence (57b) is, of course, grammatical if -paj is interpreted as 'for' rather than as a genitive marker: 'For whom did you see the dog?') In contrast, the possessed NP cannot be questioned even if the possessor is extracted as well:

(58a) Possessor not extracted

*ima - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui Juan-paj what-acc-inter see-past - 2 Juan-of

('What did you see of Juan?')

(58b) *Juan-paj ima - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui

Juan-of what-acc-inter see-past - 2

('What of Juan did you see?')

The questioning of constituents of relative clauses is possible in certain circumstances. The head can be questioned by either extraction (61) or when the entire relative clause is fronted and the interrogative suffix appears at the end of the relative clause as a whole (60). Thus, from sentence (59),

(59) riku-rka-ngui NP of José randi - shkaJ w aga7-ta-ka

see-past - 2 José buy-nominalizer cow-acc-topic

You saw NP of the cow that José bought!]

both (60) and (61) are well-formed.

(60) ima - ta José randi - shka - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui what-acc José buy-nominalizer-acc-inter see-past - 2

'What that José bought did you see?'

(61) ima - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui José randi - shka - ta what-acc-inter see-past - 2 José buy-nominalizer-acc

'What did you see that José bought?'

I shall refer to the process resulting in (60) as phrase fronting, a process which I believe is closely related to the clause fronting observed with regard to questions from subordinate clauses. Examples (60) and (61) involve the questioning of the head of a relative clause. When elements internal to the modifying clause are questioned, only clause fronting is possible. Consider questions based on the relative clause in (62). The direct object (and other non-subject constituents) of the modifying clause in (62) may be questioned by phrase fronting, but not by extraction.
postpositional phrases

'You saw the man who bought a cow.'

(63) Phrase fronting
ima - ta randi - shka runa-ta-taj riku-rka-ngui what-acc buy-nominalizer man-acc-inter see-past - 2
'You saw the man who bought what?'

(64) Extraction
*ima - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui randi - shka runa-ta what-inter see-past - 2 buy-nominalizer man-acc
('What did you see the man who bought?')

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. Elements of postpositional phrase that can be questioned

The head of a postpositional phrase may be questioned only if the postposition is fronted together with the questioned noun phrase:

(65a) Muka-ta alku - ndi puri-ni 1-topic dog-together with walk-1
'I walk with the dog.'

(65b) ima - ndi - taj puri-ngui what-together with-inter walk - 2
'What are you walking?'

(65c) *ima - taj - ndi puri-ngui what-inter-together with walk - 2
('What are you walking with?')

(65d) *ima - taj puri-ngui what-inter walk - 2
('What are you walking with?')

(66a) chay-ta rura-rka-ni Marya-paj that-acc do-past-1 María-for
'I did that for María.'

(66b) pi-paj - taj chay-ta rura-rka-ngui who-for-inter that-acc do - past - 2
'For whom did you do that?'

(66c) *pi - taj chay-ta rura-rka-ngui paj who-inter that-acc do - past - 2 for
('Who did you do that for?')

(66d) *pi - taj chay-ta rura-rka-ngui who-inter that-acc do - past - 2 for
('Who did you do that for?')

The (c) and (d) sentences of (65)-(66) show that postpositional suffixes may not be stranded (c) or deleted (d) in question word questions. The same constraint applies to complex postpositional phrases in which the postposition is arguably an independent word, and not a suffix:

(67a) Juan - ka wasi uku - man ri-rka Juan-topic house-within-to go-past 3
'Juan went into the house.'

(67b) ima uku - man - taj Juan ri - rka what-within-to-inter Juan go-past 3
'Into what did Juan go?'

(67c) *ima - taj Juan ri - rka uku - man what-inter Juan go-past 3 within-to
('What did Juan go into?')

(67d) *ima - taj Juan ri - rka what-inter Juan go-past 3
('What did Juan go into?')

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. Elements of coordinate structures that can be questioned

The Quechua languages have no clear instances of indigenous conjunctions with the exception of -pash 'also'. Thus, coordination is achieved by such devices as juxtaposition, the use of borrowed conjunctions like Spanish 'and', 'or', and 'for' (from Spanish 'sin', limited to Otavalo area), and of postpositions like -man 'with, but not forming a single unit' and -ndi 'with and forming a single unit' (see 1.3). No element may be questioned out of a structure conjuncted by juxtaposition, a borrowed conjunction, or -pash 'also':

(68) Juxtaposition conjunction

(68a) riku-rka-ni Juzi-ta Marya-ta mirkadu-pi see-past-1 José-acc María-acc market-in
'I saw José and María in the market.'

(68b) *pi - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui Marya-ta mirkadu-pi who-inter see-past-2 María-acc market-in
('Who did you see and María in the market?')

(69) Conjunction with y

(69a) riku-rka-ni Juzi-ta y Marya-ta mirkadu-pi see-past-1 José-acc and María-acc market-in
'I saw José and María in the market.'

(69b) *pi - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui y Marya-ta mirkadu-pi who-inter see-past-2 and María-acc market-in
('Whom did you see and María in the market?')

(69c) *pi - ta - taj riku-rka-ngui Juzi y mirkadu-pi who-inter see-past-2 José and market-in
('Who did you see José and in the market?')

The questions in (68) and (69) use the extraction strategy of question formation. Analogous sentences using phrase fronting are also ill-formed:

(70) *p1 - ta (y) Marya-ta - taj riku-rka-ngui mirkadu-pi who and María-acc-inter see-past-2 market-in
('Whom did you see in the market?')

Similarly, extraction from -pash conjunction is ungrammatical.

(71) Conjunction with -pash 'also'

(71a) riku-rka-ni Juzi(-t-pash) Marya-ta-pash mirkadu-pi see-past-1 José-acc also María-acc also market-in
'I saw José and María in the market.'
(71b) *pi(-ta) - taj riku-ra-knga Marya-ta-pash mirkaudi-pi
who-acc-inter see-past - 2 Maria-acc-also market-in
('Whom did you see and Maria in the market?')

(71c) *[pi(-ta) Marya-ta-pash] - taj riku-ra-knga mirkau-pi
who-acc Maria-acc-inter see-past - 2 market-in
('Whom did you see and Maria in the market?')

Elements "conjoined" by -wan and -ndi may be questioned. It
would seem probable that such phrases are not in fact conjoined,
but, rather, that -wan and -ndi are postpositions, rather than
conjunctions, as their translation 'with' would suggest:

(72a) riku-ra-ni Juzi-ta Marya -wan
see-past-1 Jos6-acc Maria with
'I saw Jos6 with Maria.'

(72b) pi -wan - taj riku-ra-knga Juzi-ta
who-with-inter see-past - 2 Jos6-acc
'With whom did you see Jos6?'

Note that -wan and -ndi cannot follow the accusative phrase
-ta, as would be expected if they were conjunctions rather than
postpositions:

(73) *riku-ra-ni Juzi-ta Marya-ta - wan
see-past-1 Jos6-acc Maria-acc-with
('I saw Jos6 and/with Maria.')

In some other Quechua languages (e.g., Ancash) sentences like
(73) are well-formed, which suggests that in those languages
-wan has become a conjunction:

(74) Conjunction with -wan in Ancash Quechua
riku-qoo Jos6-ta Maria-ta-wan
see-past-1 Jos6-acc Maria-acc-and
'I saw Jos6 and Maria.'

These data suggest that in IQ there is no question word ques-
tioning from coordinate structures. Apparent counterexamples
like (72b) actually involve the questioning of an oblique noun
phrase rather than a conjoined NP.

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. Number of sentence constituents that can be
questioned

It is possible to question more than one sentence constituent,
but certain "crossover" restrictions hold. From

(75) Marya-wan tupari-ka-ni Utavalu-pl
Maria-who meet-past - 1 Otavalo-in
'I met Maria in Otavalo.'

the following multiple question-word question can be formed:

(76) may - pi - taj, pi - wan - taj, tupari-ka-ngu
where-in-inter who-with-inter meet-past - 2
'Where did you meet whom?'

In the case of the questioned nominals:

(77) pi - wan - taj, may - pi - taj, tupari-ka-ngu
who-with-inter where-in-inter meet-past - 2
'Whom did you meet where?'

If, however, the subject and a nonsubject nominal are extracted,
the subject must come first. Thus, from (78), (79) is fully
acceptable while (80) is less so.

(78) Juan jatun wagra-ta riku-ra Utavalu-pl - ka
Juan big cow-acc see-past 3 Otavalo-in-topic
Juan saw a big cow in Otavalo.'

(79) pi - taj, ima - ta - taj, riku - rka Utavalu-pl - ka
who-inter what-acc-inter see-past 3 Otavalo-in-topic
'Whom saw what in Otavalo?'

(80) ?ima - ta - taj, pi - taj, riku - rka Utavalu-pl - ka
what-acc-inter who-inter see-past 3 Otavalo-in-topic
'What did who see in Otavalo?'

1.1.1.2.2.2. Position of the questioned element

As was mentioned in previous sections, the question word
appears obligatorily in sentence initial position. In phrase
and clause fronting questions, the question word appears ini-
tially in its own clause or phrase, and the question particle
appears at the end of the clause or phrase. The clause or
phrase containing the question word appears to the left of the
matrix clause. Examples (24) - (30) inter alia, illustrate this
process. As was seen in 1.1.1.2.2.1.6, in questions in which
more than one element is questioned, both appear to the left of
the matrix clause.

1.1.1.2.2.3. Echo-questions

Echo questions may be formed on any constituent. They differ
formally from other questions in two ways:

(1) The intonation pattern employed is rising rather than
rising-falling.

(2) No interrogative particle like -chu or -taj is employed.

This is exemplified below.

1.1.1.2.2.3.1. Yes-no echo-questions

(81a) Speaker A: fuka-ka kaya - mi fishta - man
I-topic tomorrow-validator festival-to
ri-ju - ni
go-prog-1
'I'm going to a festival tomorrow.'

(81b) Speaker B: kaya
tomorrow
'Tomorrow?'

Or:
(81c) Speaker B: fishta - man 
festival-to 
'To a festival?'

Note that -chu, which is normally used in yes-no questions, may not be employed in an echo question:

(81b') Speaker B: *kaya - chu 
tomorrow-inter 
('Tomorrow?')

(81c') Speaker B: *fishta - man - chu 
festival-to-inter 
('To a festival?')

The questions in (81b') and (81c') are appropriate as genuine requests for information rather than as echo questions: e.g.,

(82a) Speaker A: Juzi kaya - mi Utavalo-man ri-ju-ni 
José tomorrow-validator 
Olavalo-to go-prog-3 
'José is going to Otavalo tomorrow.'

(82b) Speaker B: fishta - man - chu 
festival-to-inter 
'To a festival?'

1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo-questions

Note the rising intonation and absence of the interrogative suffix -taj in (83).

(83a) Speaker A: fuka-ka kaya - mi fishta - man 
I-topic tomorrow-validator festival-to 
ri-ju - ni go-prog-1 
'I'm going to a festival tomorrow.'

(83b) Speaker B: may-man(-*taj) 
where-to-inter 
'Where?'

Or:

(83c) Speaker B: ini u(-*taj) 
what hour-inter 
'When?'

1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes-no question echo-questions

The same pattern is found in yes-no question echo-questions:

(84a) Speaker A: fishta - man - chu ri-ju-ngui 
festival-to-inter go-prog-2 
'Are you going to the festival?'

(84b) Speaker B: fishta-man(-*chu) ri-ju-ni 
festival-to-inter go-prog-1 
'Am I going to the festival?'

1.1.1.2.3.4. Question-word question echo questions

It is also found in question-word question echo questions:

(85a) Speaker A: may - man - taj ri-ju-ngui 
where-to-inter go-prog-2 
'Where are you going?'

(85b) Speaker B: may-man(-*taj) ri-ju - ni 
where-to-inter go-prog-1 
'Where am I going?'

1.1.1.2.3.5-7. Constituents that can be subject to echo-questioning

Any constituent can be subject to echo questioning. When more than one element is echo-questioned, two intonation nuclei are formed:

(86a) Speaker A: kaya - mi fishta-man ri-ju - ni 
tomorrow-validator festival-to go-prog-1 
'Tomorrow I'm going to a festival.'

(86b) Speaker B: kaya fishta-man 
tomorrow festival-to 
'Tomorrow? To a festival?'

The strategies illustrated above are applicable to all types of echo questions irrespective of the word-type questioned.

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1. Answers as a distinct speech act

Answers are formally indistinguishable from other declarative sentences. They display rising-falling intonation, as was illustrated in (9), and employ the same range of validators as other declarative sentences (see 2.1.8). In answers, however, the placement of the validator is restricted. The validator is suffixed to the constituent in the answer corresponding to the focus of the question to which it is a reply:

(87a) Speaker A: Utavalo-man-cha ri-ju-ngui 
Olavalo-to-echo go-prog-2 
'Are you going to Otavalo?'

(87b) Speaker B: ari, Utavalo-man - mi ri-ju - ni 
yes Olavalo-to-validator go-prog-1 
'Yes, I'm going to Otavalo.'

and not:

(87c) Speaker B: *ari, Utavalo-man ri-ju - ni - mi 
yes Olavalo-to-validator go-prog-1 validator 
('Yes, I'm going to Otavalo.')

(88a) Speaker A: may - man - taj ri-ju-ngui 
where-to-inter go-prog-2 
'Where are you going?'

(88b) Speaker B: Utavalo-man - mi ri-ju - ni 
Olavalo-to-validator go-prog-1 
'I'm going to Otavalo.'
and not:

(86c) Speaker B: *Utavalu-man xi-ju - ni - mi
Otaval-to go-prog-1-validator
('I'm going to Otavalo.')

1.1.1.2.4.2. Answers in the form of incomplete sentences

The minimal answer to a yes-no question is ari 'yes',
(ma)na 'no', or ima-chi)zi 'maybe'. In general, answers may take the form of a full sentence or of a fragment:

(89a) Speaker A: jatun wasi - ta chari-ngui-chu
big house-acc have - 2-inter
'Do you have a big house?'

(89b) Speaker B: ari, jatun wasi - ta chari-ni - mi
yes big house-acc have - 1-validator
'Yes, I have a big house.'

or:

(89c) Speaker B: ari, jatun-ta
yes big - acc
'Yes, a big one.'

When an answer is negative, the negative particle mana (or na) often appears only once. In reply to (89a), (90) is well-formed.

(90) Speaker B: mana jatun wasi - ta chari-ni-chu
not big house-acc have - 1-neg
'I don't have a big house.'

In leading questions, ari 'yes' affirms the presumption of the questioner and mana 'no' denies it. In

(91) Speaker A: jatun wasi - ta chari-ngui, na - chu
big house-acc have - 2 not-inter
'Have you a big house, right?'

Speaker A supposes that Speaker B has a big house and asks for confirmation. In

(92) Speaker B: mana
no
'No.'

Speaker B denies the presumption of Speaker A that he has a big house.

Sentence fragments are also well-formed replies to question-word questions:

(95a) Speaker A: ma - ma - tai xi-ju-ngui
where-to-inter go-prog-2
'Where are you going?'

(95b) Speaker B: fishta - man
tale-to
'Vel to a festival.'

1.1.1.3. Imperative sentences
1.1.1.3.1-2. Imperative forms

There are imperative forms for second person singular and plural, first person plural and third person (number is not distinguished in the third person):

(94) Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shunchi</td>
<td>shunchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chun</td>
<td>chun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, subject pronouns are omitted in the imperative.

Third person imperatives are grammatically subordinate clauses rather than main clause imperatives. This is shown by the fact that validators cannot appear within the clause (see 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.4 and 2.1.8):

(95a) Second person imperative

ama chay wasgra-ta randi - y - chu
not that cow-acc buy-imperative 2-neg
'Don't buy that cow.'

(95b) Third person imperative

ama chay wasgra-ta randi - chun (=-chun)
not that cow-acc buy-imperative 3-neg
'May he not buy that cow.'

This situation is peculiar to Ecuadorian Quechua. The suffix -chun in Ecuador, though not in non-Ecuadorian Quechua languages, is a subjunctive suffix. The use of subjunctive clauses is discussed in 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.4 and 2.1.3.4.4.

There are no special forms for affirmative and negative imperatives. Negative imperatives are distinguished from other negatives by the use of the negative particle ama in place of mana.

Two devices are used to soften the brusqueness of imperatives. These are the suffixes -lla 'just, only' and -pa 'honoring'. These can be used separately or together:

(96a) miku - y - lla
eat-imperative-just
'Please eat.'

(96b) miku - pa - y
eat-honorific-imperative
'Please eat.'

(96c) miku - pa - y - lla
eat-honorific-imperative-just
'Please eat.'

It should be emphasized that neither -pa nor -lla is limited to imperatives. The honorific suffix -pa is often found on verbs referring to the actions of older or respected individuals, or individuals for whom the speaker feels affection.

(97) muka tayta Utavalu-pl kawsa - pa - n
my father Otavalo-in live-honorific-3
'My father lives in Otavalo.'

Similarly, the suffix -lla has a variety of uses in non-imperative sentences:
(98a) chaki-l1a - mi shamu-rka-ni
    foot-just-validator come-past-1
    'I came on foot.'

(98b) Marya-ta - l1a juya-ni
    Maria-acc-just love-1
    'I love only Marfa.'

Thus, the use of -ni and -l1a in imperatives should be viewed as part of an overall system of politeness in IQ, and not as an aspect of the grammar of imperatives per se.

1.1.1.3.3. Other means of expressing the imperative

Frequently the future tense is used as an imperative form:

(99) ama shamu-ngui - chu
    neg imper come-2 future-neg
    'Don't come.'

Often the imperative and the future imperative are combined:

(100) shamu - y miku-ngui
    come-imper eat-2 future
    'Come and eat.'

This combination is typically used to express an imperative in which the first verb requires immediate action and the second action at a later time. Compare (100) and (101).

(101) shamu - y miku-ngui
    come-imper eat-1 imper
    'Come and eat.'

Sentence (101) suggests that the speaker wants the addressee to perform two actions at the same time rather than sequentially.

The subjunctive suffix -ngapaj (1.1.2.2.2) is found in first person plural suggestions, which are interpreted similarly to first person plural imperatives:

(102) shuya - ngapaj
    wait-subjunctive
    'Let's wait.'

1.1.1.4.5. Indirect speech acts

With the exception of future imperatives (1.1.1.3.3), no sentence type is regularly used to indicate a speech act distinct from that normally associated with the sentence type. It should, however, be remembered that IQ makes extensive use of a number of independent suffixes which reflect the beliefs and expectations of the speaker. The meaning of these suffixes interacts with sentence-type to determine the speech act realized by a particular sentence. Thus, as was seen in 1.1.1.2.2, the use of -mi rather than -taj in a question-word question indicates that the question is not a genuine request for information. Yet formally the sentence is a question-word question. See 2.1.8 for a more detailed treatment of these suffixes.

1.1.2. Subordination

1.1.2.1. General markers of subordination

Subordinate clauses in IQ and other Quechua languages are formally quite distinct from main clauses. In IQ these clauses are marked by (1) the use of non-finite verb forms, (2) the absence of validation inside the clause (this, apparently, is being lost in Otavalo), (3) the absence of subject-verb agreement (with exceptions discussed below), and (4) fairly strict verb final order. Except for the absence of verb agreement, these properties of subordinate clauses are characteristic of the Quechua languages generally:

(103) Use of non-finite verb form

(103a) Nominalized verb

    fiuka-kas Juan kay-pi ka - shka3 - ta ya - ni
    I-topic Juan this-in be-nominalizer-acc think-1
    'I think that Juan was here.'

(103b) Finite verb form

    *fiuka-kas Juan kay-pi ka - rka3 ya - ni
    I-topic Juan this-in be-past 3 think-1
    ('I think that Juan was here.')

(104) Absence of validation

(104a) Main clause

    Juan kay - pi - mi ka - rka
    Juan this-in-validator be-past 3
    'Juan was here.'

(104b) Subordinate Clause

    *fiuka-kas Juan kay - pi - mi ka - shka3 - ta
    I-topic Juan this-in-validator be-nominalizer-acc
    ya - ni
    think-1
    ('I think that Juan was here.')

(105) Verb-final word order

(105a) Main clause

    Juan - mi ka - rka kay-pi
    Juan-validator be-past 3 this-in
    'Juan was here.'

(105b) Subordinate clause

    *fiuka-kas Juan ka - shka - ta kay-pi3 ya - ni
    I-topic Juan be-nominalizer-acc this-in think-1
    ('I think that Juan was here.') (Cf. (103a).)

The absence of verb agreement in subordinate clauses is peculiar to Ecuadorian Quechua languages. Compare (103a) and (106).

(106) Subordination in Ancash Quechua

    noqa pensa-a Juan kay-chaw ka - shka - n2-ta
    I think-1 Juan this-in be-nominalizer-3-acc
    'I think that Juan was here.'

Note the absence of the third person marker -n in IQ.
In branches of Quechua other than Ecuadorian, subject-verb agreement in subordinate clauses is drawn from the nominal paradigm (possessive suffixes). This paradigm has been largely lost in Ecuadorian Quechua, a development which carried with it the loss of subject-verb agreement in subordinate clauses. In an apparently related development, the use of subject pronouns has become obligatory in the first and second person in subordinate clauses:

(107a) Main clause
(Muka) María-ta juya-ni
I - María-acc love-1
'I love María.'

but:
(107b) Subordinate clause
Juan - ka [muka María-ta juya - j] - ta ya - n
Juan-topic I María-acc love-nominalizer-acc think-3
'Juan thinks that I love María.'

The only exception I am aware of to the claim that there is no subject-verb agreement in subordinate clauses is the subdialect spoken in Ilumán and San Roque, villages to the northeast of Otavalo. In these villages object noun clauses may optionally manifest subject-verb agreement. These clauses are case marked as objects despite the absence of an overt nominalizer:
(108) Pedro ya - n [muka Agatu-pi kawsa-ni-ta]
Pedro think-3 I Agato-in live - T-acc
'Pedro thinks that I live in Agato.'

In addition, the more usual forms discussed below are also used. It should be noted that residents of other villages (e.g., Agato and San Pablo) identify (108) as typical of San Roque. It is uncertain whether these forms are an innovation or an archaism.

1.1.2.2 Noun clauses
1.1.2.2.1. Marking of noun clauses
Noun clauses are non-finite (like other subordinate clauses), and, as is the case with direct objects and other verbal complements, they may precede or follow the matrix verb. There are three major types of noun clauses: (1) indicative, (2) subjunctive, and (3) infinitive.

1.1.2.2.2. Types of noun clauses
1.1.2.2.2.1. Indicative noun clauses

Indicative noun clauses are governed by matrix verb classes exemplified by ya- 'think' (verbs of knowledge), vllla- 'tell' (verbs of saying), and riku- 'see' (verbs of perception). The subordinate verb is nominalized, as is shown by the fact that it is case marked to indicate the grammatical relation of the clause to the superordinate verb: accusative (-ta) for object complements and nominative (Ø) for subject complements.

(109a) Subject complement
siru - mi [Marya mishu shimi - ta
true-validator María mestizo language-acc
parla - j] - Ø - ka
speak-nominalizer-nominalizer-topic

'tIt is true that María speaks Spanish.'

(109b) Object complement
ya - ni [Marya mishu shimi - ta
think-1 María mestizo language-acc
parla - j] - ta
speak-nominalizer-acc

'I think that María speaks Spanish.'

The nominalizing suffixes used in indicative subordinate clauses are as follows:

(110) Past Present Future
-shka -j -na

The use of -y is somewhat unusual when the complement clause has a subject, but is frequently employed in subjectless clauses when a present tense clause appears in matrix subject position:

(111) kay-pi ka - y - ka ali - mi

this-in be-nominalizer-topic good-validator
'To be here is good.'

(See 1.1.2.2.2.3 for a discussion of infinitive clauses in matrix object position.)

In addition to the forms listed in (110), residents of the Otavalo area also use -n as a present tense object nominalizer:

(112) Pidru ya - n [muka Agatu-pi kawsa-n-ta]
Pedro think-3 I Agato-in live - T-acc

'Pedro thinks that I live in Agato.'

See also (108).

In the examples noted previously, the nominal understood as the subject of the object complement appears in the nominative case. This nominal may often appear in the accusative as well. Compare (109b) and (113):

(113) akru-ta kri - ni aycha-ta shuwa - ju - j - ta
dog-acc believe-1 meat-acc steal-nominalizer-prog-acc
'I believe the dog to be stealing the meat.'

This pattern is especially frequent with verbs of perception:

(114) Juan-ta uya-xka-ni shamu-ju - j - ta
Juan-nominalizer hear-past-1 come-prog-nominalizer-acc

'I heard Juan coming.'

With verbs of perception, but not with verbs of belief, the use of the accusative is strongly preferred. This suggests the possibility that sentences like (113) and those like (114) constitute distinct constructions. There are at least two addi-
tional reasons to believe this may be true. First, in other Quechua languages different nominalizers are found in the analogues of (113) and (114):

(115) Ancash Quechua
(115a) Ancash analogue of (113)
  allqo-ta kre1 - i atsya-ta suwa - yka - nqa - n-ta
dog-acc believe-1 meat-acc steal-prog-nominalizer-3-acc
  'I believe the dog to be stealing the meat.'
(115b) Ancash analogue of (114)
Juan-ta wiyqa-rqa - q - ta
Juan-acc hear-past-1 come-prog-nominalizer-acc
  'I heard Juan coming.'

Note the use of -nqa in (115a) and -q (cognate to TQ -j) in (115b).

Second, the nominal understood as complement subject in (113) need not satisfy the selectional restrictions of the matrix verb; e.g., it need not be the case in (113) that the dog can be believed (and (113) does not entail that I believe the dog). But, in the case of sentences like (114), the nominal corresponding to Juan must be capable of being heard. Sentence (114) entails that heard Juan, not just that I heard his coming or heard that he was coming.

These facts suggest that (114) may be derived from an underlying structure roughly like its surface structure:

(116)
NP [-nka3] VP N[Juan-ta j1] V[tuya-rka-ni] NP [-g1]
-

Juan-acc hear-past-1

swamu - ju - j1 - ta]

come-prog-nominalizer-acc

'1 heard Juan coming.'

while (113) would appear to be derived from an underlying structure like (117).

(117)
NP [-nka3] VP N[Caiku aycha-ta shuwa - ju - j1 - ta]
-

Juan-acc

dog meat-acc steal-prog-nominalizer-acc

'1 believe the dog to be stealing the meat.'

A detailed consideration of this question is beyond the purview of this study. It should be noted, however, that the analysis of sentences like (114) is discussed in some depth in Cole and Herman (1981).

In indicative noun clauses, as in other nominalized noun clauses, direct objects may be incorporated to the verb. Incorporated objects are not case marked and must appear immediately before the nominalized verb:

(118) Direct object immediately precedes nominalized verb
José-topic I tomorrow sheep -acc buy-nominalizer-acc
kri - n
believe-3

'José believes I will buy a sheep tomorrow.'

(119) Direct object does not immediately precede nominalized verb
José-topic I sheep -acc tomorrow buy-nominalizer-acc
kri - n
believe-3

'José believes I will buy a sheep tomorrow.'

As will be seen below, incorporation is restricted to direct objects, and is possible only in nominalized subordinate clauses (i.e., those in which the verb is a noun in derived structure, which is shown by the fact that the verb receives case marking). These facts suggest that incorporation is restricted to surface noun-noun combinations, and may, in fact, be a special case of nominal compounding. This hypothesis is discussed below further.

1.1.2.2.2.2. Subjective noun clauses

Subjective noun clauses appear in the complements of verbs of desire like mana- 'want' and ordering like kacha- 'send' as well as in purpose clauses:

(120) Identical subject subjective clauses

(120a) mana-ta \[ruka mama - ta riku - ngapaj
want-1-conditional my mother-acc see-subjective
'my want that I see my mother; I want to see my mother.'

(120b) Utavalu-man ri-kaka-ni ruka mama - ta riku - ngapaj
Utavalo-to go-past-1 my mother-acc see-subjective
'my want to Utavalo to see my mother.'

(121) Non-identical subject subjective clauses

(121a) mana-ni Juji pay-paj mama - ta riku - chun
buy-1 José he-of mother-acc see-subjective
'my want José to see his mother.'

(121b) Juji-ta kacha-ruka-ni pay-paj mama - ta riku - chun
José-acc send-past-1 he-of mother-acc see-subjective
'my sent José to see his mother.'

As is apparent from (120) and (121), the suffix -ngapaj (from -nqa 'third person future' and -pa 'for') is used for subjective clauses in which the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential to that of the superordinate clause. When the subjects of the subordinate and superordinate clauses are not identical, the suffix -chun is employed. This pattern differs from that found in most Quechua languages, in which -nq
Note that the same subjunctive suffix -na + agreement + -paq is used in both (122) and (123).

IQ subjunctive noun clauses are not nominalized, although they are non-finite (fall to manifest verb agreement and tense). Note the ungrammaticality of case marking the subjunctive verb:

(124a) *fluka muna-ni miku - ngapaj - (*ta)
I want-1 you eat-subjunctive-acc
'I want to eat.'

(124b) *fluka muna-ni kan miku - chun-(*ta)
I want-1 you eat-subjunctive-acc
'I want that you eat; I want you to eat.'

As might be expected on the basis of the hypothesis that incorporation is a special case of nominal compounding, direct objects within subjunctive clauses may not undergo incorporation:

(125a) *fluka ka llama -ta randi - ngapaj muna-ni
I-topic sheep -acc buy-subjunctive want-1
'I want that I buy a sheep; I want to buy a sheep.'

(125b) *fluka-ka Juri llama -ta randi - chun muna-ni
I-topic José sheep -acc buy-subjunctive want-1
'I want José to buy a sheep.'

This is further evidence that subjunctive verb forms, while non-finite, are not nominalized. Like the subjects of indicative noun clauses, subjunctive noun clause subjects may appear in accusative as well as nominative case:

(126) *fluka-ka Juri-ta muna-ni Utavalu-man ri - chun
I-topic José-acc want-1 Otavalo-to eat-subjunctive
'I want José to go to Otavalo.'

1.1.2.2.2.3. Infinitive object complement

There are two infinitive markers in IQ: -na and -y. The suffix -y is the original Quechua infinitive suffix, and is the sole infinitival suffix except in Ecuadorian Quechua. In IQ -na has largely replaced -y, although -y is preferred in the complements of usha- 'be able to' and Kallari- 'begin':

(127a) ri - na - ta muna-ni
go-infinitive-acc want-1
'I want to go.'

(127b) ri - y - ta usha - rka-ni
Kallari-
go-infinitive-acc can - past-1
begin -
'I was able to go.'

The suffix -na carries a stronger future connotation than -y. Sentences like those of (127) are presumably derived by a process of Equi NP deletion (or control, in an Extended Standard Theory framework)

It might be supposed that -na is simply a future indicative nominalizer (see 1.1.2.2.2.1) and not an infinitival suffix. There is, however, evidence against such a hypothesis.

First, -na may be used in the complement of verbs like usha- 'be able to' which do not, in general, take non-infinitival complements:

(128a) ri - y - ta usha-ni
na
go-infinitive-acc can - 1
'I can go.'

but:

(128b) *ri - shka - ta usha-rka-ni
go-past indicative nominalizer-acc can-past-1
'I was able to have gone.'

Second, -na is the only putative indicative suffix (other than -y) to appear in the complement of muna- 'want', which generally requires the subjunctive. Compare (127) and (129).

(129) *ri - shka - ta muna-ni
go-past nominalizer-acc want-1
'I wanted to have gone.'

Third, -na, like -y, can only be used in the complement of muna- and similar verbs when the understood subject of the complement verb is coreferential to that of the superordinate verb. Compare grammatical (127a) with (130).

(130) Juan shamu - *y - ta muna-ni
Juan come-infinitive-acc want-1
'I want Juan to come.'

These facts militate in favor of the claim that -na is an infinitival suffix in IQ.
Both -na and -y are nominalizing suffixes. The subordinate verb is case marked, as was seen in (125), and the subordinate direct object may undergo incorporation:

(131) Juzi - ka llama -∅ randi -y -ta usha-n -ta -na
José-topic sheep -∅ buy-infinitive-acc can-3 -acc

'José is able to buy a sheep.'

Infinitive noun clauses, unlike all other subordinate clauses, allow the appearance of validators within the subordinate clause:

(132) Validation into noun clauses

(132a) Indicative noun clause

*fiuka-ka [Juan shuj ali wagra-ta - mi randi-
1-topic Juan one good cow-acc-validator buy-
shka] - ta ya - ni
nominalizer-acc think-1

('I think that Juan bought a good cow."

but:

(132b) Infinitive noun clause

fiuka-ka shuj ali wagra-ta - mi randi -y - ta
- na

1-topic one good cow-acc-validator buy-infinitive-acc
muna-ni
want-1

'I want to buy a good cow.'

The exceptional distribution of validators in infinitive object complements suggests that sentences like those of (127) do not contain an internal clause boundary in contrast to both indicative and subjunctive noun clauses, which do. If this is correct, validation into infinitive object complements would be expected. Independent evidence for the absence of an internal clause boundary is provided by an apparent anomaly in object agreement in infinitive object complements. For most speakers, in complex sentences a verb may agree only with the first person object of its own clause. (There is no object agreement in IQ with second or third person objects, although in non-Ecuadorian Quechua both first and second person object agreement exist.)

(133a) fiuka muna-ni Juri ayuda - wa - chun
1-topic one help-1 object-subjunctive
'I want José to help me.'

(133b) *fiuka muna - wa - ni Juri ayuda - chun
1 object-1 subject José help-subjunctive
('I want José to help me.')

Infinitive object complements are an apparent exception. The matrix verb may agree with the understood object of the infinitive:

(134) Juzi muna - wa - n ayuda - y - ta
José want-1 object-3 subject help-infinitive-acc
na
José wants to help me.'

This apparent anomaly in the distribution of object agreement can be seen to be unexceptional if infinitive object complements do not contain an internal clause boundary in surface structure. It should be noted in passing that an alternative explanation for (133) - (134), the existence of a rule of object-to-object raising from infinitive object complements, has little plausibility. First, the only instances in which there is apparent object-to-object raising from non-infinitives are ones in which there is strong reason to suspect that the "raised" object originated in the matrix rather than the complement clause. (This is a slight simplification. See Coe (1981) for further discussion.) For example,

(135) fiuka-ka Marya-ta kri - ni Juzi maka - shka - ta
1-topic María-acc hit-1 José hit-nominalizer-acc

'I believe María that José hit her.'

entails that I believe María. Compare (135) with (115) (repeated),

(113) alku-ta kri - ni aycha-ta shwa - ju - j - ta
dog-acc believe-1 meat-acc steal-nominalizer-prog-acc

'I believe the dog to be stealing the meat.'

an instance of subject-to-object raising, which does not entail that I believe the dog. Analogous sentences involving putative object-to-object raising like (156),

(136) fiuka alku-ta kri - ni Juzi maka - shka - ta
1-topic dog-acc believe-1 José hit-nominalizer-acc

'I believe the dog that José hit it.'

are understood to entail the dog having told the hearer that José hit him. Thus, sentences like (135) and (136) are not plausible candidates for a rule of object-to-object raising.

Second, an object-to-object raising analysis for object infinitive complements provides no explanation why the putative object raising process would occur in infinitives only. There is, for example, no crosslinguistic evidence that object-to-object raising is associated with infinitives. In contrast, the hypothesis that there is no internal clause boundary in infinitive complements is in accord with an extensive literature showing that infinitives manifest reduced structure in many languages.

Third, the object-to-object raising analysis provides no explanation for the fact that locative, and other non-object constituents of infinitive object complements (e.g., (152b)), which clearly have not undergone object-to-object raising, can be validated.
(137) Nuka-ka Utava1-pi - mi kawaa - na - ta muna-ni
I-topic Utava1-in-validator live-infinitive-acc want-1
I want to live in Utava1.

But this falls out from the hypothesis that object complements
do not contain an internal clause boundary. Hence, I conclude
that there is strong evidence that infinitive object complements
manifest reduced structure, and against the claim that there is
a rule of object-to-object raising in IQ.

Earlier in this section I presented three arguments for
the claim that the -na construction in sentences like (127a) is an
infinitival and not a future indicative construction. A fourth
argument can now be presented. Compare the validation possibil-
ities in (138a) and (138b):
(138a) Indicative -na
*Nuka-ka Juan shuj ali wagra-ta - mi randi -
- I-topic Juan one good cow-acc-validator buy -
- na - ta ya - ni
- nominalizer-acc think-1
'I think that Juan will buy a good cow.'
(138b) Infinitive -na
Nuka-ka shuj ali wagra-ta - mi randi - na - ta
I-topic one good cow-acc-validator buy-infinitive-acc
muna-ni
want-1
'I want to buy a good cow.'

Note that validation is possible into a -na infinitive clause
but not into a -na indicative clause.

Similarly, the matrix verb may manifest object agreement
with the object of a -na infinitive but not a -na indicative:
(139a) Indicative -na
*Juan-ka
Marya ayuda - na - ta yacha - wa -
- Juan-topic Marya help-nominalizer-acc know-1 object-
- n
- 3 subject
'Juan knows that Marya will help me.'
(139b) Infinitive -na
Juan-ka
Marya ayuda - na - ta muna - wa - n
Jose help-infinitive-acc want-1 object-3 subject
Jose wants to help me.'

These facts show that -na in (127a) appears in an infinitive
construction like that in which -y is found. The infinitive con-
struction has been seen to have structural properties quite
different from those of -na indicatives.

1.1.2.2.2.4. Infinitive subject complements

Infinitive subject complements are similar superficially to
infinitive object complements like those of 1.1.2.2.2.3:

(140) Infinitive subject complement
kan-ka puflu - ju - na
- *ta yari-ngui
- y
you-topic sleep-prog-infinitive - *acc seem-2
-nominitative

'You seem to be sleeping.'

Note that in (140), as in infinitive object complements, the
complement verb receives an infinitival suffix (-na or -y, with
-y most common). In contrast to infinitival objects, the com-
plement clause in (140) bears nominative (p) case. This is con-
sistent with the hypothesis that (140) is derived from a struc-
ture along the lines of (141) by a rule of subject-to-subject
raising.

(141) Presumably, the subject of the subordinate clause is raised to
matrix subject. As a result, the matrix verb manifests second
person subject-verb agreement, while the infinitive retains
nominative case (assigned prior to raising). (Note that object
complement clauses retain accusative case subsequent to subject-
to-object raising. See 1.2.2.2.1.

In sentences like (140), raising is obligatory. Surface
forms similar to (141) are not found:
(142) *kan puflu - ju - j yari-n
you sleep-prog-nominalizer seem-3
('It seems you are sleeping.')

Yari- is also used with independent sentences as in
(143) *kan-ka puflu - ju-ngui yari-n
you-topic sleep-prog-2 seem-3
'You are sleeping, it seems.'

The fact that puflu- manifests subject-verb agreement in (143)
shows that kanku pufluungui is a main rather than subordinate
clause. Grammatically, (143) consists of two sentences rather
than a single complex sentence.

Certain verbs appear to take either subject or object com-
plements:
Structure (145a) would undergo the rule of Equi NP deletion (or an equivalent control process within the framework of the Extend-
question-word questions the question word is fronted to the beginning of its own clause and not to the beginning of the sentence as a whole. Compare (147), an indirect question-word question, and (148), which is grammatical only as a direct question:

(148) P1 - ta - taj Juzi tapu - rka Marya riku - shka - ta who-acq-inter José ask-past 3 María see-nominalizer-acc 'Whom did José ask whether María has seen?'

Second, in indirect questions, the interrogative suffix -chu does not appear. Compare (149) and (150).

(149) Juzi tapu - rka Marya shamu - shka - ta José ask-past 3 María come-nominalizer-acc 'José asked if María had come.'

(150) *Juzi tapu - rka Marya - chu shamu - shka - ta José ask-past 3 María-inter come-nominalizer-acc ('José asked if María had come!')

The ungrammaticality of employing -chu in indirect questions like (150) is a special instance of the general principle that validators may not appear inside subordinate clauses (see 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.2.2.1 and 2.1.8).

1.1.2.2.5. Indirect commands

Third person imperatives may be viewed as indirect commands:

(151) Juzi shamu - chun José 3rd person imperative 'May José come.'

Clauses overtly embedded under verbs of command (e.g., kacha- 'send', ni- 'say, tell', manda - 'order') appear as subjunctive noun clauses. (See 1.1.2.2.2.) Note that ni- 'say, tell' takes an indicative complement when it means 'say that...' and a subjunctive complement when it means 'tell X to...; say to...':

(152) Subjunctive complement
Juan-ta ni - rka-ni shamu - chun Juan-acq say-past-1 come-subjunctive 'I told Juan to come.'

but:

(153) Indicative complement
Juan-man ni - rka-ni Juzi shamu - shka - ta Juan-to say-past-1 José come-nominalizer-acc 'I told Juan that José had come.'

Note also the differing postpositions suffixed to Juan in (152) and (153).

1.1.2.2.6. Non-finite noun clauses

This topic has been discussed extensively in section 1.1.2.2.2. The arguments found in non-finite clauses are the same as those found in finite clauses. The arguments of non-finite clauses take the same case markers as those of finite clauses, but in nominalized non-finite clauses direct objects may undergo optional incorporation to the verb and thereby lose their accusative case (see above). Adverbials may be present in non-finite clauses, and take their normal form. Verb-final word order is strongly preferred in these clauses.

1.1.2.3. Adjective clauses (relative clauses)

1.1.2.3.1. Marking of adjective clauses

Adjective clauses are non-finite as are other subordinate clauses. The modifying clause is nominalized by means of (a subset of) the same nominalizing suffixes found in indicative noun clauses (1.1.2.2.2.1):

(154) Nominalizers used in adjective clauses
Past Present Future
shka -j -na

The suffixes shown in (154) are affixed to the verb of the modifying clause, e.g.:

(155a) Marya riku - shka runa María see-nominalizer man 'the man whom María saw'

(155b) Marya riku - j runa María see-nominalizer man 'the man whom María sees'

(155c) Marya riku - na runa María see-nominalizer man 'the man whom María will see'

The suffix -y is not used in forming adjective clauses.

As is evident from (154) - (155), the nominalizing suffixes in IQ indicate the tense of the modifying clause. In other Quechua languages these suffixes may have a different role, that of indicating the grammatical relation of the relativized element within the modifying clause. For instance, in Ancash Quechua the suffix -q (cognate to IQ -j) is used (with certain exceptions) whenever the relativized element is the subject of its clause.

(156) Subject relativization in Ancash Quechua

(156a) Maria-ta kuya - q numa Maria-acq love-nominalizer man 'the man who loves/loved/will love María'

(156b) *Maria-ta kuya -shqa numa Maria-acq love -non-future nominalizer man -future nominalizer 'the man who loves/will love María'

Note the -q in Ancash Quechua carries no tense.

In contrast, in Ancash when the relativized element is a non-subject, the choice of nominalizer is determined by tense: -na is used when the modifying clause is future and -shqa (cognate to IQ -sha) or -ngu when it is non-future:
(157) Non-subject relativization in Ancash Quechua

(157a) Future
María kuya -na - n nuna
María love -future nominalizer - 3 man
- non-future nominalizer-3
- non-future nominalizer-3

'the man María will love'

(157b) Non-future
María kuya -na - n nuna
María love -future nominalizer - 3 man
- non-future nominalizer-3
- non-future nominalizer-3

'the man María loved/loves'

The use of -q is ill-formed in (157).

Although in general the nominalizers are used to indicate tense rather than grammatical role in IQ adjective clauses, certain instances are found in which their use is reminiscent of Ancash and similar Quechua languages. (See 1.1.2.3.3)

Adjective clauses, like other nominalized clauses, are subject to case marking.

(158) riisi-ngui-chu Marya juya - j - ta
know - 2-inter María love-nominalizer-acc

'Do you know the one whom María loves?'

and to optional direct object incorporation (see 1.1.2.2.2):

(159) [wagra-(ta) randi - shka] warmi
cow - acc buy-nominalizer woman

'the woman who bought a cow'

It should be noted that incorporation is more usual in adjective clauses than in noun clauses. This is true despite the fact that incorporation in adjective clauses often leads to ambiguity with regard to the grammatical role of the relativized noun phrase. For instance, the incorporated version of (158) is structurally ambiguous. It may be understood as 'the woman who bought a cow' (warmi 'woman' interpreted as subject and wagra 'cow' as incorporated direct object), or 'the woman which the cow bought' (wagra 'cow' interpreted as subject and warmi 'woman' as direct object).

The latter interpretation is avoided on pragmatic grounds (cows cannot buy women), but examples in which the relativized noun phrase is the direct object abound:

(160) [warmi randi - shka] wagra
woman buy-nominalizer cow

In (160) the natural interpretation is that the relativized noun phrase is the direct object of the modifying clause 'the cow that the woman bought', but, given the assumption that cows may be people, (160) could also be interpreted as 'the cow that bought

the woman'. Example (161) is natural under both interpretations:

(161) [Juan juya - shka] warmi
Juan love-nominalizer woman

'the woman Juan loves'

'the woman who loves Juan'

Ambiguities like that of (161) are normally resolved by the context in which the sentence is used.

1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive and non-restrictive clauses

There is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive adjective clauses. Both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations are open in principle to IQ relative clauses.

1.1.2.3.3. The position of the head noun

The most usual position for the head noun is after the modifying clause:

(162) NP  S' S NP* NP NP

Examples of relative clauses with the head on the right were given above.

In addition to relative clauses with the head on the right, there are also relative clauses in which the element understood as the head appears within the modifying clause:

(163) [wambra wagra-ta randi - shka] ali wagra - mi
boy cow-acc buy-nominalizer good cow-validator

'The cow which the boy bought is a good cow.'

In (163) the noun phrase translates as a head, wagra, is clearly a constituent of the subordinate clause. This is shown by word order (it appears between the subject and the verb of the subordinate clause) and case marking (it is marked accusative rather than nominative; accusative case is appropriate for a subordinate direct object but not for a matrix subject). Such relative clauses have been referred to as "internally headed", but this term can only be used metaphorically. These relative clauses are syntactically headless. I shall, however, continue to call them "internally headed" (using scare quotes) in order to avoid confusing these relative clauses and another type of headless relative, the free relative described in 1.1.3.2.6.

"Internally headed" relative clauses occur not only when the relativized NP is direct object of the modifying clause, but also when it is the subject:

(164) [wambra wagra-ta randi - j ali wambra - mi
boy cow-acc buy-nominalizer good cow-validator

'The boy who is buying the cow is a good boy.'

The fact that adjective clauses like (163) are "internally headed" (i.e., headless) is apparent from a cursory examination of their word order and case marking, but the status of those like (164) is less clear. Is (164) an instance of headless relativization,
The two hypotheses may be distinguished by comparing their predictions with regard to object relativization. If relative clauses may have heads on the left, this structure should be possible for object as well as subject relativization. Thus, a structure like (167) is predicted.

If, however, sentences like (164) are instances of "internally headed" relative clauses, and there are no right branching relative clauses in IQ, relative clauses like that schematized in (167) should not occur. Example (168) shows that relative clauses like (167) do not occur:

(168) *[wagra [wambra ŋ randi - j] ali wagra - mi cow boy buy nominalizer good cow-validator ('The cow which the boy is buying is a good cow.')

Furthermore, (168) cannot be salvaged by changing the nominalizing suffix from -j to -na or -shka.

(169) *[wagra [wambra ŋ randi - naJ] ali wagra - mi cow boy buy -future good cow-validator -past ('The cow which the boy will buy is a good cow.')

Thus, I conclude that relative clauses like (164) are instances of "internally headed" relative clauses rather than relative clauses with the head on the left. (See also Cole, Harbert and Hermann, 1982.)

As can be seen from (163) and (164), when the relativized NP is the subject of a present tense "internally headed" relative clause, the nominalizer -j is employed. The nominalizer -j cannot be used for non-subject "internally headed" relativization. When the relativized NP is a non-subject, or when it is the subject of a past tense relative clause, -shka is used. "Internally headed" relative clauses with -na are ill-formed. This distribution of nominalizers is unlike that described in 1.1.2.3.1 for relative clauses with heads on the right, and is reminiscent of that found in Quechua and other languages. In "internally headed" relative clauses the nominalizer plays a double role: first, it may indicate the grammatical role of the relativized NP, subject or non-subject; second, it indicates tense (-j 'present' and -shka 'past').

In addition to left branching (head on right) and "internally headed" relative clauses, extraposed relatives are found:

(170) kwitsa-ta juya-ni Juan-wan tushu - shka girl-acc love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer ka - shka - ta be-nominalizer-acc

'I love the girl who had danced with Juan.'

In extraposed relatives the modifying clause appears to the right of the head and need not be continuous with the head, as is shown in (170). The head and the modifying clause are each case marked to indicate the grammatical role of the relative clause as a whole. Note the appearance of accusative case on both kwitsa (the head) and kasha (the rightmost element in the modifying clause) in (170). The doubling of case marking is obligatory:

(171) *kwitsa juya-ni Juan-wan tushu - shka girl love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer ka - shka - ta be-nominalizer-acc

'I love the girl who had danced with Juan.'

It might appear at first glance that certain extraposed relatives are right branching (head on left):

(172) juya-ni kwitsa-ta Juan-wan tushu - shka love-1 girl-acc Juan-with dance-nominalizer ka - shka - ta be-nominalizer-acc

'I love the girl who danced with Juan.'

There is, however, an alternative analysis for (172), in which the head kwitsa and the modifying clause do not form a single constituent: that is, in which the modifying clause has undergone extraposition. Several facts support the extraposition hypothesis. First, left branching relatives are, in general, ill-formed in IQ. Thus, it would be difficult to explain why they should be well-formed in examples like (172) but not in (168) and (169).

Second, a process of relative extraposition is independently needed to account for (170). The head and the modifying clause are discontinuous in such examples. If it is assumed that such relative clauses are continuous in underlying structure, a rule of extraposition is necessary to derive (170). Given a rule of relative extraposition, (172) would be derived without the need to posit right branching relative clauses. Matrix clause word order is relatively free in IQ (see 1.2.1.2.6). Both SOV and SVO order is possible. Sentence (170) would be derived by applying extraposition to an SOV structure while (172) would be derived by applying extraposition to an SVO structure.

Third, the sentence (172) displays certain properties associated with clear instances of extraposition like (170) but not with unextraposed relatives. It was noted previously that both the head and the modifying clause receive accusative case marking in (170). The doubling of case markers is not possible in
unextraposed relatives:

(173) juya-ni [Juan-wan tushu - shka ka - shka]-ta
love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer be-nominalizer-acc
kwitsa-ta
girl - acc

('I love the girl who danced with Juan."
But case doubling is found in (172). Therefore, (172) displays a pattern of case marking typical of extraposed relativization. Fourth, in extraposed relatives either the head or the modifying clause may be validated/topic marked.

(174a) kwitsa-ta - ni juya-ni Juan-wan tushu - shka -
girl-acc-validator love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer-ta
acc

'I love the girl who danced with Juan.'

(174b) kwitsa-ta juya-ni Juan-wan tushu - shka -
ta - ka
girl-acc love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer-accc-topic
'I love the girl who danced with Juan.'

(175a) juya-ni [Juan-wan tushu - shka] kwitsa]-ta-ka
love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer - girl - acc-topic
'I love the girl who danced with Juan.'

(175b) *juya-ni [Juan-wan tushu - shka] - ka
love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer-topic
kwitsa]-ta
girl - acc

('I love the girl who danced with Juan.')

The contrast between (174) and (175) is to be expected since -mi and -ka are restricted to main clause constituents. Both the head and the modifying clause are matrix constituents in extraposed relatives like that of (174). Thus, either may be marked with -mi/-ka. But in unextraposed relatives only the relative clause as a whole is a matrix constituent. Therefore, no subconstituent like the modifying clause can be so marked.

Turning to (172), the validation facts support the extra-position hypothesis:

(176a) juya-ni kwitsa-ta - ni Juan-wan tushu - shka
love-1 girl-acc-validator Juan-with dance-nominalizer
ka - shka - ta
be-nominalizer-acc
'I love the girl who danced with Juan.'

(176b) juya-ni kwitsa-ta Juan-wan tushu - shka
love-1 girl-acc Juan-with dance-nominalizer
ka - shka - ta - ka
be-nominalizer-accc-topic
'I love the girl who danced with Juan.'

The appearance of -mi/-ka after kwitsa shows that the head and
(180) Relativization of subject
(180a) C'ə shamu - shkəl runa come-nominalizer man
'the man who came'
(180b) C'ə wa-gra-ta jatu - na3 wambra cow-acc sell-nominalizer boy
'the boy who will sell the cow'
(181) Relativization of direct object
(181a) C'kan C'ə rijsi - j3 jari 1 know-nominalizer man
'a man whom I know'
(181b) C'kan wakki C'ə randi - shkəl alku my brother buy-nominalizer dog
'the dog my brother bought'
(182) Relativization of indirect object
(182a) C'kan C'ə kwitsa-ta villa - shkəl kwitsa you story-acc tell-nominalizer girl
'the girl to whom you told the story'
(182b) C'uzi C'ə kulki-ta kara - na3 warmi Jose silver-acc give-nominalizer woman
'the woman to whom Jose gave money'
(183) Relativization of time adverbial
(183a) C'kan C'ə chaya - shkəl punila I arrive-nominalizer day
'the day I arrived'
(183b) C'uzi C'ə punila-ta kara - na3 Maria I with meet-nominalizer hour
'maria I met me'
(184) Relativization of locative adverbial
(184a) C'uzi C'ə ri - ju - j3 llahta Jose go-prog-nominalizer town
'the town Jose is going to'
(184b) C'kan C'ə kawsa - j3 wayku I live-nominalizer mountain gap
'the mountain gap where I live'
I have not been able to elicit an instance of the left branching
relativization of a benefactive NP, though I do not know of any
reason why this should be ill-formed.
In the relativization of oblique NPs (e.g., (182) - (184)),
the oblique case marker (postposition) is deleted together with
the relativized NP. This can sometimes lead to ambiguity:
(185) C'kan shamu - shkəl llahta-ka uchilla - mi you come-nominalizer town-topic small-validator
'The town you are coming from is small.'

1.1.2.5.7.1.2. Constituents of main clause relativizable by
"Internally headed" relativization
"Internally headed" relativization of subjects and direct
objects is discussed in 1.1.2.5.3. Examples of "internally
headed" relativization of indirect objects, time adverbials,
locatives and benefactives are given below.
(186) Relativization of indirect object
(186a) C'kan kwitsa-man kwitsa-ta villa - shkəl - ka ali
girl you girl - to story-acc tell-nominalizer-topic good
kwitsa - mi girl-validator
'The girl to whom you told the story is a good girl.'
(186b) C'uzi warmi-man kulki-ta kara - shkəl - ka
Jose woman-to silver-acc give-nominalizer-topic
sumaj warmi - mi beautiful woman-validator
'The woman to whom Jose gave the money is a beautiful
woman.'
Note also that with appropriate changes in the matrix verb
(e.g., sumaj-mi 'is beautiful') the sentences of (186) could be
understood as direct object relativization ('The story you told
the girl is pretty.') rather than indirect object relativization.
When a sentence is ambiguous between direct object
and indirect object relativization, the former is preferred.
(187) Relativization of time adverbial
(187a) C'kan chaya punila-πi chaya - shkəl - ka
I that day - in arrive-nominalizer-topic
sumaj - mi ka - rka beautiful-validator be-past 3
'The day that I arrived was beautiful.'
(187b) C'uzi chaya punila-τi chaya - shkəl - ka
Jose Maria that time-in I with meet-nominalizer-topic
sumaj - mi ka - rka beautiful-validator be-past 3
'The day Maria met me was beautiful.'
(188) Relativization of locative adverbial
(188a) C'uzi llahta-ka rii - ju - shkəl - ka maymi
Jose town - to go-prog-nominalizer-topic very
jatu - mi ka - rka big-validator be-past 3
'The town Jose was going to was very big.'
(188b) C'kan wayku - pi kawsa - shka - ka maymi
I mountain gap-in live-nominalizer-topic very
kara - mi ka - rka far-validator be-past 3
'The mountain gap where I lived was very far.'
(189) Relativization of benefactive

'Marya jini-paj wansana-ta rura - shkal - ka

Maria man-for poncho-acc make-nominalizer-topic

Agatu-pi - mi kawa-s-n

Agato-in-validator live-3

'The man for whom Maria made a poncho lives in Agato.'

1.1.2.4.7.2. Constituents of subordinate clause that can be relativized

1.1.2.4.7.2.1. Constituents of subordinate clause relativizable by left branching relativization (head on right)

Any constituent of a subordinate clause other than the subordinate subject can be relativized by left branching relativization. The ungrammaticality of relativizing subordinate subjects is illustrated in (190).

(190) *(Marya Juzi-man ni - shka [Ø Juan-ta riku - Maria Jose-to say-nominalizer Juan-acc see - shkal]) - ta wamk wekshi-rika

nominalizer-acc woman leave-past 3

'(The woman who Maria told Jose that saw Juan left.)

The ungrammaticality of the relative clauses of (190) is probably related to that of questions in which the subordinate subject is extracted. These are discussed in 1.1.1.2.2.1.2. The constraint blocking (190) may be the Quechua analogue of that blocking relative clauses (and questions) in English that have a similar structure:

(191) *the man I believe that left

It should be noted, however, that in IQ the constraint cannot be formulated as one preventing the relativization of an element next to a complementizer. Quechua relative clauses, like other subordinate clauses, have no subordinating conjunction analogous to that in (191). It is likely that the nominalizing suffix functions as a complementizer in Quechua languages. If so, the relativized element in (190) is not contiguous to the complementizer.

Furthermore, Quechua languages (although not IQ) usually allow the deletion of subject pronouns in both main and subordinate clauses. But, despite this fact, the relativization of subordinate subjects is ill-formed. This is illustrated by an example from Ancash Quechua:

(192) Relativization of subordinate subject in Ancash Quechua

*Marya [Marya-ta s[Ø wanu - na - n3(-ta)]

José Maria-acc die-nominalizer-3

villa - shqa - nj nuna

tell-nominalizer-3 man

'The man Jose told Maria that would die.'

Thus, the constraint in Quechua cannot be formulated in terms of the permissibility of subject pronoun deletion or of the location of the relativized element vis-à-vis the complementizer. The most straightforward formulation that would make the correct predictions for the Quechua languages is that subordinate subjects may not be extracted or deleted across a clause boundary.

Examples showing that non-subject constituents of subordinate clauses may be relativized follow:

(193) Relativization of direct object

NP[chaq *Marya [Juzi Ø riku - shkal - ta

that Maria Jose see-nominalizer-acc

kri - j3 wamk] - mi ri - rka

believe-nominalizer child already-validator go-past 3

'The child whom Maria believes Jose saw already left.'

(194) Relativization of indirect object

NP[chaq *Marya [Juzi Ø libru-ta kara - shkal - ta

that Maria Jose book-acc give-nominalizer-acc

kri - j3 wamk] - mi ri - rka

believe-nominalizer child already-validator go-past 3

'The child to whom Maria believes Jose gave the book already left.'

1.1.2.4.7.2.2. Constituents of subordinate clauses that can be relativized by "internally headed" relativization

Subordinate subjects cannot be relativized by "internally headed" relativization.

(195) "Internally headed" relativization of subordinate subject

*Marya [Marya Juan-ta riku - shkal - ta3

Maria woman Juan-acc see-nominalizer-acc

ni - shka llugshi-rika

say-nominalizer leave-past 3

'(The woman that Maria said that saw Juan left.)

but other subordinate constituents can:

(196) "Internally headed" relativization of subordinate direct object

*Marya [Juan wanu-ta riku - shkal - ta3

Maria Juan child-acc see-nominalizer-acc

ni - shka llugshi-rika

say-nominalizer leave-past 3

'The child that Maria said that saw Juan.'

(197) "Internally headed" relativization of subordinate indirect object

*Marya [Juan man-libru-ta kara - shkal - ta

Maria Juan woman-to book-acc give-nominalizer-acc

ni - shka llugshi-rika

say-nominalizer leave-past 3

'The woman that Maria said that Juan gave a book to.'
"Internally headed" relativization of subordinate oblique noun phrases cannot be relativized either by left branching or by "internally headed" relativization. This is illustrated for left branching relativization in (199a) and (200).

(199a) Relativization of possessor NP

*[muka ò aiku-ta muna - shka] runa mana kay-pi-chu
I - dog-acc want-nominalizer man not this-in-neg
('The man whose dog I wanted is not here.')

(199b) Relativization of constituent of relative clause

*[Juan [Jose ò japi - shka] warmi ò juya - j]
Juan - take-nominalizer woman love-nominalizer
sisa - kuna ò maymi juyaylla - ni
flower-plural very beautiful-validator
('The flowers that Juan loves the woman who picked are very beautiful.')

It should be noted that (199b) involves crossing paths of relativization, as is shown by the crossing lines connecting the head and the deletion site. Examples of relativization into a relative clause that do not involve crossing paths of relativization are also ungrammatical.

(200) *[Juan [Jose ò japi - shka] sisa - kuna]
Juan - pick-nominalizer flower-plural
ruga - j] warmi ò juyaylla - mari
like-nominalizer woman beautiful-validator
('The woman who Juan likes the flowers that picked is beautiful.')

The ungrammaticality of "internally headed" relativization of a constituent of an NP is shown in (201), an instance of "internally headed" relativization into a left branching relative clause.

(201a) Relativization of a possessor NP

*[muka runa-paj aiku-ta muna - shka] mana kay-pi-chu
I - man - of dog-acc want-nominalizer not this-in-neg
('The man whose dog I wanted is not here.')

(201b) Relativization of constituent of relative clause

*[Juan [warwi ò japi - shka] sisa - kuna]
Juan - woman pick-nominalizer flower-plural
ruga - j] juyaylla - mari
like-nominalizer beautiful-validator
('The woman who Juan likes the flowers that picked is beautiful.')

Example (202) shows that "internally headed" relativization into an "internally headed" relative clause is also ill-formed:

(202) *[Juan [warwi sisa - kuna - ta japi - shka]]
Juan - woman flower-plural-acc pick-nominalizer
ruga - j] juyaylla - mari
like-nominalizer beautiful-validator
('The woman who Juan likes the flowers that picked is beautiful.')

Finally, (203) illustrates the ungrammaticality of left branching relativization into an "internally headed" relative clause:

(203) *[Juan [Jose sisa - kuna - ta japi - shka]]
Juan - flower-plural-acc pick-nominalizer
ruga - j] warmi ò juyaylla - mari
like-nominalizer woman beautiful-validator
('The woman who Juan likes the flowers that picked is beautiful.')

1.1.2.3.7.4. Elements of postpositional phrases that can be relativized

As was shown in 1.1.2.3.7.1, the heads of postpositional phrases can be relativized either by left branching or "internally headed" relativization. In left branching relativization both the NP and the postposition are deleted. Examples are provided above.

1.1.2.3.7.5. Elements of coordinate structures that can be relativized

Elements of coordinate structures cannot be relativized.

This is true for conjunction by juxtaposition as well as for y and -pash conjunction. See 1.3 and 1.1.1.2.2.1.5.

(204) Left branching relativization

*[muka (y) julu-ta(-pash) riku - shka] mana kay-pi-chu
I - and Jose-acc also see-nominalizer man not kay-pi-chu
this-in-neg
('The man I saw and Jose is not here.')
(205) "Internally headed" relativization

* [huka chay rina-ta (y) juzi-ta-(past) riku - shka]
  I that man-acc and Jose-acc-also see-nominalizer
  mana kah-pi-chu
  not this-in-neg

('The man I saw and Jose is not here.')

1.1.2.3.8. Movement of relativized element

There is no surface evidence that the relativized element undergoes movement. Relativized noun phrases are either deleted (in left branching relative clauses) or appear as full lexical NPs (in "internally headed" relative clauses). The only argument for Wh-movement in IQ relative clauses that I can think of is that complex NPs and coordinate structures constitute islands for relativization (1.1.2.3.7.3 and 1.1.2.3.7.5). The failure of relativization in these environments has been claimed in the literature to be a diagnostic for Wh-movement. Cf. Chomsky (1977).

The difficulty with this proposal for IQ is that "internally headed" relativization would appear not to involve Wh-movement. This is because the relativized NP appears on the surface in the same site in which it was presumably generated in underlying structure. Thus, it seems very doubtful that this NP was moved into or out of the island structure. But, as was seen in 1.1.2.3.7.3 and 1.1.2.3.7.5, "internally headed" relativization into complex NPs and coordinate structures is ill-formed. Thus, it would seem dubious that the failure of left branching relativization into these environments should be viewed as an indication that the relativized element has undergone Wh-movement.

1.1.2.3.9. Non-finite relative clauses

Relative clauses, like other subordinate clauses, are non-finite. The choice of nominalizers, etc., is discussed in 1.1.2.3.1.

1.1.2.4. Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1. Marking and position of adverb clauses

Adverb clauses, like other subordinate clauses, are non-finite (in the sense that they do not manifest subject-verb agreement). Subordination is marked by a verbal suffix, the specific suffix varying among the several types of adverb clauses. Generally adverb clauses appear to the left of the superordinate clause which they modify, but there is considerable freedom in word order. The use of adverb clauses is highly productive in IQ (and in Quechua generally). Adverb clauses are found in texts with considerably greater frequency than other types of subordination.

1.1.2.4.2.1. Time clauses

Time clauses, except for -shka jipa and -ngakaman clauses, which are discussed below, are marked with the suffix -shka if the subject of the adverbial clause is identical to that of the superordinate clause, or the suffix -jpi if it is not:

(206) Identical subject

Kitu-man chay - shpa - mi rijsi - ta
Quito-to arrive-adverbial-validator acquaintance-acc
riku-eka-ka
see-past-1

'When I arrived in Quito, I saw a friend.'

(207) Non-Identical subject

huka Kitu-man chay - jpi - mi rijsi
I Quito-to arrive-adverbial-validator acquaintance
riku-ka-ka
see - 1-past 3

'When I arrived in Quito, a friend saw me.'

Tense markers do not appear within the time clause. In (206) and (207) the time clause is understood as past because the main clause is in the past tense. In general, the time clause takes on the tense of the clause it modifies.

Note that (206) and (207) may be understood as expressing a sequence of events: first, arrival in Quito, and second, seeing, or being seen by, a friend. In order to ensure that the events in the time clause and the superordinate are understood as simultaneous, the progressive aspect suffix -ju is employed in the adverbial clause:

(208) huka trabaja-ju - jpi - mi kan puglla-ngui
I work - prog-adverbial-validator you play - 2

'While I work, you play.'

Sequences may also be indicated by the use of the perfect aspect (-shka ka - past participle be') in the time clause:

(209) Juzi ashtaka wata Kitu-pi kawa - shka ka -
Jose many year Quito-in live-past participle be -
shpa - mi Agatu-man tiga - na - ta muna-n
adverbial-validator Agato-to return-infinite-acc want-3

'Jose, having lived in Quito many years, wants to return
to Agato.'

Sequences may also be expressed by the use of -shka jipa 'past participle later':

(210) Urbana-man shamu - shka jipa - mi inglis-
Urbana-to come-past participle later-validator English-
yachaju-eka-ni
acc learn - past-1

'AfIer I came to Urbana, I learned English.'

Note that in -shka jipa clauses the same suffix is used regardless of whether the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as or distinct from that of the superordinate clause. In (210) the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are the same,
while in (211) they are not.

(211) fiuka wawki Urbana-man shamu - shka jipa - my brother Urbana-to come-past participle later-
mi - inglis - ta yachaju-rka-ni
validator English-acc learn-past - 1

"After my brother came to Urbana, I learned English."

The suffix -ngakanman is employed in 'until' clauses. In time clauses employing this suffix the subordinate subject can be either identical or non-identical to the matrix subject.

(212a) Identical subject
(fuka) all tuku-ngakanman puñu - sha
I well become-until sleep-future 1

'I will sleep until I become well.'

(212b) Non-identical subject
mama shamu-ngakanman kay-pi kawsa - sha
mother come - until this-in live-future 1

'I will live here until mother comes.'

It should be noted that -shpa and -jpi clauses and their analogues in Quechua languages contain no temporal conjunction like English when, while, etc. In fact, as is discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.3 and 1.1.2.4.2.5, -shpa and -jpi clauses may be used to express time, manner and condition. Certain devices often allow one to distinguish the use to which an adverb clause is employed. This is discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.5.

1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner clauses

Manner clauses may be expressed in two ways. When the action expressed in the manner clause is viewed as closely related to that in the main clause, the suffix -shpa (discussed in 1.1.2.4.2.1) may be used:

(213) kanda - shpa - ni shamu-rka-ni
sing-adverbial-validator come-past-1
'I came singing.'

Example (213) might also be expressed by the use of reduplicated -y infinitives:

(214) kanda - y kanda - y shamu-rka-ni
sing-infinitive sing-infinitive come-past-1
'I came singing.'

In (213) and (214) the adverbial is viewed as telling what the manner of coming was. Singing and coming are seen as a single activity.

Reduplicated -y infinitives, though not -shpa clauses, can also be used when the actions in the main and subordinate clauses are seen as unrelated. For instance, in (215)

(215) kwitssa-kuma-ta all riku - y riku - y
girl-plural-acc well look-infinitive look-infinitive
trabaja-rka-ni work - past-1
'I watched the girls and I worked; while I watched the girls I worked.'

the watching of girls is seen as extraneous to the work. Thus, the use of a -shpa clause is ill-formed.

(216) *kwitssa-kuma-ta all riku - shpa trabaja-rka-ni
girl-plural-acc well look-adverbial work - past-1

'(I watched the girls while I worked.)'

Sentence (216) is grammatical on the understanding that the actions took place sequentially: 'first I looked at the girls, then I worked.'

The distinction between related and unrelated manner clauses is not unique to IQ. It is found in Ancash Quechua, in which -r corresponds roughly to IQ -shpa and -shpa corresponds to IQ reduplicated -y infinitives. Similar facts have been reported by Cerrón-Palomino (1976) for Wanka Quechua. The formal device used to express the distinction seems to vary considerably from language to language.

1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose clause

The subjunctive suffixes -chum and -ngapaj are used in purpose clauses (as well as in subjunctive complement clauses (1.1.2.2.2.2)). The suffix -ngapaj indicates that the subjects of the main clause and the purpose clause are the same, while -chum indicates that they are not.

(217) Identical subject
Kitu-man ri-rka-ni chay-pi trabaja-ngapaj
Quito-to go-past-1 that-in work-subjunctive
'I went to Quito to work there.'

(218) Non-identical subject
Kitu-man ri-rka-ni fiuka wambra koliyu - pi
Quito-to go-past-1 my child high school-in
yachaju - chum
learn-subjunctive
'I went to Quito in order for my child to study in
high school.'

The use of separate suffixes for identical and non-identical purpose clauses is not found in Peruvian Quechua languages and would appear to be an innovation in Ecuadorian Quechua. In addition, the suffixes -chum/-ngapaj are different from -jpi/-shpa in that in purpose clauses modifying subjectless sentences -ngapaj is invariably used except when the speaker wishes to indicate that neither the speaker nor the addressee is the subject of the purpose clause.

(219a) chishi - mi Ø sachama-man ri-ngapaj
fuka
kan
*Juzi
late-validator Ø forest-to go-subjunctive
I
you
*José

'It is late for one/me/you/*José to go to the forest.'
nominalizer: whether matrix are verb. the subject'--"-------------------*----
(222)
1.1.2.4.2.4. Condition clauses

In cause clauses the subordinate verb is nominalized, and the suffix -manda 'from, because of' follows the nominalized verb. The matrix and subordinate subjects need not necessarily be identical.

(220a) Identical subject
fuka wawki ashtaka kulki-ta japi - shka - manda - my brother much money-acc.

(220b) Non-identical subject
fuka wawki shamu - shka - manda - mi jatum
my brother come-nominalizer-because-validator big
fishita-ta rura-ruka-ni
party-acc make-past-1
Because my brother came, I gave a big party.'

The tense of the cause clause is indicated by the choice of nominalizer: -shka 'past', -y 'present', and -na 'future'. These suffixes are also used in indicative complement clauses (see 1.1.2.2.2.1). The same suffixes are used regardless of whether or not the subject of the cause clause and that of the matrix clause are identical.

1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition clauses

In condition clauses, as in time and manner clauses, the switch reference suffixes -shpa 'identical matrix and subordinate subject' and -jpi 'non-identical matrix and subordinate subject' are employed.

(221) Identical subject
Utauvalu-man ri - shpa - ka ruwana - ta randi - sha
Otavalo-to go-adverbial-topic poncho-acc buy-future 1
If I go to Otavalo, I will buy a poncho.'

(222) Non-identical subject
fuka ashtaka kulki-ta japi - jpi - ka fuka tayta
I much money-acc take-adverbial-topic my father
ishkay ilama-ta kasa-va - nga
two sheep-acc give-1-future 3
If I make a lot of money, my father will give me two sheep.'

Condition clauses are distinguished from time (and manner) clauses by context and by the use of the independent suffixes -ka 'topic' and -mi 'focus'. The suffix -ka is typically used in condition clauses. This suffix indicates that the constituent to which it is affixed is old or background information.

Thus, it is naturally used in contexts in which conditional clauses are used in other languages.

In contrast, -mi marks the focus of the sentence. This is appropriate for the expression of time clauses (roughly translatable as 'it was when...') and manner adverbials, both of which often constitute the focal element of the sentence. It should be noted, however, that time clauses which are not the focus of the sentence may be marked by -ka. Examples (221) and (222), in appropriate contexts, may be translated with when clauses rather than if clauses.

The use of -ka and -mi in adverb clauses follows from the general principles governing the use of independent suffixes. This is discussed in detail in 2.1.8.

Note that no distinctions are made in condition clauses regarding such parameters as real versus unreal conditions (e.g., English if he comes versus if he came). Such distinctions are represented only in the superordinate clause:

(223) Utauvalu-man ri - shpa - ka ruwana-ta randi-y-man
Otavalo-to go-adverbial-topic poncho-acc buy - 1-would
If I went to Otavalo, I would buy a poncho.'

See also 2.1.5.4. 1.1.2.4.2.6. Result clauses

There is no form of subordinate clause used specifically for results. The most usual way of expressing result is by means of two separate sentences as in (224), in which the second sentence expresses the result of the event described in the first sentence:

(224) fuka wawki kayna shama-ru - mi
my brother yesterday come-past 3-validator
chay - manda jatum fishta-ta - mi rura-ruka-ni
my father come-past-1
that - from big party-acc-validator make-past-1
validator
my brother came yesterday. Therefore, I gave a big party.'

Results may also be expressed by cause clauses and condition clauses.

1.1.2.4.2.7. Comparative and equative clauses

Comparative clauses are formed by means of the verb yali-'surpass':
(225) Huka-ka ashtawan yalij aycha-ta miku-ni Ckan
    I-topic more as a surpasser meat-acc eat -i you
tanda-ta miku - jy - ta yali - shpa
    bread-acc eat-nominalizer-acc surpass-adverbial
'I eat more meat than you eat bread.'

The comparative clause in (225) is syntactically a headless
(free) relative (1.1.2.3.6) clause which itself is the direct object of yali- 'surpass'. Yali- plus direct object constitutes
a manner-adverb clause modifying the main clause. Literally,
(225) says 'I eat more meat, surpassing [the amount to which] you eat bread.'

Comparatives expressing the notion 'less' are formed similarly:
(226) Huka-ka ashtawan ashalla tanda-ta miku-ni ñuka wawki
    I-topic more less bread-acc eat -i my brother
aycha-ta miku - jy - ta na yali - shpa
    meat-acc eat-nominalizer-acc not surpass-adverbial
'I eat less bread than my brother eats meat.'

Genuine comparative clauses, like those found in Quechua languages, do not occur. Compare Inquilla (225) and Ancash (227):
(227) noqa mas aytsa-ta miku-u ñqam tanta miku - nqa -
    I more meat-acc eat-1 you bread eat-nominalizer-
ykij-peq
2 - than
'I eat more meat than you eat bread.'

Equative clauses are formed by suffixing the equative suffix
-shta 'like, as' to the nominalized subordinate clause:
(228) Huka-ka aycha-ta miku-ni ñuka wawki tanda-ta
    I-topic meat-acc eat -i my brother bread-acc
miku - jy - shna
    eat-nominalizer-acc
'I eat as much meat as my brother eats bread.'

Note that equative clauses are genuine comparative clauses like
those found in other Quechua languages. Compare (228) and the
analogous sentence in Ancash:
(229) noqa aytsa-ta miku-u ñwaq-e e tanta miku - nqa -
    I meat-acc eat-1 brother-1 bread-acc eat-nominalizer-nyj-naw
3 - as
'I eat as much meat as my brother eats bread.'

1.1.2.4.2.8. Concessive clauses
Concessive clauses are formed by suffixing -pash 'even' to
the switch reference adverbial suffixes -shpa and -jy. See
1.1.2.4.2.2 and 1.1.2.4.2.5:
(230) mana ñata-pi - shpa -pash ñuana-ta randi - sha
    now Otavalo-man ri - shpa -pash ñuana-ta randi - sha
not Otavalo-to go-adverbial even-poncho-acc buy-future 1
'Although/even though I won't go to Otavalo, I shall
buy a poncho; even not going to Otavalo, I shall buy
a poncho.'

1.1.2.5. Sentence of tenses
There are no sequence of tense requirements. The specification
of tense is possible in indicative complement clauses
(1.1.2.2.2.1), relative clauses (1.1.2.3.1) and cause clauses
(1.1.2.4.2.4). The tense system found in these clauses is
relative: the tense marker indicates the temporal relationship
of the subordinate clause to the superordinate clause rather
than to the present moment. The tense system is discussed in
2.1.3.2.

1.2. Structural questions
1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence
1.2.1.1. Copular sentences
Copular sentences employ the verb kañ- 'be', tuku- 'become',
yari- 'seem', rikuri- 'seem', or tiya- 'there is' as principal
verb. The complement of the copula may be a predicate noun,
adjective or adverbial:
(231) Predicate noun
Juan - ka mayistru - mi ka - rka
Juan-topic teacher-validator be-past 3
'Juan was a teacher.'

(232) Predicate adjective
ñuka wasi - ka yuraj - mi ka - rka
ñuka house-topic white-validator be-past 3
'My house was white.'

(233) Predicate adverbial
kan-paj chagra - ka San Pablul-pi - mi ka - nga
you-of field-topic San Pablul-in-validator be-past 3
'Your field will be in San Pablo.'

As is seen in (231) - (233), the verb ka- may appear overtly
in copular sentences. The appearance of ka- is obligatory ex-
ccept when the verb is in the present tense, third person, in
which case ka- is normally omitted. When ka- is omitted, the
sentence must contain a validator:
(234) Jusí - ka mayistru - mi
José-topic teacher-validator
'José is a teacher.'

Even in the present tense, third person, the verb ka- is not
deleted if it is marked for aspect:
(235) Jusí - ka Utavalo-pi - mi ka - ju-n
José-topic Otavalo-in-validator be-prog 3
'José is in Otavalo.'

The complement of the copula is unmarked for case. The
normal order of constituents is subject-compement-copula.
Although there is some freedom to arrange constituents in other
orders, e.g., complement-copula-subject,
(241) 'He was an excellent worker.'

(236) sumaj trabajadur - mi ka - rka pay-ka
beautiful worker-validator be-past 3 he-topic

The complement almost always appears before the copula:

(237a) Complement-copula
fiuka ali jambij - mi ka-ni
I good healer-validator be-1
'I am a good healer.'

(237b) Copula-complement
??fiuka ka-ni ali jambij - mi
I be-1 good healer-validator
'I am a good healer.'

The preference for complement-verb order is considerably more pronounced in copular sentences than in verbal sentences (1.2.1.2).

In addition to ka- 'be', copular sentences may be formed with the verb tiku- 'become, pretend'.

(238) Marya - ka jambij - mi tuku - rka
Maria-topic doctor-validator become-past 3
'Maria became a doctor.'

(239) chay ichilla wambra - ka alku-shma tuku - n
that little child-topic dog-like become-3
'That little child is pretending to be a dog.'

The complement of tiku-, like that of ka-, is unmarked for case and appears before the verb. Similar sentences with yari- and rikuri- are given in (240) - (241):

(240) Juan - ka mayistro - mi yari-n
Juan-topic teacher-validator seem-3
'Juan seems to be a teacher.'

(241) Juan - ka mayistro - $mi rikuri-n
Juan-topic teacher-validator seem-3
'Juan seems to be a teacher.'

Note the ungrammaticality of the validator in (241). According to informants, the first hand information validator -mi is contradicted by the use of rikuri-, which suggests a lack of first hand information. This is apparently not the case when yari- is used.

Existential sentences are formed with the verb tiya- 'there is':

(242) ashtaka wambra wasi-pi tiya - n
many child-house-in there is-3
'There are a lot of children in the house.'

As in other copular sentences, the complement appears preverbally and in unmarked case. It should be noted that in non-Ecuadorian Quechua languages the verb ka- is typically used in existential sentences. In these varieties of Quechua existential ka-, unlike copular ka-, is not omitted in third person singular of the present tense:

(243) Existential sentence in Ancash Quechua
atsaq wamra - kuna wayi-chaw - mi ka - n
many child-plural house-in-validator there is-3
'There are a lot of children in the house.'

The verb ka- is used in defining, identity, and role constructions.

1.2.1.2.1. Subject

With the exception of sentences with weather verbs like tayma- 'rain' and rasu- 'snow' and certain copular sentences like (276) and (277), all verbs have subjects. Weather verbs appear in the third person:

(244) kayna - mi urku - pi rasu - rka
yesterday-validator mountain-in snow-past 3
'It snowed on the mountain yesterday.'

Note the absence of phonologically overt dummy subjects, which do not occur in Quechua languages.

Pronominal subjects can be optionally omitted in main clauses. This leads to little loss of information because main clause verbs are marked for person and number (except in the third person, in which they are marked for person only).

(245) $kitu-man - mi ri-ju - ni
Quito-to-validator go-prog-sg 1
'I am going to Quito.'

Third person subjects can be omitted when they are recoverable from context:

(246) kayna Juzi-ta riku-rka-ni. "kuman Agatu-pi
yesterday José-acc see-past-1 he-topic now Agato-in
kawsa-n
live-3
'Yesterday I saw José. He lives in Agato now.'

1.2.1.2.2. Direct Object

Verbs are either transitive, in which case they take a direct object, or intransitive, in which case they do not. Some verbs take optional direct objects. Direct objects receive accusative case (except when incorporated to the verb in nominalized clauses):

(247) Intransitive verb
wasi-pi 'puffu-ni
house-in sleep-1
'I sleep in the house.'

(248) Transitive
pay-paj tayta - ka chay wambra-ta - mi wajta-rka
he-of father-topic that child-acc-validator hit-past 3
'His father hit that child.'
1.2.1.2.3. Indirect object

Verbs like kara- 'give' and villa- 'tell' take indirect objects as well as direct objects. The indirect object receives dative case:

(251) Juzi Marya-man muti-ta kara-rka
José Marfa-to mote-acc give-past 3 'José gave/served note to Marya.'

(252) Marya Juzi-man pay-paj mama - ta villa-rka
Marfa José-to she-of mother-acc tell-past 3 'María told José about her mother.'

When the indirect object is omitted, a third person indirect object is understood.

(253) Marya pay-paj mama - ta villa-rka
Marfa she-of mother-acc tell-past 3 'María told him/her/someone about her mother.'

1.2.1.2.4. Oblique object

Sentences may also contain a variety of oblique arguments:

(254) Kitu-manda shamu-ni
quito- from come - 1
'I come from Quito.'

(255) Luisa pay-paj cusa - ndi kawsa-n
Luisa she-of husband-with live-3
'Luisa lives with her husband.'

(256) wasi uku - man yasyu-rka-ni
house within-to enter-past-1
'I entered the house.'

(257) Juzi Marya-paj fishta-ta ruwa - rka
José Marfa-for party-acc make-past 3
'José made a party for Marfa.'

1.2.1.2.5. Combinations and order of constituents

A sentence may contain all four arguments (subject, direct object, indirect object and oblique), although this is somewhat unusual:

(258) Juzi kayna - mi Marya-man jatun wagra-ta
José yesterday-validator Marfa-to big cow - acc
kara - rka give-past 3
'Yesterday José gave Marfa a big cow.'

The unmarked word order is subject-oblique-indirect object-direct object-verb. This is illustrated in (258). Quite frequently, however, in main clauses the constituents may appear in subject-verb-object order:

(259) Juzi rura - rka jatun wasi-ta - ka
José make-past 3 big house-acc-topic
'José made a big house.'

(260) fukra chay-ta villa-rka-ni Marya-man - ka
I that-acc tell-past-1 Marfa-to-topic
'I told that to Marfa.'

When a constituent appears after the verb, it frequently is marked with the topic suffix -ka. The use of -ka is obligatory when a subject is postposed:

(261) jatun wasi - ta chari-n Marya -ka
big house-acc have-3 Marfa-topic
'María has a big house.'

Under appropriate discourse conditions the object may appear before the subject:

(262) chay wasi - ta - mi Juzi rura - rka
that house-acc validator José make-past 3
'José made that house.'

In subordinate clauses word order is quite strictly verb final. This is discussed in 1.1.2.1. As in main clauses, subject-object order is most common, but object-subject order occurs as well.

1.2.1.2.6. Adverbials

Adverbials are of the following types: adverbs, postpositional phrases and adverbial clauses. ('Case relations' are expressed by postpositions. No non-postpositional case markers occur.) Adverbial clauses are invariably non-finite (1.1.2.4).

Adverbials like other modifiers usually immediately precede the element modified:

(263) Juzi hapanach chay ruwana-ta ruwa - rka
José quickly that poncho-acc make-past 3
'José made that poncho quickly.'

(264) maymi sumaj wagra-ta riku-rka-ni
very beautiful cow-acc see-past-1
'I saw a very beautiful cow.'

In (265) hapanach 'quickly' immediately precedes the verb phrase chay ruwana 'made that poncho' which it modifies. Similarly, in (264) maymi 'very' immediately precedes the adjectival sumaj 'beautiful'.
Adverbial clauses often precede the matrix clause:
(265) Utavalu-man chaya - shpa Marya - ka pay-paj 
Otavalo-to arrive-adverbial Maria-topic she-of 
ñaña - ta maska - rka 
sister-acc search for-past 3 
'Upon arriving in Otavalo, Maria searched for her sister.'

Subject-adverbial-verb phrase order is also well formed:
(266) Marya - ka Utavalu-man chaya - shpa pay-paj 
Maria-topic Otavalo-to arrive-adverbial she-of 
ñaña - ta maska - rka 
sister-acc search for-past 3 
'Maria, upon arriving in Otavalo, searched for her sister.'

Non-clausal adverbials may also appear sentence initially, 
though this order is less frequent than with adverbial clauses:
(267) kayna - simana ñuka wawki chay ruwana-ta rura - rka 
yesterday week my brother that poncho-acc make-past 3 
'My brother made that poncho last week.'

Adverbial elements occasionally occur postverbally, but these 
sentences are sometimes judged as peculiar when presented to 
informants in isolation:
(268) ñuka wawki chay ruwana-ta rura - rka kayna 
my brother that poncho-acc make-past 3 yesterday 
simana week 
'My brother made that poncho last week.'

(269) Marya pay-paj ñaña - ta maska - rka Utavalu-man 
Maria she-of sister-acc search for-past 3 Otavalo-to 
chaya - shpa 
arrive-adverbial 
'Maria searched for her sister upon arriving in 
Otavalo.'

The only type of adverbial which typically appears postverbally 
is the purpose clause:
(270) ñuka mana Agatu-manda shamu -rka ñuka-ta visita-wa 
my mother Agato-from come-past 3 I - acc visit - 1-
ngapej subjunctive 
'My mother came from Agato to visit me.'

(271) ñuka wawki - ta apamu-rka-ni kolijyu - pi yachaju 
I brother-acc bring-past-1 high school-in learn - 
chun subjunctive 
'I brought my brother here so he would study in high 
school.'

There are no constructions in which adverbials are obliga-
tory.

1.2.2. Adjective phrases
1.2.2.1. Operational definition for adjective phrases
I consider to be an adjective phrase any constituent other than 
a postpositional phrase which may be used to modify a 
substantive. This includes simple adjectives, adjectives modi-
ﬁed by adverbs, the modifying clause of relative clauses and 
nouns which are used to modify other nouns. The task of deﬁn-
ing an adjective phrase is complicated in Quechua languages by 
the fact that adjectives are not distinguished morphologically 
from nouns. Examples of the various types of adjective phrases, 
followed by the noun each modiﬁes, are given below:
(272) Simple adjective 
ñata wawki rura 
big man 

(273) Adjective modiﬁed by adverb 
naymi [jatun] wawki rura 
very big man 

(274) Relative clause 
ñata kayna riku - shka3 rura 
you yesterday see-nominalizer man 
'the man you saw yesterday'

(275) Noun modiﬁed by noun 
ñata wawki rura 
stone road 

1.2.2.2. Arguments taken by adjectives
Certain constituents which are possibly adjectives may 
occur as the predicate in subjectless sentences:
(276) chishi - mi - sacha-man ri-ngapej - ka 
late/afternoon-validator forest-to go-subjunctive-topic 
'It is late to go to the forest.'

(277) yanpa tuta - man3 - mi wasi-man ri - ngapej - 
too early/morning-from-validator house-to go-subjunctive-ka 
topic 
'It is too early to go home.'

It is far from clear whether chishi - 'late, afternoon' and 
tutamanda- 'early, morning' are adjectives or nouns since the 
categories are not morphologically distinct. This question is 
probably inappropriate in a language that fails to make a noun-
adjunctive distinction. Putting aside the question of their 
morphological category, predicates like chishi and tutamanda 
are obligatorily subjectless.
A limited class of predicate adjectives take accusative 
complements:
(278) Marya-ta kushilla - mi ka-ni
Maria-acc happy-validator be-1
'I am happy about María.'

(279) chay wambra-ta IIakilla - mi ka-ni
that child-acc sad-validator be-1
'I am sad about that child.'

It is likely that these complements are not direct objects of the
adjective, but rather obliques. The accusative postposition -ta is not only used for direct objects, but also has
oblique functions (see also 2.1.1.5):
(280) cuchi-ka pengu-ta - mi llugshi-rra
pig-topic door-acc validator leave-past 3
'The pig left through/via the door.'

The accusative complement of adjectives like llaki 'sad' and
kushii 'happy' is optional:
(281) kushii - mi ka-ni
happy-validator be-1
'I am happy.'

(282) IIakilla - mi ka-ni
sad-validator be-1
'I am sad.'

I know of no instances of adjectives that take indirect objects
or other kinds of arguments.

1.2.2.3. Adverbial modification of adjectives

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs (though not by other
types of adverbials):
(283) chay wasi yapa sumaj - mi
ashetwan
maymi
ashla
jatum
nimau
asha(1la)
that house too pretty-validator
more
very
very
big-very
very
slightly
'That house is too/more/very/slightly pretty.'
(Maymi is not normally used in this sense in Otavalo.) When an
adjective is modified by an adverb, the modifier (the adverb)
must precede the element modified (the adjective). In instances
in which an adjective, an adverbial and an (accusative) argument
of the adjective are present in the same sentence, the accusa-
tive argument normally precedes the adverbial, which itself
precedes the adjective. The marked order adverb, accusative
argument, adjective is also possible.

(284a) Marya-ta ashta IIakki - mi ka-ni
Maria-acc very sad-validator be-1
'I am very sad about María.'

(284b) ashta Marya-ta IIakka - mi ka-ni
very Marfa-acc sad-validator be-1
'I am very sad about María.'

1.2.3. Adverbial phrase

Adverbial phrases are defined as elements which can modify
an adjective or an adverbial.

Adverbials can be modified only by adverbs and not by post-
po: sitional phrases or adverbial clauses:
(285) yapa maymi jatum wasi
too very big house
'an overly big house'

The modifying adverbial precedes the modified adverbial. The
class of adverbials that can modify adverbials is the same as
the class of adverbials that can modify adjectives. See
1.2.2.3.

1.2.4. Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases consist of a noun phrase nucleus
followed by a postposition:
(286a) wasi-man
house-to
'to the house'

(286b) Agatu-manda
Agato-from

(286c) fuka wakhi - paj
my brother-for

In the examples of (286) the postposition consists of a
single morpheme suffixed to the nominal head. In addition to
simple postpositional phrases, there are also complex post-
po: sitional phrases like (287):
(287) wasi uku - pi
house interior-in
'inside the house'

In (287) the postposition consists of a nominal root (uku 'inte-
rior, room') followed by a postpositional suffix. The nominal
root plus simple postposition function as a single, complex
postposition. Note that the postpositional suffix can be varied:
(288a) wasi uku - man
house interior-to
'into the house'

(288b) wasi uku - manda
house exterior-to
'from inside the house'

The postposition must have an object (argument), and a
single postposition can have only one argument. This restriction applies to coordinated as well as single NPs. Compare the ungrammatical (289) (289) *Juan y Rosa-paj Juan and Rosa-for ('for Juan and Rosa') and the grammatical (290): (290) Juan-paj (y) Rosa-paj-pash Juan-for and Rosa-for-also 'for Juan and Rosa' (The same facts hold for complex postpositions as well.) In IQ postpositions cannot be stranded. They must always immediately follow the nominal head. This is true not only of suffixal postpositions, (291) *may - taj Juzi-man ri - rka where-inter José-to go-past 3 ('Where did José go?') but also of complex, nonsuffixal postpositions. (292) *ima - taj Juzi uku - man ri - rka what-inter José interior-to go-past 3 ('What did José go into?') No element can modify a postposition. There is no case marking in IQ distinct from that expressed by postpositions. Thus, postpositions do not govern case.

1.2.5. Noun phrase (nominal constituent)

1.2.5.1. Operational definition for noun phrase

A noun phrase consists of a nominal head preceded by one or more modifiers:

(293) chay ruma - paj jatun llamas that man-possessive big sheep 'that man's big sheep'

Either the modifier or the nominal head may be absent:

(294) Modifier absent

warmi woman

'a/the woman'

(295) Head absent

yuraj white

'a/the white one'

Noun phrases may be distinguished from other constituents by their syntactic role. They can appear as subjects or direct objects, or as the objects of postpositions.

1.2.5.2. Modifiers in noun phrases

The nominal head can be modified by a variety of elements:
chay ishkay Utavalu-munda (shamu - shka)
Juan - paj
that two Otavalo-from come-nominalizer
Juan-possessive
jaturi wambra-kuna
big male child-plural
'thoseJuan's two big male children from Otavalo'

On the basis of order, possessive adjectives appear to be a
type of determiner. Adjectives, relative clauses, and post-
positional phrases (which are probably reduced relatives) con-
stitute a single class of adjectival. Nominal compounds like
jari wambra 'male child' apparently have a structure like
N'Njari wambra. Thus, the modifying noun is part of the
head. If this is not the case, the elements of the NP can be reduced to
determiner-nominalizer-adjectival-head.

It should be noted that quantifiers are compatible with
determiners. This is shown in (306).

(306) chay wakin runa-kuna
that some man-plural
'those several men'

1.3. Coordination

1.3.1. Sentence Coordination

Sentence coordination is indicated by the use of -pash
'also', by the borrowed conjunctions y 'and', u 'or' (from
Spanish y and o), and dino 'or' (in Otavalo), or by kutin,
literally 'again'.

(307) -pash 'also'
fuka-ka Utavalu-man ri - sha; fuka wawki-pash
I-topic Otavalo-to go-future 1 my brother-also
chay-man ri - nga
that-to go-future 3
'1 will go to Otavalo and my brother will go there.'

(308) y 'and'
fuka-ka Utavalu-man ri - sha y fuka wawki
I-topic Otavalo-to go-future 1 and my brother
chay-man ri - nga
that-to go-future 3
'I will go to Otavalo and my brother will go there.'

(309) u and dino 'or'
fuka Utavalu-man ri - sha u fuka wawki chay-man
I Otavalo-to go-future 1 or my brother that-to
ri - nga
go-future 3
'I will go to Otavalo or my brother will go there.'

Kutin can only be used for the coordination of sentences. It
cannot, for instance, be used for coordinating NPs. No distinc-
tion is made between and-coordination and but-coordination
either at the sentence or at the constituent level.

The use of adverbial subordination in place of coordination
is typical of the Quechua languages.

1.3.2. Number of coordinators

In sentence coordination, -pash can appear in all conjuncts,
in all but the first, or only in the last. Borrowed y, in con-
trast, can never precede the first conjunct. It can precede all
conjuncts but the first, or only the last conjunct:

(312) (*y) fuka(-pash) kamilla - ta gushta-ni; (y) fuka
and I - alsoasted corn-acc like - 1 and my
puni(-pash) kamilla - ta gushta-n; y fuka
sister-alsoasted corn-acc like - 3 and my
waki(-pash) kamilla - ta gushta-n
brother-alsoasted corn-acc like - 3
'I likeasted corn, my sister likes toasted corn,
and my brother likes toasted corn.'

Kutin, like y, can only precede the second and subsequent co-
dominated clauses.

In constituent coordination, it is preferred to suffix -pash
to each element coordinated:

(313) fuka-ka Utavalu-man-pash Kiku-man-pash ri-ju - ni
I-topic Otavalo-to-also Quito-to-also go-prog-1
'I'm going to Otavalo and Quito.'

The borrowed conjunctions y and u cannot be used in this way.
Means of Coordinating the Major Categories of the Sentence

The devices described under sentence coordination (with the exception of but) are also used in coordinating elements of a sentence. These are juxtaposition, -pash 'also', and the borrowed coordinators y 'and' (from Spanish y) and k-1 (from Spanish k). Two pseudo-coordinators -wan and -ndi are also used. These are discussed in 1.3.1.4.

The use of -pash for constituent coordination is illustrated in (314).

(314) -pash coordination

(314a) Coordinate subjects

María-pash Juzi-pash Utavalo-man ri - rka
María-also José-also Otavalo-to go-past 3
'María and José went to Otavalo.'

(314b) Coordinate objects

Juzi - ka alku-ta llam-ta-pash randi-rka
José-topic dog-acc sheep-acc also buy-past 3
'José bought a dog and a sheep.'

(314c) Coordinate verbs

wata - n wata - n tushu-ni ufyu-ni-pash
year-every year-every dance-1 drink-1-also
'Every year I dance and drink.'

The use of juxtaposition and y/u/dino are shown in (315):

(315) Juxtaposition and y coordination

(315a) María (y/u/dino) Juzi Utavalo-man ri - rka
María and/or José Otavalo-to go-past 3
'María and/or José went to Otavalo.'

(315b) Juzi - ka alku-ta (y/u/dino) llam-ta randi-rka
José-topic dog-acc and/or sheep-acc buy-past 3
'José bought a dog and/or a sheep.'

(315c) tayta - ka llam-ta randi-rka (y/u/dino) wagta-ts
tater-topic sheep-acc buy-past 3 and/or cow-acc
jatu - rka
sell-past 3
'Father bought a sheep and/or sold a cow.'

As in the case of sentence coordination, the nature of the relation between the coordinated elements must be inferred when juxtaposition coordination is employed.

1.3.1.4. Coordination and Accompaniment

Coordinated should not be confused with accompaniment. Two coordinate postpositions are found in Quechua: -wan 'together with' and -ndi 'together with and forming a single entity'. For instance in

(316) fuka-ka wamra-wan puri-ni
I-topic child-with walk-1
'I walk with the child.'

The child and I are engaged together in going to a joint destination.

It might be thought erroneously that -wan and -ndi are coordinators rather than comitative postpositions. This is because accompaniment and coordination often share the same truth conditions. Thus,

(317) riku-rka-ni Marya-ta Jum-ta-pash
see-past-1 María-acc Juan-acc-also
'I saw María with Juan.'

This might lead to the supposition that (319), like (318), is a coordinated structure.

There is, however, strong evidence that -wan and -ndi are not coordinators. First, -wan and -ndi noun phrases fail to exhibit accusative case marking in direct object position:

(320) *riku-rka-ni Juzi-ta Marya-also
see-past-1 José-acc María-acc-with
'I saw José and/or María.'

As in 1.1.1.2.2.1.5, this is not the case in other Quechua languages, where -wan has been reanalyzed as a conjunction.

Second, elements 'coordinated' by -wan and -ndi are not subject to the constraint against the extraction of a single member of a coordinate structure. Elements coordinated by -pash, y, and juxtaposition are subject to this constraint. Hence, it would seem doubtful that -wan and -ndi are orphans rather than postpositions. See 1.1.1.2.2.1.5 for further details.

Third, instances of putative -wan/-ndi coordination in subject position fail to exhibit appropriate number agreement:

(321) fuka-ka wamri-ndi Utavalo-man ri-rka -ni
I-topic woman-with Otavalo-to go-past singular 1
-ndi

'I went to Otavalo with my wife.'

If -wan/-ndi were coordinators, plural agreement would be expected in (321).

Despite these synchronic conclusions, it should be noted that diachronically the situation may be clearer. In Ancash -wan appears to have become a coordinator (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.5). It would not be surprising if a similar process were to take place in Quechua. But, I would argue the range of facts found in Quechua does not provide any support for the claim that reanalysis has...
taken place.

1.3.1.3. Structural parallelism in coordination

The degree of structural parallelism required for coordination differs from category to category. With regard to adjectival, adjectives and relative clauses can be coordinated:

(322a) [fiuka tari - shka] yura] libru-ka
1. find-nominalizer white book-topic
'the book found by me that is white'

(322b) Utavalu-man shamu - shka jatun runa-ka
Otavalo-to come-nominalizer big man-topic
'the man who came to Otavalo that is big'

The examples of (322) can be interpreted either as "stacked" or as coordinated adjectives. Example (322a) can be interpreted as referring either to 'among the books I found, the white one' or 'the book which I found and which is white.' Similarly, (322b) has two interpretations: 'among the men who came to Otavalo, the big one' and 'the man who both came to Otavalo and who is big.' The latter reading suggests that the two adjectives can be coordinated.

In contrast, nouns and nominalized complement clauses cannot be coordinated. Both (323) and (324) are well formed, but (325), formed by coordinating the objects of (323) and (324), is not.

(323) kamilla - ta muna-ni toasted corn-acc want-1 'I want toasted corn.'
(324) [caswa - ta ufye - na] - ta muna-ni chicha-acc drink-infinite-acc want-1 'I want to drink chicha.'
(325) [sakmilla] - ta (y) [caswa - ta ufye - na] - toasted corn-acc and chicha-acc drink-infinite-acc ta(-pash) muna-ni acc-also want-1 ('I want toasted corn and to drink chicha.')

Sentence (325) is grammatical only on the pragmatically unacceptable reading in which kamilla and aswa are conjoined: 'I want to drink toasted corn and chicha.' Since toasted corn cannot be drunk, (325) is unacceptable.

Active and passive verbs can be coordinated:

(326) misiy pirkuti-ka miku-ruka; pay-ka_ju alku miku - cat rat - acc eat-past 3 it-topic by dog eat - y tuku - rka infinitive become-past 3 'The cat ate the rat. It got eaten by the dog.'

(327) fiuka-ka Marya-ta riku-rka-ni y Marya riku - y I-topic Marya-acc see-past-1 and by Marya see-infinite tuku - rka-ni become-past 1
' I saw Marya and was seen by her.'

1.3.2. Elements that can be omitted under identity in coordination

All major sentence constituents can be omitted under identity in coordination.

(328) Omission of subject
Jotu Utavalu-man ri - rka (y) Φ llama-ta randi-rrka
José Otavalo-to go-past 3 and sheep-acc buy-past 3 'José went to Otavalo and bought a sheep.'

(329) Omission of direct object
puma - ka llama-ta tari - rka (y) wañichi rka puma-topic sheep-acc find-past 3 and kill-past 3 'The puma found and killed a sheep.'

(330) Omission of the verb
wagra-ta llama-ta-pash jatun - na - ta muna-nchi cow-acc sheep-acc also sell-infinite-acc want-plural 1 'We want to buy a cow and a sheep.'

(331) Omission of adverbial
kaya - ni Marya llama-ta randi - nga; kutin tomorrow-validator Marya sheep-acc buy-future 3 and fluka-ka wagra-ta randi - sha I-topic cow-acc buy-future 1 'Tomorrow Marya will buy a sheep and I will buy a cow.'

1.4. Negation

1.4.1. Sentence negation

Sentence negation in non-imperative matrix clauses is expressed by the use of two particles, mana and -chu:

(332) fluka wawki mana jatun wasi - ta chari-n-chu my brother not big house-acc have-3-neg 'My brother does not have a big house.'

Mana is the same form used to express 'no' while -chu is otherwise used to form yes-no questions. (See 1.1.1.2.1) Both elements are obligatory in matrix clauses. If mana is omitted a yes-no question results:

(333) kan - paj wawki jatun wasi - ta chari-n-chu you-possessive brother big house-acc have-3-inter 'Does your brother have a big house?'

The omission of -chu results in ungrammaticality.

In 1Q the same suffix -chu is used to form both negative sentences and yes-no questions. This is not true in all Quechua languages. In Ancash, for instance, -ku is used in questions and -tsu (cognate to -chu) in negation. In these languages it is not necessary to employ both mana and -chu in negation. In
Ancash -tsu alone is obligatory and the equivalent of IQ mana, manam, is optional in main clauses:

(334) tsay mana (manam) shamu - nqa - tsu

that man not come-future 3-neg

'That man will not come.'

In IQ, as well as in other Quechua languages, the suffix -chu is not employed in the negation of subordinate clauses (or in certain constituent negation -- see 1.4.2).

(335) Juji mana jatun wasi - ta cheri - 13 - ta kri - ni
José not big house-acc have-nominalizer-acc believe-1
'I believe that José does not have a big house.'

The addition of -chu within the subordinate clause would cause (335) to be ungrammatical. (The ungrammaticality of -chu in subordinate clauses is a special case of a general constraint on the distribution of validators, of which -chu is one. Validators can be suffixed only to major constituents of the matrix clause. Thus, -chu could never appear within a subordinate clause. See 2.1.8) The only type of subordinate clause in which negation with -chu is possible is the infinitive noun clause:

(336) mana wasi - ta-chu randi - na - ta mana-ni
not house-acc-neg buy-infinite-acc want-1

'It is not a house I want to buy.'

I argued in 1.1.2.2.2.3 that in such sentences the infinitive is not a clause in surface structure. This explains the grammaticality of -chu in these contexts.

In imperatives ama is substituted for mana:

(337) Second person Imperative
ama shamu - y - chu
neg imper come-second sing imper-neg

'Don't come.'

Ama is also used in first and third person imperatives:

(338) First person imperative
ama ri - shunchi - chu
neg imper go-first person imper-neg

'Let's go.'

(339) Third person imperative
ama ri - chun - (*chu)
neg imper go-third person subjunctive-neg

'May he not go.'

Note the ill-formedness of -chu in (339). This indicates that third person imperatives are formally subordinate clauses in IQ ('independent subjunctives'). This contrasts sharply with Ancash, for instance, where the morpheme cognate to -chun (-tsun) is not used for subordination, and where -tsu (cognate to IQ -chu) is obligatory in third person imperatives. See 1.1.1.7 for further discussion.

The position of the negative elements (both mana/ama and -chu) is determined by the scope of negation. For most speakers, neither element has a fixed position in the sentence. Rather, the two elements act like brackets indicating scope in logical languages. Consider (340):

(340a) Juji mana chay llama-ta randi - rka-chu
José not that sheep-acc buy-past 3-neg

'José did not buy that sheep.'

(340b) Juji mana chay llama-te-chu randi - rka
José not that sheep-acc-neg buy-past 3

'It wasn't that sheep that José bought.'

(340c) mana Juji-chu chay llama-ta randi-rka
not José-topic buy-past-neg that sheep-acc

'It wasn't José who bought that sheep.'

In (340a) the entire sentence except for the subject is within the scope of negation. Thus, the sentence asserts of José that he did not carry out the action of buying the sheep. In (340b) the scope of negation is limited to the direct object. Therefore, the act of purchasing itself is not denied. It is only denied that that sheep was purchased. Example (340c) involves the negation of the subject alone. Someone bought a sheep, but it was not José.

For some speakers from the Otavalo area -chu must be suffixed to the verb. For those speakers, sentences like (340b) - (340c) are ungrammatical. The scope of negation is expressed by the placement of mana and the order of constituents. For instance, (340c) would be expressed as (341):

(341) mana Juji - ka randi-rka-chu chay llama-ta
not José-topic buy-past-neg that sheep-acc

'It wasn't José who bought that sheep.'

Note that for all speakers scope of negation can be indicated by the placement of mana alone, for instance in subordinate clauses. -chu does not appear in subordinate clauses.

The position of mana is used to resolve potential scope ambiguities. Consider (342):

(342a) wakin runa-kuna mana shamu-rka - chu
some man-plural not come-past 3-neg

(342b) mana wakin runa-kuna shamu-rka - chu
not some man-plural come-past 3-neg

In (342a) mana is within the scope of wakin. Thus, it is asserted of some of the men that they did not come. For (342a) to be true there must be at least one man who did not come.

In contrast, in (342b) wakin is within the scope of mana. Hence, for (342b) to be true, the proposition that some men did come must be false. On the assumption that wakin means 'some but not all', this proposition can be false in two circumstances: (1) if all of the men came, and (2) if none of the men came. Hence, this analysis predicts that (342b) will have two interpretations: 'all the men came,' and 'none of the men came.' These are, in fact, the possible interpretations of (342b).
These facts are of interest because they suggest that the hypothesized scope ambiguity between \( 1 \) \( \wedge \) and \( \sim 1 \) in sentences like those of (342) is a genuine structural ambiguity. In contrast, the two interpretations of (342b) do not appear to constitute a genuine ambiguity in the sentence. The sentence literally expresses the proposition \( \sim 1(x) \) (come \( (x) \)). The two interpretations are simply two very different sets of conditions in which this proposition is true.

1.4.2. Constituent negation

There is no formal distinction between constituent and sentence negation. The position of the negative elements mana/mana (and -chu) determines whether the entire sentence is within the scope of negation or whether scope is restricted to a particular constituent. See 1.4.1.

When the scope of negation is restricted to an element that is a proper subpart of the matrix clause, -chu is omitted. (343)

\[
\text{NP} \text{shuj} [\text{mana} al] 1 \text{ali} (-*\text{chu}) \text{ru} \text{ma} \text{a} \text{chu} \text{kay} \text{man} \text{shau} \text{rka} \\
\text{one} \text{not} \text{good} \text{-} \text{neg} \text{man} \text{this} \text{-to} \text{come-past} \text{3}
\]

'A bad man came here.'

The ungrammaticality of -chu in (343) is a special case of the general principle that validators can only be suffixed to matrix constituents. As the bracketing shows, -chu, if it were to appear, would be internal to the subject NP. Note also that the placement of the negative morpheme -chu after ru ma is not possible because there would then be a conflict in scope between mana and -chu.

(344) \[\text{NP} \text{shuj} [\text{mana} al] 1 \text{ali} \text{ruma} \text{a} \text{chu} \text{kay} \text{man} \text{shau} \text{rka} \\
\text{one} \text{not} \text{good} \text{-} \text{neg} \text{man} \text{this} \text{-to} \text{come-past} \text{3}
\]

'(A bad man came here.)'

Because it is internal to the subject NP, the scope of mana would be ali. But because it is suffixed to the final element in the NP, the scope of -chu is the entire NP. For further discussion of validation, see 2.1.8.

There are no specifically negative indefinite pronominal forms comparable to English nobody, nowhere. (Compare *body came and nobody came.) Negative indefinites are expressed by negating a sentence containing an affirmative indefinite:

(345) Affirmative indefinite

\[
\text{pi-pash shamu-nga} \text{who-even come-future} \text{3}
\]

'Someone (or other) will come.'

(346) Negative indefinite

\[
\text{mana pi-pash shamu-nga} \text{who-even come-future} \text{3-neg}
\]

'No one will come.'

Often the negated element is preceded by the borrowed negative element ni (from Spanish):

(347) \[
\text{mana ni pi} = \text{ta-pash riku-rka-ni-chu} \text{not neg who-acc-even see-past-1-neg}
\]

'I didn't see anyone (at all).'

Note that case marking (e.g., -ta in (347)) appears before -pash.

The affirmative indefinite pronouns, on which the negative indefinites are based, are formed by the suffixation of -pash 'even, also' to the appropriate interrogative pronoun:

(348a) \[
\text{mana ima-pash not what-even}
\]

'nothing'

(348b) \[
\text{mana may-pi-pash not where-in-even}
\]

'nowhere'

(348c) \[
\text{mana maylan-pash not which-even}
\]

'neither'

(348d) \[
\text{mana pi-pash not who-even}
\]

'no one'

See 1.1.1.2.2.

1.4.2.4. Double negation and negative attraction

There can be only one occurrence of sentence negation per clause:

(349a) \[
\text{chay runa mana Utavalu-pi kawsa-n-chu}
\]

that man not not Utavalo-in live-3-neg

'(That man doesn't live in Otavalo.)'

(This sentence is marginally grammatical as a very emphatic way of expressing 'That man doesn't live in Utavalo.')

(349b) \[
\text{mana chay runa mana Utavalu-pi kawsa-n-chu}
\]

that man not not Otavalo-in live-3-neg

'(It's not that man who doesn't live in Otavalo.)'

Sentence negation and negation of a proper subpart of a major constituent is possible.

(350) \[
\text{chay mana ali runa mana shamu-rka} - \text{chu}
\]

that not good man not come-past 3-neg

'that bad man didn't come.'

Double constituent negation is also ill-formed:

(351) \[
\text{shuj mana mana all warm}
\]

one not not good woman

'(a not good woman')

The attraction of the negative elements to the coordinator position (and their subsequent combination with coordinator) does not occur in the Quechua languages.

1.4.5. Negation in subordinate and higher clauses

With verbs like yana- 'to think' and munana- 'to want' the matrix verb can be negated in order to express subordinate negation:
properties of beings.

The ordinary personal pronoun is not used in this context, as in English.

1.5. Anaphora

1.5.1. Meaning of expressing anaphora

Anaphora are expressed by deletion and by the use of the ordinary personal or demonstrative pronoun. Deletion is by far the more common device:

(354) shuj llama-ta randi-rka-ni; kaya tutamanda-pi one sheep-acc buy-past - 1 today morning - in (chay-ta) wañù - chi - sha fishta-paj that-acc die-causative-future 1 party-for 'Yesterday I bought a sheep. Tomorrow I'll kill it for the party.'

The pronouns used are demonstratives (as in (354)) or the third person personal pronoun pay, which is used only for human beings:

(355) Juzi kayna - mi Kitu-man ri - rka; pay-pa José yesterday-validator Quito-to go-past 3 that-in (pay-ka) shuj amigu - ta visita-rka he-topic one friend-acc visit-perfect 'Yesterday José went to Quito. He visited a friend there.'

Anaphoric elements are typically third person, and, therefore, except for third person subjects, are not marked on the verb. Verbs agree with their subjects in all persons (θ morpheme in third person in the past tense), and with their objects in first person. See 2.1.5.6. This limits the value of verb agreement as an anaphoric device.

There are no specifically reflexive pronouns. The suffix -lla-taj is used for "emphatic reflexives" of the 'he, himself' type. True reflexives are marked on the verb. See 2.1.2.1.15.

An important way of expressing anaphoric possibility is the choice of a switch reference or non-switch reference suffix in those constructions allowing such a choice:

(356) plaza-pi ka-shpa - mi
market-in be-coreferential suffix -validator
-jpi

market-in be-coreferential suffix -validator
-amigu - kuna - van parla-ni
friend-plural with speaker

'I speak with friends when I am (they are/someone is)
in the market.'

When the coreferential suffix -shpa is used the subject of the adverbial clause is understood as coreferential to that of the main clause ('I'). In contrast, when the switch reference suffix -jpi is employed, the subject of the embedded clause must be non-coreferential with that of the main clause. The use of coreferential versus switch reference suffixes is described in 1.1.2.4.

1.5.2. Anaphora in various syntactic environments

Clause internal anaphora require the use of the reflexive form of the verb. Ordinary personal pronouns are not used:

(357) Marya ispiju-pi riku - ri - rka
Marya mirror-in see-reflexive-past 3
'Marya saw herself in the mirror.'

(358) *Marya₁ ispiju-pi pay(-lla)-ta, riku-rka
Marya₁ mirror-in she-just-acc see-past 3
('Marya₁ saw only her₁ in the mirror.')

In anaphora between coordinate structures, deletion or pronominalization is used. This is illustrated in (354) and (355). It should be noted that coordination of clauses, though grammatical, is stylistically objectionable in Quechua languages. The use of adverbial subordination for one of the clauses is strongly preferred.

In anaphora within complex sentences both deletion and pronominalization are possible. When the main clause precedes the subordinate clause, the antecedent must be in the main clause and the anaphor in the subordinate clause:

(359a) Juana₁ Agatu-man shamu-rka Juzi ᵁ pay-ta₁
Juan₁ Agatu-to come-past 3 José he-acc
riku - cham
me-subjunctive
'Juan₁ came to Agato in order for José to see him₁.'
In sentences in which the subordinate clause precedes the matrix clause both anaphor-antecedent and antecedent-anaphor order is possible.

(360a) Juzi $\theta_1$ riku - chun Juan$_1$ Agatu-man pay-ta$_1$

José he-acc see-subjunctive Juan Agato-to shamu-rka come-past 3

'In order for José to see him$_1$, Juan$_1$ came to Agato.'

(360b) Juzi Juan-ta$_1$ riku - chun $\theta_1$ Agatu-man pay$_1$

José Juan-acc see-subjunctive he Agato-to shamu-rka come-past 3

'In order for José to see Juan$_1$, he$_1$ came to Agato.'

Examples (359) and (360) show that the precede-command constraints on anaphora first described by Langacker (1969) for English apply in IQ as well.

There is no formal distinction between intersentential anaphora and anaphora between conjoined sentences. There are no subordinating conjunctions in Quechua languages. Thus, there are no restrictions on anaphoric elements adjacent to such conjunctions.

1.6. Reflexives

1.6.1. Means of expressing reflexivity

Reflexivity is expressed by the verbal suffix -ri. This suffix is also in reciprocals and pseudopassives.

1.6.1.3. Reflexivity expressed by verbal suffix

The suffixation of -ri- to a verbal stem causes the verb to be understood as reflexive, reciprocal or pseudopassive.

(361) Reflexive -ri

ispiju-pl riku - ri - rka-ni mirror-in see-reflexive-past-1

'I saw myself in the mirror.'

(362) Reciprocal -ri-

wambra-kuna riku - ri - rka child-plural see-reflexive-past 3

'The children saw each other.'

(363) Pseudopassive -ri-

gi pungu-kuna - ka paska - ri - rka door-plural-topic open-reflexive-past 3

'The doors opened.'

The morpheme -ri- is fully productive in the three uses exemplified above. The choice of a reflexive, reciprocal or pseudopassive interpretation in a given instance appears to depend on pragmatic factors: the likelihood that the speaker would intend a particular interpretation in light of the meaning of the verb stem and of the context in which the verb is used.

For instance, either a reciprocal or a reflexive interpretation is possible for (362). In contrast, only a pseudopassive interpretation is possible for (363). This is because doors cannot open themselves or each other.

Despite its use in contexts that crosslinguistically require intransitive verb forms, -ri- is not a detransitivizer. Verb forms with -ri- may co-occur with an overt direct object. This object must, however, be understood as reflexive.

(364) Juan - ka ispiju-pi pay-1a-ta riku - ri - rka Juan-topic mirror-in he-only-acc see-reflexive-past 3

'Juan saw only himself in the mirror.'

(As was illustrated in 1.5.2, (364) would not receive a reflexive interpretation if -ri- were omitted.)

It should be noted that the use of -ri- for reflexives, etc., is restricted to northern Quechua languages. In other varieties of Quechua, -ku-, cognate to IQ -ju- 'progressive', has a function roughly analogous to IQ -ri-. The morpheme cognate to IQ -ri- in non-northern Quechua is usually an inchoative suffix.

1.6.2. Scope of reflexivity

The scope of reflexives is limited to the clause:

(365) -ri- reflexive

'Juan ispiju-pi riku - ri - chum 3 muna-ni Juan mirror-in see-reflexive-subjunctive want-1

'I want Juan to see himself in the mirror.'

# 'I want Juan to see me in the mirror.'

The reciprocal use of -ri- displays the same restriction.

1.6.3. Syntactic functions relating to reflexives

The antecedent of -ri- must be the subject of its clause. The element incorporated by -ri- into the verb can only be the direct object or the indirect object.
(366a) Direct object 
manu ali inca - ka wasfu-chi - ri - rka
not good man-topic die-cause-reflexive-past 3
'The bad man killed himself.'

(366b) Indirect object 
maria - ka kwantu-ya - ri - rka
maria-topic story-acc recount-reflexive-past 3
'Maria told herself a story.'

(366c) Oblique object 
fukua-paj yapa - ta maylla(-ri) - rka - ni
I - for potato-acc wash-reflexive-past 1
'I washed a potato for myself.'

Note the ungrammaticality of -ri in (366c).

1.6.6. Reflexive relations in nominalized clauses

Reflexive relations occur in nominalized clauses:

(367) [Maria ispiju-pl riku - ri - shka] - ta kri - ni
Maria mirror-in see-reflexive-nominalized-acc believe-1
'I believe Maria saw herself in the mirror.'

The morpheme -ri is used in the same environments in nominalized clauses as in those manifesting verbal morphology.

1.6.7.0

Reflexives do not occur within ordinary noun phrases, nor can they occur without antecedents. Other uses of -ri are described in 1.6.1.

1.7. Reciprocals

Reciprocals, as was noted above, are formed by means of the verbal suffix -ri. The use of -ri- reciprocals is described in 1.6.

It has been claimed (Stark and Carpenter, 1973) that -naju is a reciprocal suffix in IQ (as is -naku, cognate to -naju, in other Quechua languages). As far as I have been able to determine, Stark and Carpenter's claim is incorrect. According to my informants -naju does not express reciprocity, but rather joint action of some kind. This action may be, but is not necessarily, reciprocal:

(368) fukan-chi maka-naju - nchi
we hit-joint-plural 1
'We hit jointly (possibly, but not necessarily, each other).' 

(369) fukan-chi puri-naju - nchi
we walk-joint-plural 1
'We walk together.'

The analysis of -naju as expressing joint rather than reciprocal action has the advantage of predicting the interpretation of (368) as 'We hit jointly (against a third party).' Similarly, this analysis predicts the possibility of the suffixation of -naju to a verb like puri-, which lacks a reciprocal interpretation. It also explains the fact, noted by Stark and Carpenter as a sub-dialectal irregularity, that -naju is often used as a kind of emphatic verbal pluralizer. None of these uses follow from the analysis of -naju as a reciprocal suffix. They are, however, expected if -naju simply expresses joint action.

1.8. Comparison

The formation of comparative sentences is illustrated in

(370) Tumas - ka [Marya-ya yali] ali trabaja-n
Tomás-topic María-acc surpass good work 3
'Tomás works better than María.'

In comparative sentences the subject (Tumas) is normally topic marked. The subject is immediately followed by the standard of comparison (María), which bears the accusative suffix -ta and the nominalized verb yali 'surpass'. Comparative sentences like (370) appear to be grammatically complex sentences in which the standard of comparison is the object of yali 'surpass'. Thus, (370) would be glossed literally as 'Tomás works well, as one surpassing María.' The phrase María-ya yali- appears to be a free relative clause. See 1.1.2.3.6.

Frequently, ashtavan 'more' appears in addition to yali.

(371) fukan numa - ka [fuka tiya-ya ashtavan yali]
my mother-topic my aunt-acc more surpasser
atila-ya chari-3
hen - acc have-3
'My mother has more hens than my aunt.'

Sentences (370) - (371) involve the IQ equivalent of English phrasal comparison (than my aunt). No full comparative clause like than my aunt has is found. IQ lacks genuine comparative clauses. Instead a combination of free relative and adverbial clauses is used. This is described and illustrated in 1.1.2.4.2.7. In general, these clauses do not involve the deletion of the compared element.

1.9. Equatives

The formation of equative sentences is similar to that of comparative sentences:

(372) Tumas - ka Marya-shna ali trabaja-n
Tomás-topic María-like good work 3
'Tomás works as well as María.'

In equative sentences the subject (Tumas) is typically topic marked and is followed by the standard of comparison (María). The standard of comparison receives the equative suffix -shna. Unlike comparatives, equatives are not necessarily grammatically complex: no verbal element analogous to yali is found in sentences like (372).

In clausal equative sentences the subordinate clause is nominalized and is followed by the equative suffix -shna. This
is described and illustrated in 1.1.2.4.2.7. There is typically no deletion of the compared element.

1.10. Possession

1.10.1. Sentences expressing possession

Possession is indicated by the use of a verb of possession (analogous to English have),

(373) Juzi iskay kaballu-ta chari-n
José two horse-acc have-3

José has two horses.'
a predicate nominal construction,

(374) chay iskay kaballu pay - pej - mi ka - rka
that two horse he-possessive-validator be-past 3

'Those two horses were his.'
or the morpheme -yuj 'possessor' suffixed to the possessed object in a predicate nominal construction.

(375) pay - ka kaballu - yuj - ka - yu
he-topic horse-possessor be-past 3

'He had a horse: he was a house owner.'

The distinction between the constructions illustrated in (373) and (374) is the same one found in the equivalent English sentences (cf. glosses). The use of (375) is discussed in section 1.10.2-5.

It should be noted that IQ (and northern Quechua generally) diverges from other varieties of Quechua with respect to possession. In Ancash, for instance, there is no verb of possession equivalent to chari- 'have'. Sentence (373) would be expressed by a genitive construction, illustrated in (376).

(376) Josep - pe iskay bestya-n ka - pu - n
Josep-possessive two horse-3 be-possessive-3

'José has two horses.'

Sentences like (376) present a variety of analytic problems. I shall not, however, discuss them here since the construction is not found in IQ.

1.10.2-5. Types of possession

Three types of possession are distinguished in IQ: permanent possession, in which -yuj is employed; neutral possession, in which chari- 'have' is used; and temporary possession, in which japi- 'take, have temporary use' is utilized. -Yuj possession is typically used with inalienable attributes (e.g., Jatun singa-yuj 'big nose possessor'), but it can also be used with any attribute or possession which is viewed as likely to be permanent: wasi-yuj 'house owner', kulki-yuj literally, 'money (silver) possessor, wealthy', chagra-yuj 'owner of a chagra (agricultural land)', llamayuj 'sheep owner'. This construction is found in all Quechua languages.

In contrast to -yuj, the verb chari- is neutral with regard to the permanence of possession. Thus,

(377) Marya - ka atalpa-ta chari-n
Marya-topic hen - acc have-3

'Marya has a hen.'
carries no presumption that María normally or typically owns a hen, although the sentence does suggest that the hen is hers, and not held by her for someone else.

Temporary possession is indicated by the verb japi-:

(378) Marya - ka atalpa-ta japi-n
Marya-topic hen - acc hold-3

'Marya has a hen.'

In (378) it is understood that the hen is not María's. She is merely holding it for someone else.

There are no differences in the expression of possession relative to persons, animals or things, nor is there any difference between the expression of present and past possession.

1.11. Emphasis

1.11.1. Sentence emphasis

The primary device for the expression of sentence emphasis is the use of the highly emphatic validator -mari (from -mi 'first hand information + ari 'affirmation'). (See 2.1.8)

(379) pay - ka shamu - ngay - mari
he-topic come-future 3-emphatic validator

'He will come!'

An additional means of emphasizing a sentence is to shift the stress of the final word from penultimate to ultimate. This typically occurs with exclamations:

(380a) atachay 'How horrible!'

(380b) achashay 'How cold!'

It also occurs rarely in conjunctural sentences like (381):

(381) may - pi - tey ka - ngay
where-in-inter be-future 3

'Where might he be?'

1.11.2. Constituent emphasis

1.11.2.1. Expression of constituent

The valitadional system (2.1.8) provides the primary means of emphasizing a constituent:

(382) Buka tayta - ka alpa-ta - mi yapu-n
my father-topic land-acc-validator plow-3

'My father plows the land.'

In (382) the -ka marked constituent is taken as the topic and is viewed as background. In contrast, the validated constituent is the focus of the sentence or the new information. In Prague School terms, -ka marks the theme of the sentence and the validator (here -mi) the rhyme. The effect of validation is roughly equivalent to clefting in English. Thus, (382) may be translated 'It is the field that my father plows.'
The effect of moving the validator to the subject is illustrated in (383):

(383) fuka tayta - mi alpa-ta - ka yapu-n
  my father-validator land-acc-topic plow-3
  'It is my father who plows the land.'

In (383) alpa 'land' is treated as topic or theme. In contrast, fuka tayta 'my father' is the emphasized element or rheme. Movement to initial position is used both for emphasis and for topicalization. (I use the term topicalization to mean 'indicating the topic'.) As a result, constituents moved to the beginning of the sentences can be marked either by a validator or by -ka.

(384) alpa-ta -mi fuka tayta yapu-n
  land-acc -validator my father plow-3

'My father plows the land.'

In contrast, movement to postverbal position is possible only for topics. Validation is ill-formed and the topic marker is strongly preferred.

(385) alpa-ta yapu-n fuka tayta -ka
  land-acc plow-3 my father
  -topic -validator

'My father plows the land.'

Such additional emphatic devices as dislocation, clefting and pseudoclefting are not found in IQ (or in Quechua generally).

One further means of emphasis is to suffix -lla-taj to a noun phrase. The effect of -lla-taj is roughly the same as that of emphatic reflexivization in English:

(386) Juzi -lla-taj ri - nga
  Juzi-emphatic reflexive go-future 3
  'José himself will go.'

See 2.1.2.1.15. For discussion of the morphemes -lla and -taj, see 2.1.8.

1.1.1.2.2 Restrictions on emphasis

Validation and topic marking are restricted to major constituents of the matrix clause (see 2.1.8):

(387) mama tayta(-*ka) chagra-ta (-*mi) yau -
  mother my father-topic field-acc-validator plow有什么动词
  -chun3 yau
  subjunctive want-3

'Mother wants my father to plow the field.'

Compare (383) - (385) and (387). Noun phrases, verbs and predicative adjectives can be validated (when they are immediate constituents of the matrix clause). Attributive adjectives, however, normally cannot since they are usually immediate constituents of a noun phrase rather than major constituents of the main clause:

(388) Juzi Np(-*mi) wasi-ta chari-n
  José big-validator house-acc have-3
  'José has a big house.'

When an attributive adjective appears without a following noun, validation is possible:

(389) Juzi Np(-*mi) jatun-ta - mi chari-n
  'José has a big one.'

In (389) jatun is a constituent of the main clause. Hence, validation is possible. (VP is apparently irrelevant.)

In contrast to (389), when a constituent of a subordinate clause is extracted from its original clause and moved to initial position validation is possible:

(390) chagra-ta - mi mama [fuka tayta yapu - chari-n
  field-acc-validator mother my father plow-subjunctive
  want-3

'It is the field that mother wants my father to plow.'

These facts suggest that constituents moved to initial position are surface constituents of the matrix clause.

The extraction of constituents to initial position is constrained in the same way as extraction in question-word question formation: major constituents of subordinate clauses, elements of complex noun phrases, or of coordinate structures cannot be extracted. (See 1.1.1.2.2.1) Only one constituent may be extracted in a sentence. In the case of movement, no proform or other element can be left behind.

It should be noted that only one validator can appear in a single sentence:

(391) *Juzi -mi jatun wasi - ta - mi chari-n
  'José has a big house.'

In contrast, more than one constituent can be topic marked:

(392) Marya - ka kayna - ka chayamu - rka - mi
  Maria-topic yesterday-topic arrive-past 3-validator
  'Maria arrived yesterday.'

1.1.1.3 The focus of yes-no questions

The focus of yes-no questions is marked by the validator -chun. The interrogative validator -chun has the same effect in questions as do -mi etc. in declarative sentences: -chun indicates the element about which the questioner wishes to know, and and, hence, constitutes the rheme of the sentence. In answers, the element structurally parallel to the -chun marked element will be validated. (See 1.1.1.2.4) The restrictions on validation described in 1.1.1.2.2 apply to -chun as well.
1.12. Topic

The means for indicating topic are described together with those for emphasis in 1.11. The restrictions on topic marking are also described in 1.11. In addition to the restrictions noted there, it should be mentioned that finite verbs cannot be topic marked, although they can be validated:

(393) Juzi Marya-ta juya-n -mi
José Marfa-acc love-3 -validator
'tJosé loves Marfa.'

The effect of topic marking an adverbial clause is described in 1.12.4.2. When movement of a topic marked element takes place, no copy, proform, etc., is left behind.

Although topic marking is not obligatory in IQ, its use is very frequent. Typically, a sentence will contain one constituent marked for topic (most often the subject) and another marked for emphasis by a validator (most often the verb (obligatorily for some speakers) or the direct object). The use of topic marking in IQ appears to be considerably more frequent than in some other Quechua languages (e.g., Ancash).

There are certain environments in which topic marking is nearly obligatory. In passive sentences both the passive subject and the passive agent are in nominative case (Ø case marked). The topic marking of the passive subject shows that the agent and the subject are separate constituents.

(394) Juzi -ka Marya riku - shka ka - rka
José -topic Marfa see-past participle be-past 3
'José was seen by Marfa.'

In the absence of -ka, Juzi Marya would be parsed as a single constituent 'José and Marfa.' As a result, the sentence would be interpreted as 'José and Marfa were seen (by someone)', [or as an active, 'José and Marfa have seen (something)'].

1.13. Heavy Shift

It is somewhat difficult to determine whether there is Heavy Shift in IQ. Certainly, complex noun phrases and other heavy elements can move to the right in main clauses:

(395) mana Ø ri-rka-ni-chu Kita-man not go-past-1-neg Kiito-to-topic
'tI didn't go to Quito.'
Thus, sentences like (394) do not constitute evidence for Heavy Shift.

Subordinate clauses are almost always verb-final (see 1.12). The order of preverbal elements does not appear to be affected by heaviness. I conclude, therefore, that there is no reason to hypothesize a process of Heavy Shift in IQ.

1.14. Other movement processes

I am not aware of any movement processes not described above.

1.15. Minor sentence-types

I am not aware of any minor sentence-types.

1.16. Operational definitions of word classes

1.16.1 Noun

Nouns are operationally defined as elements which can be the object of a postposition:

(397a) llaqta-man
town - to
(397b) lllama-ta
sheep-acc

Following this definition, nominalized verbs, attributive adjectives like that in (389) and pronouns must be viewed as nouns.

1.16.2 Pronoun

Pronouns are a sub-class of nouns. First person pronouns can be distinguished from other nouns by the fact that they have suppletive plurals: The plural of fuka 'I' is fukanchi 'we' rather than *fuka-kuna ('I' + plural). See 2.1.2.1.

1.16.3 Verb

Verbs can be identified by the fact that they are conjugated for person and number. According to this operational definition the 'verbs' of subordinate clauses are deverbal since they cannot be conjugated.

1.16.4 Adjective

Adjectives are not morphologically distinct from nouns in IQ. Both can take case marking, serve as modifiers, or as sentence predicates. Adjectives do differ from nouns in terms of what they can be modified by. Adjectives can be modified by adverbs:

(398a) Adjective
chay warmi maymi sumaj - mi
that woman very pretty-validator
'tThat woman is very pretty.'
1.16.4. Postposition

Postpositions must immediately follow a nominal head. This is true both for simple and complex postpositions (see 1.2.4):

(399a) wasi-pi
      house-in
      'in the house'
(399b) wasi uku - pi
      house interior-in
      'within the house'

1.16.5. Numeral/quantifier

The numeral/quantifier is an element of the noun phrase appearing between the determiner and the adjective. See 1.2.5.2.

1.16.6.

A variety of clitics (also known as "independent suffixes") occur in IQ. These are described in section 2.1.8.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. Inflection

2.1.1. Noun inflection

In order to express the syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases

The syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases can be expressed by postpositions, word order, clitic particles and derivational processes. The majority of postpositions are bound suffixes, but there are also postpositions composed of a nominal stem plus a bound suffix. Compare (400) and (401):

(400) wasi-pi
     house-in
     'in the house'
(401) wasi uku - pi
     house interior-in
     'within the house'

Word order among noun phrases in a clause is, in general, quite free, especially in main clauses. There are, however, certain environments in which word order helps to clarify the syntactic and semantic functions of the noun phrases in a clause. For instance, in transitive causative constructions two accusative noun phrases can appear:

(402) mama - ka wawa - ta lichi-ta ufya - chi - rka
     mother-topic child-acc milk-acc drink-causative-past 3
     'The mother caused the child to drink milk.'

In sentences like (402), the causee (the notional subject of ufya- 'drink') typically appears before the notional direct object. But, with few exceptions, word order among nominal constituents is free.

Certain morphemes are traditionally referred to as clitics (enclitics) in Quechua grammars. These include the validation series, the topic marker -ka and certain other "independent suffixes". In general, stress in IQ is penultimate. When a suffix is added to a word (thereby adding an additional syllable), stress moves one syllable to the right. But when -ka is added to adverbialized verbs, stress can optionally remain on the syllable stressed prior to the addition of -ka:

(403) Kitu-man shama - shpa
     Quito-to come-adverbial
     'upon coming to Quito'
(404a) Kitu-man shama - shpa - ka
     Quito-to come-adverbial-topic
     'upon coming to Quito'
(404b) Kitu-man shama - shpa - ka
     Quito-to come-adverbial-topic
     'upon coming to Quito'

Thus, it might be argued that -ka is less tightly bound to the
form after which it appears than are other elements. -Ka, therefore, should be classified as a clitic rather than as a bound suffix. When -ka is affixed to forms other than adverbialized verbs, similar data are found:

(405a) chay runa-ka
that man-topic
(405b) chay runa-ka
that man-topic

Similar data are found with validators, though with less frequency.

(406a) ?chay runa - mi
that man-validator
(406b) chay runa - mi
that man-validator
(406c) riku - shka - mi
see-past participle-validator
(406d) riku - shka - mi
see-past participle-validator

As is indicated by the question mark in (406a), validators are not as "transparent" for stress assignment as is the topic marker.

A variety of derivational processes are found: verbalization, verbalization, etc. In derivational processes a derivational morpheme is suffixed to the stem, creating a derived stem. See 2.2.

The expression of the functions of a noun phrase may require more than one inflectional device. In (402) postpositional suffixes and word order are used together to indicate the functions of the noun phrases. In (407)

(407) Marya - lla - ta - mi juya-ni
Maria-limitative-acc-validator love-1
'I love only Maria.'

Marya bears a derivational suffix -lla 'limitative', a postposition -ta 'accusative', and a validator -mi 'first-hand information'.

2.1.1.2. Means for expressing syntactic functions

2.1.1.2.1. Subject of intransitive verb

Subjects of intransitive verbs, like all other subjects, are not marked by any postposition (Ø case marking). They control subject-verb agreement, and, in the unmarked case, appear before the verb and any oblique objects (but see 2.1.1.2.16):

(408) fuka-ka Utavalu-man - mi ri - ju-ni
I-topic Utavalu-to-validator go-prog-1
'I am going to Utavalu.'

Other word orders are possible, but are reserved for special purposes such as emphasis (1.11) and topicalization (1.12), e.g.:

(409a) Utavalu-man - mi fuka-ka ri - ju-ni
Utavalu-to-validator I-topic go-prog-1
'It is to Utavalu that I am going.'

(409b) Utavalu-man - mi ri - ju-ni fuka-ka
Utavalu-to-validator go-prog-1 I-topic
'It is to Utavalu that I am going.'

Very often, as in (408) - (409), the subject is topic marked. But, in an appropriate context, the subject might be validated and the oblique object topic marked. (See 1.11 and 1.12 for discussion.) The topic marker and validators can also be omitted entirely in most cases.

(410) fuka - mi Utavalu-man - ka ri - ju-ni
I-validator Utavalu-to-topic go-prog-1
'It is I who am going to Utavalo.'

There is no difference in the way agentive and non-agentive intransitive (or transitive) subjects are expressed.

2.1.1.2.2. Subject of transitive verb

Subjects of transitive verbs are marked in the same way as subjects of intransitive verbs: Ø case marking, normally Subject-Object-Verb word order, control of subject-verb agreement:

(411) Jusi - ka Marya-ta - mi juya-ni
José-topic Maria-acc-validator love-3
'José loves María.'

2.1.1.2.3. Subject of copular construction

Subjects of copular constructions also receive Ø case, control subject-verb agreement (the verb ka- 'be' is not present at all in the third person present) and usually appear in initial position:

(412) kan - ka jambudur-chu ka-ngui
you-topic healer-inter be - 2
'Are you a healer?'

2.1.1.2.4. Direct object

The direct object is marked by the accusative postposition -ta.

(413) tayta - ka ruwana-ta awa - rka - mi
father-topic poncho-acc weave-past 3-validator
'It is Father who wove a poncho.'

When the direct object is first person singular, it normally is marked on the verb:

(414) Marya - ka fuka-ta juya-wa-n
Maria-topic me-acc love-1-3
'María loves me.'

The suffix -wa- is used only for first person singular direct and indirect object agreement. With first person singular direct objects, either the free pronominal form,
2.1.1.2.5. Indirect object

Indirect objects receive the dative suffix -man:
(418a) Ruza-man ni - rka-ni
   Rosa-to say-past-1
   'I told Rosa.'

(418b) mama - ka Juzi-man muti - ta kara - rka
   mother-topic José-to boiled corn-acc serve-past 3
   'Mother served boiled corn to José.'

The use of dative for indirect objects is obligatory in IQ. Unlike some other Quechuan languages like Ancash (in which -man is reserved for the expression of motion to an object), the accusative is, in general, ill-formed for indirect objects.

(419a) mama - ka (*Juzi-tna) muti - ta kara - rka
   mother-topic José-acc boiled corn-acc serve-past 3
   'Mother served (José) boiled corn.'

Only with the verb ni- 'say' can accusative be substituted for dative:
(420a) Ruza-tna ni - rka-ni
   Rosa-acc say-past-1
   'I told Rosa.'

(420b) Ruza -man villa-rka-ni
       -ta
   Rosa -to tell-past-1
       -acc
   'I told Rosa.'

When the accusative is used with ni- the verb can mean 'tell someone to do something' or 'tell someone something face to face'. In contrast, when the dative -man is used the verb cannot mean 'tell someone to do something', and the message need not be expressed directly from the speaker to the eventual addressee.

Normal word order for sentences with both a direct and an indirect object is Subject-Indirect Object-Direct Object-Verb. This is illustrated in (418b). Other word orders are also fairly common.

2.1.1.2.6. Object of comparison

Objects of comparison appear as direct objects in adverbial clauses (see also 2.1.2.3.6):
(421) Fransisku - ka S.Juzi-ta yalit j sinlí - mi
   Francisco-topic José-acc surpasser strong-validator surpassing
   ka - rka
   be-past 3
   'Francisco was stronger than José.'

They are not, therefore, distinct from other direct objects.

2.1.1.2.7. Object of equation

Objects of equation receive the suffix -shna 'like, similar to' (see also -taj-lla in 2.1.8):
(422) Fransisku - ka Juzi-shna jatun - ni ka - rka
   Francisco-topic José-like big-validator be-past 3
   'Francisco was as big as José; Francisco, like José, was big.'

2.1.1.2.8. Other objects governed by verbs

A variety of verbs have instrumental-comitative objects, e.g.,
(423a) Marya-wan tushu-rka-ni
   Maria-with dance-past-1
   'I danced with María.'

(423b) Juzi-wan tupa - ri - rka-ni
   José-with meet-reflexive-past-1
   'I met withJosé.'

It is not clear, however, that these examples are genuinely analogous to examples in other languages in which a verb takes only a non-accusative object (e.g., lazar 'to help' in Hebrew, the object of which is dative). Note that both tushu- 'dance' and tupa- 'meet' can also have accusative objects:
(424a) San Jasintu -tushu-rka-ni
       San Jacinto-acc dance-past-1
       'I danced the San Jacinto (name of dance).'

(424b) Kitu-pi Juzi-ta - mi tupa-rka-ni
       Quito-in José-acc-validator meet-past-1
       'I met José in Quito.'

2.1.1.2.9. Complement of copular construction

The complement of copular verbs appears in nominative case. The normal position of the complement is between the subject and verb:
(425a) Defining
       pay - ka jari - ni ka-rka
       he-topic male-validator be-past 3
       'He was a man.'
(425b) Identity
chay nma - ka Juzi - chu ka - rka
that man-topic José-inter be-past 3
'Was that man José?'

(425c) Role
fuka-ka mayistru - mi ka-rka-ni
I-topic teacher-validator be-past-1
'I was a teacher.'

(425d) Becoming
Ruza jambidura - mi tuku - rka
Rosa healer-validator become-past 3
'Rosa became a healer.'

2.1.1.2.10. Subject-complement
There is no distinction between copular complements and subject complements (in the sense used in this series):
(426) fuka-ka sara fiusta - tuku - shka - mi
I-topic corn princess become-past part-validator ka-rka-ni
be-past-1
'I was made/became the corn queen.'

2.1.1.2.11. Object complement

In object complements either the verb rura- 'do, make' or the causative form of tuku- 'become', tuku-chi- 'cause to become', or the causative form of tigra- 'return, become', tigra-chi- 'cause to return, cause to become' is used:
(427) fukachi pay-ta - ka sara fiusta - ta - mi
we she-acc-topic maiz princess-acc-validator
{tuku - chi-rka - nchi
rura-rka - nchi
tigra - chi-rka - nchi
become-cause-past-1 plural
make-past-1 plural
return-cause-past-1 plural
'Ve made her the maize queen.'

Note that pay 'she' and sara fiusta 'queen' both appear in the accusative case rather than in nominative, as in (426). The appearance of pay in the accusative is expected on the basis of general principles determining case in causative sentences.
(See 2.1.3.1.3) But the appearance of the predicate nomina in accusative is not explicable on the basis of such principles. This would seem to be an instance of case concord, a process which is quite rare in Quechua languages. The only other instance of case concord with which I am familiar is found in extraposed relative clauses, in which both the head and the modifying clause are case marked. See 1.1.2.3.

2.1.1.2.12. Objects governed by adjectives

The case of objects governed by adjectives is determined by the adjective employed. Shikan 'different from' governs the postposition -manda 'from':
(428) Juzi pay-paj wawki-manda - ka shikan - mi
José he - of brother-from-topic different-validator ka - rka
be-past 3
'José was different from his brother.'
The adjectives kushi 'happy' and illaki 'sad' take objects in the accusative case:
(429a) Ruza-ta - ka kushi (-lla) - mi ka - ni
Rosa-acc-topic happy-limitative-validator be-1 singular
'I am happy about Rosa.'
(429b) Marya-ta - ka ilaki (-lla) - mi ka - nchi
María-acc-topic sad-limitative-validator be-1 plural
'Ve are sad about María.'

Normal word order is subject-complement-verb in this construction as well.

2.1.1.2.13. Agent in passive construction

The passive agent appears after the subject and before the verb. The agent, like the passive subject, receives nominative case (Ø case marker). The presence of topic marking on the passive subject distinguishes the subject from the agent. (See 1.1.2)
(430a) Marya - ka Juzi riku - y tuku - rka
María-topic José see-infinitive become-past 3
'María was seen by José.'
(430b) Marya - ka Juzi riku - shka - nka - rka
María-topic José see-past part-validator be-past 3
'María was seen by José.'

2.1.1.2.14. Topic

Topic noun phrases receive the topic marker -ka, which follows case markers indicating the syntactic function of the noun phrase. See 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

2.1.1.2.15. Emphasized element

The marking of emphasized elements is discussed in 1.11.

2.1.1.2.16. Accusative subjects

There are two rather similar constructions in which the subject appears in accusative case. These constructions are illustrated in (431) - (432).
(431) -naya desiderative experiencers
Juzi-ta puñu - naya - n
José-acc sleep-desiderative-3
'José wants to sleep; José is sleepy.'
There are a variety of reasons to believe that the accusative nominal phrases in (431) - (432) are subjects at some level of syntactic structure. These are discussed in detail in earlier works (Cole and Hemon, 1981; Cole and Jakob, to appear; Hemon, to appear). I shall summarize them briefly here. First, in so-called "equi" infinitive constructions (see 1.1.2.2) only complement subjects are susceptible to control by (or, as an alternative analysis, to deletion under identity with) a matrix constituent:

(433) Control of subject by matrix constituent

Marya1 kallari-n s[Ø]1 Juan-ta riku - y - ta
Marfa begin - 3 Juan-acc see-infinitive-acc
'Marfa began to see Juan.'

(434) Failure of control of nonsubject by matrix constituent

*Marya1 kallari-n s[Pransisku Ø]1 riku - y - ta
Marfa begin - 3 Francisco see-infinitive-acc

('Marfa began Francisco to see (her).')

In contrast to (434), accusative experiencers like those in (431) are susceptible to control by a matrix constituent:

(435) Control of desiderative experiencer by matrix constituent

Marya1 kallari-n s[Ø]1 puiku - naya - na - ta
Marfa begin - 3 sleep-desid-nominalizez-acc
'Marfa begins to want to sleep.'

Thus, there is reason to believe that the accusative nominal in (431) is in fact a subject. (For an explanation of how (431) and (432) differ, see Hemon (to appear).)

A second argument has to do with the constraint against the extraction of complement subjects by Wh-movement. (See 1.1.1.2.1.2 and Cole and Hemon, 1981.) The constraint illustrated in (437) is the IQ analogue of the constraint preventing the extraction of subject noun phrases in English sentences like (436):

(436a) 'Who did you say that left?
(436b) Wh(n) did you say that he saw?
(437) Wh-question formation in IQ

(437a) *pi1 - taJ Marya kri - n s[Ø] aycha-ta
who(nom)-inter Marfa believe-3 meat-acc
miku - shka3 - ta
eat-past nominalizer-acc

('Who does Marfa think that ate meat?')

(437b) ima1-ta - taj Marya kri - n s[Ø1] Juzi what-acc-inter Marfa believe-3 Jos6
miku - shka3 - ta
eat-past nominalizer-acc

'What does Marfa believe that José ate?'

This pattern indicates that complement subjects, in contrast to other positions in the complement clause, cannot be extracted by Wh-movement. Thus, extractability by Wh-movement constitutes a diagnostic for subjecthood in IQ.

To return to accusative experiencers like those in (431) - (432), the accusative experiencer is not extractable by Wh-movement, though other positions within the complement clause are. Compare (438) and (439):

(438a) Accusative desiderative experiencer cannot be extracted by Wh-movement

*pi1-ta - taj Marya Juzi-mn ni - rka [Ø1]
who-acc-inter Marfa José-to say-past
miku-naya - j - ta
eat-desid-nominalizer-acc

('Who did Marfa say to José that wants to eat?')

(438b) Accusative lexical experiencer subject cannot be extracted

*pi1-ta - taj Marya Juzi-mn ni - rka [Ø1]
who-acc-inter Marfa José-to say-past
rupa - j - ta
burn-nominalizer-acc

('Who did Marfa say to José that is hot?')

(439a) Direct objects in desiderative experiencer complement clauses may be extracted by Wh-movement

pi1-ta - taj Marya Juzi-mn ni - rka [Juan-ta Ø1]
who-acc-inter Marfa José-to say-past Juan-acc
riku - naya - j - ta
see-desid-nominalizer-acc

('Whom did Marfa say to José that Juan wants to see?'

(439b) Direct objects in lexical experiencer complement clauses may be extracted by Wh-movement

pi1-ta - taj Marya Juzi-mn ni - rka [Juan-ta Ø1]
who-acc-inter Marfa José-to say-past Juan-acc
muna - j - ta
want-nominalizer-acc

('Whom did Marfa say to José that Juan wants?')

These examples, therefore, indicate that the accusative experiencers in (431) - (432) are in fact subjects at some syntactic level.

The behavior of accusative experiencers in switch reference adverbial and subjunctive constructions provides further evidence for the subjecthood of these nominals. These construc-
tions are discussed in 1.1.2.4 and 1.1.2.2, and involve two pairs of verbal suffixes: -shpa/-jpi 'adverbial' and -ngapaj/-chun 'subjective'. Constructions involving these two suffixes share an important characteristic. With -shpa and -ngapaj the subjects of the matrix and subordinate clauses must be identical while with -jpi and -chun they must be distinct. This is illustrated in (440).

(440a) Adverbial clause: matrix and embedded subject coreferential

(fuka-\(\phi_1\)) wasi-man chaya -shpa fuka-\(\phi_1\)  
I house-to arrive -coref adverb 1  
-kantaj riku-ni  
you-acc sleep-1

'I arrive home, I see you.'

(440b) Adverbial clause: matrix and embedded subjects non-coreferential

fuka-\(\phi_1\) wasi-man chaya -jpi kan-\(\phi_j\) -shpa  
I house-to arrive -non-coref adverb you  
-fukata riku-ngui  
I - acc see - 2  
'I arrive home, you see me.'

(440c) Purpose clause: matrix and embedded subjects coreferential

fuka-\(\phi_1\) wasi-man ri-ju -ni (fuka-\(\phi_1\)) kan-taj  
I house-to go-prog-1 I you-acc  
rikulan -chun  
see - coref purp  
-non-coref purp  
'I am going home to see you.'

(440d) Purpose clause: matrix and embedded subjects non-coreferential

fuka-\(\phi_1\) wasi-man ri-ju -ni kan-\(\phi_j\) fuka-taj  
I house-to go-prog-1 you I - acc  
rikulan -chun  
-ngapaj  
see - non-coref purp  
-coref purp  
'I am going home for you to see me.'

Thus, the choice of -shpa or -jpi and -ngapaj or -chun can be used to determine whether two identical noun phrases, one appearing in the subordinate and the second in the matrix clause, are in fact subjects.

I shall first apply this test to desiderative experiencers. The sentences of (441) indicate that accusative experiencers in desiderative constructions can be treated as subjects (for an explanation of the environments in which desiderative accusative experiencers can be treated as non-subjects, see Hermans [to appear]):

(441) Desiderative experiencers treated as subjects in switch reference clauses

(441a) Adverbial clause: desiderative matrix clause

(fuka-\(\phi_1\)) chagra-pi trabalja -shpa fuka-taj  
I field - in work - coref adverb I - acc  
-puru - naya -n  
sleep-desid-3  
'When I work in the field, I want to sleep.'

(441b) Adverbial clause: desiderative embedded clause

(fuka-taj) puru - naya -shpa fuka-\(\phi_1\)-ka\(1\)  
I - acc sleep-desid - coref adverb I - topic  
-non-coref adverb  
puru-\(\phi_1\) sleep-1  
'sleep-1  
'When I want to sleep, I sleep.'

(441c) Purpose clause: desiderative matrix clause

kumun tata fuka-taj puru - naya\(\phi_1\) kaya mayai \(\phi_1\)  
night now I - acc sleep-desid-3 tomorrow a lot  
trabajal -ngapaj -chun  
work - coref purp  
-non-coref purp  
'I'd like to sleep tonight in order to work a lot  
tomorrow.'

(441d) Purpose clause: desiderative embedded clause

fuka-\(\phi_1\)-ka\(1\) all mikuna-ta rura-\(\phi_1\)  
I - topic good food-acctake-1  
mikuna\(\phi_1\) -ngapaj -chun  
eat-desid - coref purp  
-non-coref purp  
'I make good food so that I will want to eat.'

With regard to lexical experiencers, subject to certain variation, when the accusative experiencer is in the matrix clause and a nominative subject is in the subordinate clause, both sets of suffixes can be used if the experiencer and the nominative subject are identical. But when the accusative experiencer is in the subordinate clause, and a nominative experiencer in the superordinate clause, the accusative experiencer must be treated as a non-subject. This is shown in (442):
(442a) Lexical experiencer in matrix clause: accusative 
experience treated as either subject or non-subject
\\(\phi_1\) urku - pi trabaja -shpa jari-ta -ka
-jpi

mountain-in work -coref adverb male-acc-topic 

-acc

yaku - ta muna - rka
water-acc want-past 3

While working on the mountain, the man wanted water.'

(442b) Lexical experiencer in subordinate clause: accusative
experience treated only as non-subject

fuka-\\(\phi_1\) jambi - dur-man ri-rka-ni \(\phi_1\)

I medicine-agt-to go-past-1

nana -jpi 

-\*shpa

hurt -non-coref adverb

-coref adverb

'I went to the doctor hurting.'

The differences in behavior between the two types of lexical
experiencers are apparent due to differences in the syntactic
levels at which each type is a subject. See Hermo (to appear)
for a detailed account of these data.

Additional evidence that desiderative and lexical experiencers
are subjects at some level is provided by passivization.
(See 2.1.3.1.1) Passivization of these constructions is possible
when they are transitive, as in (443):

(443a) fuka-ta - ka mishki-ta miku-naya - rka

I - acc-topic candy-acc eat-desid-past 3

'I would like to eat candy.'

(443b) fuka-ta - ka mishki-te muna - rka

I - acc-topic candy-acc want-past 3

'I wanted candy.'

When these constructions are passivized, the experiencer is
treated in a manner analogous to a transitive subject (it
becomes passive agent) while the object (mishki 'candy') is
promoted to subject:

(444a) mishki-ka fuka-\(\phi\) miku-naya - shka ka-rka

candy-topic I eat-desid-past part be-past 3

'Candy was wanted to eat by me.'

(444b) *fuka-ka mishki -\(\phi\) miku-naya - shka ka-rka(-ni)

ta

I-topic candy -nom eat-desid-past part be-past-1

-acc

('I was eaten by candy; I was eaten candy.')

(445a) mishki-ka fuka-\(\phi\) muna - shka ka-rka

candy-topic I want-past part be-past 3

'Candy was wanted by me.'

(445b) *fuka-ka mishki -\(\phi\) muna - shka ka-rka(-ni)

I-topic candy -\(\phi\) want-past part be-past-1

-acc

('I was wanted by candy; I was wanted candy.')

(Note that (444b) and (445b) are grammatical as active sentences
in the resultative aspect (see 2.1.3.3). They are, however,
ungrammatical as passives.)

In the preceding paragraphs I have outlined some ways in
which accusative experiencers act like subjects. In general,
they have syntactic characteristics of subjects. In terms of
their morphological properties, however, these nominals appear
to be direct objects: They receive accusative case and they
fail to trigger subject-verb agreement.

There are a variety of ways in which such facts can be
accounted for. An obvious possibility is that these nominals are
subjects at one syntactic level (one which determines
"Equi" phenomena, switch reference, etc.) and direct objects
at another. Other possible analyses can also be envisaged.
For discussion, see Cole and Hermo (1981), Cole and Jake (to
appear) and Hermo (to appear).

2.1.1.3. Means of expressing syntactic functions in nonfinite
clauses

There is no difference in the way syntactic functions are
expressed in finite and nonfinite clauses. There is, however,
one distinction between the way subjects are presented in main
versus embedded clauses (which are nonfinite). In main clauses
subjects are nominative in case (with the exception of the
construction discussed in 2.1.1.2.16). In certain instances of
embedding, however, the underlying embedded subject appears
on the surface in accusative case. It is argued elsewhere (Cole
and Hermo, 1980; and 1.1.2.2) that in these sentences the
underlying embedded subject has, through the application of a
"raising" rule, become the surface matrix direct object.

2.1.1.4. Means of expressing nonlocal semantic functions

2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

The benefactive is expressed by the suffix \(-\text{paj}\), also used
for possession:

(446) wasi - ta xura-rka-ni fuka churi - \text{paj}

house-acc make-past-1 my son-benefactive

'I made a house for my son.'

2.1.1.4.1. Source

Source is expressed by \(-\text{manda}:\)

(447) chay-ta - ka Fransizku-manda yachaju-rka-ni

that-acc-topic Francisco-source learn -past-1

'I learned that from Francisco.'
2.1.1.4.3. Instrumental

Instrumental is expressed by -wan and negative instrumental by illaj:

(448) pamba-pi yunda - wan yapu-ni
  field-in pair of oxen-instrumental plow-1
  'I plow in the field with a pair of oxen.'

(449) imashna-taj pucha illaj sira-ngui
  how - inter thread lacking sew - 2
  'How do you sew without thread?'

It is likely that sentence (449) differs considerably in structure from (448). In (448) the -wan phrase appears to be an oblique object of the matrix verb yapu- 'plow'. In (449), however, pucha illaj appears to be a headless relative clause (in the sense of 1.1.2.3.6) in which pucha is an incorporated direct object and illaj a nominalized form of the verb illaj 'to lack'. The headless relative clause functions as an adverbial modifier. (Comparative sentences appear to have a similar structure.)

2.1.1.4.4. Comitative

The comitative is also expressed by -wan:

(450) ūkaka wawki - wan kawsa-ni
  my brother-comitative live - 1
  'I live with my brother.'

The negative comitative is expressed by illaj 'lacking' (see also 2.1.1.4.3.):

(451) ūkaka wawki illaj kawsa-ni
  my brother lacking live - 1
  'I live without my brother/away from my brother.'

2.1.1.4.5. Circumstance

Circumstance is also expressed by -wan:

(452) tika maki - wan runa
  dirty hand-circumstance man
  'man with dirty hands'

The negative circumstance is expressed by negating the affirmative:

(453) mana tika maki - wan runa
  not dirty hand-circumstance man
  'man without dirty hands'

It should be noted that circumstance is also expressed without the suffix -wan:

(454) (mana) tika maki runa
  not dirty hand man
  'a man with (without) dirty hands; a (not) dirty handed man'

The illaj construction cannot be used for negative circumstance.

2.1.1.4.6. Possessive

The possessor is marked by the morpheme -paj, also used for benefactives:

(455) juzi - paj warmi
  José-possessive wife
  'José's wife'

-paj is used for both nouns and pronouns: e.g., kan-paj 'your, yours', pay-paj 'his'. In the first person -paj is usually omitted on possessive adjectives but is obligatorily retained on possessive pronouns: ūkaka(-paj) wasi 'my house' and ūkanchi(-paj) wasi 'our house' but chay wasi ūkaka -paj-ni/
ūkanchi -paj-ni 'that house is mine/ours.'

The privative morpheme -illaj is used for negative possession (see 2.1.1.4.3.):

(456) warmi illaj runa
  woman lacking man
  'a man without a woman'

2.1.1.4.7. Possessed

There is no marking for possessed nominals in IQ. The possessive suffixes found in non-northern Quechua have been lost in Ecuador. Compare IQ and Ancash:

(457a) IQ
  pay - paj wasi
  he-possessive house
  'his house'

(457b) Ancash
  (pay - pa) wayi-n
  he-possessive house-3
  'his house'

2.1.1.4.8. Quality

Quality is expressed by adjectival modification:

(458) kushi runa
  happy man
  'a happy man'

(459) mana kushi runa
  not happy man
  'an unhappy man'

Reference quality is indicated by forming a nominalized clause:

(460) (pay) ali jinti ka - y - manda akchka
  he good person be-abstract nominal-from much
  mikuna-ta kara - rka
  food-acc serve-present
  'Because of his goodness/his being a good person, he served a lot of food.'
2.1.1.4.9. **Quantity**

Quantity is expressed by prenominal modification. No post-position is employed.

(461) ishkay patsaj libra kanua
two hundred pound boat
'a two hundred pound boat/a boat of two hundred pounds'
(462) shuj libra azukar
one pound sugar
'a pound of sugar'

2.1.1.4.10. **Material**

Material can be expressed by means of adjectival modification, or by use of the suffix -wan in predicative constructions:

(463) rumi wasi
stone house
'a stone house/a house of stone'
(464) rumi - kuna - wan rura - shka wasi - mi
stone-plural-with make-past part house-validator
'The house was made with stones.'

Negative material is expressed by illaj 'lacking':

(465) rumi illaj rura - shka wasi - mi
stone lacking make-past part house-validator
'The house was made without stone.'

2.1.1.4.11. **Manner**

Manner can be expressed by reduplication,

(466) pay - ka jari jari trabaja-rka
he-topic male male work - past 3
'He worked hard.'

or by -ta:

(467) pay - ka sinchi-ta trabaja-rka
he-topic strong-acc work - past 3
'He worked hard.'

Negative manner is indicated by modifying the manner adverb by mana 'not'.

(468) pay - ka mana sinchi-ta chu trabaja-rka
he-topic not hard-acc-neg work - past 3
'He worked not hard.'

2.1.1.4.12. **Cause**

Cause is expressed by -manda:

(469) pay - ka chugri-manda wanka-rka
he-topic wound - from die-past 3
'He died because of his wound.'

(The suffix -rayku 'cause' found in many Quechua languages does not occur in TVC.)

2.1.1.4.13. **Purpose**

Purpose is shown by -paj:

(470) fluka trabaju-paj
my work - for
'for my work'

2.1.1.4.14. **Function**

The suffix -sha indicates function:

(471) kaspita lapis - ta-shna japi-rka-ni
stick-acc pencil-acc-as use-past 1
'I used the stick as a pencil.'

2.1.1.4.15. **Reference**

Reference is expressed by -ta 'accusative':

(472) awana - ta villa-rka-ni
weaving-acc tell-past 1
'I told about the weaving.'

2.1.1.4.16. **Essive**

Essive is indicated by -shna:

(473) soldadu-shna Villa-pi' ka-rka-ni
soldier-ss Ibasra-in be-past 1
'I was in Ibarra as a soldier.'

2.1.1.4.17. **Translative**

Accusative is used for the translative:

(474) flukanchi pay-ta - ka jatun manda-jta rura-rka-nchi
we he-topic big leader-acc make-past-plural 1
'We made him leader.'

2.1.1.4.18. **Part-whole**

The part-whole relation is expressed by -paj if the whole is animate. Otherwise prenominal modification without a post-position is normally used:

(475) aiku - paj uma
dog-possessive head
'the head of the dog'
(476) yura uma
tree head
'the top of the tree'

The use of -paj in (476) would be odd though not entirely ill-formed:

(477) 'yura - paj uma
tree-possessive head
'the top of the tree'

2.1.1.4.19. **Partitive**

There is no partitive-nonpartitive distinction with either quantifiers or numerals:

(478) ishkay wambra-kuna
two child-plural
'two boys/two of the children'
2.1.1.4.21. Value

Value is expressed by "valij":

\((482)\) tchka sukri-vali jn miza
five sucres worth-nominalizer table
"a table worth five sucres"

It should be noted that \((482)\) is a relative clause. See 1.1.2.3.

2.1.1.4.22. Distance

The accusative is used to indicate distance:

\((483)\) shuk kilumitru-ta kalpa-rka-ni
one kilometer-acc ran - past-1
"I ran for a kilometer."

2.1.1.4.23. Extent

The adjective jatun 'big' is used to express extent:

\((484)\) shuj kilumitru jatun wasi
one kilometer big house
"a house a kilometer high"

2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

In order to indicate concessive, an adverbial clause is formed and -pash (also -pish in Otavalo) 'even, also' is suffixed to the adverbialized verb:

\((485a)\) trabaju-ta chari - shpa - pash, Ecuador-man ri-ni
work - acc have-adverbial-even Ecuador-to go-1
"Despite having work/even though I have work, I am going to Ecuador."

\((485b)\) tamya - jph - pash, pay - ksha shamu-rka
rain-adverbial-even he-topic come-past 3
"Even though it rained/despite the rain, he came."

See 1.1.2.4.

2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

Inclusion is expressed by circumlocution:

\((486)\) tuky jari - kuna shamu-rka, Juan-pash
all male-plural come-past 3 Juan-even
"All the men came including Juan."

2.1.1.4.26. Exclusion

Exclusion is also expressed by circumlocution:

\((487)\) tuky jari - kuna shamu-rka, piro Juan mana
all male-plural come-past 3 but Juan not
"All the men came except for Juan."

2.1.1.4.27. Addition

Addition is expressed by -pash 'also, even':

\((488)\) Marya-pash chay kimsa jnt1 - kuna - pash miku-rka
Maria - also that three person-plural - also eat-past 3
"In addition to Maria, three people ate."

2.1.1.4.28-30.

There are no special vocative, citation or label forms.

2.1.1.5. Location in space

Location in space is expressed by two classes of morphemes:
(1) primary locative morphemes and (2) secondary locative morphemes. Primary locative morphemes are all nominal suffixes (suffixes which can be added to nominal stems). All locative expressions (except mayundy 'around' \((2.1.1.5.19)\)) must terminate with a primary locative morpheme. The appearance of a secondary locative morpheme is optional. The primary locative morphemes are -pi 'at rest', -man 'motion to', -mna 'motion from', -ta 'motion through or past' (-ta is also the accusative suffix), and -kman 'motion up to but not beyond.' The uses of the primary locatives without a secondary locative are illustrated in

\((489)\)

(489a) At rest: Utavalo-pi kawa-ni
Otavalo-in live - 1
"I live in Otavalo."

\((489b)\) Motion to: Utavalo-man ri-ni
Otavalo-to go-1
"I go to Otavalo."

\((489c)\) Motion from: Utavalo-mna shamu-ni
Otavalo-from come - 1
"I come from Otavalo."

\((489d)\) Motion through: pungu-ta ri-rka-ni
door-acc go-past-1
"I went through the door."
(492) Motion up to:
Utavalo-kaman ri-pka-nil
Otavalo-up to go-past-1
'I went as far as Otavalo (but no further).'

Location can be further specified by using one of a number of secondary locative morphemes (all of which are based on nominal roots) together with a primary locative suffix to form a complex locative morpheme: wasi uku-pi 'inside the house.' Historically, complex locative expressions are probably derived from nominal compounds: that is, structures like (490).

(490)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{P} \\
\text{PP}
\end{array}
\]

wasi uku-pi

But there is some reason to think that synchronically what I have called the secondary locative suffix (e.g., uku 'interior') is now a constituent of the postposition rather than of the nominal head. In compound nominals the first noun is understood as modifying the second (in nearly all cases in IQ modifiers precede their heads): (491a)

(491a) rumi wasi
stone house

'the house of stone'

(491b) warmi wagra
woman cattle

'female cattle'

But in expressions like wasi uku-pi the second nominal appears to modify the first: i.e., the expression does not mean 'in an interior which is a house' but rather 'in the house', further specified as 'inside the house'. Since (490) incorrectly predicts that uku is the head rather than a modifier, I conclude that the structure of wasi uku-pi is not (490) (an appropriate structure for rumi wasi-pi), but rather (492):

(492)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{P} \\
\text{PP}
\end{array}
\]

wasi uku-pi

The use of the various secondary locatives is illustrated in the subsections which follow.

2.1.1.5.2. Proximate location: ladu-

(493a) wasi ladu-pi

house near-at

'near the house'

(493b) wasi ladu-man

house near-to

'to the house'

(493c) wasi ladu-manda

house near-from

'from the house'

(493d) wasi ladu-ta

house near-through/past

'through/by near the house'

(493e) wasi ladu-kaman

house near-up to

'up to near the house'

See also 2.1.1.5.30.

2.1.1.5.3. Interior location: uku-

(494a) wasi uku - pi

house within-at

'within the house'

(494b) wasi uku - man

house within-to

'into the house'

(494c) wasi uku - manda

house within-from

'from within the house'

(494d) wasi uku - ta

house within-through

'through the interior of the house'

(494e) wasi uku - kaman

house within-up to

'up to the inside of the house'

2.1.1.5.4. Exterior location

There is no morpheme indicating exterior location analogous to ladu- or uku-. For paraphrase, see 2.1.1.5.2 and 2.1.1.5-6.

2.1.1.5.5. Anterior location

There are two morphemes used for anterior location: fawapaj- and chimba-. The two morphemes differ with regard to distance from the point of reference: wasi fawapaj-pi 'in front of and fairly close to the house,' wasi chimba-pi 'in front of and fairly far from the house.' Possibly chimba- should be viewed as indicating cisterior-anterior location:

(495a) wasi fawapaj - man

house in front of-to

'to in front of the house'
2.1.1.5.7-8. ________ Posterior location: wasa-

(497b) wasa washa - pi
house behind-at
'behind the house'

(497c) wasa washa-man
house behind-to
'to behind the house'

(497d) wasa washa-manda
house behind-from
'from behind the house'

(497e) wasa washa-kaman
house behind-through/past
'through/past behind the house'

2.1.1.5.7-8. ________ Superior location: jawa-

The same morpheme is used for superior, superior-contact and surface location:

(498a) miza jawa - pi
table superior to-at
'upon/above the table'

(498b) miza jawa - man
table superior to-to
'to upon/above the table'

2.1.1.5.9-10. ________ Inferior location: uray- and siki-

The morpheme uray- (ura- in Otavalo) is used for inferior and inferior contact location:

(499a) miza uray-pi
table under-at
'under the table'

(499b) miza uray-man
table under-to
'to under the table'

(499c) miza uray-manda
table under-from
'from under the table'

(499d) miza uray - ta
table under-through/past
'through/past under the table'

(499e) miza uray-kaman
Table under-up to
'up to under the table'

An additional morpheme used for inferior location is siki- 'arse', here used to mean 'at the base of':

(500) tulpa - siki - pi affagu-kuna tiya - shka cooking fireplace-base-at ant-plural there be-perfect
'There were ants at the base of the cooking fireplace.'

Siki- can be used with the usual range of primary locative suffixes.

2.1.1.5.11-16.

There are no morphemes indicating lateral, lateral contact, citerior, citerior contact, ulterior or ulterior contact location. Lateral location is usually expressed by ladu- , but the sense of this form is proximate rather than lateral. (See 2.1.1.5.2) Citerior location can be expressed by circumlocution (kay ladupi 'on this side'), but it is not systematically incorporated into locative morphology. The same holds true for ulterior location.

2.1.1.5.17-18. ________ Medial location: chawpi-

There is no distinction between 'between' and 'among':
2.1.1.5.20-29. 

For anterior-citerior location, see 2.1.1.5.5. There are no special terms for location vis-à-vis a long object.

2.1.1.5.30-.ni(j)

The morpheme -ni(j) is used in conjunction with locative expressions. -Ni(j) means 'in the neighborhood or vicinity of.'

(505) chay chimba wasi - ni-j - man - mi ri-ju-ni that distant house vicinity to validator go prog-1 'I am going to the vicinity of that distant house.'

For some speakers it is preferred to use -nj with demonstratives and chimba 'distant' rather than unmodified nouns:

(506) kawasi-ni - ni-j - man - kawasi-ni Agato vicinity-in validator live-1 'I live in the vicinity of Agato.'

(507) kawasi - ni-j - man - kawasi-ni that vicinity-in validator live-1 'I live near there.'

2.1.1.6. Location in time

2.1.1.6.1. General time expressions

All general time expressions employ the postposition -pi or -ta (also used for static location in space (2.1.1.5)):

(508a) las siti-pi -ta 'at 7 o'clock'

(508b) luni-pi -ta 'on Monday'

(508c) ini-pi -ta 'in January'

(508d) waranga ishkum pusaj chunga-pi -ta 'in 1980'

(508e) nifu fishta-pi -ta 'at Christmas'

(508f) tamya tiimu-pi -ta 'in the rainy season'

It should be noted that many time expressions are borrowed. The non-indigenous nature of time-of-day expressions is especially striking. The numerals used to express time of day are

2.1.1.5.19. Circumferential location: muyundi

Circumferential location is expressed by muyundi 'around'. Muyundi seems not to be part of the locative system. It is used without a primary locative suffix:

(504) muyundi puri-rka-ni house around walk past-1 'I walked around the house.'
borrowed from Spanish: la una, las dos, las tres, las cuatro, las cinco, las seis, las siete, las ocho, las nueve, las diez, las once, las doce.

2.1.1.6.2. Frequentives

Frequentives are expressed by the morpheme kada < Sp. cada 'each'.

(509) kada lunis Willa-san - mi ri-ni

each Monday Ibarra-to-validator go-1 'I go to Ibarra on Mondays.'

2.1.1.6.3. Punctual-future

Punctual-future is expressed by -pi:

(510) ishkay uras-pi tigrasu-sha

two hour-in return-future 1 'I'll return in two hours.'

2.1.1.6.4. Punctual-past

Punctual-past is expressed by a complex sentence using the verb tuku- 'become'.

(511) ishkay uras tuku - n fuka kay-pi ka -y - ka

two hour become-3 I this-in be-nominalizer-topic
'I have been here since two hours ago.'

The morphology of the construction suggests that the structure of (511) is roughly that indicated in (512):

```
S
  
  V
  
  adj

ishkay uras
tukum

fluakaypi kayka

``` 

two hour becomes I here be

As is indicated in (512) the clause corresponding to the time adverbial in English is the main clause and the clause corresponding to the main clause in English is a subject complement clause in IQ. This analysis is based on the fact that the verb ka- 'be' appears in a nominalized form typical of nominalized sentential subjects. See 1.1.2.2 for details. (The reader should not be confused by the fact that (511) appears in VP-Subject order. This is a possible word order in IQ main clauses for most sentences. This order is preferred but is not obligatory in the punctual-past.)

2.1.1.6.5. Duration

Duration is indicated by -ts (used for 'motion through or past' in spacial locatives and for accusative case):

(513) chay-pi - ka ishkay wata - ta kawa-nda-ni

that-in-topic two year-duration live-past-1

'I lived there for two years.'

2.1.1.6.6. Anterior-duration-past

Anterior-duration-past is expressed by the suffix -kaman 'up to' and a past tense verbal expression. -kaman is also used with a similar translation for spacial location:

(514) lunis-kaman - ka mana ima-pash susidi-rka - chu

Monday-up-to-topic not what-even happen-past 3-neg

'Nothing happened until Monday.'

2.1.1.6.7. Anterior-duration-future

Anterior-duration-future is expressed in the same way as anterior-duration-past except that the verb appears in the future tense:

(515) lunis-kaman - ka mana ima-pash susidi - nga - chu

Monday-up-to-topic not what-even happen-future 3-neg

'Nothing will happen until Monday.'

2.1.1.6.8. Posterior-duration-past

Posterior-duration-past is expressed by -munda 'from' (also used for 'motion from' in spacial location) in conjunction with the past tense:

(516) lunis-munda - ka mana ima-pash susidi-rka - chu

Monday-from-topic not what-even happen-past 3-neg

'Since Monday nothing has happened.'

2.1.1.6.9. Posterior-duration-future

Posterior-duration-future is expressed by -munda 'from' and the future tense:

(517) lunis-munda - ka kay-pi ka - sha

Monday-from-topic this-in be-future 1

'I'll be here from Monday on.'

2.1.1.6.10. Anterior-general

Anterior-general is expressed by -punda 'first':

(518) lunis-punda-munda kay-pi ka-ni

Monday-first-from this-in be-1

'I've been here previous to Monday.'

2.1.1.6.11. Posterior-general

Posterior-general is expressed by ña 'already':

(519) ña lunis-munda kay-pi ka - sha

already Monday-from this-in be-future 1

'I'll be here from Monday on.'
2.1.1.6.12. Point in period-past

Point in period-past is expressed by -pi:

($)20 pay - ka kay - pi - ni ka - shka kay ishkay he-topic this-in-validator be-perfect this two simana - pi - ka

week-in-topic

'He's been here within the last two weeks.'

2.1.1.6.13. Point in period-future

Point in period-future is expressed by -kaman:

($)21 nuka - ka ishkay punila - kaman tigrasu - shka 1-topic two day - up to return-future 1

'I will return within two days.'

2.1.1.7. Double-case-marking

There is no double case-marking.

2.1.1.8. Number-marking system in nouns

The suffix -kuna marks plurality in nouns. There is no dual, trial, etc.:

($)22 runa 'man', runa - kuna 'men';

wasi 'house', wasi - kuna 'houses';

llama 'sheep' (singular), llama - kuna 'sheep (plural)'

The number system is used for all nouns except first person pronouns. The plural of nuka 'I' is fukanchi and not nuka - kuna.

(In non-northern Quechua languages there is a distinction between the -kuna plural of the form cognate to nuka, which is used for first person plural exclusive, and the form cognate to fukanchi, which is used for the first person plural inclusive: e.g., Ancash noqakuna and noqantsik. This distinction is not found in northern Quechua. Presumably the -kuna plural of nuka was lost when the distinction was lost. (See 2.1.2.1.3)

Plural marking is obligatory except when a noun is preceded by a numeral:

($)23 iskay wasi - kuna - ta chari - ni two - house (plural) - acc have - 1

'I have two houses.'

There is no distinction between collective and distributive plurals.

The plural marker is subject to the phonological rule which voices stops after a nasal (see 3.4):

($)24 wasi - kuna [wasikuna]

but kan - kuna [kan-guna]

Foreign words receive Quechua plurals. A few words have been borrowed in the plural; e.g., Spanish hora, which has been borrowed as a question word in two forms, ura and uras. The former is used in 'when' questions (ima ura - ta 'when...') while the latter is used in 'what time' questions (ima uras - ta 'what time...'). See 1.1.1.2.2.

Additional examples include Spanish mora 'strawberry', borrowed as mura:

($)25 ishka - mora - kuna - ta kara - wa - y two blackberry-plural - acc give - 1-imperative

'Give me two blackberries.'

and Spanish sucre 'unit of currency in Ecuador', borrowed as sukre for some speakers:

($)26 ni ima shuj sukre - ta chari - ni - chu not one sucre - acc have - 1-neg

'I don't have even a sucre.'

2.1.1.9.1.3.

None of the following categories are marked on nouns: noun class, gender, definiteness, indefiniteness, referential versus nonreferential indefiniteness, genericness, degree of importance of actors.

The only exception to this is gender in borrowings. In Spanish borrowings gender is often preserved (as a lexical property of the borrowed noun), e.g.:

($)27 tiyu / tiya, from tfo 'uncle', tfa 'aunt';

mayista / mayistra, from maestro 'male teacher', maestra 'female teacher'.

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Free pronouns

The following pronoun paradigm is found:

($)28 person singular plural

first nuka fukanchi

second kan kamkuna

third pay paykuna

The third person pronoun is restricted to animates. Inanimates are referred to by a demonstrative. (See 2.1.2.5.)

The syntactic role of pronouns is expressed in the same way as the syntactic role of other nouns: 0 case for nominative, -ta for accusative, etc. See 2.1.1.2. Nominate pronouns are generally omitted except when validated (emphasis) or topic-marked. The object can be omitted when it is indefinite:

($)29 Indefinite object

rura - rka - ni

make - past - 1

'I made (something unspecified).'  

Free pronouns do not generally occur when object agreement takes place, except for purposes of emphasis. Object agreement is restricted to the first person singular in RQ.

($)30 Juan - ka maka - wa - rka

Juan-topic hit - 1-past 3

'Juan hit me.'
In imperatives subject pronouns are generally omitted:
(531) shamu - pa - ngui
'Come.'
When present their effect is emphatic or vocative:
(532) kan, shamu - y
you come-imperative
'You, come.'
There are no cleft or pseudocleft constructions. No differences in segmental or supersegmental structure distinguish free pronouns in emphatic and non-emphatic contexts. There are no reduced pronouns.

2.1.2.1.2. Person distinctions in pronouns
The person distinctions are I, II, and III. See paradigm (528).

2.1.2.1.3. Inclusion v. exclusion
Unlike other Quechua languages, IQ makes no inclusion v. exclusion distinction. See 2.1.1.8.

2.1.2.1.4. Number-marking in pronouns
Number-marking in pronouns is described in 2.1.1.8. Pronouns can be associated in noun phrases with numerals. There is no grammatical limit on the numbers involved:
(533) kukanochi shka-ngui jari - kuna - lla - mi kay
we two male-plural-just-validator this
chagra-ta - ka limpya - na ka - nchi
field-acc-topic clean-oblig be-1 plural
'It is we two men alone who have to clean this field.'

2.1.2.1.5-11.
The pronoun system does not mark the status of third person actors, proximity to speech act participants, animacy, gender, or tribal distinctions. Pronouns do not agree with verbs in tense or other verbal categories.

2.1.2.1.12. Status distinctions
IQ has developed an honorific second person pronoun kikin, which is used in circumstances in which Ud. (rather than TD) would be used in Ecuadorian Spanish. This includes conversation with teachers, parents, and people of superior status in general.
(534a) kikin, shamu - pa - ngui
you (honorific) come-honorific-perfect-2
'You have come.'

Note that kikin is typically used with -pa-, the honorific verbal suffix.
Etymologically, kikin is derived from Proto Quechua kiki-, which is used as an emphatic reflexive pronoun in non-northern Quechua. This use has been lost in IQ.

2.1.2.1.13. Nonspecific indefinite pronouns
There are no nonspecific indefinite pronouns.

2.1.2.1.14. Specific indefinite pronouns
Specific indefinite pronouns are formed by adding the suffix -pash 'also, even' to a question-word root: e.g.,
(535a) pi-pash
who-even
'someone'
(535b) ima-pash
what-even
'something'
The indefinite pronouns formed in this way take the usual range of postpositions indicating their syntactic and/or semantic role: e.g.,
(536a) may - pi-pash
where-in-even
'(st) somewhere'
(536b) may-manda-pash
where-to-even
'to somewhere'
(536c) may-manda-pash
where-from-even
'from somewhere'
The process of forming such pronouns is fully productive.

2.1.2.1.15. Emphatic pronouns
There are no special emphatic pronouns, but pronouns, like other nominals, can be made emphatic by adding the suffix combination -lla-taj. The suffixes -lla and -taj are discussed in 2.1.8. The combined effect of -lla-taj is roughly the same as that of an emphatic reflexive in English:
The function fulfilled by -lía-taj in IQ is analogous to that fulfilled by kiki- in some non-northern Quechua languages. The cognate morpheme kikin in IQ is used to approximate Spanish Ud. 'you singular, formal' rather than for emphatic reflexives. See 2.1.2.

See also 1.11.

2.1.2.1.16. Complex pronouns

IQ does not have complex pronouns in which both subject and object reference are combined. Although absent from IQ, such combined reference does occur in the verbal agreement system of non-northern Quechua languages. This is discussed briefly in 2.1.3.6. Combined reference is not reflected in the system of free pronouns.

2.1.2.1.17. Pronoun-noun constructions

Pronoun-noun constructions are possible:

(538) fukanchi runa jinti - kuna mushuj alpa-kuna - ta we indigenous person-plural new land-plural-acc

minishti-nchi need-1 plural

'We Indians need new lands.'

The construction is possible with all pronouns.

2.1.2.2. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

There are no reflexive or reciprocal pronouns. See 1.6. and 1.7.

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed in the same way as possessive nouns by adding the suffix -pa. Irregularities involving possessive pronouns are described in 2.1.1.4.6.

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns

There are two demonstrative pronouns, kay and chay. The former is used for objects which are near the speaker and the latter for objects which are distant. In some other Quechua languages a richer system is found. For instance, in Ancash there are three demonstratives: kay, tsay, and taqay. Kay is for near objects, tsay for middle distance, and taqay for far objects.

Demonstrative pronouns are marked for number and grammatical/semantic function in the same way as other nominals: e.g., chay-kuna-san 'to those', kay-kuna-pl 'in those'.

Demonstrative pronouns can also be used adjectivally: e.g., chay runa 'that man', kay warai-kuna-san 'to these women'.

Note that when demonstratives are used adjectivally, number and case are marked on the noun and not on the demonstrative.

2.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question words

The question words are listed in full in 1.1.1.2.2.

2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

There are no relative pronouns or other relative words.

2.1.3. Verb morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

There are two forms of personal passive, but no impersonal passive:

(539) alku - ka Marya riku - shka - mi ka -rka
dog-topic Maria see-past participle validator be-past

'The dog was seen by Maria.'

(540) warmi - ka Ruza Tiyama maka - y tuku-
woman-topic Rosa Aunt hit-infinitive become-
shka - mi
past participle-validator

'The woman was hit by Miss Rosa.'

I shall refer to the passive illustrated in (539) as the ka-
'be' passive and that in (540) as the tuku- 'become' passive.

In both passives the underlying direct object appears as the surface subject. (No other constituent can be promoted to subject.) The surface subject is followed by the topic marker -ka if the underlying subject (passive agent) is expressed. The function of the topic marker appears to be one of delimiting constituent boundaries. -Ka can only be suffixed to a major constituent of the matrix sentence. (See 2.1.8.) Thus,

-ka indicates that alku and Marya in (539) and warmi and Ruza Tiyama in (540) do not form a single (conjoined) constituent in (539) and (540). If -ka were absent in these sentences, they would be interpreted as 'the dog and Maria were seen (by someone)' and 'the woman and Miss Rosa were hit (by someone).

In both types of passive both the passive subject (alku and warmi) and the passive agent (Marya and Ruza) receive a case marking, which normally indicates nominative case. It is clear, however, that only the former is the derived subject because subject verb agreement is controlled by the passive subject:

(541) fuka-ka Juji riku-y tuku -rka -ni

-I-topic José see -infinitive become-past-1

past participle be -3

'I was seen by José.'

Example (541) shows that the verb must agree with the passive subject (fuka) rather than the passive agent (Juji). The pas-
sive subject behaves like a subject with respect to all subject
sensitive processes while the agent acts as a non-subject with
respect to these processes.

The verbal morphology of the passives is as follows: In the
ka-passive the main verb receives the suffix -shka, which I
tab label 'past participle'. The past participle is followed by the
verb ka- 'be', which is inflected for tense and subject verb
agreement. In the tuku-passive, the main verb receives the in-
finitive suffix -y. It is followed by the verb tuku- 'become',
which again is inflected for tense and agreement. The same
tenses and aspects are possible in the passive and active.

(542) Marya - ka Juji juya - shka ka - rka
Marfa-topic Jose love-past participle be-past 3
'Marfa was loved by Jose.'

(543) Marya - ka Juji juya - y tuku - rka
Marfa-topic Joseloj love-infinitive become-past 3
'Marfa was loved/came to be loved by Jose.'

Sentence (542) describes a state of affairs which may or may not
have undergone a change. In contrast, according to (543), Marfa
is not only loved by Jose, but this represents a change from the
previous state of affairs. The difference in meaning between
the two passives appears to be attributable to the different meanings
of ka- 'be' and tuku- 'become'.

A second difference between tuku- and ka-passives has to do
with animacy. In tuku- but not in ka- passives, the passive
subject must be animate:

(544) aycha - ka (misi) miku -shka ka - rka
meat-topic cat eat -past participle be -past 3
infinitive become
'The meat was eaten by the cat.'

Tuku-passives appear to be used with greater frequency than
ka-passives.

2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing the valency of a verb

In addition to the passive, verb valency can be decreased by
the use of the reflexive-reciprocal suffix -ri. Compare (545)
and (546):

(545a) Ruza - ka pungu-ta vichu - rka
Rosa-topic door-acc close-past 3
'Rosa closed the door.'

(545b) warmi - ka manga-ta faki - rka
woman-topic pot-acc break-past 3
'The woman broke the pot.'

(545c) Marya - ka kizu'- ta champi - rka
Marla-topic cheese-acc divide-past 3
'Marla divided the cheese.'

(546a) pengu - ka vicha - ri - rka
door-topic close-reflexive-past 3
'The door was closed.'

(546b) manga-ka faki - ri - rka
pot-topic break-reflexive-past 3
'The pot broke.'

(546c) kizu - ka champi - ri - rka
cheese-topic divide-reflexive-past 3
'The cheese was divided.'

In the sentences of (545) the verb has two arguments: e.g.,
Ruza and pengu in (545a). When the suffix -ri is affixed to
the verb the two arguments are reduced to one and the nominal
implied in the transitive direct object appears as the
intransitive (surface) subject. No agent is necessarily implied.

It might be argued that valency can also be reduced by the
non-appearance of an indefinite subject:

(547) ø yaku - ta tiibu-chi - ju-n
water-acc boil-cause-prog-3
'Someone is boiling water.'

But note that in sentences like (547), in contrast to (546), the
direct object retains its role of direct object. This suggests
that in (547) there is a phonologically null subject, the
symptom of which prevents the promotion of the direct object to
surface subjecthood. If this is correct, there has been no
genuine reduction of valency in (547) comparable to that seen
in (546).

2.1.3.1.3. Means of increasing the valency of a verb

2.1.3.1.3.1-5. Verbs made causative

Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs are made
causative in the same way. In discussing causatives, it is
convenient to assume that they derive from a biclusal underly-
ing structure, which becomes uniclausal in surface structure.
(Some evidence for a biclusal underlying structure will be
given below.) Thus, (548) will be assumed to derive from a
structure similar to (549).

(548) Jusi - ka Juan-ta ruwana-ta awa - chi - rka
José-topic Juan-acc poncho-acc weave-cause-past 3
'José caused Juan to weave a poncho; José had/made
Juan weave a poncho.'
Consider (551):

(551) Juzí - ka Marya-ta - mi Juan-ta riku-čhi - rka
José-topic María-acc-validator Juan-acc see-cause-past 3
'José caused María to see Juan.'

In (551) the underlying complement subject is Marya and the underlying complement direct object is Juan. In forming a passive based on (551) only Marya and not Juan can become the derived subject:

(552) Marya - ka Juzí Juan-ta riku-čhi - shka - mi
María-topic José Juan-acc see-cause-past part-validator
ka - rka
be-past 3
'María was caused by José to see Juan.'

(553) *Juan - ka Juzí Marya-ta riku-čhi - shka - mi
Juan-topic José María-acc see-cause-past part-validator
ka - rka
be-past 3
('María was caused by José to see Juan.')
Sentence (552) is less than fully grammatical, but it is immeasurable better than (553). (Sentence (553) is grammatical on the reading in which Juan is the underlying complement subject: 'Juan was caused by José to see María.' This reading is irrelevant to the question under consideration.)

The fact that the underlying complement subject and not the underlying complement direct object can become the passive subject is predictable if in sentences like (548) and (551) it is only the underlying complement subject and not the underlying direct object which is the direct object in derived structure (more specifically, when passivization applies).

A second argument is based on the distribution of -wa- 'first person singular direct and indirect object agreement suffix.' (See 2.1.3.1.1) But in the assumption that both accusative nominals are surface direct objects, it would be expected that either could govern the appearance of -wa-. This, however, is not true. -Wa- can refer to the underlying complement subject, but not to the underlying complement direct object:

(554) Juzí - ka Marya-ta riku - čhi - wa - rka
José-topic María-acc see-causative-1-past 3
Sentence (554) can only mean 'José caused me to see María' and not 'José made María to see me.' Similarly, in (555)
(555) Juzí - mi Juan-ta - ka maka - čhi - wa - rka
José-validator Juan-acc-topic hit-causative-1-past 3
the only possible interpretation is 'José made me hit Juan' and not 'José made Juan hit me.' These facts are predictable on the basis of the hypothesis that only the underlying complement subject is the derived direct object, but they must be treated as exceptional if both the underlying complement subject and the underlying complement direct object are thought to be derived direct objects.

It should be noted, furthermore, that the interpretation of (554) and (555) cannot be altered by changing the order of -wa- and -čhi-. The causative suffix must precede -wa- or the sentence is ill-formed.

(556) *Juzí - ka Marya-ta riku-wa - čhi - rka
José-topic María-acc see-1-causative-past 3
(557) *Juzí - mi Juan-ta - ka maka-wa - čhi - rka
José-validator Juan-acc-topic hit-1-causative-past 3
I have shown that in sentences like (548) the underlying complement direct object does not manifest the distributional properties associated with direct objects. In contrast, the underlying complement subject does have these properties. I would like to show now that the underlying complement subject is the derived direct rather than indirect object in (548). There are two arguments for this claim. First, in IQ (unlike Ancash and some other Quechua languages), indirect objects must receive inative (-mán) rather than accusative (-ta) case. See 2.1.1.2.4.5. The appearance of -ta on the underlying complement subject in sentences like (548) is, therefore, incompatible with the claim that these nominals are surface indirect objects.

Second, indirect objects cannot be promoted to subject by passivization. This is restricted to direct objects. See 2.1.3.1.1. But, as was shown in (552)-(553), the underlying complement subject can be promoted to derived matrix subject by passivization. This fact is consistent with the claim that in derived structure the underlying complement subject has become matrix direct object. But it is inconsistent with the claim that it has become matrix indirect object.

A further question which should be considered is whether in the derivation of (548) the underlying complement subject is first promoted to indirect object and then to direct object. The derivation required for such an analysis would be roughly that of (558):

(558a) Underlying structure

\[ [\text{Juji} \ chi-] \text{Juan ruwana-ta} \ awa-] \text{chi-} \]

José Juan poncho-acc weave cause

(558b) Output of causative formation

\[ [\text{Juji} \text{Juan-mán ruwana-ta} \ awa- \ chi- \ rka] \]

José Juan-to poncho-acc weave-cause-past 3

(558c) Surface structure

\[ [\text{Juji} \text{Juan-ta ruwana-ta} \ awa- \ chi- \ rka] \]

José Juan-acc poncho-acc weave-cause-past 3

The general plausibility of such a derivation cross-linguistically is discussed in Cole and Sridhar (1977). With regard to IQ, there is little internal evidence in favor of such a position. The intermediate stage represented as (558b) is not in fact attested as an independently existing surface form (on the relevant reading, in which Juan is the notional subject of awa-):

(559) *Juji - ka Juan-mán ruwana-ta awa- chri - rka
José-topic Juan-to poncho-acc weave-cause-past 3
(‘José caused Juan to weave a poncho.’)

The very few causative verbs allowing a pattern like that of (559) are those like (560) in which the morphologically causative verb mikuchi- appears to have been lexicalized.

(560) warmi - ka cuchi-man mikuna-ta mikuchi-rka
woman-topic pig - to food-acc feed past 3
‘The woman gave food to the pig.’

Note that mikuchi- in (560) differs in meaning from (561):

(561) warmi - ka wawa - ta mikuna-ta miku - chi - rka
woman-topic child-acc food-acc eat-cause-past 3
‘The woman caused the child to eat/feed food to the child.’

When the causee is in the dative (as in (560)), mikuchi- is understood to mean ‘give food unceremoniously, as to an animal’. In contrast, when the causee is accusative (as in (561)), mikuchi- means ‘cause to eat’. These facts suggest that the pattern in (560) is a lexicalized form, and that the case of the causee in (560) is not determined by its role in the complement clause, but rather by the sense of the lexicalized causative verb. As expected, the lexicalized causative of (560) follows the pattern of other verbs of serving-giving, e.g., kara-serve, give:

(562) mama - ka wawa-man pepa - ta kara - rka
mother-topic child-to potato-acc serve-past 3
‘The mother served her child a potato.’

Other causative verbs taking dative causees (e.g., chuchuchi-'cause to nurse') appear also to have undergone lexicalization. Thus, I conclude that the only productive pattern is for the underlying complement subject to appear as matrix direct object in surface structure.

There is, furthermore, little independent evidence for a rule analogous to English Dative Movement,

(563a) I told the story to the child.
(563b) I told the child the story.

which would transform the structure underlying (558b) to that underlying (558c):

(564) Juji - ka María- man kwintu-ta parla - rka
José-topic María- to story-acc talk-past 3
‘José told the story to María.’

A dative-accusative alternation similar to that in English is found with only one verb, ni-‘say’:

(565) Juan-ta ni-rka-ni
Juan-acc say-past-1
(‘I told Juan.’

No such alternation occurs with other verbs of telling like villa-tell (about), parla-talk, rima-talk, or with verbs of giving like ku-give or kara-‘give, serve’. Villa-requires a dative addressee. Parla- and rima-take dative or oblique (-wan 'with') addressees. The recipient of ku- and kara-must be dative. Thus, there is little independent evidence for a rule analogous to English Dative Movement.
If such a rule existed in IQ, it would provide support for a derivation like (558). But, in the absence of independent evidence (either cross-linguistic or internal) for such a derivation, I shall assume that (558c) is derived directly from (558a) without an intermediate stage along the lines of (558b).

I would like to turn now to the accusative case of the underlying complement direct object. I have shown that this nominal is not the direct object in derived structure. Why then does it appear in accusative case? There is, in fact, a straightforward explanation both for the accusative case of the underlying complement direct object and for the fact that it fails to behave like a direct object in surface structure. Let us hypothesise that the nominal in question is the complement direct object in underlying structure and that case marking applies at that stage. As a result, ruwana in (548) receives accusative case marking, yielding ruwana-ta. Subsequently, causative formation merges the matrix and complement clauses. The underlying complement subject becomes the derived matrix direct object, and the underlying complement direct object ceases to be direct object, presumably as a result of the promotion to matrix direct objecthood of the underlying complement subject.

Such a derivation correctly predicts not only that both the underlying complement subject and the underlying complement direct object retain accusative case, but only that the underlying complement subject will inherit accusative case, whereas only the underlying complement direct object will be subject to case marking. This is because the underlying complement direct object, as an ex-direct object retains accusative case in the absence of any rule assigning it a new case marking. But, because it is only an ex-direct object, it cannot undergo rules which require that the nominal undergoing them be a direct object at the time the rule is applied. *While I do not know of any other analysis under which the full range of facts discussed here is accounted for without recourse to special rules or to the claim that the behavior of the nominals is in some way exceptional.*

It should be mentioned that the analysis of case marking in causatives proposed here is of considerable theoretical importance. The distribution of accusative case in causatives appears to be explicable only in terms of a theory of syntax requiring more than one level of grammatical structure. Thus, IQ causatives provide a serious problem for recent attempts to show that the generalizations captured in transformational grammar can also be captured in grammars positing a single level of structure (e.g., Gazdar, 1980). For a similar analysis of Hebrew causatives, see Cole (1976). It is important to note, furthermore, that the case marking pattern illustrated in (548) constitutes corroborative evidence for the hypothesis that sentences like (548) derive from bisentential underlying structures.

Causatives of ditransitive verbs are formed in the same way as causatives of transitives:

(566) mama - ka tayta-man papa - ta kara - rka
mother-topic father-to potato-acc serve-past 3
'Mother served a potato to father.'

(567) mama - ka ushi - ta - mi tayta-man papa - ta
mother-topic daughter-acc validator father-to potato-acc
serve-cause-past 3
'Mother had daughter serve a potato to father.'

In (567), the underlying complement indirect object tayta-man 'to father' remains indirect object in derived structure. As in simple transitives like (548), the underlying complement subject becomes the matrix direct object.

2.1.3.1.3.2. Agentivity of the causee

The agentivity of the causee (underlying complement subject) is not reflected in either the morphology or the syntax of IQ causatives. IQ differs in this respect from some other Quechua languages in which agentivity is reflected in the choice case for the causee. See Bills (1975), Cerrón-Palomino (1976), Cole (ms), and Shibatani (1970) for a description of the situation in some other Quechua languages.

It should be noted that certain data in IQ might appear similar to those reported by Cerrón-Palomino, Bills, and others. Consider the sentences of (568):

(568a) tiyu -ta - ka chaka - ta yali - chi-rka-ni
-wan

man -acc -topic bridge-acc pass-cause-past-1

with

'I caused the man to cross the bridge.'

(568b) tiyu -ta jirga - ta rura - chi-rka-ni
-wan

man -acc poncho-acc make-cause-past-1

with

'I had the poncho made by the man.'

In (568a) the use of -wan is ill-formed but in (568b) it is well-formed. This is somewhat similar to the facts reported by Cerrón-Palomino, Bills, and others. Note, however, that the use of -wan does not correlate with agency. Rather, -wan can be used when the -wan-marked NP is viewed as an instrument by means of which the wishes of the matrix subject are realized. Thus, in (568b) -wan is well-formed on the understanding that my intent was to have a poncho made, and the man who made it was a mere instrument in the carrying out of my intent. In contrast, in (568a) my intent is that the man cross the bridge, not merely that the bridge be crossed. Thus, -wan is ill-formed. A similar contrast in meaning is found if -ta is substituted for -wan in (568b). In that case, my interest is that the man make the poncho, rather than merely that the poncho be made.
On the basis of these considerations, I believe that -wan in sentences like (568b) is base-generated as a main clause oblique (instrumental) constituent and not as the complement subject.

The complement clause would appear to have an unspecified subject:

\[(569) \text{S} \text{hit-cause-past-1} \text{hit}\]

\[\text{I man-with poncho-acc make-cause}\]

Such sentences as (568b) do not appear related to those described by Cerrón-Palomino, Bills, and others. (Note also that the -wan NP cannot be a passive agent. Passive agents in IQ receive nominative, not instrumental case. See 2.1.3.1.1)

**2.1.3.1.3. Omission of the cause**

The omission of the cause can result in ambiguity. Consider

\[(570) \text{Juzi-ta maka-chi-rka-ni}\]

José-acc hit-cause-past-1

Sentence (570) can be understood either as 'I caused someone to hit José' (underlying complement subject omitted), or 'I caused José to hit someone' (underlying complement direct object omitted). The latter reading is preferred if the sentence is presented out of context.

**2.1.3.1.4. Reflexive and reciprocal forms**

Both reflexives and reciprocals are formed by means of the suffix -ri-. This is described in 1.6 and 1.7. The use of -ri- as a pseudopassive is described in 2.1.3.1.2.

**2.1.3.2. Tense**

There are two distinct systems of tense. In main and relative clauses tenses have absolute time reference (time is specified relative to the present moment) while in indicative complement clauses they have relative time reference (time is specified relative to that of the clause to which the clause is subordinate):

\[(571a) \text{Main clause: Present}\]

\[\text{S} \text{Maria-topic Agato-in-validator live-3}\]

'Maria lives in Agato.'

\[(571b) \text{Main clause: Past}\]

\[\text{S} \text{Maria-topic Agato-in-validator live-past-3}\]

'Maria lived in Agato.'

\[(571c) \text{Main clause: Future}\]

\[\text{S} \text{Maria-topic Agato-in-validator live-future-3}\]

'Maria will live in Agato.'

(For relative clauses, see 1.1.2.3.)

\[(572a) \text{Complement clause: Present}\]

\[\text{Agatu-pi kawsa - j1 - ta kri - rka-ni}\]

'Maria Agato-in-live occurs -acc believe-past-1'

'I believed that Maria lived in Agato.'

\[(572b) \text{Complement clause: Past}\]

\[\text{Agatu-pi kawsa - shkaJ - ta kri - rka-ni}\]

'Maria Agato-in-live occurs -acc believe-past-1'

'I believed that Maria had lived in Agato.'

\[(572c) \text{Complement clause: Future}\]

\[\text{Agatu-pi kawsa - naJ - ta kri - rka-ni}\]

'Maria Agato-in-live occurs -acc believe-past-1'

'I believed that Maria would live/to live in Agato.'

Note that the time reference in the complement clause of (572) is past, present, or future relative to the (past) time reference of the matrix clause.

**2.1.3.2.1.2. Present**

In the present tense main clause verbs receive a person-number suffix from the set in (575) (illustrated in (574)):

\[(573) \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-nchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-ngui</td>
<td>-nguichi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(574a) \text{First person singular}\]

'shamu - ni come-1 singular'

'I come.'

\[(574b) \text{Second person singular}\]

'shamu - ngui come-2 singular'

'You come.'

\[(574c) \text{Third person singular}\]

'shamu - nga come-3'

'He/she comes.'

\[(574d) \text{First person plural}\]

'shamu - nchi come-1 plural'

'We come.'

\[(574e) \text{Second person plural}\]

'shamu-nguichi come-2 plural'

'You come.'

\[(574f) \text{Third person plural}\]

'shamu - nga come-3'

'They come.'

Historically, -chi- of -nguichi and -nchi was a pluralizer.

Complement clause verbs are nominalized and receive a present tense nominalizer, -j or -Y in object complements and -Y in subject complements. See 1.1.2.2.
2.1.3.2.1.3. Past

The past tense in main clauses is indicated by the suffix -rka- 'past' followed by a person-number suffix from the set in (575) (illustrated in (576)):

(575)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-nchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-ngui</td>
<td>-nguchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(576a) shamu-rka-ni come-past-1 'I came.'
(576b) shamu-rka-ngui come-past-2 'You came.'
(576c) shamu-rka-Ø come-past-3 'He/she came.'
(576d) shamu-rka-nchi come-past-1 plural 'We came.'
(576e) shamu-rka-nguchi come-past-2 'You came.'
(576f) shamu-rka-Ø come-past-3 'They came.'

Note that (575) differs from (576) only with respect to the third person, which is -Ø in the present and -Ø in the past.

In complement clauses past tense is indicated by the past nominalizer -shka. See 1.1.2.2.

The past is not subdivided in IQ to indicate recent and remote past. Such a division is, however, found in some other Quechua languages, e.g., Ancash:

(577a) Recent past
Lima-ta - m aywa - rqu - u Lima-acc-validator go-recent past-1 'I went to Lima.'

(577b) Remote past
Lima-ta - m aywa - rqa - a Lima-acc-validator go-remote past-1 'I went to Lima.'

Such a system, however, is not found in IQ. The only candidate for a recent past tense in IQ is the perfect (2.1.3.3.1). This is clearly an aspect rather than a tense because it co-occurs with all three tenses:

(578a) riku - shka - ni see-perfect-present 1 'I have seen.'

2.1.3.2.1.4. Future

The future tense in matrix clauses is indicated by a person-number suffix from the set given tabular form in (580) and illustrated in (581):

(580)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-sha</td>
<td>-shum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-ngui</td>
<td>-nguchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-nga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(581a) shamu - sha come-future 1 singular 'I will come.'
(581b) shamu - ngui come-future 2 singular 'You will come.'
(581c) shamu - nga come-future 3 'He/she will come.'
(581d) shamu - shum come-future 1 plural 'We will come.'
(581e) shamu - nguchi come-future 2 plural 'You will come.'
(581f) shamu - nga come-future 3 'They will come.'

Note that in the second person the same forms are used for present and future. This is true of all Quechua languages with which I am familiar.

In complement clauses future is indicated by the suffix -na. See 1.1.2.2.

The future tense is used not only to indicate future time reference, but also for probabilistic statements with regard to the present:
(582) kunan punlla Juzi - ka Agatu-pi ka - nga now day JosŽ-topic Agato-in be-future 3
'I suppose JosŽ is in Agato today.'
The future has no other modal or aspectual values, nor is it subdivided into near and remote future.
The future perfect requires the use of the resultive aspect:
(583) Juzi chayamu - jpi fuka-ka ri - shka JosŽ arrive-adverbial 1-topic go-past part
ka - sha
be-future 1 singular
'When JosŽ arrives, I will have gone.'
See 2.1.3.3.
2.1.3.2.2-3.
The same tense distinctions exist in most major clause types: matrix, relative, and indicative noun clauses (complement clauses) and -shka/-jpi adverbial clauses. Tense is absolute in matrix and relative clauses and relative in noun clauses and adverbial clauses. See 2.1.3.2.
In -shka and -jpi adverbial clauses, when the adverbial suffix directly follows the verb stem, the adverbial clause is understood to have the same time reference as the clause to which it is subordinate. Thus, in (579) the adverbial clause is understood as past and in (583) as future:
(579) fuka chaya - jpi pay sã ri - shka ka-rka-9
I arrive-adverbial he already go-past part be-past-3
'When I arrived he had already gone.'
(583) Juzi chayamu - jpi fuka-ka ri - shka JosŽ arrive-adverbial 1-topic go-past part
ka - sha
be-future 1 singular
'When JosŽ arrives, I will have gone.'
Past tense relative to the superordinate clause is indicated by affixing -shka to the matrix verb, which is followed by ka-
'be' plus -shka or -jpi:
(584a) fãfuka ri-shka ka - jpi jš fuka tayta - ka I go-past be-adverbial my father-topic chayamu-rka
arrive-past 3
'My father arrived after I had gone.'
The time reference of the adverbial clause in (584a) is prior to that of the main clause.
Future time relative to the superordinate clause is indicated by suffixing -na to the matrix verb. The auxiliary ka- 'be' receives the appropriate adverbial suffix:
(584b) [fãfuka ri - na ka - jpi jš fuka tayta - ka I go-future be-adverbial my father-topic chayamu-rka
arrive-past 3
'My father arrived before I was to leave/when I was about to leave.'
In (584b) the time reference of the adverbial clause is subsequent to that of the matrix clause. (The suffix -na in (584b) can also be used to express obligation. See 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.1)
The range of tense distinctions found in other clauses is not present in -ngapa/-chun (subjunctive) clauses. These clauses are always interpreted as present or future relative to the time of the clause to which they are subordinate:
(585) Kitu-man - ni shama-rka-ni gãfuka wakli - wan Quito-to-validator come-past-1 my brother-with paria - ngapa j talk-subjunctive
'I came to Quito to talk with my brother.'
(586) Juzi - ka jãtun wasi - ta rura - nga gãpaypa tayta JosŽ-topic big house-acc make-future 3 his father chay-pi kawsa - chun 3 that-in live-subjunctive
JosŽ will build a big house so that his father will live in it.'
In (585) and (586) the time reference of the subordinate clause is understood as subsequent to that of the matrix clause. There is no way to indicate past time reference in subjunctive clauses.
2.1.3.3. Aspect
2.1.3.3.1. Perfect
The perfect is formed by affixing the suffix -shka to the verb stem followed by a person-number suffix appropriate to the tense of the verb:
(587) shama - shka - ni come-perfect-1 singular
'I have come.'
The appropriate person-number suffixes for each tense are given in 2.1.3.2. The perfect can be used in the present, past, and future. In the third person present the suffix -n (see (573)) is replaced by ñ:
(588) shama-shka -ñ
come-perfect-3
'He/she has come.'
The perfect is used to indicate a past situation which has present relevance. In addition, as was first noted by Ross
(1963:78-79) the action of the verb must have taken place "while the speaker was in a state of ignorance, which has now been remedied by a discovery of the true state of affairs." Thus,

is appropriate if the speaker has just discovered the arrival of the addressee, while

is appropriate if he knew the addressee was coming. Often speakers attribute a degree of surprise to perfect forms. Perfect forms are especially frequent in traditional narrative, where the action reported by the speaker took place in his absence but is, presumably, of present relevance.

The simple perfect is not used to indicate the present result of a past situation, but a special form, the resultive, does have this function. The resultive is formed by suffixing -sha to the main verb. The resulting form of the verb is followed by ka- 'be', which is inflected for tense and subject-verb agreement. (See 2.1.3.3.2.2.1)

Sentence (591) describes the state resulting from eating. In contrast, (592)

emphasizes the act of eating, which took place while the speakers were not aware of what they were doing (while drunk, engaged in heated discussion, etc.).

The perfect is also used for a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present:

The present progressive rather than the perfect is used for a situation that began in the past and is still continuing:

already two hour-acc this-in wait-prog-1

already two hour-acc this-in wait-prog-perfect-1

The possibility that the perfect is a recent past tense rather than a perfect aspect is considered (and rejected) in

2.1.3.2.1.3.

2.1.3.3.5.2. Additional aspects

The following subsections outline which additional aspects are found. Of those presented, all but -psa are fully productive.

2.1.3.3.2.1.1-2.

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect is formed by suffixing -j to the verb stem. (See 2.1.3.3.2.2.1) The resulting form is followed by ka- 'be' which is inflected for tense and subject-agreement.

It would be tempting to analyse the habitual aspect as free relativization (see 1.1.2.3.6). Under such an interpretation (596) would be literally glossed as 'I was one who works in Otavalo'. While such an analysis may be correct with regard to the historical origin of the construction, it is not an accurate synchronic description. According to the free relative analysis, "Utavalu,trabajaj is a surface subordinate clause. But surface subordinate clauses in TQ are easily distinguished from main clauses by the fact that validators cannot occur within subordinate clauses. (See 1.1.2 and 2.1.8) Validators can, however, occur within what, under the free relative analysis, would be a subordinate clause in (596):

Thus, sentences like (596) are not instances of free relative clauses synchronically.

The habitual aspect with -j is unusual (though grammatical) in the present tense:

The present progressive rather than the perfect is used for a situation that began in the past and is still continuing:

already two hour-acc this-in wait-prog-1

already two hour-acc this-in wait-prog-perfect-1

Typically, -dur (from Sp. -dor 'agentive') is substituted for -j in the present (but not in other tenses):

'I habitually work in Otavalo.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.4-5. Continuous/progressive aspect

The continuous/progressive aspect (hereafter, progressive aspect) is formed by the affixation of -ju- to the verb stem. It is used with both active and stative verbs. Tense and person-
number affixes are regular:
(600) shama-ju-ni
    come-prog-1
    'I am coming.'

The morpheme -ju- is cognate to -ku, which is the reflexive morpheme in non-Ecuadorian Quechua languages.

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. Ingressive aspect

The ingressive is indicated by the suffixation of -gri- to the verb stem. This aspect is often translated as a quasi-future similar to English gonna. It can also be used to suggest that the subject will literally go to another location to carry out the action. Tense and person-number affixes are regular:
(601) ruwana-ta xura - gri - rka
    poncho-acc make-ingressive-past 3
    'He began making a poncho; he was going to make a poncho; he went to make a poncho.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.7-10.

There are no terminative, iterative, semelfactive, or punctual aspects.

2.1.3.3.2.1.11. Durative aspect

The durative aspect is used for actions that are viewed as lasting in time. It is formed by suffixing -riya- to the verb stem. Tense and person-number suffixes follow and are regular:
(602) champus-pi - ka yaku - ta chura - riya - shpa yanu-ni
    champus-in-topic water-acc put-durative-adverbial cook-1
    'I cook continuously putting water in the champus (thickened, cooked liquid).'

2.1.3.3.2.1.12. Simultaneous aspect

There is no simultaneous aspect.

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. Other aspects

2.1.3.5.2.1.13.1. Obligation

Obligation is expressed by suffixing -na to the verb stem.
(See 2.1.3.3.2.2.1) The resulting form is followed by the verb ka- 'be' which is inflected for tense and subject-verb agreement:
(603) Kitu-man ri - na ka-ni
    Quito-to go-oblig be-1
    'I must go to Quito.'

See also 2.1.3.4.6.

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.2. Paya

The suffix -paya- appears to have originally been a marker of frequentive aspect. Cf. Ancash -pam-, qashypaakullan 'I'm al-
ways sick', (Parker 1976); Cusco -paya-, much'apayay 'to kiss frequently' (Cusihuamán 1976). In IQ, and in Ecuadorian Quechua generally, the suffix appears with only a few verbs: riku-paya- 'criticize' < riku- 'see' + -paya- 'frequentive'. It is clear that such forms are lexicalized, and that -paya- is no longer an aspect marker in IQ.

2.1.3.3.2.1.14. Telic aspect

There is no way to indicate formally that the logical conclusion of a telic situation has been reached.

2.1.3.3.2.2. The organization of aspect

Formal indicators of aspect fall into three distinct sets, which I shall refer to as the perfect aspect (set one), the attitudinal aspects (set two), and the temporal aspects (set three). The three sets differ both notionally and formally. Set membership affects the possibilities for combining different aspect values.

The simple perfect has the following property: the aspect marker -shka appears after all suffixes except tense and subject-verb agreement:
(604) miku-chi-wa - shka-rka-ngui
    eat-cause-1-perfect-past-2
    'You had fed me.'

The perfect can be employed in combination with both temporal and attitudinal aspects. See below.

The attitudinal aspects consist of the resultive, the habitual, and the obligative aspects. These aspects are formed by suffixing one of the three nominalizing suffixes, -shka, -j, or -na, to the verbal stem. The resulting form is followed by the verb ka- 'be', which is inflected for tense and subject-verb agreement:
(605a) miku - shka ka-rka-ni
    eat-resultive be-past-1
    'I had been in a state of having eaten.'

(605b) miku - j ka-rka-ni
    eat-habitual be-past-1
    'I used to eat.'

(605c) miku - na ka-rka-ni
    eat-oblig be-past-1
    'I must eat.'

It is the fact that inflection is carried by an auxiliary verb in this set that distinguishes formally the attitudinal aspect from the perfect.

Notationally the attitudinal aspects are non-temporal in nature. They establish the point-of-view taken toward the event described: result, habit, or obligation.

The attitudinal aspects can be employed in combination with both the perfect and the temporal aspects. When the attitudi-
nal aspects are used in conjunction with the perfect, the perfect affix (-shka) is marked on the auxiliary ka- 'be' rather than the matrix verb:

(606) miku - shka ka - shka-ni
      eat-resultive be-perfect-1
      'I (realized I) was in a state of having eaten.'

(607) *miku - shka shka ka-ni
      eat-resultive/perfect-resultive/perfect be-1
      ('I (realized I) was in a state of having eaten.')

The temporal aspects consist of the progressive, the durative, and the progressive. They are temporal in the sense that they are different ways of viewing the duration of the event described. These aspects appear to the left of the perfect and the attitudinal aspects. More than one temporal suffix can be used:

(608) yaku - ta chura riya ju
      water-acc put-durative (from set three)-prog (from set - rka-ni
      three)-past-1
      'I was continuously putting water (e.g., in the champ-
      pus) for a long time.'

Temporal suffixes can also be used in conjunction with both the perfect and the attitudinal aspects:

(609) chagra-ta limiya gri
      field-acc clean-ingressive (from set three)-
      na ka-ni
      obligatory (from set two) be-1
      'I must go to the field; I have to begin cleaning
      the field.'

The fact that temporal suffixes can co-occur in the same word with the attitudinal affixes shows that the perfect, which cannot co-occur in the same word with the attitudinal affixes, is not a temporal aspect and must be viewed as a third type of aspect distinct from both the attitudinal and temporal aspects. Compare (610) and (607). Note that the perfect affix -shka cannot appear in the same word with the resultive aspect marker (also -shka).

Similar examples showing the incompatibility of perfect-habitual and perfect-obligative in the same word are given in

(611):

(611a) *aycha-ta miku - shka j ka-rka-ni
      meat-acc eat-perfect-habitual be-past-1
      ('I discovered that I was a habitual meat eater.')

(611b) *aycha-ta miku - shka na ka-rka-ni
      meat-acc eat-perfect-oblig be-past-1
      ('I discovered that I was obliged to eat meat.')

The strangeness of the sentences of (611) is not due to the oddity of the notion that they express, because those of (612) are grammatical (though strange).

(612a) aycha-ta miku j ka-shka ni
      meat-acc eat-perfect be-perfect-1
      'I (discovered) that I was a habitual meat eater.'

(612b) aycha-ta miku na ka-shka ni
      meat-acc eat-oblig be-perfect-1
      'I (discovered that) I was obliged to eat meat.'

I therefore conclude that there are three morphologically distinct types of aspect.

2.1.3.3.2.2. Restrictions on the combination of different aspecral values with various tenses and nonfinite forms

There are no restrictions on the combination of aspects and tenses or nonfinite forms, but certain distinctions involving the perfect are neutralized. First, the distinction between perfect and resultive is neutralized in the third person present tense:

(613) Juzi miku - shka - ni
      Jos6 eat-perfect/resultive-validator
      'Jos6 is in the state of having eaten.'

The neutralization is due (1) to the fact that the morpheme -shka is employed in both the perfect and the resultive aspects, and (2) to the verb ka- is normally deleted in the third person present. (See 1.2.1.1) Compare (613) and analogous examples in the first person, where neutralization does not occur:

(614a) Perfect
      fuka-ka miku-shka-ni
      I-topic eat-perfect-1
      'I have eaten.'

(614b) Resultive
      fuka-ka miku - shka ka-ni
      I-topic eat-resultive be-1
      'I am in the state of having eaten.'

Second, the distinction among past, perfect, and resultive is lost in the shpa-/jpi adverbial clauses (1.1.2.4):

(615) Juzi shamu - shka ka - jpi
      Jos6 come-perfect/resultive be-adverbial
      'Jos6 having come'

The neutralization in adverbial clauses appears to be due to the fact that (1) the perfect and the past are both expressed by -shka in -shpa/-jpi clauses:

(616a) *shamu-rka - shpa
      come-past/shpa-adverbial

(616b) shamu - shka ka - shpa
      come-past/perfect be-adverbial
and (2) the fact that -shka and -shka cannot be suffixed to the same verb.

(617) *Juzi shamu-shka - jpi
   Jozę come-perfect-adverbial
   ('Jozę having come')

As a result, it would appear, the morphological form elsewhere identified with the resolute has taken on the function of the perfect as well.

Third, the perfect and the simple past are neutralized in nominalized clauses. Sentence (618)

(618) [Talku aycha-ta miku - shka] - ta kri - ni
dog meat-acc eat-past nominalizer-acc believe-1
   'I believe the dog ate the meat.'
can be interpreted either as containing an embedded simple perfect or an embedded past tense clause. In contrast, (619) is interpretable only as containing an embedded resolute clause:

(619) [Talku aycha-ta miku - shka ka - shka] - ta
dog meat-acc eat-resultive be-past nominalizer-acc
kri - ni
believe-1
   'I believe that the dog is in a state of having eaten
the meat.'

2.1.3.4. Mood

The following moods are found: indicative, conditional, imperative, subjunctive, and obligation. There does not seem to be any reason to consider obligation a mood in IQ, but it is convenient to discuss non-aspectual obligation here. See 2.1.3.2.1.13.1 for aspectual obligation. Indicative mood encompasses those cases not described under conditional, imperative, subjunctive, and obligation moods. (Obligation should probably be considered indicative or conditional rather than a separate mood.) Indicative will not be discussed separately.

2.1.3.4.2. Conditional

The present conditional is formed by suffixing -man to the present tense of the verb. In the first person singular the suffix -ni is replaced by -y:

(620) Agreement Conditional Agreement Conditional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-y -man</td>
<td>-nchi -man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-ngui -man</td>
<td>-nguichi -man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-n -man</td>
<td>-n -man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(621a) shamu - y - man
   come-1 singular-conditional
   'I would come.'

(621b) shamu - ngu - man
   come-2 singular-conditional
   'You would come.'

(621c) shamu - n - man
   come-3-conditional
   'He/she would come.'

(621d) shamu - nchi - man
   come-1 plural-conditional
   'We would come.'

(621e) shamu-nguchi - man
   come-2 plural-conditional
   'You would come.'

(621f) shamu - n - man
   come-3-conditional
   'They would come.'

Conditional yes-no questions are formed in the same way as indicative yes-no questions except that -chā (stress usual but not obligatory) is used instead of -chu:

(622a) Indicative
   shamu-nguichi-chu
   come - 2-inter
   'Will you come?'

(622b) Conditional
   shamu-nguichi - man - chā
   come-2-conditional-inter
   'Would you come?'
   -Chu is employed in negative conditionals just as in negative indicatives:

(623) mana ri-y - man - chu
   not go-1-conditional-neg
   'I would not go.'

In the past tense, with the exception of the first person singular, the conditional is formed from the present conditional followed by the third person past tense of ka- 'be'. For some speakers, in the second person, the second person past tense of ka- can also be employed. In the first person singular, the first person present is followed (obligatorily) by the first person past tense of ka- 'be':

(624) Agreement Conditional Agreement Conditional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-y-man ka-rka-ni -nchi-man ka-rka</td>
<td>-ngui-man ka-rka(-ngui)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-ngui-man ka-rka -nguichi-man ka-rka</td>
<td>(-ngui) (-ngui)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-n-man ka-rka -n-man ka-rka</td>
<td>-ngui-man ka-rka(-ngui)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(625a) shamu - y - man
   ka-rka -ni
   come-1 singular-conditional be-past-1 singular
   'I would have come.'

(625b) shamu - ngu - man
   ka - rka(-ngui)
   come-2 singular-conditional be-past 3
   'You would have come.'
The conditional is not used in the future tense.

As can be seen from (620)-(624), the formation of the conditional is irregular in a number of respects: (1) the conditional suffix -man follows rather than precedes subject-verb agreement; (2) the first person present agreement marker is -ny rather than -ni; (3) for many speakers the past conditional is (except for first person singular) formed by following the present conditional with a third person auxiliary regardless of whether the subject is second or third person; (4) in the first person singular of the past conditional the first person singular form of the auxiliary is used.

An examination of the conditional in other Quechua languages shows that irregularities (1), (2), and (3) are found in languages of both major subfamilies: e.g., Cusco, tarpusunan karqan 'we would have planted' (Cushuamán 1976:180) and Ancash, chaatsilman karqan 'I would have caused to arrive' (Parker 1976:113). (In Ancash irregularity (2) is not found. The first person is indicated by vowel length in Ancash and other Quechua [languages. See the Introduction.) With regard to (4), the use of the first person singular of the auxiliary seems to be peculiar to Ecuadorian Quechua. Ross (1963), writing about Highland Ecuadorian Quechua in general, states that there is considerable variation among languages with regard to the form of the auxiliary. The pattern shown in (624) is the most common, but some speakers, even in a single district, employ the third person auxiliary throughout the paradigm (as in Cusco and Ancash) while others inflect -ka for agreement in all persons.

These data suggest that the morphology of the past conditional is in a state of change. Comparison with other Quechua languages suggests that the direction of the change is from an invariant use of the third person auxiliary for all persons to the inflection of the auxiliary for subject-verb agreement in all persons. The optional use of the second person auxiliary by some speakers is consistent with such a change.

2.1.3.4.3. Imperative

The formation and use of the imperative is discussed in 1.1.1.3.

2.1.3.4.4. Subjunctive

Clauses employing the verbal suffix -ngansj and -chun are used in roughly the same environments in which the present subjunctive is employed in Spanish. These include noun clauses embedded beneath verbs of desire like mana- 'want' and in purpose clauses. The subjunctive is also found in third person imperatives. See 1.1.2.2.2.2, 1.1.1.3, and 1.1.2.4.

The subjunctive is not used for counterfactual clauses. In such sentences, the 'if' clause is formed in the manner described in 1.1.2.4 and the main clause appears in the conditional:

(626) huka Kitu-pi kawsa - shpa kushi-lla ka-y man I Quito-in live-adverbial happy-very be-1-conditional

'I if I lived in Quito, I would be very happy.'

2.1.3.4.6. Obligation

Aspactual obligation is discussed under aspect (2.1.5.3.2.1.13.1). In addition to the obligatory aspect, mild suggestions in the second person are frequently made by suffixing the topic marker -ka to the conditional:

(627) ri-ngul - man - ka
go-2-conditional-topic

'You ought to go.'

This means of indicating mild obligation is not available in other persons:

(628) *ri-y - man - ka
go-1-conditional-topic

('I should go.')

(629) *ri-a - man - ka
go-3-conditional-topic

('He/she should go.')

There is no similar restriction on the obligative aspect:

(630) ri - na ka-mi
go-oblig be-1

'I must go.'

(631) pay ri - na - mi
he go-oblig-validator

'He must go.'

Obligation can also be expressed by means of the verbs chayu- 'arrive' and tuku- 'become':

(632) (huka-ta) tarpu - na chayu-n
I - acc plant-oblig arrive-3

'I need to plant; planting (time) has arrived to me.'
(633) (fluka-ta) tarpu - na tuku - n
1 - acc plant-oblig become 3
I 'need to plant; it has become planting time.'
This construction appears to be a lexicalization of more literal uses of chayu- 'arrive' and tuku- 'become'. Note that fluka-ta 'I acc' in (632) and (633) displays subject properties similar to those of fluka-ta in sentences like fluka-ta rupa-n 'To me it is hot; I am hot.' See 2.1.1.2.16.

2.1.3.4.7. Potential

There is no potential mood.

2.1.3.4.8. Certainty

In general certainty is expressed by the use of the indicative mood and a validator indicating first-hand information. See 2.1.8. Speculation regarding the present state of affairs is often indicated by the use of the future. See 2.1.3.2.1.3.3.

2.1.3.4.9. Authority for assertion

This is discussed in 2.1.8.

2.1.3.4.10-14.

There are no hortatory, monitory, or contingent moods.

2.1.3.5. Finite and nonfinite forms

Finite forms are used in main clauses. See 2.1.3.2 for the inflection paradigms in the three tenses. Irregularities in the perfect aspect and conditional mood are discussed in 2.1.3.3.1 and 2.1.3.4.2 respectively.

Nonnalized verbs are formed by adding one of the nominalizing suffixes -j, -shka, -n, -y, or -dur/-dura to the verb stem. These forms can be seen to be nonnalized because (1) they can be overtly casemarked and (2) they permit direct object incorporation, a process involving the formation of a nominal compound consisting of the object and verb. See 1.1.2.2.

Nonnalized verbs are used in indicative noun clauses (1.1.2.2.2.1), relative clauses (1.1.2.3) (including free relatives used in adverbial functions), attitudinal aspects (2.1.3.3.2.2), and infinitive clauses.

There are three sets of nonnalized nonfinite verbal forms: (1) -ngapaj, -ku, (2) -shpa, -ji, and (3) -ngakaman. The first set is used in subjunctive clauses (1.1.2.2.2.2 and 1.1.2.4), the second in a variety of adverbial clauses (1.1.2.4), and the third in 'until' clauses (1.1.2.4.2). These forms are analyzed as nonnalized because they cannot receive overt case marking and because they do not form nominal compounds with their direct objects.

Note that -ngapaj and -ngakaman are composed of two parts: -ng 'future' and a postposition: -paj 'for', and -kaman 'until'. It might, therefore, be argued that these forms are casemarked, and, hence, nonnalized. It would seem to me, however, that, while historically accurate, such an analysis is wrong synchronically. If -ngapaj and -ngakaman were nonnalized, the formation of nominal compounds with direct objects would be possible. But it is not:

(634a) Juzi-ta riku-ngapaj
Josê-acc see-subjunctive
in order to see Josê

(634b) fluka Juzi-ta riku-kaman
Josê-acc see-untiil
'to see Josê'

Thus, I conclude that -ngapaj and -ngakaman are not nonnalized.

A brief discussion of the status of the morphemes -shka is appropriate here. -Shka has both finite and nonfinite uses. Perfect clauses with -shka are finite. The normal range of tense and subject-verb agreement affixes are employed. There is no object incorporation (object-verb compounding) in the perfect. In contrast, in noun clauses and relative clauses (including adverbial uses of free relatives), neither tense (as a separate suffix) or agreement occur and incorporation is possible. Thus, I conclude that these clauses are nonfinite (and, in fact, nonnalized).

-Shka is also used in the resative aspect and in the ka- 'be' passive. The suffix appears to have the function of forming a past participle in resutives and passives. These verbs are nonnalized. The direct object can form a nominal compound with the verb. Note that the auxiliary ka- 'be' is finite: it is inflected like a finite verb for tense and verb agreement. These facts suggest the possibility that the resitive is biclausal in underlying structure, at least historically.

The indication of tense in both finite and nonfinite clauses is described in 2.1.3.2. The neutralization of certain contrasts involving the perfect is discussed in 2.1.3.3.2.3.2.2.

2.1.3.6. Person/number/etc.

2.1.3.6.1-2. Coding of subject, direct, and indirect objects

Subject-verb agreement is obligatory in matrix clauses. In Ecuadorian Quechua there is no agreement in embedded clauses, all of which are nonfinite. This is due to the loss of possessive suffixes on nouns in Ecuador. See 1.1.2.1.

In Ecuadorian Quechua only first person singular objects (direct and indirect) are coded on the verb. Object agreement is optional. See 2.1.1.2.4 for examples.

In non-Ecuadorian varieties of Quechua both first and second person object agreement is coded on the verb. In these lan-
guages a complex system of portmanteau morphemes is employed to
dicate such relations as first person subject-second person
object: e.g., Ancash maqa- 'I hit you'. Third person objects
are indicated by φ.

The subject-verb agreement paradigms for the three tenses are
given in 2.1.3.2. (See also 2.1.3.3.1 and 2.1.3.4.2) Subject
agreement appears to the right of the tense (when tense is a sepa-
rate morpheme). Object agreement is indicated by -wa-, which
appears to the left of tense and certain derivational suffixes:
(655) verb stem-wa-tense-subject agreement
(656) riku-wa-rka-ngui

'You saw me.'

2.1.3.6.3.4.

Verb agreement is not affected by such factors as word order,
topic, etc. The agreement markers encode person and number ex-
cept in the case of third person subject-verb agreement where
there is no distinction between singular and plural.

In non-Ecuadorian Quechua there is a distinction be-
tween first person inclusive and exclusive verbal forms. Ross (1963:
36) and Stark et al (1973:160) claim that a similar distinction has been
preserved in Imbabura Quechua first person plural fu-
tive and imperative: -shum 'first person plural - two partici-
pants = exclusive (?)'; -shunchi 'first person plural - three or
more participants = inclusive (?)'. According to my informants,
however, this distinction does not occur. Rather -shum is used
for the first person plural future regardless of the number of
participants (or exclusive/inclusive use). -Shunichi is used for
the first person plural imperative. Ross states that the dis-

2.1.3.6.4.

Discrepancies between syntactic and semantic features do not
occur which might affect verb agreement. Coordinate noun phra-
es are coded as plural. Note that in the third person there is
no distinction between singular and plural.

2.1.3.6.5. Environments in which there is no verb agreement

Subject-verb agreement is limited to main (finite) clauses
while object agreement occurs in subordinate clauses as well.
For a summary of the environments in which finite versus nonfi-
tinite verbal forms occur, see 2.1.3.5.

2.1.3.6.6. Coding of the identity or non-identity of the sub-
jects of main clause and subordinate clause verbs

The identity or non-identity of the subjects of main and sub-
ordinate clause verbs is indicated in the verbal morphology of
two types of clauses: subjunctive (-papa 'same subject' ver-
sus -chum 'different subject') and adverbial (-shpa 'same sub-
ject' versus -pji 'different subject'). The properties of verbs
marked with these suffixes are discussed in 1.1.2.2.2.2 and
1.1.2.4 (especially 1.1.2.4.1-3 and 1.1.2.4.2.5).

2.1.3.6.8-9. Reflexive and reciprocal forms

The reflexive and reciprocal are formed by suffixing -ri-
to the verb stem. See 1.6 and 1.7 for details.

2.1.3.6.10. Marking of actions involving motion

Motion toward the speaker is indicated by the suffix -mu:
(657a) chaya-rka-ni
arrive-past-1
'I arrived (there).'  
(657b) chaya - mu
arrive-translocative-past-1
'I arrived (here).'</n
2.1.4. Adjectives

No formal distinction exists between the morphology of predicative adjectives, nor is there a distinction between adjectives describing absolute and contingent states. Adjectives do not agree with the nouns they modify in number, person, gender, or any other category. The formation of comparative phrases is described in 1.8. There is no special form for superlatives. They can be indicated by circumlocation:

(641) Jusi - ka _tukuy-ta yali - j j ali trava-ba-n - shpa

José-topic all-acc surpass-nominalizer well work - 3
-adverbial
'José works well, as one surpassing all; José works best.'

The following adverbs express degrees of an (adjectival) quality: maymi, ashta, jatun 'very'; yapa 'too'; ashalla 'slightly'. The use of the adverbs is illustrated in 1.2.2.3. With predicative adjectives (as well as predicate nominals) the categories of person and number are encoded on the copular verb (omitted under the circumstances described in 1.2.1.1):

(642) maymi sumaj - mi ka-ngui

very pretty-validator be - 2

'You are very pretty.'

See 1.2.2.3.

2.1.5. Postpositions

The meanings of the postpositions found in IQ are described in 2.1.1. There are no postpositions. Postpositions do not agree with the nouns they govern, nor do they combine with personal pronouns or articles to form series of personal forms or prepositional articles. (There are no articles in the language, or in fact, in any Quechua language I am aware of other than Huana (see Carrón-Palominio 1976)).

2.1.6. Numerals/quantifiers

The cardinal numerals 1-10 are shuj 'one', ishkar 'two', kimsa (also kina) 'three', chuska 'four', chip 'five', suyta 'six', kanchis 'seven', pusaj 'eight', iskun 'nine', and chunga 'ten'. Additional numerals are patasaj 'one hundred' and waranga 'one thousand'.

Complex numerals are created in the manner shown in (643):

(643a) chunga shuj

one 'eleven'

(643b) chunga ishkar
ten two 'twelve'

(643c) ishkar chunga

two ten
'twenty'

(643d) pusaj chunga iskun

eight ten nine
'eighty-nine'

(643e) kimsa patasaj iskun chunga suyta

three hundred nine ten six
'three hundred ninety-six'

(643f) ishkar waranga pichika patasaj chuska chunga kanchis
two thousand five hundred four ten seven
'two thousand five hundred forty-seven'

Cardinal numbers take the same form when used for counting and attributively.

Spanish rather than Quechua numerals are used in time of day expressions. See 2.1.1.6.1.

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix -nikh to a cardinal numeral: shuj-nikh warmi 'first woman', ishkar-nikh warmi 'second woman', kimsa-nikh warmi 'third woman', etc.

The following quantifiers are found: wakin 'some', kada 'each', tukuy 'all, every', ni ima 'no', ishkanti 'both', kimsanti 'among the three of them', chuskanti 'among the four of them', etc. There are no quantifier compounds. Quantification is not expressed by reduplication.

2.1.7. Adverbs

The expression of comparison is described in 1.8. The adverbs used to express degree of quality in modifying adverbs are the same as those used to modify adjectives (2.1.4).

2.1.8. Clitics

In this section I shall discuss a variety of suffixes traditionally called clitics (emclitices), or, more accurately, independent suffixes. ('Independent' in this sense means that they can be used with all parts of speech, and not just with nominal or verbal stems as is true of other suffixes.) See 2.1.1.1.

Formally, independent suffixes are identifiable because they appear to the right of all derivational and inflectional suffixes:

(644) root-derivational suffixes-inflectional suffixes-
independent suffixes

(644a) miku - naya - shka

eat[root3-desiderative[derivation3]-perfect[inflection-
all-validator[independent]]

(644b) awa - j ta

weave[root3-nominalizer[derivation3-acc[inflection3]-
additive[independent]]}
In terms of function, all play a role at the discourse or speech act level, as will be seen below.

I shall consider four groups of independent suffixes: validators, the topic marker (-ka), markers of exclusivity (-raj and -raj), and the additive suffix (-pash). I shall also discuss the limitative suffix -lia and the discontinuative morpheme -a, an independent word in IQ, though not in some other Quechua languages, e.g., Ancash.

The validators indicate authority for assertion and degree of certainty. They are: -m̃(ri) 'emphatic first-hand information', -mi 'first-hand information', -sh̃(ri) 'doubt', and -chu 'yes-no question' and 'negation'. The use of the validators is exemplified in (645):

(645a) -m̃(ri)
\[\text{m̃ura-ta miku - naya - n - maru}\]
\[\text{I - acc eat-desiderative-3-emphatic first-hand information}\]
\[\text{I want to eat!}\]

(645b) -mi
\[\text{kan-paj ushi - wan Agatu-pi - mi}\]
\[\text{you-of daughter-with Agato-in-first-hand information}\]
\[\text{tuperi-xka-ni}\]
\[\text{meet - past-1}\]
\[\text{I met your daughter in Agato.}\]

(645c) -sh̃(ri)
\[\text{ka-yu - sh̃i kan-paj churi shemu - nga}\]
\[\text{tomorrow-conjecture you-of son come-future 3}\]
\[\text{I suppose your son will come tomorrow.}\]

(645d) -ch̃(ri)
\[\text{Jusi - ka Kitu-man chaya - shka - ch̃a}\]
\[\text{José-topic Quito-to arrive-perfect-doubt}\]
\[\text{Perhaps José has arrived in Quito.}\]

(645e) -chu (interrogative)
\[\text{meji-stru - chu ka-n gui}\]
\[\text{teacher-yes-no question be - 2}\]
\[\text{Are you a teacher?}\]

(645f) -chu (negative)
\[\text{muki-ka mana chay llama-ta shuwa-shka - ni-chu}\]
\[\text{I-topic not that sheep-acc steal-perfect-1-neg}\]
\[\text{I didn’t steal that sheep.}\]

Note that the validators -m̃(ri) and -sh̃(ri) have two forms, with and without -ri. When -ri is absent, these validators are often, though not invariably, stressed. When -ri is present, the meaning of the validator is somewhat stronger than when it is absent.

Notably absent among the IQ validators is a hearsay suffix. In non-Ecuadorian Quechua the suffix -sh̃i has this use:
rhematicity, certain embedded constituents have been shown to be sentence rhemes cross-linguistically, among them elements in extraposed relative clauses (see Zivy (1976)) like (647):

(647) kwitsa-ta juya-ni Juan-wan tushu - shka
girl-acc love-1 Juan-with dance-nominalizer
ka - shka - ta
be-nominalizer-acc
'I love the girl Juan had danced with.'

But constituents of such clauses cannot be validated:

(648) *kwitsa-ta juya-ni Juan-wan - mi tushu - shka
girl-acc love-1 Juan-with validator dance-nominalizer
ka - shka - ta
be-nominalizer-acc

('I love the girl Juan had danced with.!

So potential rhematicity and appearance in the main clause are only roughly correlated. (Note that rhematicity should be the same across languages since it is pragmatic in nature. Thus, Zivy's results, while not based on Quechua, are clearly relevant.)

An additional example which suggests that the distribution of validators is determined by grammatical structure rather than rhematicity is (649):

(649a) -naepal, subjunctive clause
Marya - ka Juzi-ta -Ø visita - ngapaj muna-n
María-topic José-acc-validator visit-subjunctive want-3
'María wants to visit José.'

(649b) -na, infinitive clause
Marya - ka Juzi-ta -mi visita - na - ta
María-topic José-acc-validator visit-infinitive-acc
muna-n
want-3
'María wants to visit José.'

There would appear to be no reason on the basis of pragmatics why Juzi would be the rheme in (649b) but not (649a). But there is independent evidence that the embedded clause boundary has been structured as infinitives and not in -ngapaj subjunctives. (See 1.1.2.2.7.3) Thus, the distribution of validators appears to be related to grammatical subordination rather than to potential rhematicity. I suspect, therefore, that whatever the historical origins of the constraint, it now refers to superficial grammatical structure rather than to the pragmatics of rhematicity.

We would like to turn now to the function and distribution of the topic marker -ka. This morpheme is used to mark the topic, or sentence rheme. See 1.11 and 1.12. -Ka marked elements, like validated elements, must be immediate constituents of the matrix clause (or the matrix VP):

(650) Juzi autu-ta -Ø rendi - shka - ta yacha-ni
-ka
José car-acc-topic buy-nominalizer-acc know -1
'I know José bought a car.'

-Ka differs from the validators in that more than one instance of -ka can appear in a sentence:

(651) fluka-ka tayta-man papa - ta -ka
I-topic father-to potato-acc-topic
serve-past-1-validator
kara - rka-ni - mi
serve-past-1 validator
'I served father the potato.'

(652) Juzi - ka Marya - ka shamu-rka
José-topic Maria-topic come-past 3
'I José and Marí came.'

The fact that validators mark sentence rheme (or new information) and -ka sentence theme (or old information) provides the means by which certain types of adverbial clauses are distinguished. No equivalents of the conjunctions if and when are found in Quechua languages. Adverbial clauses can, however, be validated or topic marked. When validated, they are usually understood as 'when' clauses (normally new information), but, when topic marked, they are normally understood as 'if' clauses (usually pragmatically presupposed or old information).

The validator or -ka follows the entire adverbial clause, a constituent of the main clause, and marks the adverbial clause as a whole as sentence rheme or theme. (Neither the validator nor -ka can appear within the adverbial clause.)

(653) [Kitu-man ri - shpa] - ka kun-ta visita - sha Quito-to go-adverbializer-topic you-acc visit-future 1
'If I go to Quito, I'll visit you.'

(654) [Kitu-man ri - shpa] - mi kun-ta
Quito-to go-adverbializer-validator you-acc
visit-future 1
'If I'm going to Quito, I'll visit you.'

An additional restriction on -ka is that it cannot be suffixed to finite verbs (see 1.12), with the sole exception of the conditional (see 2.1.3.4.6).

-Taj and -raj are both markers of exclusivity. -Taj indicates synchronic exclusivity ('this and no other') while -raj indicates diachronic exclusivity ('this first or still').

The use of -taj is illustrated in (655):

(655) chay-ta taj - muna-ni that-excl-exclusive want-1
'I want that very one.'

As a marker of exclusivity -taj is frequently used in conjunction with -lia 'just, only' (see below). The combined morphemes
-lla-taj have a sense roughly analogous to an emphatic reflexive in English:
(656) fuka-lla - taj ri - sha
I just-exclusive go-future 1
'I myself will go.'
A precise translation of fuka-lla-taj would be 'just I (fuka-lla) and no other [-taj].'
The morpheme -taj is the primary interrogative marker in question word questions (see 1.1.1.2.2):
(657) ima - taj riku-rka-ngul
what-acc-exclusive see-past - 2
'What did you see?'
The meaning of -taj in question word questions seems to be the same as in affirmative sentences. Ima-ta-taj rikurkangui is understood as asking 'what thing is distinguished from all other things by your having seen it?'
It should be noted that -taj is used as an interrogative suffix only in genuine requests for information--questions in which it is understood that the questioner does not know the answer to his question at the time he asks it, and which the questioner believes his addressee can answer. When the questioner already knows the answer to the question -mi is used in place of -taj.
The use of -mi in questions is similar to its use in affirmative sentences. In both cases it is understood that the speaker has personal knowledge of the matter under discussion. When the questioner does not believe his addressee can answer the question, -shi or -châ(ri) is used. These suffixes also have the same sense in questions as in affirmations. (The use of -taj, -mi, -shi, and -châ(ri) in questions is discussed more fully in 1.1.1.2.2.)
The suffix -raj indicates temporal exclusivity: the situation described is true at this time to the exclusion of possible later states of affairs. The suffix is usually translated as 'still, yet' when affixed to verbs, and 'first' when affixed to nouns, but the meaning appears to be the same in both cases:
(658a) chay-ta - raj muna-ni
that-acc-first want-1
'I want that first.'
(658b) fuka wawa puwu - ju - n-raj
my child sleep-prog-3-still
'My child is still sleeping.'
In (658a) -raj picks out the object that I want now. I may wish others later. In (658b) my child is presently asleep. He will presumably awaken later.
-Raj is frequently suffixed to the negative morpheme mana.
The resulting form is mana-raj 'not yet'.
(659) tayta mana-raj shamu-shka - chu
father not-yet come-perfect-neg
'Father has not come yet.'
The additive suffix -pash (or -pis) has several related uses: it can often be translated as 'also' or 'both' as in (660):
(660) fuka tayta-pash fuka wawki - pash
my father-also my brother-also
chagra - yuj - mi ka - rka
agricultural field-owner-validator be-past 3
'My father and my brother as well were owners of agricultural land.'
-Pash can sometimes be translated as 'even':
(661) Juji-ta-pash juyu-ni
Jose-acc-even love-1
Sentence (661) can be interpreted as 'I love even Jose', or 'I love Jose too'. The sense of -pash as 'even' is particularly clear when the suffix follows an adverbial clause:
(662) kuan punilla tanya - jpi - pash chagra-pi trabaja-rka-ni
now rain-adverbial even field-in work - past-1
'Even though it rained today, I worked in the field.'
When -pash is affixed to an interrogative pronoun, the resulting form is interpreted as a specific indefinite pronoun:
(663) pi-pash fuka llama-ta shuwa - shka
who-even my sheep-acc steal-perfect 3
'Someone has stolen my sheep.'
See 2.1.2.1.14.
The limitative suffix -lla is often referred to as an independent suffix, because it occurs with both nominal and verbal stems. But the position of this suffix within the word suggests that it is not an independent suffix in the sense of this monograph, at least when it is affixed to nominal stems. When suffixed to nouns, -lla follows the nominal stem. It precedes certain case markers and follows others:
(664) -lla precedes case
(664a) -za 'accusative'
Maria - ka shu shagra-lla-ta chari-n
Maria-topic one cow-just-acc have-3
'Maria has just one cow.'
(664b) -pi 'locative'
chagra-lla-pi trabaja-ju-n
field-just-in work-prog-3
'He is just working in the field.'
(664c) -wan 'with'
tayta - lla-wan trabaja-ni
father-just-with work - 1
'I just work with my father.'
(665) -lla follows case
(665a) -man 'to'
Agato-man-lla ri-ju-ni
Agato-to-just go-prog-1
'I'm just going to Agato.'
When two independent suffixes appear on a single word, the meaning of the resulting form is largely predictable from the meanings of the suffixes combined. In some cases the meaning is less than completely obvious, suggesting that the combined form has undergone (or is undergoing) lexicalization. For the convenience of the reader I shall provide examples of some of the less obvious combinations:

(671) -taj-chari
pay shamu - nga - taj - chari
he come-future 3-exclusive-doubt
'Doubtless he will come.'

-Taj-chari is often translated as 'doubtless.' Like the expression doubtless in English, -taj-chari indicates that there is, indeed, doubt. This combination of suffixes is typically used in answers. It constitutes confirmation of a supposed fact based on supposition or deduction rather than first-hand experience.

(672) -taj-mari
pay shamu - nga - taj - mari
he come-future 3-exclusive- emphatic first-hand information
'He will indeed come.'

The suffix combination -taj-mari is also typically used in replies. It is used in the confirmation, based on first-hand information, of evident rather than supposed facts.

(673) -taj-shi
pay shamu - nga - taj - shi
he come-future 3-exclusive-supposition
'I suppose he will come.'

-Taj-shi is used in conjecture. It is not entirely acceptable if out of context for some speakers. As with other instances of -shi, -taj-shi is appropriate when the matter described is of some import to the speaker, but he is unsure of the facts. In contrast, -taj-chari can be used to speculate about matters of little importance to the speaker.

The use of -pash-chari is illustrated in (670b). This combination of suffixes indicates that the speaker hopes the event described will come to pass. I would like to turn now to some uses of independent suffixes that appear to be genuine exceptions to the principles stated above. The combination -taj-lla is used to indicate similarity (but not exact likeness):

(674) fuka alku - ka kan - paj
my dog-topic you-possessive
alku - taj - lla - mi
dog-exclusive-just-first-hand validator
'My dog is very much like your dog.'

Note that the order of suffixes is -taj-lla rather than -lla-taj (which also occurs). Sentences like (674) were rejected by many
speakers. It is not entirely certain that they are well-formed.

(See also section 2.1.1.2.)

In a very limited range of cases, the suffix -mí can occur in
the same sentence with another validator:
(675) ima - ta - shi
ni - ju - rka - mí
what-acc-validator (conjecture) say-prog-past 3 - ?

'What is he saying? I don't know what he is saying.'

The use of -shi...mí is used to express great perplexity. In
sentences like (675) -mí is always stressed, and does not appear
to indicate first-hand information. It seems likely that
stressed -mí is a different morpheme from the normal use of -mí
as a validator indicating first-hand information.

I do not fully understand the use of the validator -yari. It
is translated as 'well, certainly (Sp. claro, pues)'.

(676a) alku-chu waka-ju-n
dog-inter cry-prog-3
'Is the dog crying?'

(676b) alku-yari
dog - ?
'Well, certainly it's the dog.'

(677) ri - y - yari
go-imperative -?
'Well, certainly go.'

### 2.2. Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology takes place by the addition of suf-
fixes to lexical or derived stems. None of the derivational
processes is synchronically iterative except for the limitative
suffix -lla. (See section 2.2.1.1.6.) The productivity and semantic
regularity of each suffix is discussed separately.

To some extent the discussion in this section overlaps with
that in section 3.2 (inflectional morphology). This is dictated by
the basic organization of the grammars in this series. The
suffix -ju- 'progressive', for example, is discussed under as-
pect (2.1.3.3.2.1.4-5) in 2.1 and under suffixes forming verbs
from verbs in 2.2.2.2.4. In order to avoid unnecessary repeti-
tion in 2.2, I frequently limit my discussion of a previously
considered suffix to an example and a cross-reference. In
some cases a suffix has a variety of functions. When this is true, I
try to summarize these functions in 2.2.2 and, when appropriate,
refer the reader to a fuller discussion elsewhere.

#### 2.2.1. Derived nouns

There are six suffixes used to form nouns from nouns:

**2.2.1.1. -yuj 'possessor'**

The suffix -yuj indicates permanent or characteristic posses-
sion:

(678) Juzi - ka chagra - yuj - mí
José-topic agricultural land-possessor-validator
'José is an owner of agricultural land.'

(679) warmi - yuj - chu ka-ngui
woman-possessor-inter be - 2
'Do you have a woman? Are you married?'

The suffix -yuj is fully productive and is quite regular sem-
antically. There are a few expressions in which the use of
-yuj appears to be somewhat lexicalized: e.g., kuli-yuj 'money
possessor = rich', maki-yuj 'possessor of a bank = thief'. Even
in such cases, however, the expressions are quite transparent
semantically and their morphological origins are clear. See also
sections 1.1.0.

#### 2.2.1.2. -sapa 'augmentive'

The primary meaning of -sapa is augmentive:

(680) puy - ka singa - sapa - mí
he-topic nose-augmentive-validator
'He is all nose; he has a big nose.'

In addition, -sapa is frequently used in a metaphorical fashion.

(681) chay runa - ka uma - sapa - mí
that man-topic head-augmentive-validator
'That man is all head = uncombed.'

(682) fiuka tiyu - ka kulki - sapa - mí
my uncle-topic money-augmentive-validator
'My uncle is very rich.'

Note the difference in meaning between kulki-yuj 'money pos-
sessor = rich' and kulki-sapa 'all money = rich'. The suffix
-yuj indicates possession which is permanent or characteristic
of the possessor. There is, however, no hint of exaggeration.

-Sapa, in contrast, is primarily an indicator of exaggeration;
hence, the interpretation of 'very rich' in (682). Note, also,
that (682) may describe a temporary or uncharacteristic state
of affairs, while that described by kulki-yuj is permanent or char-
acteristic of the individual so-described.

It is of interest to note that in San Martin Quechua, a Peru-
vian Northern Quechua dialect which displays many similarities
to Ecuadorian Quechua, -sapa is used not only as an augmentive
suffix for nouns, but also as a verbal pluralizer:

(683) Mukay - kuna - ka eskuela-man - mi
1 person-plural(excl)-topic school-to validator
ri-mi - sapa
go-1-pluralizer
'We (exclusive) go to school.' (Coombs et al, 1976:109)

The suffix -sapa is fully productive and is regular seman-
tically in its literal use. The metaphorical uses of the suffix
(e.g., uma-sapa 'uncombed') are to some extent lexicalized, and
are, therefore, only partially predictable.
2.2.1.1.5. -itu, -ita 'diminutive'

The diminutive suffixes -itu and -ita are borrowed from Spanish -ito, -ita. As in Spanish, -itu is masculine and -ita feminine.

(684) Alfons - itu pay-paj mana - ta maska - ju - n
Alfonso-masc dimin he-poss mother-acc look-for-prog-3 'Little Alfonso is looking for his mother.'

(685) Mich - ita - ka tayta-manda kalpa-rka
Michi-fam dimin-topic father-from run-past 3 'Little Mercedes ran from her father.'

The suffixes -itu and -ita are generally more widespread in noun suffixes as borrowed from Spanish -ito, -ita. As in Spanish, -itu is masculine and -ita feminine.

(686) fuuka churi-gu - paj - mi sumaj ali ruwana-ta
my son-dimin-for-validator beautiful good poncho-acc muna-ni want-1
'I want a very good poncho for my little son.'

(687) chay aiku - gu aycha-ta - mi shwa - shka
that dog-dimn meat-acc-validator steal-perfect 'That little dog has stolen the meat.'

Unlike -itu/-ita, the form of -gu does not vary as a result of gender. The suffix indicates an attitude of tenderness and affection on the part of the speaker. The suffix is not only fully productive, but is also semantically regular.

2.2.1.2. -gu 'diminutive'

The suffix -gu is the fully productive diminutive suffix used in Imbabura:

(688) fuuka churi-gu - paj - mi sumaj ali ruwana-ta
my son-dimin-for-validator beautiful good poncho-acc muna-ni want-1
'I want a very good poncho for my little son.'

This suffix serves to form diminutives with the suffix -gu. Unlike -itu/-ita, the form of -gu does not vary as a result of gender. The suffix indicates an attitude of tenderness and affection on the part of the speaker. The suffix is not only fully productive, but is also semantically regular.

2.2.1.3. -ruki 'deprecative'

The suffix -ruki indicates that the speaker dislikes the entity so marked.

(689) chay wasi - ruki - pa kawsa - na - ta na muna-ni-chu
that house-deprec-in live-infinitive-acc not want-1-neg 'I don't want to live in this awful house.'

This suffix is fully productive and semantically regular.

2.2.1.4. -lila 'limitative'

This suffix appears on both nouns and verbs. See discussion under 2.1.8. -lila does not affect the part of speech of the stem to which it is affixed. (But see 2.2.4.1.)

(690) Ruza-lila - ta juya-ni
Rosa-limit-acc love-1
'I love only Rosa.'

This suffix is occasionally iterated: alia 'good, well', alia-1 'fairly good', alia-lila 'so-so, not so good'.

The suffix -lila is fully productive and is quite regular semantically.

2.2.1.5. Nouns from verbs

In this section I will discuss the suffixes -j, -dur/-dura, -na, -shka, -yu, and -nguichi, all of which are used to form nouns from verbs. With the exception of -nguichi, all are also used in the formation of complex sentences of various sorts. Nominalizations employing -j, -dur/-dura, -na, and -shka are in all probability headless (free) relative clauses syntactically.

e.g., the product nominalization awa-shka 'something woven' has the structure in (691):

(691) NP[awa - shka] NP[∅]

weave-past
'a thing which was woven'

Thus, the formation of derived nominals with these suffixes is a special case of relative clause formation. This should be borne in mind while reading the following subsections. See also 1.1.2.3.

2.2.1.6. -j 'agentive'

The suffix -j is used to form agentive nominalizations:

(692a) michi - j
herd-agent
'the herder, one who herds'

(692b) puwi - j
walk-agent
'the walker, one who walks'

(692c) yacha - chi - j
know-cause-agent
'teacher'

These nominalizations are, in fact, headless relative clauses. See 1.1.2.3.6. This function has been partially supplanted by -dur/-dura. See 2.2.1.2.2. The same suffix is used in the formation of headed relative clauses:

(693) NP[awa-rugra - ta michi - j 3 wambra] NP[ka na]
cattle-acc herd-agent boy - topic already shama-ju - n - mi
come-prog-3-validator
'the boy who herds the cattle is coming.'

In addition to its use in the formation of relative clauses, -j is also used to form present tense indicative complement clauses:

(694) [Manil Agatu-pi kawsa - j] - ta ya - ni
Manuel Agato-in live-nominalizer-acc think-1
'I think that Manuel lives in Agato.'
See 1.1.2.2.1.
-\(j\) is also used in conjunction with the verb \(ka-\) 'be' to express habitual aspect:

\[(695)\] wagra michi - j ka-rka-ni
cattle herd-habitual be-past-1
'I used to herd cattle.'

See 2.1.3.3.2.1.3.

The use of the suffix \(-j\) is fully productive and semantically regular.

2.2.1.2.2. -dur/-dura 'agentive'

The suffixes \(-dur\) 'masculine agentive' and \(-dura\) 'feminine agentive', borrowed from Spanish \(-dor\), \(-dora\) 'agentive', have come to assume some of the functions of the indigenous suffix \(-j\) (2.2.1.2.1). \(-Dur/-dura\) rather than \(-j\) is normally used when the action is characteristic or typical of the individual. Hence, \(michi-dur\) 'herd + agentive = herder' is typically employed when the individual can be characterized as a herder rather than as someone who happens to be herding at the moment.

Compare (696) and (697):

\[(696)\] wagra michi-dur - mi ka-ni
cattle herd-agent-validator be-1
'I am a cattle herder.'

\[(697)\] wagra michi - j - mi ka-ni
cattle herd-agent-validator be-1
'I am one who herds cattle.'

Sentence (696) would typically be used by someone who was a herder by occupation, while (697) would be used by someone who was not usually a herder but who happened to be herding at the moment.

\(-Dur/-dura\) has largely replaced \(-j\) in the present tense of the habitual aspect (2.1.3.3.2.1.5):

\[(698a)\] wagra michi - dur ka-ni
\(-f\)j
cattle herd-habitual be-1
'I (habitually) herd cattle.'

\[(698b)\] wagra michi - j ka-rka-ni
\(-dur\)
cattle herd-habitual be-past-1
'I (habitually) herded cattle.'

Note that (698b) is grammatical as an agentive nominalization: 'I was a cattle herder.' The habitual past and the agentive are somewhat difficult to distinguish. (They are probably historically related.) The use of validators provides a test for distinguishing them. See 2.1.3.3.2.1.3.

\(-Dur/-dura\) is not used in the formation of relative clauses or indicative complement clauses. The suffix is both semantically regular and fully productive.

2.2.1.2.3. -na 'potential'

The suffix \(-na\) expresses potential or suitability:

\[(699a)\] ufy - na yuku
drink-potential water
'water suitable for drinking; water which can potentially be drunk,'

\[(699b)\] miku - na
eat-potential
'thing suitable for eating; food'

\(-Na\) is used in relative clauses and complement clauses to indicate future tense:

(700) Relative Clause
kay-man shamu - na wambra
this-to come-future child
'the child who will come here'

(701) Complement Clause
Juzi shamu - na - ta yacha - nchi
Jose come-future-acc know-1 plural
'We know that Jose will come.'

(702) Ininitive (Espu) Complement
Kitu-man ri - na - ta muma - nchi
Quito-to go-infinitive-acc want-1 plural
'We want to go to Quito.'

See 1.1.2 for details.

\(-Na\) is also used in the aspect system to indicate obligation:

(703) Kay-man ri - na ka-rka-ni
Quito-to go-obligation be-past-1
'I had to go to Quito.'

See 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.1.

The suffix \(-na\) is highly productive and is quite regular semantically.

2.2.1.2.4. -shka 'product'

The suffix \(-shka\) is employed to indicate the result or product of an action:

\[(704a)\] awa - shka
weave-product
'a woven object'

\[(704b)\] yamu - shka
cook-product
'something cooked'

\(-Shka\) is also used to form past tense relative clauses and complement clauses:

(705) Relative Clause
kay-man shamu-shka warmi
this-to come-past woman
'the woman who came here'
Complement Clause

(706) complementary

Shka - shka - ta - yache - nichi
woman come - past - acc know - i plural

'we know that the woman came.'

See 1.1.2 for more information.

- Shka is also used in the formation of the resultive aspect:

(707) Huka-ka miku - shka ka-rka-ni
1-topic eat - resultive be - past - i

'I was in a state of having eaten.'

For discussion, see 2.1.3.3.

- Shka is both productive and semantically regular.

2.2.1.2.3: -y 'abstract nominalization'

The suffix -y is used to form abstract nominalizations:

(708a) awa - y
weave-abstract

'weaving (in the sense of a design)'

(708b) miku - y
eat-abstract

'food'

The differences between -y and -na are often obscured in translation. For instance, both miku-na and miku-y are translated as 'food'. The meanings, however, are quite distinct. When -na is used the noun refers to an actual concrete object suitable for eating (hence, a food), while when -y is used the noun refers to the concept of a thing to eat. Thus, in the presence of a number of foods from which to choose, one would ask (709):

(709) mayjan miku - na - kuna - ta - taj gushta-ngui
which eat-potential-plural-acc-inter like - 2

'Which foods (of those present) do you like?'

But, in a discussion of preferences in which no actual food were present, (710) would be appropriate:

(710) mayjan miku - y - kuna - ta - taj gushta-ngui
which eat-abstract-plural-acc-inter like - 2

'Which foods (in the abstract) do you like?'

The suffix -y is not used in the formation of relative clauses. Hence, nominalizations employing -y presumably are not instances of headless (free) relativization. See 1.1.2.3. The suffix -y is used to form complement clauses, especially infinative structures:

(711) awa - y - ta kallari-rka-ni
weave-infinitive-acc begin - past - i

'We began to weave.'

Unlike -i, -dur/-dura, -na, and -shka, -y is not used to indicate aspect. -y is both productive and semantically regular.

2.2.1.2.6: -nguichu 'excessiveness'

-Nguichu indicates excessiveness:

(712a) asi - nguichu
laugh-excessive

'one who laughs excessively'

(712b) puri - nguichu
walk-excessive

'one who walks excessively'

This suffix appears to be semantically regular, but it is not fully productive:

(713a) *parla - nguichu
speaking-excessive

('one who speaks excessively')

(713b) *miku-nguichu
eat-excessive

('one who eats excessively')

2.2.1.4.5: Nouns from adverbs

I know of no suffix forming nouns from adverbs or from any category other than nouns and verbs.

2.2.2.1: Verbs from nouns

2.2.2.1.1: -ya 'become'

The suffix -ya converts a noun or adjective into a verb:

(714a) jatun - ya - rka
big-become-past 3

'He became big.'

(714b) ruku - ya - rka
old-become-past 3

'He became old.'

(714c) yaku - ya - rka
water/liquid-become-past 3

'It liquefied.'

This suffix is largely restricted to words translatable by adjectives, but, since there does not seem to be a morphological category of adjective in IQ, it is included in this section.

Note the ungrammaticality of the sentences of (715):

(715a) *libru - ya - rka
book-become-past 3

('It became a book.')

(715b) *wasi - ya - rka
house-become-past 3

('It became a house.')

The unacceptability of sentences like (715) is not due to the strangeness of the ideas they express. The sentences of (716) are fully grammatical.

(716a) libru tuku - rka
book become-past 3

'It became a book.'
(716b) wasi tuku - rka
  house become-past
  'It became a house.'

See also 2.2.5.

2.2.2.1.2. -chi- 'causative'

The suffix -chi- is used to indicate 'cause to become':

(717a) wasi - ta ali - chi-rka-ni
  house-acc good-cause-past-1
  'I caused the house to become good; I repaired the house.'

(717b) fluka churi-ta Manil - ta shuti-chi-rka-ni
  my son-acc Manuel-acc name-cause-past-1
  'I caused my son to be named Manuel; I named my son Manuel.'

The suffix -chi- is quite restricted with regard to the nouns with which it is used:

(718a) *yaku - chi-rka-ni
  water-cause-past-1
  ('I caused it to become water; I liquefied it.')

(718b) *libru-chi-rka-ni
  book-cause-past-1
  ('I caused it to become a book; I made it into a book.')

It is also irregular semantically:

(719a) shuti-chi- 'cause to be named ≠ cause to be a name'

(719b) pampa-chi- 'pampa [flat place] 'bury (primary meaning);
  cause to become flat (secondary meaning)'

It should be noted that the use of -chi- to form causative verbs from nouns is peculiar to Ecuadorian Quechua. In at least most varieties of Peruvian Quechua, the suffix -cha- (lost in Ecuador) would be used for this function, and -chi- would be restricted to the formation of causative verbs from non-causatives.

-cha- is fully productive in causatives formed from verbs in 1Q. The restrictions on the distribution of the suffix with nouns may be due to -chi- having only partially assumed the functions of -cha-.

See also 2.2.2.2.2.

2.2.2.1.3. -naya- 'desiderative'

The desiderative suffix -naya- is also of very limited productivity with nouns although it is fully productive with verbs. (See 2.2.2.2.2.) All the nouns which can be verbalized with -naya- indicate bodily desires. Compare (720) and (721):

(720a) fluka-ta yaku - naya-n
  I - acc water-desid-3
  'I want water; I am thirsty.'

(720b) fluka-ta aycha-naya-n
  I - acc meat-desid-3
  'I want/am hungry for meat.'

(720c) fluka-ta warmi-naya-n
  I - acc woman-desid-3
  'I want a woman (sexual desire).'

(Sentence (720c) is viewed as vulgar.)

(721a) *fluka-ta wasi - naya-n
  I - acc house-desid-3
  ('I want a house.')

(721b) *fluka-ta libru-naya-n
  I - acc book-desid-3
  ('I want a book.')

2.2.2.2. Verbs from verbs

There are a wide variety of suffixes forming verbs from verbs.

2.2.2.2.1. -naya- 'desiderative'

The suffix -naya- forms desiderative verbs from non-desiderative verb stems:

(722a) Non-desiderative
  fluka miku-ni
  I eat - 1
  'I eat.'

(722b) Desiderative
  fluka-ta miku-naya-n
  I - acc eat-desid-3
  'I want to eat.'

Note that verbs formed with -naya- are "impersonal": their "notional subjects" appear in the accusative, and the verbs invariably appear in the third person. There are a variety of arguments for the claim that the 'notional subject' of -naya- verbs (e.g., fluka-ta in (722b)) is the grammatical subject at some syntactic level (deep structure in a standard transformational theory or Logical Form in a framework like that of Chomsky (1981)). See 2.1.1.2.16.

The suffix -naya- is fully productive and semantically regular when affixed to verbs. The meaning of -naya- is somewhat different from that of mana- 'want'. When -naya- is used the desire is viewed as coming from the outside and as involuntary in nature. Thus, a more sensitive translation of (722b) might be 'I have a yen to eat; I am hungry.'

The suffix -naya- is also used with some nouns. See 2.2.2.1.3. The effect of combining -naya- and -chi- is discussed in 2.2.2.2.2.

2.2.2.2.2. -chi- 'causative'

The suffix -chi- is used to form causative verbs from non-causative verb stems. (This suffix is also used to form causa-
tive verbs from nouns in a limited number of cases. See 2.2.2.1.2.)

(723a) 
Juzi-ta - ka mushuj wagra-ta riku-chi - rka - nchi
José-acc-topic new cow-acc see-cause-past-1 plural
'We caused José to see the new cow; we showed José the new cow.'

(723b) 
chay mana all jari fluka wawki - ta wafu-chi - rka
that bad man my brother-acc die-cause-past 3
'That bad man killed my brother.'

The syntax of causative sentences is discussed in 2.1.3.1.3.

The suffix -chi- is also used in conjunction with "impersonal" verbs like nama- 'to hurt (intransitive)', chiri- 'to be cold', and "impersonal" desiderative verbs composed of verb stem + naya- (see 2.2.2.2.1). Impersonal verbs take accusative rather than nominative subjects:

(724) 
fluka-ta-ka chiri-n - ni
I-acc-topic cold-3-validator
'I am cold.'

(See 2.1.1.2.16 for an extensive discussion of this construction including a variety of arguments that fluka-ta 'I acc' is in fact a subject at some level of structure.) Note that the verb in (724) manifests third person subject-verb agreement despite the fact that the subject is first person.

When the suffix -chi- is affixed to impersonal verb stems, the verb becomes personal:

(725a) 
naya- desiderative
fuka-ta miku-naya-n
-Ø
*ni
I - acc eat-desid-3
- Ø
-3
'I want to eat.'

(725b) 
naya + chi- desiderative
fuka-Ø miku-naya-chi-ni
-Ø
*ta
*ni
I - Ø eat-desid - 7-1
- acc
-3
'I want to eat.'

(726a) 
Impersonal chiri-
fluka-ta chiri-n
-Ø
*ni
I - acc cold-3
- Ø
-1
'I am cold.'

(726b) 
chiri + chiri-
fluka-Ø chiri-chi-ni
-Ø
*ta
*ni
I - Ø cold - 7-1
- acc
-3
'I am cold.'

Note that when -chi is suffixed to an impersonal verb stem, it is converted to a personal verb.

The use of -chi- illustrated in (725) and (726) is distinct from its use in forming causative verbs. Sentences (725b) and (726b) do not have a causative interpretation along the lines of 'I caused (someone) to want to eat' and 'I caused (someone) to be cold.' Rather, the meaning of (725b) and (726b) is essentially the same as that of (725a) and (726a). (Pace Ross 1963: 62, who suggests that the use of -chi- changes the meaning and thereby the grammar of the construction. I have not been able to find the meaning difference she claims in IQ. Perhaps there is such a difference in other varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua.) See also 2.2.5.2.

The suffix -chi- is fully productive (when affixed to verbs), and is semantically regular, except with impersonal verbs as noted above. -Chi- can be used iteratively with at least one verb, wafu- 'die':

(727a) 
Juzi wafu-rka
José die-past 3
José died.'

(727b) 
Juzi Marya-ta wafu-chi - rka
José María-acc die-cause-past 3
José caused María to die; José killed María.'

(727c) 
Juzi Juan-ta - mi Marya-ta wafu-chi - chi - rka
José Juan-acc-validator María-acc die-cause-past 3
José caused Juan to kill María.'

Quite possibly the iterative use of -chi- in (727c) indicates that wafuchi- has been reanalyzed as a basic rather than as a derived verb stem. Otherwise there would be no explanation for why other verbs do not permit the iterative use of -chi-.

2.2.2.2.3. -gri- 'ingressive aspect'

The suffix -gri- forms ingressive aspect verbs from non-ingressives:

(728) 
wasi - ta rura - gri - sha
house-acc make-ingressive-future 1
'I am going to make a house; I will begin to make a house.'

-Gri- is often used as a sort of quasi-future. The suffix is both fully productive and semantically regular. See 2.1.3.3.2.1.6.

2.2.2.2.4. -ju- 'continuous/progressive aspect'

The suffix -ju- forms progressive aspect verbs from non-progressives:

(729) 
miku-ju - nchi
eat-prog-1 plural
'We are eating.'

It is both productive and semantically regular. In at least one
case, however, -ju- is used iteratively, and seems to have been reanalyzed as part of the root:

(730a) yach-angul
know - 2
'You know.'

(730b) yach-ju-ngul
know-prog-2
'You learn.'

(730c) yach-ju-ju-ngul
know-prog-prog-2
'You are learning.'

See also 2.1.3.2.1.4-5.

2.2.2.2.5.-riya- 'durative aspect'
The suffix -riya- forms durative verbs from non-duratives.

(731) champus - ta yamu-riya - ni:
champus (thickened, cooked liquid)-acc cook-durative-1
'I cook (over an extended period).'

The suffix is both productive and semantically regular. See 2.1.3.2.1.11.

2.2.2.2.6.-paya-
The suffix -paya- was originally a frequentative aspect, but is now non-productive. It occurs with only one verb to the best of my knowledge: riku-paya- 'see + frequentive = gape, criticize'.

See 2.1.3.2.1.13.2.

2.2.2.2.7.-mu- 'translocative'
The suffix -mu- forms translocative verbs from non-translocatives:

(732a) las siti - pi - mi chaya - sha
seven o'clock-at-validator arrive-1 future
'I will arrive (there) at seven o'clock.'

(732b) las siti - pi - mi chaya - mu - sha
seven o'clock-at-validator arrive-translocative-1 future
'I will arrive (here) at seven o'clock.'

The suffix -mu- is both productive and regular semantically. It has been reanalyzed as part of the root in shamu- 'come'.

Cf. the cognate verb in Ancash Quechua, where lexicalization has not taken place. In Ancash an inflectional suffix, the pluralizer -ya-, can intervene between sha- and -mu-:

(733) sha - ya - mu - u
stand-plural-translocative-1
'We (exclusive) come.'

Note, also, the occurrence of sha- as an independent root meaning 'stand' in Ancash.

See also 2.1.3.6.10.

2.2.2.2.8.-naju- 'joint action'
The suffix -naju- indicates joint action:

(734a) shamu-rka - nchi
come-past-1 plural
'We came (perhaps separately).'  

(734b) shamu-naju-rka - nchi
come-joint-past 1 plural
'We came together.'

-Naju- is both productive and semantically regular. See discussion under 1.7.

2.2.2.2.9.-ri- 'reflexive/reciprocal'
-ri- is used to form reflexive/reciprocal verbs from non-reflexive/reciprocals.

(735a) Non-reflexive
riku - nchi
see-1 plural
'We see.'

(735b) Reflexive/reciprocal
riku - nchi
see-reflexive-1 plural
'We see ourselves/each other.'

-ri- is both semantically regular and productive. See 1.6 and 1.7.

2.2.2.2.10.-pa- 'honorific'
The suffix -pa- is used to form honorific verbs:

(736) miku - na - ta muna - pa - ngui-chu
eat-infinitive-acc want-honorific-2-inter
'Do you want to eat?'

The suffix is productive and semantically regular. See 1.1.1.3.1-2.

2.2.2.2.11.-wa- 'first person object'
The suffix -wa- indicates that the verb has a first person direct or indirect object:

(737) Juži riku-wa-rka
José see-1-past 3
'José saw me.'

This suffix is included in this section because it appears in the verb stem between clear instances of derivational suffixes. See 2.2.5.2 for a discussion of order of verbal suffixes. For additional discussion of -wa-, see 2.1.3.6.

2.2.2.5. Verbs from adjectives and other categories

There does not in general appear to be a morphological category "adjective" which is formally distinct from the category "noun", but see the discussion of -ya- in 2.2.2.1.1. There are
no suffixes forming verbs from adverbs or any other category. See 2.2.3.

2.2.3. Adjective formation

There does not appear to be a category "adjective" which is formally distinct from the category "noun". Thus, there are no suffixes forming adjectives from other categories.

One suffix which constitutes a problem for this claim is -sha, which is affixed to words translatable as adjectives, and which suggests that the basic meaning of the word is pleasant:

(738a) kushi-sha - mi ka-ni

happy-nice-validator be-1

'I am nice and happy.'

(738b) wasi - pi - mi kumuj-sha ka-rka - nchi

house-in-validator warm-nice be-past-1 plural

'We were nice and warm in the house.'

The most likely explanation for the existence of a suffix with the distributional limitations of -sha in the absence of a category "adjective" is that the meaning of -sha limits its use to certain classes of meanings (e.g., qualities rather than objects), and that the appropriate meaning classes correspond roughly to the category "adjective" in those languages having such a category. (The same approach would be taken with -ma (2.2.2.1.1) and the adverbializer -ta (2.2.4.1).)

2.2.4.1. Adverbs from nouns

There are three suffixes used to form adverbs from nouns (including notional adjectives): -ta, -lla, and -n...-n.

(739) -ta

ta

ta sumaj - ta trshaja-rka

father-topic beautiful-adv work-past 3

'Father worked well.'

(739b) kushi-sha - ta puri-naju - rka - nchi

happy-nice-adv walk-joint-past-1 plural

'We walked together nice and happily.'

(739c) wagi - ta tushu-n

damage-adv dance-3

'I danced incorrectly.'

As is shown in (739), the suffix -ta forms manner adverbs from nouns. (See the discussion of the category "adjective" in 2.2.3.) The productivity of the suffix in this function is uncertain. -ta is also the accusative case marker and can mean 'through' or 'via'. See 2.1.1.2.4 and 2.1.1.5.

The suffix -lla can also be used adverbially:

(740) chaki-lla shamu-rka-ni

foot-adv come-past-1

'I came on foot.'

This highly productive suffix has a variety of uses. See 2.2.1.1.6 and 2.1.8.

The reduplicated suffix -n...n has a quantifier-like effect.

(741a) wata - n wata - n kai-pi tarpu-ni

year-adv year-adv this-in plant-1

'I plant here every year.'

(741b) wasi - n wasi - n puri-ni

house-adv house-adv walk-1

'I walk from house to house.'

This suffix is both semantically regular and productive. I have excluded from this section the formation of adverbial phrases like wasi-pi 'in the house' and tayta-munda 'because of/from father'. Postpositional phrases appear to be adverbial phrases, but their constituent structure would appear to be PP 'niL p[...]. Since the postposition does not change the grammatical category of a noun to an adverb, I have not included such examples in this section. See 2.1.5 and 2.1.1.4.

2.2.4.2-5. Adverbs from verbs

There are a variety of suffixes which form adverbial clauses and adverbial phrases from clauses and noun phrases. There are, however, no suffixes converting verbs into adverbs. Adverbial clauses are discussed in 1.1.2.4 and adverbial phrases in 1.2.1.3. I am not aware of any other suffixes used to form adverbs.

2.2.5. Order of Suffixes

Any description of Quechua morphology which did not discuss the order of suffixes would be far from complete. In this section I shall survey the order of suffixes for both nouns and verbs.

2.2.5.1. Nouns

Nouns are composed of a nominal stem followed by the plural marker -kuna (when present), a postposition (when present) and, finally, by any independent suffixes (see 2.1.8):

(742) wasi - kuna - pi - mi

house-plural - in - validator

[stem] [postposition] [independent suffix]

In non-Ecuadorean Quechua languages, in which the nominal possessive suffixes have not been lost, the possessive suffix follows the stem and precedes the plural marker:

(743) wayl-i - kuna

house-1-plural

In examples like (743) (from Ancash Quechua), the plural marker can be understood as modifying either the stem, the possessor, or both. Thus, (743) means 'my houses', 'our house', or 'our houses'.

In addition, the suffix -lll just' can precede the postposition:
2.2.5.2. Verbs

Verbs are composed of a verbal stem followed by the perfect suffix (when present), tense (when present), person/number, and the conditional suffix (when present). Tense and person/number are sometimes indicated by a single form (see 2.1.3.2):

(748a) chayamu - shka - rka - nchi

arrive[verb stem][perfect]-past-1 plural

'We had arrived.'

(748b) puru - sha

walk 1 singular future

[verb stem][tense][person/number]

In Quechua languages such as Ancash, in which a separate pluralizer appears (and is productive), the position of the pluralizer varies from language to language:

(749a) Ancash
ranti - ya - nki
buy[stem][pluralizer]-2

'You (plural) buy.'

(749b) San Martín
ranti-nki - sapa
buy-2-pluralizer

'You (plural) buy.'

It is interesting to note that the scope of the pluralizer is often ambiguous. In example (750) from Ancash:

(750) rika - ya - wa - nki

see-pluralizer-1 object-2 subject

-ya- (-ya- in closed syllables) can be understood as pluralizing the subject, the object, or both. Thus (750) is three-ways ambiguous: 'you (plural) see me', 'you (singular) see us', 'you (plural) see us'.

When verbs occur in subordinate form (that is, nominalized [-shka, -na, -j, -y, -dur/-dura], adverbialized [-shpa, -ipi, -ngakamen], or in the subjunctive [-chun, ngapa]), the subor-

(744) Ruza - lla - ta

Rosa[stem]-[just]-acc[postposition]

or it can follow it:

(745) Ruza - ta - lla

Rosa[stem]-acc[postposition]-just

The order in (744) is more usual. (See 2.1.8 for further discussion of the ordering of -lla.)

Nominal stems may themselves be simple or complex. When complex, the order of stem forming suffixes is as follows:

(746) verbal stem-deverbal nominalizer-denominalizer

This order is illustrated in (747):

(747) michi - j - yuj

herd - agentive - possessor

[verb stem][deverbal nominalizer][denominalizer]

'one who has a herder'

The pluralizer varies, and it can follow it:

(751a) shamu - shpa

come-adverbializer

'upon coming'

(751b) *shamu - shka - shpa

come-perfect-adverbializer

('upon having come!'

A complex verbal stem consists of a simple verbal stem (which may itself be denominal) and a variety of stem forming suffixes. These suffixes are -mi- 'translocative', -chi- 'causative', -ril- 'reflexive/reciprocal', -gri- 'ingressive', -naya- 'desiderative', -naju- 'joint action', -riya- 'durative', -wa- 'first person singular object', -ju- 'continuous/progressive', and -pa- 'homorific'. All of the above are discussed in 2.2.2.2 inter alia.

The order of stem forming suffixes is largely determined by two principles, which are in part in conflict: (1) the order of suffixes reflects the relative semantic scope of the suffixes—the suffix with wider scope appears to the right of the suffix with narrower scope; (2) each suffix appears in a fixed position in the word. Principles (1) and (2) appear at first glance to be mutually contradictory, but, in fact, they are not. In many cases, two suffixes, A and B, can appear only in the order A>B (where > means 'precedes'). But, despite the fixed order of the suffixes, the order reflects the relative scope: B has broader scope than A.

There are, in addition, a number of pairs of suffixes, the ordering of which departs from the above principles. (1) The order of certain suffixes is free relative to each other (Principle (2) does not apply). Hence, the order of the suffixes freely reflects the relative scope of the two suffixes.

(2) Considerations of scope are irrelevant for certain pairs of suffixes. (3) In one case, there is a discrepancy between the order of two suffixes in isolation (e.g., -wa- 'first person object' > -naju- 'joint action', but the order is -naju- > -riya- > -wa- in words involving a third stem forming suffix, -riya- 'durative'. (5) One form, -chi- 'causative', assumes a non-causative meaning when it follows rather than precedes another suffix, -naya- 'desiderative'.

Despite the above exceptions, most orderings are determined by the combined effect of Principles One and Two. I will now turn to an examination of the data showing how various suffixes are ordered with respect to each other. Exceptions to Principles One and Two will be discussed as they occur. I shall begin with those suffixes closest to the simple verb stem and proceed to those furthest from the simple stem.
2.2.5.2.1. -mu- 'translocative' and -chi- 'causative'

The suffixes -mu- and -chi- are freely ordered with respect to each other:

(752a) chaya - mu - chi - ni
arrive-translocative-causative-1
(752b) chaya - chi - mu - ni
arrive-causative-translocative-1

As is predicted by Principle One, the order of suffixes reflects relative scope. In (752a) -chi- has broader scope than -mu-.

Thus the sentence is interpreted 'I cause (someone or something) to arrive (at where I am)'. In (752b) -mu- has broader scope than -chi-. Thus, (752b) means 'I come here and cause (someones or something) to arrive'. (It will be remembered that when -mu- is used with verbs that do not indicate motion by the speaker it means 'come and perform the activity specified by the verb' inter alia.) Note that Principle Two does not apply in the case of -mu- and -chi-.

2.2.5.2.2. -mu- 'translocative' and -ri- 'reflexive/reciprocal'

The suffix -ri- appears to the left of -mu-:

(753a) isipju-pi riku - ri - mu - pa - y
mirror-in look-reflexive-translocative-honorific-imper
'Please come and look at yourself in the mirror.'

(753b) *isipju-pi riku - mu - ri - pa - y
mirror-in look-translocative-reflexive-honorific-imper
('Please come and look at yourself in the mirror.')

Relative scope does not appear relevant to the order of these suffixes.

2.2.5.2.3. -chi- 'causative' and -ri- 'reflexive/reciprocal'

I have not been able to elicit clearly well formed verbs with these two suffixes.

2.2.5.2.4. -ri- 'reflexive/reciprocal' and -gri- 'ingressive'

The suffix -ri- must appear to the left of -gri-:

(754a) riku - ri - gri - mu - nchi
see-reciprocal-ingressive-1 plural
'We are going to see each other.'

(754b) *riku - gri - ri - nchi
see-ingressive-reciprocal-1 plural
('We are going to see each other.')

Considerations of relative scope do not appear to be relevant in this case.

2.2.5.2.5. -chi- 'causative' and -gri- 'ingressive'

The causative suffix -chi- must precede the ingressive suffix -gri-:

(755a) chaya - chi - gri - ni
arrive-causative-ingressive-3
'I am going to/about to cause (someone) to arrive.'

(755b) *chaya - gri - chi - ni
arrive-ingressive-causative-1

If (755b) were grammatical, the order of suffixes would predict that the meaning would be one in which -chi- would be in the scope of -gri-: 'I cause (someone) to begin to/be about to arrive'. (Note that the grammaticality of chaya-gri-ni 'I am going to/about to arrive' is well-formed, both on that reading and on the reading occurring for (755a). Note also that (755a) cannot have the reading expected for (755b).

The facts are of interest for two reasons. (1) They show that the order of suffixes is in some cases fixed and does not simply reflect the relative scope of the suffixes. Otherwise the order -gri-chi- would be well-formed. Thus, the order -chi-gri- conforms with Principle Two. (2) Despite the fact that the order of suffixes is fixed grammatically, the scope relations found reflect the order in which the suffixes occur. This is shown by the fact that the only reading for (755a) is the one in which -chi- is in the scope of -gri-. This conforms with Principle One.

2.2.5.2.6. -ri- 'reflexive/reciprocal' and -naya- 'desiderative'

The suffix -ri- must precede -naya-:

(756a) naka-ri riku - ri - naya - n
I - acc see-reflexive-desiderative-3
'I want to see myself.'

(756b) *naka-ri riku - naya - ri - n
I - acc see-desiderative-reflexive-3

Considerations of relative scope do not appear to be relevant in this case.

2.2.5.2.7. -chi- 'causative' and -naya- 'desiderative'

The form -chi- can appear both before and after -naya-. But, unlike other cases of variable order, the meaning of one of the suffixes, -chi-, differs radically from one position to another, and is not simply a reflection of scope. When -chi- precedes -naya- it has its usual causative meaning:

(757) naka-ri riku - chi - naya - n
I - acc arrive-causative-desiderative-3
'I want to cause (someone) to arrive.'

But when -chi- follows -naya-, -chi- loses its causative meaning. Instead, it has the function of making the "impersonal" desiderative verb "personal":

...
Thus, the suffix -nays- should be considered a single suffix rather than -naya- 'desiderative' + -chi- 'personalizer'. There is, however, evidence against this proposal. The suffix -chi- can also personalize other impersonal verbs like nana- 'hurt':

The sentences of (760) show that -chi- 'personalizer' is an independent suffix. It is of interest that when -chi- appears to the left of -naya- the latter suffix is understood to have broader scope. Thus, (759) cannot mean, 'I cause (someone) to want to arrive'. As predicted by Principle One, the order of suffixes mirrors relative scope despite the fact that only one order is possible. See the discussion of such cases under 2.2.5.2.5. See also 2.2.2.2.2.

Despite the fixed order of the suffixes, their order reflects relative scope. In (761a) -naya- has broader scope than -gri-. Note that (761b) is ill-formed regardless of the intended interpretation. Thus, this pair of suffixes conforms to both Principle One and Principle Two.

The suffix -ri- occurs to the left of -naju-:

Conclusions of relative scope do not appear relevant with regard to these suffixes.

Relative scope appears irrelevant in this case.

The suffix -gri- appears to the left of -naju-:

Again, in the case of -gri- and -naju-, relative scope does not appear to be relevant.
The suffix -naya occurs to the left of -riya-
(766a) *fuka-ta miku - naya - riya - rka
I - acc eat-desiderative-durative-past 3
('For a long time I had the desire to eat.')
(766b) fuka-ta miku - riya - naya - rka
I - acc eat-durative-desiderative-past 3
('I desired to spend a long time eating/For a long
time I had the desire to eat.')

As is predicted by Principle One, (766a) cannot mean 'I
desired to spend a long time eating'. Only the reading in which
-riya- has higher scope than -naya- is well-formed. As Prin-
ciple Two predicts, only one order of suffixes is possible:
-naya- must precede -riya- regardless of the intended inter-
pretation.

-Naju- and -riya- appear to be freely ordered with respect to
each other:
(767a) chura-riya - naju - rka - nchi
put-durative-joint action-past-1 plural
'We were putting (something into something).' 
(767b) chura - naju - riya - rka - nchi
put-joint action-durative-past-1 plural
'We were putting (something into something).'
Relative scope is apparently not relevant to the order of these
suffixes.

The suffix -gri- 'ingressive' appears to the left of -riya-
(768a) chura - gri - riya - rka-ni
put-ingressive-durative-past-1
'I was about to be putting (something into something).' 
(768b) chura-riya - gri - rka-ni
put-ingressive-durative-past-1
('I was about to be putting (something into something).')
Relative scope does not seem to be relevant to the order of these
suffixes.

-riya- precedes -wa- 'first person object'
(769a) riku - riya-wa-n
see-durative-1-3
'He is seeing me.'
(769b) riku-wa - riya-n
see-1-durative-3
('He is seeing me.')
Relative scope does not appear to be relevant in this case.

In isolation, -wa- precedes -naju-
(770a) riku-wa - naju - n
see-1-joint action-3
'They see me.'
(770b) *riku-wa - naju - riya - wa-n
see-joint action-1-3
('They see me.')

But when an additional suffix, e.g., -riya- 'durative', ap-
ppears which could separate -wa- and -naju-, the order is re-
versed:
(771a) maka - naju - riya - wa-n
hit-joint action-durative-1-3
'They are hitting me.'
(771b) *maka-wa - naju - riya - n
hit-1-joint action-durative-3
('They are hitting me.')

This state of affairs might be accounted for in a variety of
ways. One possibility is that in the underlying morphophonemic
representation the suffixes -naju-, -wa-, and -riya- appear in
the order -naju--riya--wa-. (But see 2.2.5.2.14 regarding the
possibility of -riya- preceding -naju-.) In those cases in
which -wa- is immediately adjacent to -naju-, a rule of meta-
thesis inverts the order of the two suffixes, resulting in the or-
der seen in (770a). This rule does not apply in (771a) because
-wa- is not adjacent to -naju-. Other possible explanations for
the order of these suffixes will not be discussed here.

The suffixes -naya- and -ju- are freely ordered with respect to
each other:
(772a) *fuka-ta miku - naya - ju - n
I - acc eat-desiderative-prog-3
'I am wanting to eat.'
(772b) fuka-ta miku-ju - naya - n
I - acc eat-prog-desiderative-3
'I want to be eating.'

As is shown in (772), the suffixes -naya- and -ju- violate
Principle Two, which requires that they appear in a fixed order.
This pair of suffixes, however, does conform to Principle One.
In (772a) -ju- has broader scope than -naya- while in (772b)
-naya- has broader scope than -ju-.

-ju- 'progressive' and -wa- 'first person object'
(775a) riku-wa-ju-n
see-prog-3
'He is seeing me.'
(773b) *riku-ju-wa-n
see-prog-1-3
'(He is seeing me."

But when another suffix intervenes -wa- follows -ju:
(774a) miku - naya - wa-ju - n
eat-deserative-1-prog-3
'I was wanting to eat.'
(774b) miku-ju - naya - wa-n
eat-prog-deserative-1-3
'I wanted to be eating.'

These facts suggest that -ju- precedes -wa-, but that a rule of
metathesis reverses their order when they are adjacent. Cf.
2.2.5.2.16. Relative scope does not appear relevant in this
case.

2.2.5.2.20. -naju- 'joint action' and -pa- 'honorific'
The suffix -naju- precedes -pa-
(775a) ri - naju - pa - n
go-joint action-honorific-3
'They go.'
(775b) *ri - pa - naju - n
go-honorific-joint action-3
().'They go.'

Relative scope is not relevant to the order of these suffixes.

2.2.5.2.21. -ju- 'progressive' and -pa- 'honorific'
The suffix -ju- precedes -pa-
(776a) ri-ju - pa - n
go-prog-honorific-3
'They go.'
(776b) *ri - pa - ju-n
go-honorific-prog-3
 .'(They go.)'

Relative scope is not relevant to the order of these suffixes.

2.2.5.2.22. -ju- 'progressive' and -naju- 'joint action'
The suffix -ju- precedes -naju-
(777a) riku-ju - naju - nchi - mari
see-prog-joint action-1 plural-emphasis
'We are seeing.'
(777b) *riku - naju - ju - nchi - mari
see-joint action-prog-1 plural-emphasis
'We are seeing.'

Note that -ju- and -naju- only occur in the same word in emphatic
contexts. I do not know why this is so.

Relative scope does not appear relevant to the ordering of
these suffixes.

2.2.5.2.23. -wa- 'first person object' and -pa- 'honorific'
-Wa- precedes -pa-
(778a) miku - chi - wa - pa - y
eat-causative-1-honorific-imperative
'Please feed me.'
(778b) *miku - chi - pa - wa - y
eat-causative-honorific-1-imperative
'(Please feed me.)'

Relative scope is not relevant to the order of these suffixes.

2.2.5.2.24. Order of stem forming suffixes
It will be remembered that, with certain exceptions, the
order of stem forming suffixes is determined by two principles:
relative scope (Principle One) and a fixed position in the word
for each suffix (Principle Two). The overall ordering of the
stem forming suffixes is as shown in (779):
(779) -ri->(-mu>-gri->(-naya>-(-naju>-wa->pa-

A rule of metathesis inverts the order of -ju- and -wa-, and
-naju- and -wa- when they are adjacent.
It should be noted that the order of suffixes reported here is
quite similar to that reported by Stark et al (1975:125, 220)
for IQ. A very different order is reported by Ross (1963:126)
for Highland Ecuadorian Quechua generally. Ross reports the
following order:
(780) -ri-(inceptive)>(-naju>-chi->-ri->-mu->-ju->-wa->-pa-
(I have adjusted Ross's orthography to conform to that used
here. A number of additional suffixes not occurring in IQ ap-
ppear in Ross's list.)

The discrepancy between Ross's findings and those reported
here suggest that there is considerable variation in the order
of stem forming suffixes among Ecuadorian Quechua dialects.
(With the exception of stem forming suffixes, the order of suf-
fixes is nearly identical among Ecuadorian dialects.) This var-
ation raises a question which cannot be answered here. Do the
various dialects of Ecuadorian Quechua differ in terms of the
principles governing the order of stem forming suffixes (Prin-
ciples One and Two), or only in terms of the specific ordering
determined by Principle Two? Do they differ with regard to
which suffixes display a fixed order and which suffixes are
freely ordered? The answers to these questions require a de-
tailed study of the order of suffixes in other varieties of Ec-
Uadorian Quechua, a task which cannot be carried out here. I
would hypothesize that all variation is with respect to Prin-
ciple Two, and that Principle One is exceptionless, but I do not
at present have evidence to support this hypothesis.
2.2.6.1-2. Complex postpositions

There are a variety of complex locative postpositions. These are formed by suffixing a primary locative morpheme (e.g., -pi 'at', -man 'to') to a secondary locative morpheme (e.g., lahu-'side', uku- 'within').

(781) uku - man within-to 'to within'

All secondary locative morphemes are historically nominal formations analogous to English in front of. (Uku- derives from a noun meaning 'a room'.) Their formation is fully productive. See 2.1.1.5 for a discussion of both the morphology and syntax of locatives.

There are no other complex postpositions of which I am aware. The only simple derived postposition is mujumda 'around', which is deverbal (derived from muju- 'to go around').

2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

The only compounds possible are noun-noun compounds:
(782a) rumi fnan stone road 'stone road'
(782b) warmi wagra woman cow 'female cow'

Compounds are formed by adjoining the modifier to the left of the modified noun. Compounding can be iterative:
(783) jinti miku - j jinti - kuna person eat-nominalizer person-plural 'cannibals'

In certain instances what appear to be noun-verb compounds are formed:
(784) Marya - ka llama randi - y - ta usha-n Marfa-topic sheep buy-infinitive nominalizer-acq can-5 'Marfa can buy a sheep.'

In sentences like (784) there is reason to believe that the direct object of randi- has been compounded with the verb. (Similarly, in (783), jinti has been compounded with miku 'eat'.) Such examples, however, are only apparent instances of noun-verb compounding because they are limited to sentences in which the verb has been nominalized and is, in fact, a surface noun. This topic is discussed extensively in 1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.3.

3. PHONOLOGY

In this chapter I discuss the synchronic phonology of IQ. A summary of the historical development of IQ phonology appears in the Introduction. The relationship of the Spanish-based orthography employed in this volume and the phonological structure of the language is also discussed in the Introduction.

3.1. Phonological units (segmental)

3.1.1. Distinctive segments

The distinctive segments are given in (785):
(785) /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/, /ts/, /tʃ/, /ʃ/, /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, /z/, /ʒ/, /n/, /l/, /y/, /w/, /3/, /l/, /l/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/.

The consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, /ŋ/, and /ʒ/ as well as the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ are borrowed from Spanish. The consonants are quite integrated into the native phonology, but the vowels appear only in unassimilated borrowings.

3.1.2. Nonsyllabics

3.1.2.1. Plosives and affricates

The plosives and affricates include voiceless labio-lingual /p/, voiceless apico-alveolar /t/, voiceless dorso-velar /k/, voiceless apico-alveolar /ts/, voiceless dorso-velar /ʃ/, and voiced labio-lingual /b/, voiced apico-alveolar /d/, and voiced dorso-velar /g/. Examples follow:
(786a) purini /purini/ 'I walk'
(786b) tazin /tazin/ 'nest'
(786c) kan /kan/ 'you'
(786d) tsala /tsala/ 'thin'
(786e) churi /tʃuri/ 'son'
(786f) buru /buru/ 'donkey'
(786g) didu /didu/ 'finger'
The phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/, and /tʃ/ are voiced when they follow a nasal (see 3.4.1.1.1):

(787a) kan-pash
/kan-paʃ/ + [kambaj]
'you also'

(787b) kan-ta
you'acc
/kan-ta/ + [kande]

(787c) tazin-kuna
nest-plural
/tazin-kuna/ + [tazinɡunə]
'nests'

(787d) mikun-chari
eats-dubitative
/mikun-tʃari/ + [mikunʒarth]

Note that the voiced form of /ʃ/ is [ʒ], a fricative, rather than [dʒ], an affricate.

3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

The fricatives include the voiceless labio-labial /ʃ/, the voiceless apico-alveolar /ʒ/, the voiceless dorso-postalveolar /ʒ/, the voiceless dorso-velar /ʒ/, the voiced labio-labial /p/, the voiced apico-alveolar /z/, and the voiced dorso-postalveolar /ʒ/. Examples follow:

(788a) fanga
/ʃaŋga/
'leaf'

(788b) sara
/ʃaɾa/
'corn'

(788c) shamama
/ʃəmama/
'to come'

(788d) jatun
/ʃatun/
'big'

(788e) vira
/ʃiɾa/
'fat'

(788f) zamba
/ʃamba/
'calabaza'

(788g) llullu
/ʃuʃu/
'young and tender'

The voiceless fricative /x/ becomes a voiced velar stop [g] before a voiced segment:

(789) shamu - j - mi
come-nominalizer-validator
/kamu-x-ʃi/ + [ʃamugmi]

3.1.2.1.3. Nasals

The nasals are labio-labial /m/, apico-alveolar /n/, and palatal /ɲ/, and all are voiced. Examples follow:

(790a) mikuni
/mikuni/
'I eat'

(790b) na
/na/
'no'

(790c) ma
/ma/
'already'

The phoneme /n/ is pronounced [ŋ] before /ɡ/, /w/, /m/, /ʃ/, and word finally:

(791a) Karmin - gu
Carmen-diminutive
/karmin-ɡu/ + [karmiŋgo]
'little Carmen'

(791b) Karmin-wan
Carmen-with
/karmin-wan/ + [karmiŋwaŋ]
'with Carmen'

(791c) Karmin - mi
Carmen-validator
/karmin-ʃi/ + [karmiŋmi]

The phoneme /n/ is pronounced [ŋi] when it occurs prior to a labio-labial stop (see 3.4.1.1.1):

(792) kan-pash
you'also
/kan-ʃi/ + [kambaj]
'you also'

(See 3.1.2.1.1 regarding the voicing of /p/ to [b].)

3.1.2.1.4. Liquids

There is only one lateral liquid, the apico-alveolar lateral liquid /ʃ/, in IQ. The fricative /ʃ/ is descended historically from /ʃ/. /ʃ/ is still pronounced as [ʃ] in most Peruvian Quechua languages.

(793a) lulum
/lulum/
'egg'
(793b) 11ajta
/3/axta/ (< /Aqta/ in earlier Quechua)
'town'

The flapped dental liquid /z/ is pronounced as a voiced retroflex fricative [ʁ] word initially, and as a flap [ʁ] elsewhere:

(794a) riku-ni
see + 1
/rikun/ + [ʁikumI]
'I see'

(794b) ari
yes
/ari/ + [ari]

Since this phoneme functions as an /z/ the symbol "r" will be employed. It should also be noted that words borrowed from Spanish containing the rolled alveolar "r" (e.g., Spanish burro 'donkey'), the rolled "r" is pronounced as a voiced retroflex fricative [ʁʁ].

3.1.2.1.5. Glides

There are two glides: the high back semivowel /w/ and the high front unrounded /j/:

(795a) wawa
child
/wawa/ 'child'

(795b) yana
black
/jana/ 'black'

3.1.2.2. Syllabics

The syllabics are vowels: the high front unrounded vowel /i/, the low back unrounded vowel /a/, and the high back rounded vowel /u/:

(796a) indi
sun
/indi/ 'sun'

(796b) aswa
corn beer
/aswa/ 'corn beer'

(796c) utu
hole
/utux/ 'hole'

The Quechua vowels are underlyingly tense. They appear in lax form (/i, e, o) word finally (with additional restrictions which vary from subdialect to subdialect, or, perhaps, from idiolect to idiolect.) See 3.4.1.1.2.

3.1.2.3. Borrowings

As was mentioned in 3.1.1, the consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, / job/, /z/, and /z/ (all voiced plosives and fricatives), and the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are not indigenous phonemes in the Quechua languages. These sounds were borrowed from Spanish.

The consonants are now fully integrated into IQ and are not perceived as borrowed: e.g., the phoneme /g/ now occurs in a suffix (not attested except in Ecuadorian Quechua) in an environment not explicable by voicing assimilation.

(797) -gu-
diminutive
Manilgu
'little Manuel'

In contrast, the mid vowels are found only in unassimilated Spanish words. Monolingual speakers generally pronounce borrowed mid vowels as high vowels:

(798) Spanish [espe]o + IQ [ispe]o

Another possible borrowing is the aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar stop /t/ in /tiyu/ 'sand'. This sound occurs in perhaps two or three words. Some speakers pronounce these words as having a voiceless interdental fricative: [zhu]o 'sand'.

3.1.2.4. Restrictions in wordclasses

I am not aware of any restrictions on the occurrence of the above sounds in any wordclass.

3.2. Phonotactics

In my discussion of phonotactics I shall restrict myself to words of Quechua origin. Spanish borrowings conform to the phonotactic restrictions found in Spanish.

3.2.1.2. Word and syllable final consonants

The same restrictions hold on word final consonants as on syllable final consonants. The only consonant phonemes occurring syllable finally are /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, /j/, /w/, and /y/. The symbol "i" indicates syllable division:

(799a) syllable final /s/
iskum
/is.kun/
'nine'

(799b) syllable final /ʃ/
isshkay
/ʃʃ.kay/
'two'

...
(799c) syllable final /s/
llajta
/5x.taa/
'town'
(799d) syllable final /l/
atlpa
/at.al.pa/
'hen'
(799e) syllable final /t/
warml
/war.ml/
'woman'
(799f) syllable final /w/
waWki
/waw.ki/
'brother (of male)'
(799g) syllable final /y/
chay
/t/jay/
'that'

Thus, the only consonant phonemes found syllable finally in
native words are the voiceless fricatives (except for /g/, which,
however, is derived from an aspirated plosive /ph/),
the liquids, and the semivowels. It should be noted that on
the phonetic level one plosive occurs syllable finally: /g/. But
nearly all instances of /g/ found syllable finally in indigen-
ous words are before voiced consonants, an environment in
which the fricative /s/ would become /g/:
(800a) wagra
/wax.raa/ + [wagre]
'cattle'
(800b) waglina
/wax.la.na/ + [waglina]
'harm'
I, therefore, will assume that the phoneme /g/ does not occur
syllable finally in native words. This assumption may be sus-
pect since /g/ is found in forms which are clearly nativized
(like the diminutive -gu-). Furthermore, there are a few iso-
lated exceptions to the claim that syllable final /g/ always
occurs before a voiced segment:
(801) llugshina
/3ugjina/
'to leave'
The analysis ultimately adopted depends on theoretical consid-
erations beyond the scope of this book.

3.2.2.1. Word and syllable initial and final consonant
clusters
There are no syllable initial or syllable final consonant
clusters in native words. In loan words from Spanish, howe-
ever, the full range of Spanish clusters is found.

3.2.2.3. Word medial consonant clusters
Word medial consonant clusters are the product of syllable
final and syllable initial clusters.

3.2.3 Vowels
The language admits both word final and word initial vowels
without restriction:
(802) word final vowels
(802a) shamu-ni
come - 1
/3amu/ 
'1 come'
(802b) armana
to bathe
/3ar.mana/
'to bathe'
(802c) tayta - gu
father-diminutive
/tajtagu/
'little father'

There are no sequences of syllabic vowels.

3.2.4 Correspondences between the structure of lexical mor-
phemes and word structure
Lexical morphemes obey the restrictions on syllable (and
word) structure stated above. Many grammatical morphemes,
however, do not. For example, the past tense morpheme con-
tains an initial two consonant cluster. An additional verbal
suffix, the durative suffix -riya-, /3rija/, appears to be in the
process of being reduced to /3rij/. It might be expected that the
existence of morphemes like
-rikan would result in syllable initial consonant clusters, but
this is not the case for two reasons. (1) Morphemes with mor-
pheme initial clusters are found only among verbal suffixes.
Thus they can never occur in word initial position. (2) All
verb stems end in a vowel. This includes derived stems formed
by the addition of a stem forming suffix to the simple stem.
All stem forming suffixes, like all simple stems, end in a vowel.
Thus, cluster initial morphemes, when suffixed to a verb
stem, create a VC.CV syllable structure:
At the phonological level, however, I am not aware of any indigenous word with a syllable structure other than (C)V(C).

3.2.6 Restrictions on consonants and vowels

As far as I have been able to determine there are no restrictions between word/syllable initial units and preceding or following vowels, or between syllable initial units and syllable final or next-syllable initial units. There does appear to be a somewhat marginal process of vowel harmony (noted by Chuqui (1980)): a high front tense vowel /i/ is lax when it precedes a lax vowel. This rule applies iteratively from right to left. See 3.4.1.1.2 for details.

(808a) milma
   /mi.lma/ + /mlme/  
   'wool'

(808b) ni - tipi
   /ni-xpi/ + /C.nlxpI/  
   'say-adverbial'

The process of vowel harmony applies across morphome boundaries. The presence of the process seems to be susceptible to individual variation.

3.2.6.2.3 There is no consonant harmony, nor are there any additional restrictions between units or clusters. Note that verb stems must be vowel final. See 3.2.4.

3.3 Suprasegmentals

3.3.1 Length

There is no distinctive length in IQ or in any Quechua II language. In contrast, in Quechua I languages, vowel length is distinctive. A number of minimal pairs collected by Parker (1976) from Ancash Quechua is given in (809):

(809a) paku
   'type of mushroom' versus
   pa:ku
   'disease of the mouth'

(809b) wata
   'year' versus
   wa:ta
   'domestic animal' versus
   wa:ta
   'I take care of it.'

In Quechua I languages length also plays an important grammatical role. It is the marker of the first person (examples from Ancash):

(803) shamu - rka
   come-past 3
   /amu-rka/ + [a.mur.ke]
   VC.CV
   'come'

Thus, the existence of cluster initial morphemes does not lead to syllable internal clusters.

3.2.5.1 Syllable assignment of medial units and clusters

Syllable assignment occurs in the environment V(C) _ C. This is illustrated in the previous section. Some additional examples are given in (804):

(804a) maska - shka
   search-perfect
   /maska-]/ka/ + [mas.kaj.ka]
   'has searched'

(804b) jatu - gri - j
   sell-ingressive-agentive nominalizer
   /xatu-xri-x/ + [xa.tug.rix]
   'one who is about to sell'

Note that syllabification is blind to morphological structure.

3.2.5.2 The canonical syllable type

The canonical syllable is (C)V(C). Vowel initial syllables are found only in initial syllables.

(805a) awana
   /a.wa.na/
   'to weave'

(805b) aswa
   /as.wa/
   'native beer'

(805c) kana
   /ka.na/
   'to be'

(805d) shuji
   /shuj/
   'one'

Other syllable types are found in borrowings from Spanish:

(806a) kwintu
   /kwin.tu/
   'story'

(806b) disyambri
   /dis.jin.bri/
   'December'

In addition, the phonological sequence /mr/ is realized phonetically as [mr]?

(807) wambra
   /wm.ra/ + [wm.bre]
   'boy'

(805b)
(810) wayi
 'house' versus

wayi:
 'my house'

There is no distinctive consonant length in any Quechua language.

3.3.2 Stress

Stress is indicated by a combination of loudness and high pitch. Stress in IQ is non-distinctive. It falls on the penultimate syllable of the word:

(811a) ya - na
 think-infinitive
 /ja.na/

(811b) ya - na - ta
 think-infinitive-acc
 /ja.na.ta/

(811c) ya - ju - na - ta
 think-prog-infinitive-acc
 /ja.xu.na.ta/

There are three types of exceptions to penultimate stress in native words: (1) words terminated by a validator or the topic marker (see 2.1.8); (2) certain exclamations; and (3) certain validators which are usually though not always stressed.

Words terminated by a validator or the topic marker can optionally be stressed as though the validator or topic marker were not present:

(812a) No topic marker
 shamu - shpa
 come-adverbial
 /ja.mu.p'a/

(812b) Topic marked
 shamu - shpa - ka
 come-adverbial-topic
 /ja.mu.p'a.k'a/

(812c) Topic marked
 shamu - shpa - ka
 come-adverbial-topic
 /ja.mu.p'a.k'a/

(813a) No validator
 wasi
 house
 /wa.si/

(813b) Validated
 wasi - mi
 house-validator
 /wa.si.mi/

The fact that the topic marker and validators optionally do not count for stress may well show that these suffixes were independent words until comparatively recently in history.

Exclamations generally have word final stress, e.g.:

(814a) ayayay
 /a.ja.'ja/
 'What pain!'

(814b) araray
 /a.ra.'ra/
 'What heat!'

(814c) ananay
 /a.na.'na/
 'How lovely!'

(814d) array
 Ca.'zaw
 'Ouch! How hot!'

The validators -cha- (/ta/) 'doubt' and -ma- (/ma/) 'emphatic first hand information', short forms for -chari- (/tari/) and -mari- (/mari/) respectively, are usually, though not obligatorily, stressed despite their word final position:

(815a) shamu-n-ga - cha
 come-3-fut-dubitive
 /a.m.m.g.'a/
 'perhaps he will come'

(815b) miku-naya-n - ma
 eat-desid-3-emphatic first hand information
 /m.i.ku.na.j.'a/
 'I am hungry.'

The preference for word final stress on the short forms of these validators suggests that the final syllable of the long forms has been recently lost and the stress indicates the syllable structure of the long form.

Spanish loan words retain Spanish stress when they are unassimilated. When assimilated, stress is usually penultimate. This leads to considerable individual variation regarding the pronunciation of words:

(816a) Marya ∼ María
 /m.a./ versus /ma.'ri.a/ < Spanish María
 'María'

(816b) Juzi ∼ José
 /xu.zi/ versus /xo.'ze/ < Spanish José
 'José'

(816c) fundador
 /fund.a.dur/ versus /fund.a.'dor/ < Spanish fundador
 'Founder'
3.3.3 Pitch

Pitch is not distinctive in IQ.

3.3.4 Intonation

3.3.4.1 Normal intonation patterns

The same intonation pattern is used in statements, information questions, and yes-no questions. This is illustrated in (817):

(817a) Statement

Kitu-manda shamu-ngi
Quito-from come 2

/Kitumanda [G, G][ka nin]/

'You come from Quito.'

(817b) Kitu-manda shamu-ngi-chu
Quito-from come-2-inter

/Kitumanda [G, G][ka nin]/

'Do you come from Quito?'

(817c) ima-shpa-taj shamu-ngi
why - inter come 2

/ima]patax [G, G][ka nin]/

'Why do you come?'

As will be noted from (817), in all three types of sentence the intonation peak is the penultimate syllable of the sentence.

3.3.4.3-7 Contrastive and emphatic intonation

Contrastive and emphatic intonation are both signalled by moving the intonation peak from the penultimate syllable of the final word of the sentence to the penultimate syllable of the emphasized or contrasted word:

(818) warmi - ka lugshi-shka ni-n
woman-topic leave - past say-3

/warmika [G, G][ka nin]/

'It is said that the woman left the church.'

Frequently, there are several intonation peaks in a sentence. These appear in separate breath groups, and mark secondarily contrasted or emphasized elements:

(819) chay jari-ta chay warmi - ka
that man-acc that woman-topic


'That woman looked a lot at that man.'

Note that in the second phrase in (819) the intonation peak corresponds with the stressed antepenultimate syllable rather than with the penultimate. This suggests that the intonation peak must occur on a stressed syllable.

The intonation peak, in addition to exhibiting higher pitch than other syllables is often visibly lengthened as well.

(820) awka runa - mi ka - shka ni-n
devil man-validator be-perfect say-3

/awka asu mi ka[k ka nin]/

'He was a devil man, it is said.'

The lengthening of the intonation peak indicates not only strong emphasis, but considerable emotion on the part of the speaker.

The intonation pattern does not have any effect on segmental units other than the lengthening of vowels as far as I have been able to determine.

3.4 Morphophonology (segmental)

3.4.1 Assimilatory processes

3.4.1.1 Consonant assimilation

There are three processes of consonant assimilation: (1) postnasal voicing; (2) voicing before voiced segments; and (3) assimilation of prelabial nasals.

(1) Postnasal voicing is typical of northern Quechua languages (not of southern Quechua II or of Quechua I). In IQ, /p/, /t/, /k/, and /tʃ/ are voiced to /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ʤ/ (n.b., not to /ʧ/)

(821a) Agatu-pi

Agato-in

[Agatu-pi] (*Tagatu-bi)

'in Agato'

(821b) man-pi

road-in

[Man-pi] (*Cman-pi)

'in the road'

(821c) Marya-ta

Marfa-acc

[Marja-te] (*Cmarja-te)

'Marfa (acc)'

(821d) man - ta

road-acc

[Man-da] (*Cman-da)

'road (acc)'

(821e) Marya - ka

Marfa-topic

[Marja-kø] (*Cmarja-kø)

'Marfa (topic)'

(821f) man - ka

road-topic

[Man-gø] (*Cman-gø)

'road (topic)'

Note: /p/, /t/, /k/, and /tʃ/ are voiced to /b/, /d/, /g/, and /ʤ/ (n.b., not to /ʧ/) whenever the consonant is to the left of a voiced consonant, or the following vowel is postnasal. /pI/, /tI/, /kI/, and /tʃI/ are voiced before a postnasal.

(821g) man - pi

road-acc

[man-PI] (*Cman-pI)

'road-acc'

(821h) man - ta

road-topic

[man-ta] (*Cman-ta)

'road-topic'
Marya-chu  
Marla-inter  
[marja-t[xj] (*[marja-3oJ)]  
'Is it Marya?'

(824b)  
shamu-n-chu  
come-3-inter  
[amnu-3oJ (*[amun-t[xj]0)]  
'Does he come?'

There are a number of words in which /t/ is not voiced despite the fact that it follows a nasal:

(825a)  
fiukanchi  
we  
[puchant[xj] (*[pukan3I)]  
'we'

(825b)  
1 plural  
[nt[xj] (*[nt3I)]  
'1 plural'

(825c)  
sinchj  
strong  
[sint[xj] (*[sint3I)]  
'strong'

(In Otavalo (825c) is pronounced [sint3I].)

(2) The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is voiced before a voiced segment. This rule applies across word boundaries. It is also typical of northern Quechua:

(826a)  
yachachij-chu  
teacher-inter  
[jat[at][x-t[xj]] (*[jat[at][g-t[xj]])  
'Is he a teacher?'

(826b)  
yachachij - mi  
teacher-validator  
[jat[at][g-m[xj]] (*[jat[at][m-x[xj]])  
'He's a teacher.'

(5) The alveolar nasal /n/ is pronounced as a labial nasal [n] when it precedes a /p/:

(827a)  
man - ta  
road-acc  
[pam-de]  
'road (acc)'

(827b)  
man-pi  
road-in  
[pam-bI3]  
'in the road'

(Note that the /p/ of -pi 'in' becomes a [b] after a nasal.)

3.4.1.1.2. Vowel assimilation

There are two vowel assimilation rules. (1) All vowels are underlyingly tense. They are laxed word finally:

(829)  
chinka-na  
close-inf  
[t[inkana/ + [t][Ingane]  
'to close'

(828a)  
shamu-ni  
come - 1  
[amuni/ + [amunI]  
'I come.'

(828b)  
mama  
mother  
[mama/ + [mame]  
'mother'

(828c)  
alku  
dog  
[alku/ + [alko]  
'dog'

In addition to the above rule, the vowel /l/ is laxed after /t/:

(829)  
chinka-na  
close-inf  
[t[inkana/ + [t][Ingane]  
'to close'

(830)  
milma  
wool  
[milma/ + [milme + [milme]  
'wool'

Note that vowel harmony applies across an intervening consonant cluster. It does not apply when /i/ immediately precedes a /nasal + consonant/ cluster:

(831a)  
jipa  
later  
[xipa/ + [xipa]  
'later'

(831b)  
ri-n[i - mi  
go-i-validator  
[ri-n[i-m] + [ri-n[i-m] + [ri-n[i-m] + [ri-n[i-m]  
'I go.'

(831c)  
inti  
sun  
[inti/ + [indI] + [indI]  
'sun'

3.4.1.2. Metathesis, coalescence, and split

There are no processes of phonological metathesis or split. The phonemes /t/, /t/, and /k/ are the result of the coalescence of Proto-Ecuadorian Quechua /t/ and /th/, /t/ and /t[k]/, and /k/ and /kh/. Instances of /x/ in syllable final position should, perhaps, be analyzed as allophones of /k/ rather than /x/. There exist doublets displaying a /k/ ~ [k] alternation: futuj [putux] ~ futuku [putuko] 'brain'; kataju [katako] ~
kataj [kataxl] 'tile'. The syllable structure prevents morphophonemic alternation, so it is difficult to determine whether syllable final [x] should be viewed as an allophone of /k/ or /x/. Historically, the situation is clearer. Syllable final [x] is derived diachronically from Proto-Ecuadorian /k/. Instances of Proto-Ecuadorian /k/ in syllable final position are derived from earlier /q/. /k/ did not occur in syllable final position. See the discussion of the historical development of /q/ in the Introduction.

3.4.4. Deletion and insertion

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is optionally deleted word finally:

\begin{verbatim}
(832a) michij  
/mites/ + [mitʃI] or [mitʃI]  
'herder'

(832b) jatuj  
/satux/ + [satux] or [satux]  
'seller'
\end{verbatim}

This process has apparently been going on for some time. A number of morphemes have lost word final /x/:

\begin{verbatim}
(833) -sha 1 plural future  
//-ʃa/ <-/-ʃax/  
'1 plural future'
\end{verbatim}

In addition to examples like (833), for some speakers the loss of /x/ is close to obligatory, in many words in which it is optional for other speakers.

The glide /j/ is deleted when it follows /i/:

\begin{verbatim}
(834) kati - y follow-imperative  
/katiʃI/ + [kati]  
'Follow!'
\end{verbatim}

Compare with (835):

\begin{verbatim}
(835) shamu - y come-imperative  
/[šamʊʃI] + *[ʃamʊ]  
'Come!'
\end{verbatim}

The consonant [b] is inserted between /m/ and /s/:

\begin{verbatim}
(836) wambra  
boy  
/wambra/ + [wambra]  
'boy'
\end{verbatim}

There are no processes of phonological reduplication of which I am aware.

3.5. Morphophonology (suprasegmental)

Stress is constant under morphophonological processes and compounding. See 3.3.2.
4. IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

This chapter consists of incomplete lists of (1) ideophones and (2) interjections in alphabetical order. Note that many of the ideophones contain initial and final consonant clusters which are normally impermissible.

4.1. Ideophones

ajajaj "sound of coughing"
asas "sound of dog howling"
chajchaj "sound of chicken clucking"
chuchiu "sound of birds, especially at dawn"
chufchuf "sound of owl"
fasafas "sound made by chicken flying"
fatasfatas "sound of slipping"
futsulfutsul "sound of child or small animal (e.g., a mouse) moving"
gangang "sound of dog barking"
gurrgur "sound of dog growling"
gurjgurj "sound of cat purring"
jaįjaį "sarcastic laugh of woman"
ji jijij "sound of horse neighing"
juļjuļ "sound made by rapidly drinking a large quantity of liquid"
jwarajjwaraj "sound of liquid boiling"
karaškaraš "sound of clearing plates"
kataskatas "sound made by her laying egg"
klajkiļj "sound of chicken when upset"
kiķikiķi "sound of rooster"
kiriskiris "sound of squealing door or furniture"
kuškušis "sound of guinea pig"
kušis "sound of thunder"
kulun "sound of running"
kulunjulun "sound of running fast"
kwalajkwalaj "sound of frog"
lufilufs "sound of guinea pig"
māmā "sound of sheep"
marašmaraš "sound of cat complaining"
mja "sound of goat"
mām "sound of cow"
murumsurums "sound of toasted corn or any hard food"
mus "sound of (accidentally) stepping on potato or other similar object"
punpun "sound of walking intentionally produced by a person"
putumputum "sound of fast walking by a person or animal"

shalsal "sound of liquid splashing; sound of rain or of snow"
shalajshalaj "sound made by dried corn grains dropped from hand"
tajtaj (pronounced rapidly) "sound of fireworks, rockets"
tajtaj (long pause between repetitions) "sound of chopping firewood"
tantant "sound of door or furniture creaking"
tarajtaran "sound of blowing delivered by strong men fighting"
tsilintsilin "sound of small bells or metal objects hitting each other"
tuwasujuj "sound of toasted corn toasting"
mumum "sound made by guinea pig when prognosticating illness"
waj "sound of rain, snow, or of waterfall"
walanwalan "swinging movement of something carried (e.g., one's arm or a baby's head)"
wayway "sound of crying (person or animal)"
ziżziż "sound of guitar played badly"
zungung "sound of mouse"
uzunun "sound heard in your own ear which means someone is thinking of you"

4.2. Interjections

achacha "How cold!"
alaia "How awful!"
arara "How pretty!"
araw [azaw] "How hot! [said out loud on burning oneself]"
sajuyij [axujx:] "expression of exhaustion"
sayayay "What pain!"
jaku "Let's go!"
jala "Come on!"
uy "expression of surprise"
5. LEXICON
5.1. Structured semantic fields

This section consists of partial lists of terminology for the following structured semantic fields: kinship, colors, body parts, cooking, and agriculture.

5.1.1. Kinship terminology

5.1.1.1. By blood and partial blood

(837) Grandparents
(837a) jatun tayta
big father
'grandfather'
(837b) jatun mama
big mother
'grandmother'
(837c) ruku tayta
old father
'grandfather'
(837d) paya mama
old mother
'grandmother'
(837e) awlu (from Spanish abuelo 'grandfather')
'grandfather'
(837f) awla (from Spanish abuela 'grandmother')
'grandmother'
(838) Parents
(838a) tayta - kuna
father-plural
'fathers, parents'
(838b) tayta - mama
father-mother
'parents'
(838c) yaya - mama
father-mother
'parents'
(838d) tayta
'father'
(838e) mama
'mother'
(838f) yaya
'father'

The last term, (838f), literally means 'father' but is usually used to mean a stud animal (e.g., yaya wagra 'stud bull') or God the Father, yaya diyus.

(839) Aunts and uncles
(839a) tiyu
'uncle' (from Spanish)
(839b) tiya
'aunt' (from Spanish)
(840) Children
(840a) churi
'son'
(840b) ushi, ushushi
'daughter'
(840c) wawa
'child'
(840d) llululu wawa
'tender child
'baby'
(840e) warabra
'child or young person from age 5 to around 25'
(840f) kuytsa
'girl from puberty to marriage'
(840g) nitu
'grandson' (from Spanish)
(840h) nitu
'granddaughter' (from Spanish)
(841) Siblings
(841a) wawki
'brother of a male'
(841b) turi
'brother of a female'
(841c) pani
'sister of a male'
(841d) fana
'sister of a female'
(842) Other blood relatives
(842a) prima/prima (from Spanish)
'cousin (masculine/feminine respectively)'
(842b) ayllu
'family (extended) or member of family'

5.1.1.2. Kinship by marriage

(843a) swigru
'father-in-law' (from Spanish)
(843b) swigra
'mother-in-law' (from Spanish)
(843c) jachun
'wife of any family member—e.g., daughter-in-law, wife of uncle, etc.'
(843d) masha
'husband of any family member—e.g., son-in-law, husband of aunt, etc.'

5.1.1.3. Kinship by adoption

The word ila indicates that the relation specified is by
adoption, e.g., *ila mama* 'stepmother', *ila wawa* 'stepchild'.

5.1.1.7. Compadrazco

The Spanish compadrazco relations have been integrated into IQ kinship:

(844) achitayta

'godfather' (Spanish, *padrino*)

(845) achimama

'godmother' (Spanish, *madrina*)

(846) kumpari

'compadre'

(847) kumari

'comadre'

(848) achiwawa

'godchild'

Note that the compadrazco relation holds between a child and his parents, on the one hand, and an individual or couple which sponsors the child for baptism, confirmation, or marriage. The terms kumpari and kumari are used reciprocally between the parents of the child and the sponsors. The compadrazco relations entail a variety of rights and responsibilities, the description of which is beyond the scope of this book.

5.1.2. Color terminology

The following color terms are used:

yuraj

'white'

yana

'black'

puka

'red'

muru

'sections of white and black'

suku

'grey'

azul

'blue'

killu

'yellow'

virid

'green'

saratana

'like muru but mostly black and grey rather than white'

5.1.3. Body parts

The list of body parts included here is based in part on an unpublished list prepared by Carmen Chuquín and María Emilia Chuquín in collaboration with classmates at the Catholic University, Quito, Ecuador.

ajcha

'head'

ajcha kara

(hair skin) 'scalp'

ali aycha

'(good flesh) 'muscle'

angu

'vein'

anjil

'pupil'

aya tullu

(cadaver bone) 'skeleton'

aycha

'flesh'

chaki

'foot'

chaki chichu

'fat part of lower leg'

chaki didu

'(foot finger)

chaki pamba

'(foot flat area)

chakitabla

'(foot flat area)

changa

'leg'

chu chu/chuku

'breast'

chuku punta (punda)

'(breast point)

chumulluli

'intestine'

chupa

'tail'

didu

'finger'

frindu

'forehead'

igadu

'liver'

ishop puru

'bladder'

ishop yaku

'urine'

jallu

'tongue'

jumzi chumulluli

'small intestines'

jinti milma

'(person wool)

jumá

'mucus'

kalavira

'skull'

kashtuna

'chin, cheek'

killa nanay

'(month pain)

kiru

'tooth'

kuru sapi

'(tooth root)

kudu

'elbow'

kunga

'neck'

kunga tullu

'(neck bone)

kunguri

'Adam's apple'

kushki

'rib'

kutu

'body'

kwirpu

'testicle (literally, egg)'

lulun

'placenta'

madri

'muscle'

maki

'hair'

*Note that the compadrazco relation holds between a child and his parents, on the one hand, and an individual or couple which sponsors the child for baptism, confirmation, or marriage. The terms kumpari and kumari are used reciprocally between the parents of the child and the sponsors. The compadrazco relations entail a variety of rights and responsibilities, the description of which is beyond the scope of this book.*
maki pambah
(hand flat area) 'palm'
maki tabla
(hand flat area) 'palm'
mama didu
(mother finger) 'thumb'
mama kiru
(mother tooth) 'molar'
mapa yaku
(dirty water) 'menopausal liquid'
mati
('forehead'
mukiti
'fist'
muku
'joint (hence elbow, wrist)'
navi
'face'
navi lulum
(face egg) 'eye'
navi milma
(face wool) 'eye lashes'
navi pata
(face wall) 'eyebrows'
navpa kiru
(front tooth) 'front tooth'
rufla
'brain'
rufla/kutulu
'chest'
rufla
'vagina'
pishku
(bird) 'penis'
pulman
'lung'
pupu
'belly button, umbilical cord'
raja
'vegitable'
ratu changa
(fat leg) 'upper leg'
raja chunullul
(fat intestine) 'large intestine'
rigra
'ear (outer parts)'
rinri
'the ear'
rinri utuju
(ear hole) 'ear (inner parts)'
rifum
'kidney'
samay
'breath'
shimi
'mouth'
shimi kuru
(mouth skin) 'lips'
shungu
'heart'
siki
'arse'
siki kurpa
'rear'

siki utuku
(arse hole) 'rectum'
sillu
'fingernails'
singa
'nostril'
singa utuju
(nose hole) 'wrinkles'
sipu
'mucus on eye'
tugru
'coagulated blood'
tuka
'saliva'
tullu
'bone'
tunguri
'troat'
tutulu
'penis'
umu
'head'
uku raka
(inner vagina) 'uterus'
vijas
'stomach'
washta
'back'
washta kiru
(back tooth) 'back tooth'
wawa didu
(baby finger) 'pinkie'
wawa mama
(baby mother) 'placenta'
yawar
'blood'
yuraj flavi lulum
(white face egg) 'white of eye'
yuraj yaku
(white water) 'water when child born'

5.1.4. Cooking terminology

5.1.4.1. Methods of cooking
kamllana/kanchana
(to toast over fire on grill)
kuzana/kusana
(to grill, broil)
yanuana
(to cook in liquid)

5.1.4.2. Cooking implements
fuku
'uncolored clay plate'
funda
'largest clay jar'
kaliana
'grill'
kataku/kataj
'ceramic tile shard used to carry fire'
kavina
'wooden spoon for toasting'
kutaj rumi
(stone used for grinding grain'
malta
'pointed jar for bringing water on back, storing and maturing native beer'
mama kuchara
'large spoon'
manga
'pot'
mati
'gourd'
5.1.5.4. Categories of agricultural land

chiri alpa  (cold land)  'high land suitable for growing barley and potatoes'

kunuj alpa  (warm land)  'lands of intermediate altitude where corn and beans can be grown'

urku  (mountain; land suitable only for grazing'

yunga alpa  (tropical land)  'low land where bananas, gourds (ilchi) and other tropical products are grown'

5.2. Basic vocabulary

1. all  tukuy
2. and  y
3. animal  ahimal
4. ashes  juchupa/uchupa
5. at  -pi
6. back  washa
7. bad  mana ali; firu
8. bark  kara ('skin')
9. because  vijsa
10. belly  vijsa
11. big  jatun
12. bird  pišku
13. bite  canina
14. black  yana
15. blood  yawar
16. blow  fukuna
17. bone  tullu
18. breast  chuchu
19. breathe  samay llugshina (literally, 'breath go out')
20. burn  rupana
21. child  wawa; wambra
22. claw  sillu
23. cloud  fuyu
24. cold  chiri
25. come  shamina
26. count  yupuna
27. cut  fitina
28. day  punlla
29. die  wafuna
30. dig  alama
31. dirty  mapa
32. dog  aiku
33. drink  ufyma (v.); ufaya (n.)
34. dry  chakishka (n.); chakina (v.)
35. dull  muchu (said of knife)

36. dust  chakishka (literally, 'dry')
37. ear  rinri
38. earth  alpa ('soil'); alpa mama ('world')
39. eat  mikuna
40. egg  lulu
41. eye  flavi lulu
42. fall  urmana
43. far  karu
44. fat/grease  vira
45. father  yaya; tayta
46. feel  manilama
47. feather  alpa (hair of any animal)
48. few  ashalla
49. fight  maksanajuna (literally, 'hit jointly')
50. fire  nina
51. fish  chalwa
52. five  pickha
53. float  wambuna (also 'swim')
54. flow  wambuna
55. flower  sisa; wayta
56. fly  fuyu
57. fog  vula
58. foot  chaki
59. four  chusku
60. freeze  kashana
61. fruit  fruta
62. full  junja
63. give  karana, kuna
64. good  ali
65. grass  jiwa
66. green  virdi
67. guts  chumullu
68. hair  ajcha
69. hand  maki
70. he  pay (also 'she')
71. head  uma
72. heart  yuma
73. heavy  shungu
74. heart  llajsha
75. here  kaypi
76. hit  makana
77. hold/take  japina
78. horn  kachu (of animal)
79. how  imashna
80. hunt  japina
81. husband  kusa
82. I  fluka
83. ice  rasu
85. in -pi
86. kill wafulchina
87. knee kunguri
88. know yachana (fact); rijsina (someone)
89. lake kucha
90. laugh asina
91. leaf fanga
92. leftside lluki ladu
93. leg changa
94. lie (position) sirina
95. live kawsana
96. liver yana shungu
97. long sumi
98. loose usa
99. man/male jari
100. many ashtake; maym
101. meat/flesh sycha
102. moon killamama
103. mother mama
104. mountain urku
105. mouth shimi
106. name shuti
107. narrow kichiki
108. near ladu
109. neck kunga
110. new mushuj
111. night tuta
112. nose singa
113. not mama
114. old ruku (masc.); paya (fem.)
115. one shuj
116. other shuj
117. person jinti; runa
118. play pugilana
119. pull sysana
120. push tangana
121. rain tamya
122. red puka
123. right/correct ali ('good')
124. rightside ali ladu
125. river yaku ('water')
126. road flan
127. root sapi
128. rope waska
129. rotten ismana
130. round ridundu
131. rub jakuna
132. salt kachi
133. sand tiyu (also /siyu/)

134. say nina
135. scratch aspina
136. sea masa kucha
137. see rikuna
138. seed muyu
139. sow sirana
140. sharp filu
141. short uchilla
142. sing kandana
143. sit tiyarina
144. skin sycha kara
145. sky silu
146. sleep puffuna
147. small uchilla
148. small mutikina
149. smoke Kushni
150. smooth futu; lambe
151. snake amaru
152. snow rasu
153. some asha ('a little of')
154. split tukana
155. split chijana
156. squeeze kapina
157. stab/pierce utujuma
158. stand shayarina
159. star istrilla
160. stick kaspi
161. stone rumi
162. straight dirichu
163. suck chupuna
164. sum ndi
165. swell pungina
166. swim waambu
167. tail chupa
168. that chay
169. there chaypi
170. they paykuma; chaykuma
171. thick sangu
172. thin tsala
173. think yuyama; yana
174. this kay
175. thou kan
176. three kimsa
177. throw shitana
178. tie watana
179. tongue jallu
180. tooth kuru
181. tree yura
182. turn tigrana ('return')
183. two
184. vomit
185. walk
186. warm
187. wash
188. water
189. we
190. wet
191. what
192. when
193. where
194. white
195. who
196. wide
197. wife
198. wind
199. wing
200. wipe
201. with
202. woman
203. woods
204. worm
205. ye
206. year
207. yellow

iskay
lansana
purina
kimuj
tajashana (said of clothes); mayllana (said of food, plates, hands, face); armana ('bathe')
yaku
fukanchi
fukushka
ima-
imu ura(s)-
may-
yuraj
pi-
anchu
warmi
wayra
alas
fichana ('sweep')
-wan
warmi
sacha
juru
kan
wata
killu

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